

# the waning of american apartheid?

by reynolds farley

A close-up photograph of a hand in a white glove holding a small yellow house-shaped toy block. The hand is positioned on the left side of the frame, with the thumb and index finger gripping the block. The block is a simple, three-dimensional representation of a house with a gabled roof. The background is a soft, out-of-focus grey, suggesting an indoor setting. The lighting is even, highlighting the texture of the glove and the smooth surface of the toy block.

The Obamas are the first African American family to reside at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. It's hard to tell, though, if the rest of America has followed suit, becoming a place where the color of your skin no longer determines where you live. Where you live, after all, determines much about what happens to you and your family, where your children attend school, how easily you can assess health care (and the quality of that care), your exposure to crime, your opportunities for employment, the quality of your municipal services, your local tax rates, whether your home appreciates in value, and so on. Residential segregation is a lens to assess whether the United States has achieved the equality that some felt the 2008 election symbolized. And while black-white segregation remains high in many metropolises, there are reasons to be optimistic that "apartheid" no longer aptly describes urban America.

Photo by Steven Hoang via flickr.com

African American migration to cities in both the North and South accelerated during World War I. Almost immediately, governments and private citizens adopted practices that insured that blacks and whites would seldom live in the same neighborhood. In almost every city, a measure of violence greeted blacks who dared enter white neighborhoods. Indeed, the most important civil rights trial of the 1920s involved a Dr. Sweet, a black dentist who purchased a home in a white neighborhood of Detroit, then sought to defend it from a mob—a defense that led to the death of a white protester. While a few cities legislated where blacks and whites might live, those ordinances were ruled unconstitutional; restrictive covenants proved a more effective and more peaceful way to insure that blacks, Jews, or Asians would never live in a particular home. A covenant was inserted into the property deed specifying that only whites could own or occupy the residence. In 1926, the Supreme Court upheld such covenants arguing that they were private agreements that did not violate civil rights. In the same decade, real estate associations began to develop “ethical principles” that prohibited brokers from renting or selling to blacks or other minorities who wished to enter white neighborhoods.

By the 1930s, federal agencies began insuring homes in an effort to stabilize the housing market during the Depression. A nationwide system for property assessment emerged. Color-coded maps were prepared to indicate the credit worthiness of a neighborhood. All neighborhoods with black residents (or those presumed to be open to blacks) were colored red—ineligible for federal loans. Later, after World War II, the federal government became active in the housing market through Veterans’ Administration and Federal Housing Authority programs. It is these efforts that were responsible for the creation of the “Crabgrass Frontier,” the suburban rings that now surround older cities. These programs weren’t directly designed to maximize black-white residential segregation, but they certainly had that result. Most suburban homes were built in areas where brokers and lenders followed the color-coded federal rules and denied housing to African Americans.

Together, governmental agencies, local officials, school administrators, and real estate dealers thoroughly segregated whites from blacks. Widely-held ideas that African Americans were prone to crime, that attending school with black children would greatly harm white children, and that housing prices would plummet in any neighborhood where blacks lived all motivated these practices. In 1965, Alma and Karl Tauber carried out the first comprehensive assessment of segregation, concluding “Negroes are by far the most residentially segregated urban minority group... This is evident in the virtually complete exclusion of Negro residents from most new suburban developments of the past fifty years.”

Racial riots in the 1960s brought segregation to the nation’s attention. President Johnson’s investigative committee, The Kerner Commission, predicted that, unless there were major changes, the country would soon consist of central cities with black and poor populations, ringed by much more prosperous and largely white suburbs. A popular Soul Music song summed it up: “Chocolate City, Vanilla Suburbs.” But change did come. After the killing of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Congress enacted an Open Housing Law (timid at the start, it was subsequently strengthened). A Fair Housing movement sprung up in many cities. Associations of real estate brokers changed their ethical standards and adopted the non-discrimination policies now required by law, and numerous studies of probable lending discrimination by lenders led Congress to pass the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act in 1975.

## Residential segregation is a lens to assess whether the U.S. has achieved the equality that some felt the 2008 election symbolized.

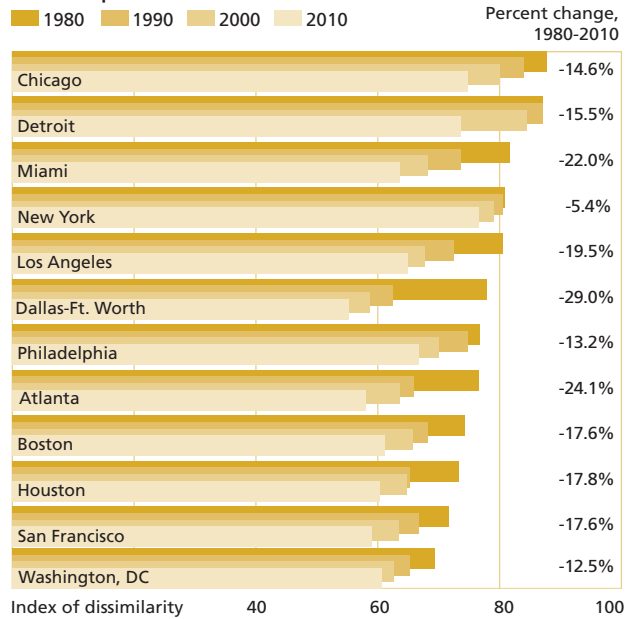
Still, in the early 1990s, sociologists Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton would write in *American Apartheid*, “Residential segregation has become the forgotten factor of American race relations. Until policymakers, social scientists, and private citizens recognize the crucial role of America’s own apartheid in perpetuating urban poverty and racial injustice, the United States will remain a deeply divided and very troubled society.”

### trends in racial residential segregation

Decennial censuses provide information about census tracts—geographic units with about 4,000 residents that are often considered “neighborhoods.” These tracts provide the basis for most racial residential segregation measures, including the index of dissimilarity, which assesses how evenly two groups are distributed across a metropolitan area. If every census tract were either exclusively white or exclusively black, the index for that metropolis would be 100. If African American and white residents were equally represented in every neighborhood, the index for that metropolis would be 0 (there’d be no segregation). The chart on page 38 shows the index of dissimilarity for non-Hispanic whites and non-Hispanic blacks for each of the dozen largest American metropolises using constant geographic boundaries starting with the 1980 Census and measuring up to the 2010 Census.

As you can see, segregation declined across the decades in every location. In 1980, five of the largest metropolises had segregation scores in excess of 80, but thirty years later, the highest score was New York City’s 77. Three of the city’s 2010 scores had dropped under 60, a level that we might call “moderate segregation.” Even Chicago and Detroit, bastions of racial

## Segregation of non-Hispanic whites from non-Hispanic blacks



Source: <http://www.s4.brown.edu/us2010/>

isolation, had become more integrated by 2010.

The graph on page 39 (left) shows that, in all metropolitan areas (394 are included), black-white segregation has declined steadily across the decades. In 1980, the average black-white score was 73, and 10 percent of the metropolises had scores above 75. Data from last year's enumeration reveal an average segregation score of 59. Only three locations (Milwaukee, New York, and Chicago) had 2010 indexes over 75, and many

southern and western metropolises had levels of black-white segregation that might be termed "low" or "moderate." More than one-quarter had scores under 40, including Las Vegas, Salt Lake City, San Jose, and Tucson. The pattern is extensive: during the 1980s, black-white segregation fell in 84 percent of the metropolises; in the 1990s, in 87 percent; and in the last decade, 88 percent.

Although blacks and whites increasingly share neighborhoods, African Americans remain much more segregated from whites than do Hispanics or Asians. As the graph shows, Hispanic-white segregation hardly changed between 1980 and 2000. There was a small decline in the most recent decade, but that change was much less than the decrease in white-black segregation. The segregation of Asians from whites has barely changed at all. The Hispanic and Asian populations grew rapidly, thanks to substantial immigration, while the black and white populations are growing slowly. The arrival of many Asians and Hispanics in immigrant neighborhoods may explain why their segregation trends differ from those of African Americans.

The racial composition graph on page 39 (right) shows that both whites and blacks now live in much more racially diverse neighborhoods than in the past. This is a result of decreases in residential segregation and rapid growth of the Hispanic and Asian populations. It was rare for whites to live on a block with an Asian or Hispanic three decades ago, now it's common. As the graph shows, in 1980, the typical white homeowner was racially isolated, residing in an area in which 88 percent of the neighbors were also white. By 2010, one in every four of their neighbors was not white. Still, if race made

## race and residence from the telescope to the microscope

by maria krysan

As scientific instruments used to reveal something about how the world works, the telescope and the microscope each serve distinct and complementary functions. So, too, with the tools we use to understand patterns of racial residential segregation in the United States. The Census and survey data used in the accompanying article give us a useful telescope with which to scan the horizon and view the extent to which race shapes neighborhood patterns. But microscopes let us narrow our view and provide for a closer inspection of the behaviors and attitudes that make up those patterns. The insights from four different types of data uncover some of the micro-processes that may help explain why segregation, though on the decline, is still far from extinct.

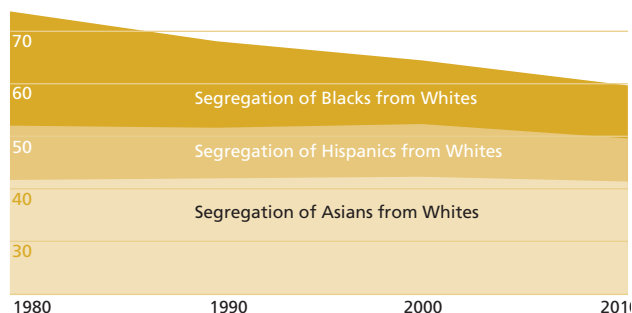
**Discrimination as a moving target.** Looking for a place to live involves a number of steps: finding an available house or apartment, contacting and meeting with the owner/agent, viewing the unit, submitting an application, securing approval, and

signing a lease or executing a contract. Most of the information we have about whether race shapes how one is treated in this process—including the national Housing Audit Studies reviewed in the accompanying article—looks at one specific step in this process: the face-to-face encounter between housing provider and renter/buyer. But in the world of cell phones, caller ID, and voicemail, and in the context of a widespread ability to discern race based solely on a person's voice, Douglas Massey and Garvey Lundy have shown, with research published in *Urban Affairs Review*, that racial discrimination can happen even before home-seeker and housing provider ever meet.

In their rigorous audit study of the Philadelphia rental market, researchers posing as prospective tenants called the same housing providers to inquire about a unit—there were men and women, and they differed in terms of whether their accents conveyed their status as white middle class, black middle class, or black poor. Though all presented themselves as looking for

## Residential segregation in all metropolises

80 Index of dissimilarity



Source: John Logan, Brown University, <http://www.s4.brown.edu/us2010>

no difference in where people lived, 14 percent of those neighborhoods would be black, given the proportion of urbanites who are black. The actual number is just 8 percent black.

In 1980, African Americans were also racially isolated; 61 percent of their neighbors were also African Americans. By 2010, probably for the first time in a century, black urban-dwellers typically lived in neighborhoods in which their race was a minority. Reductions in segregation and demographic trends substantially increased the representation of whites, Asians, and Hispanics in their neighborhoods. Nevertheless, these data show that the neighborhoods of the average black urbanite and the average white urbanite remain very different in racial composition.

### considering neighbors

Metropolitan Detroit has consistently had extremely elevated levels of residential segregation along with a long history

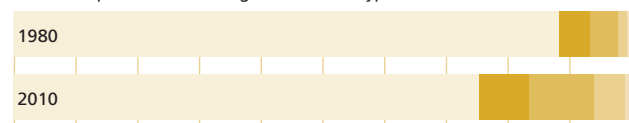
the same kind of apartment and having the same kinds of financial abilities, even the most basic courtesy of having one's phone call returned showed unequal treatment. At the two extremes, 87 percent of white middle class men were called back by the housing provider, while just 63 percent of poor black women were given that courtesy. And the differences didn't stop there: African Americans—especially poor African American women—were disadvantaged in terms of whether they were told on the phone that the unit was available, the quoted application fee, and whether issues of credit worthiness came up. This study and others confirm that discrimination is, in Massey's words, a "moving target." Discrimination "with a smile" may have been replaced by discrimination "with a dial tone."

**Is it race or is it class?** The attitudinal data Reynolds Farley reports in this issue is a valuable tool for framing the landscape of racial attitudes related to residential segregation, but it's also a relatively blunt instrument. One shortcoming is its singular focus on a neighborhood's racial composition. Indeed, some have argued that any reservations expressed—especially by white respondents—about sharing neighborhoods with

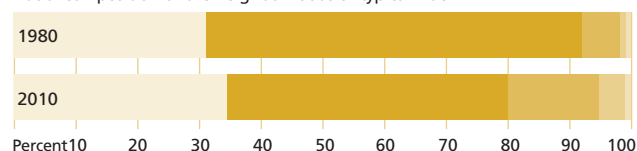
## Racial composition of typical residential areas

Non-Hispanic White Non-Hispanic Black Hispanic Non-Hispanic Asian Other

Racial composition of the neighborhoods of typical White



Racial composition of the neighborhoods of typical Black



Source: John Logan, Brown University, <http://www.s4.brown.edu/us2010>

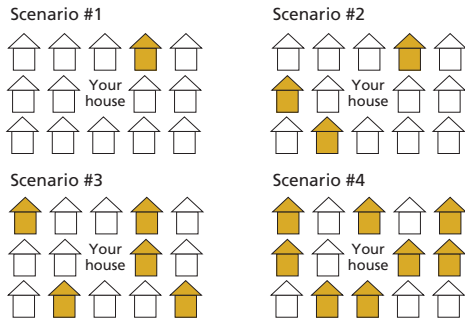
of racial violence. In three different decades—that is, in 1976, 1992, and again in 2004—my colleagues and I conducted investigations to try to describe the causes of this persistent segregation. Using a number of survey instruments, we tried to determine whether white residents felt comfortable with African Americans living on their block, whether they would remain should African Americans move onto their block, and whether, if they were thinking about a new home, they'd consider neighborhoods in which African Americans already lived.

Along with introductory questions about their neighborhoods, and before we got into their personal racial attitudes, we showed a large, randomly-selected sample of white respondents cards depicting neighborhoods with racial compositions ranging from all-white to one-half white and one-half black. First, we told them to imagine they lived in an exclusively white neighborhood. For white residents of Detroit,

African Americans may not be about race at all. To the extent that people associate neighborhoods with more African Americans as being of lower quality (lower housing value appreciation, worse upkeep, higher crime rates, poorer quality schools, etc.), one might argue that it's not that people want to avoid living with black people, it's just that they don't want lower quality neighborhoods. Because the "neighborhood cards" approach is silent on all other neighborhood characteristics, it's impossible to disentangle whether it is race or class driving a reluctance to live in integrated neighborhoods.

Along with my colleagues, I tackled this challenge in a recent experiment embedded in a random sample survey of residents in the Chicago and Detroit metropolitan areas. In this household-based survey, respondents were shown several videos of actual neighborhoods that varied in terms of their social class characteristics (size of home, upkeep of property, etc.). Actors portrayed residents in these short videos, allowing us to experimentally manipulate the racial composition of the neighborhood while holding constant its observable social class characteristics.

## Neighborhood cards shown to white respondents



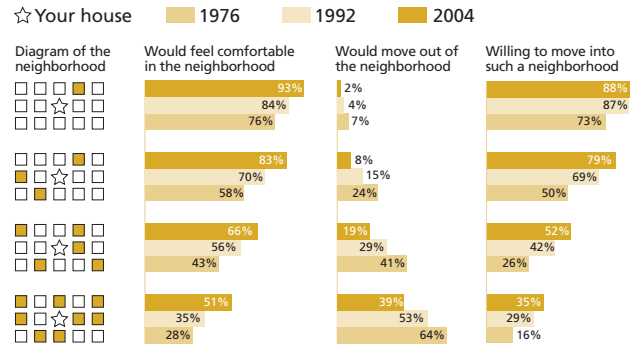
this was a realistic assumption. Then we showed them a card depicting a minimally-integrated neighborhood with 14 white families and 1 black family.

We asked whether the white respondent would be uncomfortable if his or her own neighborhood came to resemble the one shown on the second card. If they said they would feel comfortable, we presented them with a third, slightly more integrated neighborhood card with 12 white and 3 black families. We continued showing them cards until they said they would feel uncomfortable or came to the final card showing a neighborhood with 7 white and 7 black families. At whatever point a respondent said they'd be uncomfortable with the racial mix of the hypothetical neighborhood, we asked if he or she would try to move away from that neighborhood. If they said they would move out, we assumed they would be even less comfortable with higher densities of African American families, and we stopped asking questions.

While showing that social class does matter—pretty much everybody wants to live in a “nicer” neighborhood—our results also show that even if a neighborhood is identical on all other dimensions, the presence of black residents makes the area less desirable for white homeseekers. African Americans, for their part, are also influenced by race, but less so and in a different direction: for them, all-white neighborhoods were least desirable and racially-mixed were most desired. To further make the case that race—and not just social class—matters, white respondents who held negative stereotypes of black people were significantly more likely to be affected by the neighborhood's racial composition. Despite optimism about the racial attitude changes documented by the survey data, this experiment demonstrates people may be class conscious, but they're not color blind.

**Taking it to the real world.** The neighborhood cards measure has also been criticized because it just isn't the real world. People don't move into hypothetical neighborhoods, they make actual housing decisions in real cities and neighborhoods. My co-author Michael Bader and I asked a random sample of Detroit-area residents to look at a colorful map of the Detroit metropolitan

## Attractiveness of neighborhoods for white respondents



Our results are shown in the figure above right. From 1976 on, the racial attitudes of white Detroit residents shifted substantially. In 1976, three-quarters said they would be comfortable if their neighborhood had one black family. Twenty-eight years later, whites almost universally accepted that minimum level of integration: 93 percent were comfortable. The presence of blacks still made a difference, though. In 2004, two-thirds of whites said they would be comfortable living in a neighborhood of 10 white and 5 black households. But when the racial composition approached 50-50, many white respondents were uncomfortable; just one-half said they would be comfortable in such a neighborhood (in 1976, just one-quarter of white respondents could say the same).

The post-World War II years were the era of white flight in Detroit. Chicago alderman Francis Lawler once famously defined integration as that brief interval between the arrival of a neighborhood's first black family and the departure of its last white fam-

ily. The area that showed 33 different neighborhoods and communities ranging from all-white suburbs to all-black Detroit neighborhoods. They were then asked to identify communities in which they would “seriously consider” living and any where they would “never consider” living. There was some agreement between black and white respondents: for example, neither group was attracted to older, lower-income suburbs with little recent economic growth. But there were still striking racial differences; both the race of the resident and the racial composition of the community affected whether or not a particular area was considered desirable. And, controlling for community characteristics like housing values and location, we found that the “whiteness” of a community predicted whether white people would seriously consider moving there, while racial composition didn't affect African American considerations. Specifically, a 10 percent increase in the proportion of white residents in a community was accompanied by a 53 percent increase in the odds that a white person would “seriously consider” it as a place to live. For African Americans, the percent white or percent black made no difference in whether they'd “seriously consider” or “never consider” a community.

ily; historian Thomas Sugrue writes that, for many Detroit neighborhoods, that description fits the bill. But our studies show that white people's attitudes about moving away when African American families move into their neighborhood have changed profoundly and offer some hope that white flight is over. In 1976, 40 percent of whites said they would try to move away if their neighborhood came to have a 10 white to 5 black families composition. After nearly 30 years, only 19 percent said they would try to leave if their neighborhood became one-third African American. Indeed, the majority of respondents in the most recent study said they wouldn't try to move, even if their neighborhood came to be roughly 50/50. Still, though, a significant proportion of white respondents said they would try to move out if they became the minority group in their neighborhood.

After asking about their comfort with black neighbors and whether they would try to leave, we gave white respondents a set of all of the "possible neighborhood" cards. We asked them to suppose they had found an attractive, affordable home in each of the neighborhoods. Knowing only the racial makeup of each location, which might they consider? At all dates, white respondents' willingness to live in a given neighborhood was strongly influenced by the number of black families living there: higher densities of African Americans meant fewer Caucasians would consider the place. In 2004, almost all said they would consider a minimally-integrated neighborhood (the one with a single black family), and 88 percent were still willing to

The pattern for African Americans is especially important in light of the frequent assertion (by scholars and policymakers alike) that black people prefer "50/50" neighborhoods. Using a tool that measures preferences in the real world reveals far more flexibility on the part of African Americans—and also reinforces the conclusion that race still matters for whites. This emerges again when the microscope is turned on actual behaviors.

**From neighborhood change to changing neighborhoods.** Indexes of dissimilarity are a great window onto what neighborhoods look like—from a distance—and how they have or have not changed. But they come up short for understanding who is actually changing neighborhoods and what makes its residents move. People move to new neighborhoods for lots of different reasons—they move because they want a bigger house or need to be closer to work or because the racial composition of the neighborhood is changing. The latter, in the context of moves made by whites, is often referred to as "white flight," and it's been examined extensively through the lens of Census data. Now, another growing body of research—made possible by longitudinal data—allows us to answer specific

consider the neighborhood with three black households. While in 1976 just 25 percent would consider the neighborhood that was one-third black, a majority of the 2004 sample would. Finally, shown the half-and-half neighborhood card, just one in six 1976 respondents told us they would consider buying a home there. By 2004, the number had doubled to one in three.

When people consider new homes, they are still influenced by the racial composition of the area. Importantly, though, our repeated studies demonstrate that Detroit area

Francis Lawler famously defined integration as the brief interval between the arrival of a neighborhood's first black family and the departure of its last white one.

whites have become more willing to accept black neighbors, are increasingly likely to remain when African Americans move into their block, and, to a much greater degree than in the past, are willing to consider buying new homes in racially-mixed neighborhoods. The decrease in residential segregation in metropolitan Detroit—a 14 percent decline from 1980 to 2010—is congruent with changes in racial attitudes.

### cautious optimism

Changing racial attitudes demonstrate some areas of optimism in housing equality. After 1968, many local studies assessed the effectiveness of the Fair Housing Law by sending first a white

questions about the moves people make and assess the extent to which neighborhood racial composition, independent of a variety of other individual and neighborhood characteristics, leads people to make housing decisions that, taken together, contribute to persistent patterns of segregation.

For example, we can assess not whether a *neighborhood* has experienced racial change, but whether *individuals* change neighborhoods in the face of a large or growing minority population. We can also determine who is more or less likely to do so. Sociologists Kyle Crowder and Scott South find that, quite apart from individual characteristics that predict mobility (such as age, presence of children, and homeownership), and above and beyond other neighborhood characteristics (like average income levels and stability), the greater the percentage of minority residents in a community, the greater the likelihood that white families will move to a new neighborhood. Interestingly, in an earlier article, Crowder found no effect depending on which racial/ethnic group is present (African Americans, Asians, or Latinos); instead, white people are particularly likely to flee multi-ethnic neighborhoods. But whites

and then a black home-buyer to a realtor to inquire about a home. In many cases, racial discrepancies were found. Sometimes this led to litigation, but often the emphasis was simply put on publicizing the discrimination. In 1977, the Department of Housing and Urban Development undertook a similar national assessment and dispatched matched pairs of white and black “buyers” to ask about housing advertised in the major newspapers of large metropolises. That study was repeated in 1989 and 2000. They revealed an unambiguous trend toward more equitable treatment of African Americans. For instance, in 1989, sales agents provided information about significantly more homes when the tester was white. By 2000, there was no such difference. Differential treatment was not completely eliminated—

## When people consider new homes, they are still influenced by the racial composition of the area.

black testers were still shown more homes in racially-mixed neighborhoods and brokers were more likely to praise homes in white neighborhoods, for example—but it had certainly decreased substantially. Before the Civil Rights Revolution, brokers were taught that they had an ethical obligation to maintain property values by never introducing a minority to a white neighborhood. When real estate brokers are trained now, they learn about federal laws and about costly judgments levied against brokers and firms who discriminate.

Suburbanization offers another glimpse of positive changes. In the Northeast and Midwest, suburban rings

living in neighborhoods experiencing recent growth in the black population—though not the Asian or Latino population—are especially likely to leave.

In analyses using the same longitudinal dataset, social demographer Lincoln Quillian further demonstrates in *Social Science Research* that stubborn patterns of segregation are maintained to a great extent not only by the decisions of whites to leave particular neighborhoods, but also by their choice of destination (generally, neighborhoods with few black residents).

Crowder also highlights how context matters in whether housing choices help perpetuate segregation. The abundant availability of alternative, all-white communities and the presence of new housing developments both increase the likelihood that white residents will flee. Findings like this merit close scrutiny, as they may provide clues as to why some cities have shown promising signs of integration, while others remain stubbornly segregated.

Implicit, if not explicit, in proclamations of a “post-racial era” is the notion that people have become color blind. In some respects, the attitudinal data and some concrete achieve-

boomed after World War II, as white residents fled from cities with their old stock of housing and their rapidly growing black populations. In New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Detroit, black families who tried to move to the suburbs were often met with violence. Suburban officials, formally and informally, let it be known that no African American was welcome (Mayor Orville Hubbard of Dearborn, Michigan became a national symbol of the implacable opposition of suburban white residents to black newcomers).

Forty years ago, public policy and housing scholar Anthony Downs observed that opening suburban rings to African Americans was the only way to reduce segregation and avoid the racial conflicts that the Kerner Commission predicted. Now black

families seeking housing commensurate with their income increasingly consider the suburbs—even those that once had reputations for extreme hostility. In 1990, 42 percent of the African American res-

idents of metropolitan areas lived in suburban rings, and, by 2010, it was 60 percent. Between 2000 and 2010, the cities of Chicago and Detroit each lost 180,000 black residents. While some moved to the South, it’s notable that gains in the suburban black populations roughly match the loss in the central cities. Data from Census 2010 have not yet been fully exploited. In some places, central city black areas may be spreading into the suburbs, but it appears that much of the rapid African American growth throughout the nation’s suburbs is in places that have been traditionally white. Some blacks may still face discrimination if they search for suburban homes but the suburbs are much more open

ments support this contention. Slow but steady declines in segregation, for instance, might be understood as marking the beginning of the end of “chocolate cities and vanilla suburbs.” But other studies suggest a less sanguine conclusion. Landlords are not color blind when choosing tenants; residents are not color blind when evaluating neighborhoods; and when people—especially whites—make moves, they’re not color blind. These more microscopic investigations of the patterns and processes related to residential segregation and how race plays a role, suggest possible answers to the pressing question: Why are levels of segregation not lower still?

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to African Americans now than in the past.

A demographic trend flowing from changing racial attitudes promises to gradually reduce segregation: residential integration within households. It's an important trend, but hasn't been discussed in this context. Consider young men who married in the years just before Census in 1970. Fewer than 2 percent of black husbands had married white wives, but that number rose to about 12 percent in the most recent Census. Black-white marriages are no longer rare. Further, the mixed race population is growing; when first given the option to identify with multiple races in Census 2000, about one million people chose both black and white. Ten years later, that increased to 2.1 million. Data from the American Community Survey also suggest that the tradition of white and black couples adopting children of their own race is giving way to a pattern in which the race of the adopted child is less salient. Racial residential segregation scores will decrease as more households include members of both races.

So, do we live in a country where the color of your skin no longer determines where you live? We certainly haven't come that far. Race still makes a difference, and, as last year's census reports, there are dozens of census tracts in America's older cities that remain monochromatic (albeit with smaller populations than in the past). However, racial attitudes have changed, the ideal of equal housing opportunities is well-accepted, and many of the structures that created and maintained the American Apartheid system have been greatly weakened or removed. The long trend toward lower levels of black-white segregation seems sure to continue.

### recommended readings

Glaeser, Edward, David Cutler, and Jacob Vigdor. "The Rise and Decline of the American Ghetto," *Journal of Political Economy* (1999), 107:455-560. The first study to thoroughly measure and describe the substantial late twentieth century decreases in black-white residential segregation.

Krysan, Maria, Reynolds Farley, Mick P. Couper, and Tyrone Forman. "Does Race Matter in Neighborhood Preferences? Results from a Video Experiment," *American Journal of Sociology* (2007), 115(2):527-559. Documents the subtle way in which the race influences the judgments whites make about their neighborhood and its amenities.

Massey, Douglas S. and Nancy A. Denton. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Harvard University Press, 1993). This authoritative book documented the persistence of black-white residential segregation in the decades after the Civil Rights Revolution and shows the consequences of segregation for preserving black-white differences in education and income.

Sugrue, Thomas. *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton University Press, 1996). Elegantly recounts black-white conflict in the neighborhoods of post-WWII Detroit.

Taeuber, Alma F. and Karl E. Tauber. *Negroes in Cities* (Aldine, 1965). The first authoritative study of the extent, causes, and persistence of black-white residential segregation in the nation's cities.

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