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The Negro in Syracuse: His Education, Employment, Income and Housing

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THE NEGRO IN SYRACUSE

His Education, Employment, Income and Housing



Alan K. Campbell, Chairman

Robert M. Anderson

Max R. Bloom

Jesse V. Burkhead

Linton Freeman

Seymour Sacks

Robert Schoyen

Sidney C. Sufrin

John H. Thompson

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AUG 23 1973

Preface

One of the high functions of social science scholarship is to provide a factual and soundly analytical basis for intelligent social action.

As Syracuse and Onondaga County continue to work at the resolution of racial conflicts over the months and years ahead, men of good will shall need as accurate and as unemotional a portrait as possible of the basic dimensions of the race problem in this area.

With this in mind, a number of scholars, mostly from the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University but including representatives from both the College of Business and the College of Law, came together in late 1963 to volunteer time and energy in the preparation of an objective report of the Negro situation in the Syracuse area. Parenthetically, and quite fortuitously, none of the scholars who worked on this report happened to have engaged in the civil disobedience actions of last fall. The team of scholars worked from a sense of professional pride and a sense of obligation to the Syracuse community of which they are a part. They served without recompense of any kind, except the recompense of contributing to knowledge and to the possible solution of a vexing and critical social issue.

The following analysis is based largely on 1960 census data. It is possible that substantial changes have occurred in the past four years, and where responsible figures were available recent changes have been noted. The most reliable "official" and the only standard source of data available, however, is the Census. Therefore, when comparisons are made among cities or over time for the same city it is the only source of information which can be used with confidence. The pressing character of the problems considered in this report, however, would seem to justify an up-dating of the information by an appropriate official agency of city, county, or state. The Maxwell School stands ready to be of any possible assistance if such an enterprise is undertaken; for without such up-dating any criticism of the portrait emerging from the use of 1960 data must remain largely irresponsible contention.

The story that emerges from objective analysis of the facts is disturbing. It is a challenge to all those in all walks of life, of all religious faiths, and of all political persuasions who wish to live out their lives—and to have their children live out their lives—in a city of equal opportunity, tranquility, and justice.

Stephen K. Bailey, Dean

MAXWELL GRADUATE SCHOOL

THE NEGRO IN SYRACUSE

I. INTRODUCTION

Last fall, the Syracuse Community was dramatically alerted to internal tensions within the city—tensions which before the civil rights demonstration, few had recognized as serious. Although there were and remain disagreements and bitterness about the tactics used by local civil rights groups to concentrate attention on these tensions, nearly everyone now acknowledges the existence of a very real community problem.

The dimensions of that problem, however, are not clear, nor is there agreement on the best means of attacking it. The demonstrations conducted during September and October were specifically aimed at the housing relocation problems of the Negro caused by urban renewal and more generally at the housing conditions and residential concentration of the Negro community within Syracuse.

Although most of the initial reaction to the demonstrations centered on the advisability and usefulness of the tactics employed by the demonstrating groups, there also emerged from the subsequent debate and community discussions a growing realization that the problems were deep and complex. Housing and relocation, it became clear, were but a fraction of a much larger set of problems. Furthermore, the packet of problems is rooted in those community characteristics which are productive of these tensions.

The purpose of this report is to present and analyze these characteristics in the belief that a fuller understanding of the objective conditions of the Syracuse community and the Negro's place in it will aid in finding solutions to the community's problems—solutions which are consistent with American ideals of justice and fair play. In order to give as comprehensive a picture as possible, this analysis will look not only inside Syracuse but also will compare Syracuse to other communities.

The crux of the matter is the condition of the Negro community. While this condition is a product of many factors, most of which also affect parts of the white community, their impact will be intensified for the Negro if they are combined with discrimination. If low income, inadequate education, and a shortage of job opportunities are accompanied by or caused by discrimination, their eradication is probably impossible until discrimination is eliminated.

The size and rate of growth of the Negro community in Syracuse are the first set of characteristics to be examined.

II. POPULATION GROWTH AND CHARACTERISTICS

A. Growth and Changes

The rate of growth of the Negro population in Syracuse during the past decade has been among the most rapid in New York State and indeed in the United States. In New York State only Rochester had a higher rate, as these figures indicate:

TABLE 1

Growth of Negro Population in Central Cities
of New York Metropolitan Areas 1950 to 1960

Metropolitan Areas	Per Cent Growth
Albany, Schenectady, Troy	81.5%
Binghamton	47.5
Buffalo	93.5
New York	45.5
Rochester	210.8
SYRACUSE	144.4
Utica-Rome	100.0

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Selected Area Reports. Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. Final Report PC(3)-1D.

In the country as a whole, of the 72 central cities* with a Negro population in excess of 10,000 only 11 had a higher proportionate Negro increase during the 1950-60 decade than Syracuse; and only three of these—Rochester, Bridgeport, and Hartford—are in the Northeast.

* The concepts of central city and metropolitan area will be used throughout this report. Metropolitan area refers to what the Census Bureau calls a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area and which it defines as "a county or group of contiguous counties which contain at least one city of 50,000 inhabitants or more, or 'twin cities' with a combined population of at least 50,000. In addition to the county, or counties, containing such a city or cities, contiguous counties are included in an SMSA if, according to certain criteria, they are essentially metropolitan in character and are socially and economically integrated with the central city. In New England, SMSAs consist of towns and cities, rather than counties."

There were 212 SMSAs in 1960 in the United States and these contained over 65 per cent of the country's total population. There are seven such areas in New York State and residing within their boundaries are over 90 per cent of the state's population. The areas are: New York, Albany-Schenectady-Troy, Utica-Rome, Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo and Binghamton.

TABLE 2

Growth of Negro and Total Population in Central Cities
with Greater Negro Growth than Syracuse: 1950-60

Central Cities	Per cent Negro Growth	Per cent Total Population Growth
Bridgeport, Conn.	351.3%	- 1.2%
Phoenix, Arizona	303.1	311.1
Hartford, Conn.	290.2	- 8.6
Las Vegas, Nev.	254.1	161.6
San Bernardino, Calif.	216.1	68.0
Rochester, N. Y.	210.8	- 4.2
Milwaukee, Wis.	186.9	16.3
Newport News, Va.	181.7	319.9
Sacramento, Calif.	166.7	39.3
Flint, Mich.	148.2	20.7
Wichita, Kansas	145.7	51.4
SYRACUSE, N. Y.	144.4	- 2.1

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Selected Area Reports. Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. Final Report PC(3)-1D.

The longer range historical pattern of Negro growth in Syracuse also distinguishes it from the rest of the country. The Syracuse increase was relatively slow for the first two decades of this century, was similar to the rest of the country for the 1920-30 decade, then fell off the pace for the 1930-40 period and since 1940 has grown much more rapidly than the average for all central cities.

TABLE 3

Negro Population Growth for Syracuse, all U. S. Central Cities
and Central Cities in the North: 1900-60

	SYRACUSE	All U.S. Central Cities	Central Cities in the North
1900-10	8.7%	32.9%	34.6%
1910-20	12.1	39.9	74.4
1920-30	50.7	52.5	78.6
1930-40	9.6	19.9	19.8
1940-50	120.3	48.1	61.8
1950-60	144.4	50.3	57.3

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Selected Area Reports. Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. Final Report PC(3)-1D.

Another aspect of population growth of considerable significance is the differential rate for central cities and those areas surrounding these cities. For nearly all metropolitan areas the net population growth has been in the suburbs while central cities have just held their own or grown but slightly. If annexations are disregarded, all central cities in the nation's 212 metropolitan areas had a population growth for the 1950-60 period of 1.5 per cent; for the suburban areas outside these central cities the growth was 61.7 per cent.

The Syracuse pattern is consistent with the national pattern, the city losing 2.1 per cent of its population while the suburban parts of the metropolitan area grew by 42.2 per cent. These overall figures, however, suggestive as they are, hide important internal shifts. For example, if the city of Syracuse had grown at the same rate as the entire Syracuse metropolitan area, its population in 1960 would have been 268,000 instead of 216,000, or, stated another way, the net movement of people from city to the suburbs between 1950 and 1960 would have been 52,000.*

This population shift is a factor of considerable significance in the Syracuse situation. As in the nation as a whole, generally speaking, the movement to the suburbs has been that of the relatively better off. The population of the central city has been replaced by lower income people, white and non-white, many coming from outside the metropolitan area and from outside the state.

The high mobility of the Syracuse non-white population** can be shown by contrasting where those over age five who lived in Syracuse in 1960 lived in 1955. Only 30.6 per cent of the non-whites lived in the same house in 1960 as in 1955, while 53.4 per cent of the whites were in this category. Three times as many of the non-whites (15.6 per cent) moved to Syracuse from out of state in that period as did whites (5.2 per cent).

* See U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population and Housing; 1960 Census tracts, Syracuse PHC(1)154, p. 15. This figure is consistent with the net migration of 21,013 (29,578 out and 8,565 in) of persons aged five years and older from the city of Syracuse to the rest of the Syracuse SMSA from 1955 to 1960.

** Non-white is used because similar data are not available for the Negro population alone. Negroes constitute 91.3% of total non-white population in Syracuse. In this respect Syracuse is different from other New York State cities in that the non-white non-Negro constitutes a larger share of the total non-white population. For this reason special care must be used in analyzing the racial characteristics of this community. The Census Bureau defines "non-white" as follows: "persons of Negro, American Indian, Japanese, Filipino, Korean, Asian Indian, and Malayan races."

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. General Social and Economic Characteristics, United States Summary, Final Report. PC(1)-1C, p. xii.

TABLE 4

1955 Place of Residence of 1960 White and Non-White Population Over Age 5, City of Syracuse

	White	Non-White
Same House as 1960	53.4%	30.6%
Different House in U. S.	43.1	60.7
Same County	30.0	41.5
Different County	13.1	19.2
Same State	7.9	3.6
Different State	5.2	15.6
Abroad	1.6	2.3
Not Reported	1.9	6.4

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census. U. S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960. Census Tracts. Final Report. Syracuse: PHC(1)-154.

Such large internal population shifts are bound to create community instability even if the people involved are of similar ethnic, economic and social background. When such similarity does not exist, community disruption is even more pronounced.

On the other hand, it should be stressed that the absolute size of the Negro community in Syracuse is not large. Only 5.2 per cent of the city's population in 1960 was Negro. For the whole metropolitan area the per cent was 2.2; and only .3 of 1 per cent in the suburban areas around the city. Only two New York State metropolitan areas, Utica-Rome and Binghamton, had a smaller proportional Negro population than Syracuse, while Buffalo and New York had substantially larger ones.

TABLE 5

Negroes as Per Cent of Total Population in New York State Metropolitan Areas: 1960

	Metro. Areas	Central Cities	Suburban Areas
Albany, Schenectady, Troy	2.5%	5.3%	0.5%
Binghamton	0.6	1.6	0.1
Buffalo	6.3	13.3	1.6*
New York	11.5	14.0	1.6*
Rochester	4.1	7.4	0.2
SYRACUSE	2.2	5.2	0.3
Utica-Rome	1.5	2.9	0.2

* These New York and Buffalo percentages are high because the suburban areas of these places contain older cities which have Negro areas much as the central cities do, e.g., Yonkers and Niagara Falls.

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Selected Area Reports. Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. Final Report PC(3)-1D.

To sum up: as measured by population ratios, the Syracuse situation is not markedly different from other large cities of its class size. While the relatively rapid rate of Negro increase in Syracuse may have intensified the problems for this city, the absolute size of the Negro community is a relatively small one compared to other New York cities.

Another set of population characteristics deserving of analysis is age and family composition since these are also relevant to understanding the underlying causes of the problems which beset the city.

B. Age and Family Composition

As the United States becomes increasingly urban and metropolitan the age distribution of the population in different parts of each metropolitan area carry their own special public service implications. A population with a disproportionate number in the younger age categories, as is true in the suburbs, carries with it heavy educational responsibilities; while a distribution with the elderly over-represented, as is true in most central cities, may present serious welfare, medical and housing problems. Each distribution, whatever its nature, carries with it special requirements.

Overall, the Negro community is younger than the white community within the city of Syracuse, as it is throughout the state and nation. For the entire state the median age of Negro men is 26.9 years while for native-born whites it is 28.2 and for foreign-born whites 59.2; for women the comparable figures are 29.0, 30.5, and 57.7. The age differentials in Syracuse are substantially greater than the state-wide differences, with the Negro men possessing a median age of 22.8 while the similar age for native-born whites is 27.8—a full five-year difference, while for women the difference is over ten years, 21.5 compared to 31.8.

If these median ages are translated into age-distribution figures in Syracuse, the differences become even more striking. For example, only 10.9 per cent of the native white community is five years of age or younger, while 18.4 per cent of the Negro community is in this age category. The consequence so far as education is concerned need not be labored. At the other end of the scale, nearly 10 per cent of the native white community is over 65, and 55 per cent of the foreign-born white, while only 2.3 per cent of the Negroes are in this category.

TABLE 6
Median Age and Age Distribution
for Different Groups in the City of Syracuse: 1960

	Native-born White		Foreign-born White		Negro		Other Non-White	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Median Age	27.8	31.8	59.2	57.7	22.8	21.5	27.0	23.3
Per Cent Under 5	11.8%	10.1%	0.8%	0.6%	19.4%	17.2%	15.3%	16.5%
Per Cent Over 65	8.1	11.7	35.9	33.6	2.7	3.2	2.7	1.9

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Detailed Characteristics. New York. Final Report PC(1)-34D.

The age distribution of the Negro community in Syracuse makes it substantially like the Negro communities in other upstate central cities, with the exception of Buffalo, where the median age is about three years higher than it is in Syracuse. There is also a substantial difference between the upstate cities as a group and New York City, where the male median age is 27.3 and for women 29.7.

The higher median ages in Buffalo and New York City are probably a result of those cities having had their greatest Negro population growth earlier than the other cities. The median ages for Syracuse Negroes is undoubtedly reflective of the recent rapid growth of the Negro community in Syracuse and, as will be shown, the tendency to larger family size among Negroes.

TABLE 7

Median Age and Age Distribution for Negroes
in New York State Central Cities: 1960

	New York City		Alb., Schen. and Troy		Buffalo		Rochester		SYRACUSE	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Median Age	27.3	29.7	21.4	23.7	25.3	24.9	21.5	22.3	22.8	21.5
Per Cent Under 5	13.6%	11.5%	16.3%	14.5%	16.1%	14.9%	19.5%	19.4%	19.4%	17.2%
Per Cent Over 65	4.4	5.1	3.6	3.0	3.9	3.5	2.5	2.9	2.7	3.2

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Detailed Characteristics. New York. Final Report DC(1)-34D.

Family characteristics also differ between the white and Negro communities. The 1960 census carries neither non-white nor Negro figures on average family size for all Negroes or non-white in Syracuse,* but it does have such figures for those non-white families living in substandard housing** and figures for the entire non-white population are available for Rochester. Lacking specific data for Syracuse, the combination of these two sets of data provides a good picture of family size in Syracuse. Average non-white family size for Rochester is 4.24, for Syracuse non-whites in substandard housing it is 4.12, while for all families in Rochester, white and non-white, it is 3.57 and in Syracuse 3.66. The proportion of all families having seven or more members is 4.7 per cent in Rochester and 6.0 per cent in Syracuse. The non-white percentage in Rochester is 15.6 and in Syracuse 15.9.

Most noteworthy, perhaps, in this family size data is the large proportion of Negro families, two to three times more than the proportion of white families, which have seven or more members. The greater average size of the non-white family is almost entirely accounted for by this difference in the "seven or more" category, while the other size categories of

* Such data is given only for cities over 250,000 population.

**A detailed analysis of housing is given on pages 20-25.

3, 4, 5 and 6 are not substantially different. It is at the two ends of the scale, therefore, that the differences between non-whites and white communities is shown.

TABLE 8

Per Cent of all Families and Non-White Families by Family Size in Syracuse and Rochester: 1960

No. of Family Members	All Families		Non-White Families	
	Rochester	SYRACUSE	Rochester	SYRACUSE (in substandard housing)
2	33.1%	31.6%	24.8%	29.7%
3	21.4	21.5	21.6	19.3
4	20.7	20.0	17.5	14.4
5	13.4	13.8	11.5	12.1
6	6.6	7.1	8.9	8.7
7 or more	4.7	6.0	15.6	15.9

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Detailed Characteristics. New York. Final Report PC(4)-34D and Metropolitan Housing, Syracuse, N. Y. H. C(2)-176 and U. S. Census of Housing: 1960. Special Reports for Local Housing Authorities, HC(S1) 101: Syracuse.

Family instability is significantly greater among non-white than white families. Of those white residents of Syracuse who have been or are married, six per cent have been either separated or divorced, while 17 per cent is the comparable figure for the non-white community.

TABLE 9

Marital Status for Whites and Non-Whites Over 14 Years of Age: Syracuse, 1960

	White	Non-White
Total	154,084	7,621
Single	41,344	2,019
Married once or oftener	112,740	5,602
Per Cent Married once or oftener	73%	78%
Separated	3,675	775
Divorced	2,973	179
Per Cent of Those Married, separated	3.3%	12.0%
Per Cent of Those Married, divorced	2.7%	5.0%
Widowed	15,254	516
Per Cent Widowed	13%	9%

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960. Census Tracts. Final Report Syracuse: PHC(1)-154.

These age and family characteristics mark some important distinctions between the Negro and white community. The Negro community is younger, has larger families and more family instability than the white community. In fact, the age and family size characteristics of the Negro community are more typical of the suburban white community than of the central city white community. Median household size for non-white persons in the city of Syracuse is 3.81, while the household size for the white population in that part of Onondaga County outside of Syracuse is 3.63—a difference of only .2 persons, while differences within the city of Syracuse between all households and non-white households is .8 persons, or a household size 26 per cent larger than the average for the city as a whole. The age distribution of the Negro is also closer to the whites in the suburbs than to the whites in the city.

TABLE 10

Median Age, Age Distribution, and Household Size in Syracuse and its Suburbs: 1960

	City of Syracuse				Remainder of Onondaga County	
	White		Non-White		White	F
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Median Age	31.2	34.4	22.6	22.1	27.6	28.3
Per Cent Under 5	10.6%	9.2%	18.8%	17.5%	13.8%	13.1%
Per Cent Under 10	19.4	17.0	31.5	29.8	26.4	25.1
Per Cent Over 65	11.3	13.8	3.3	3.1	6.3	7.3
Average Household Size	3.01		3.81		3.63	

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Detailed Characteristics. New York. Final Report PC(1)-34D.

It could be argued that if the young Negro families living in the city of Syracuse were white and had sufficient income many of them might, on the basis of their age and family characteristics, live in the suburbs as many of their white counterparts already do.

Differences other than in population characteristics between white and Negro, however, are probably more crucial than these; particularly differences in education, occupation and income.

III. EDUCATION, OCCUPATION AND INCOME

A. Income

These three aspects of a man's life are closely related to his social status, housing, and general life style. Significant differences in these

social and economic characteristics may contribute substantially to inter-group tension.

Of these three factors, income is in many ways the product of the other two and it, in turn, is a crucial determinant of the kind of housing and other consumer goods a person can enjoy. Differences in income, therefore, between white and Negroes, are central to an understanding of many other social differences.

For the whole United States the median income of all white income earners for 1960 was \$3,027 per year. For Negroes it was \$1,519—about half of the white figure, and a slight improvement over the 42 per cent relationship of Negro to white median income in 1950.

For New York State in 1960 the median income of all white income earners was \$3,543. The Negro figure was \$2,613, or 74 per cent of the white income. For Syracuse the comparable figures were \$3,308 and \$2,566 with Negro income being 78 per cent of white income. The Negro in New York State and Syracuse apparently has an average income more nearly approximating his white counterpart than does the average Negro in the U. S. but the gap remains substantial even in this northern community. Syracuse does have the highest Negro to white median income ratio of all New York State central cities.

TABLE 11

Median Income of Persons, White and Negro, in Selected Central Cities in New York State and New York State Average: 1959

	White Income	Negro Income	Negro Income as Per Cent of White Income
Albany, Schenectady, and Troy	\$3,232	\$2,391	74.0%
Buffalo	3,714	2,395	64.5
New York	3,755	2,655	70.7
Rochester	3,657	2,364	64.6
SYRACUSE	3,308	2,566	77.6
Utica-Rome	3,230	2,187	67.7

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Detailed Characteristics. New York. Final Report PC(1)-34D.

Just as there is a difference in median income between Negroes and whites, there is a considerable difference in the income distribution between these two groups. Within Syracuse the chief difference lies in the much larger proportion of whites than Negroes in the higher income brackets; 19.4 per cent of whites had incomes over \$6,000 per year while for Negroes the comparable figure was 2.7 per cent. The slightly higher proportion of whites than Negroes in the lowest income category (1-999 dollars) is probably attributable to the much higher proportion of elderly among whites.

TABLE 12

Distribution of White and Negro Annual Income of Persons
City of Syracuse: 1959

Income	Per Cent White	Income Earners Negro
1 - 999	23.1%	21.6%
1,000-1,999	12.6	18.0
2,000-2,999	10.7	18.3
3,000-3,999	11.5	19.3
4,000-4,999	12.2	13.7
5,000-5,999	10.5	6.3
6,000-6,999	6.9	1.0
7,000-7,999	7.9	1.6
over 10,000	4.6	.05

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Detailed Characteristics. New York Final Report. PC(1)-34D.

Another disproportion may be noted when comparing the Syracuse Negro community to the Negro communities in other large upstate cities. Syracuse Negroes do not have nearly as much representation in the higher income brackets as do their upstate counterparts. Thus, while only 2.7 per cent of Negro income earners in Syracuse made over \$6,000 per year in 1960, the comparable percentage in Albany-Schenectady-Troy was 3.5, in Buffalo 5.2, in New York City 4.5, and in Rochester 3.7.

TABLE 13

Negro Family Income Distribution in Selected Central
Cities of New York State: 1959

Income	SYRACUSE	Albany Schenectady, Troy	Buffalo	N. Y. C.	Rochester
1 - 999	21.6%	24.1%	23.8%	18.6%	25.9%
1,000-1,999	18.0	17.6	20.3	17.0	17.3
2,000-2,999	18.3	21.2	15.1	22.0	18.8
3,000-3,999	19.3	19.4	12.8	20.0	16.6
4,000-4,999	13.7	9.4	14.4	11.8	11.4
5,000-5,999	6.3	4.9	8.4	6.3	6.4
6,000-6,999	1.0	1.8	3.3	2.2	2.1
7,000-7,999	1.6	1.1	1.6	1.7	1.2
over 10,000	.05	.6	.3	.4	.4

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Detailed Characteristics. New York. Final Report. PC(1)-34D.

B. Occupation and Employment

As would be expected, this income distribution for the Syracuse Negro is consistent with the occupational distribution. For example, 14 per cent of the white male community in the Syracuse metropolitan area is in the professional, technical, and kindred workers category, while only 2 per cent of the male Negroes is in this category. In contrast, nearly 20 per cent of employed male Negroes is in the service worker category compared with only 6 per cent of the male whites.

Turning to the female white and Negro work force, the contrast is equally striking. Sixteen per cent of the white female work force is in the professional category while only 2 per cent of Negro women is in this category. Private household employment provides work for 17 per cent of the female Negro women labor force but for only 5 per cent of the white group.

TABLE 14
Occupations of Whites and Negroes
in the Syracuse Metropolitan Area: 1960

	Per cent of white male labor force	Per cent of Negro male labor force	Per cent of white female labor force	Per cent of Negro female labor force
Professional, Technical and kindred workers	14.2%*	2.2%	16.2%	1.8%
Farmers and Farm Managers	3.0	--	0.2	--
Managers, Officials and Proprietors	10.8	0.8	3.2	1.6
Clerical and kindred workers	7.8	4.9	35.2	7.4
Sales Workers	8.2	1.0	8.3	1.6
Craftsmen, Foremen and kindred workers	22.2	15.0	1.5	1.0
Operatives and kindred workers	20.8	33.0	15.9	28.2
Private household workers	1.5	1.2	5.0	16.9
Service workers, excluding private household	6.0	19.7	13.5	38.8
Farm laborers	1.5	0.4	0.4	--
Laborers, excl. farm and mine	5.3	21.6	0.5	2.5

* Percentages are based on the occupations of those reporting.

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Detailed Characteristics. New York. Final Report. PC(1)-34D.

This pattern of Negro employment in the Syracuse metropolitan area is quite different in some categories from the Negro communities in other upstate metropolitan areas. Perhaps the most significant are the differences in the professional occupations. Buffalo has 30 per cent more of its Negro males in the professional category than does Syracuse, while Albany has over twice as many and Rochester nearly 50 per cent more. The contrast for the female labor force in the professional category in these communities is even more marked—being four times greater in Buffalo and Rochester and about twice as great in the Albany-Schenectady-Troy metropolitan area.

TABLE 15

Occupation of Negroes in Selected Upstate Metropolitan Areas: 1960

	Male			Female				
	SYRACUSE	Albany-Schenectady-Troy	Buffalo	Rochester	SYRACUSE	Albany-Schenectady-Troy	Buffalo	Rochester
Professional, Technical and kindred workers	2.2%*	4.7%	2.9%	3.3%	1.8%	3.7%	7.2%	7.4%
Farmers and farm managers	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.1	--
Managers, Officials and Proprietors	0.8	1.3	1.2	0.8	1.6	0.7	1.2	0.2
Clerical and kindred workers	4.9	7.7	3.7	5.2	7.4	15.8	8.8	7.7
Sales workers	1.0	1.5	1.8	0.8	1.6	2.2	2.8	1.3
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	15.0	12.0	13.2	17.2	1.0	1.6	0.9	1.4
Operatives and kindred workers	33.0	27.5	36.9	25.8	28.2	18.1	18.3	20.6
Private household workers	1.2	0.6	0.1	0.3	16.9	27.3	19.8	20.9
Service workers, excl. private household	19.7	21.3	10.4	19.8	38.8	28.8	39.1	40.1
Farm laborers	0.4	0.6	0.5	1.7	--	--	0.1	--
Laborers, excl. farm and mine	21.6	22.7	29.4	25.3	2.5	1.5	1.6	0.6

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census. U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Detailed Characteristics. New York. Final Report PC(1)-34D. * Percentages are based on the occupations of those reporting.

The general employment categories hide some of the important details of specific occupations. Of considerable interest are those occupations in which there is no, or very little, Negro representation in Syracuse.* In 1960 there were, for example, no male and only four female elementary and secondary school teachers in the city of Syracuse, with exactly the same representation in welfare and recreation workers. In contrast, Buffalo had 33 male teachers and 29 social welfare and recreation workers, in addition to 147 female teachers and 60 welfare and recreation workers.

Other categories in which there was (according to the Census) no Negro employment for men in Syracuse in 1960 include: accountants and auditors; authors, editors and reporters; medical and dental technicians; insurance agents, brokers, and underwriters; real estate agents and brokers; electricians; plumbers and pipe fitters; elevator operators, firemen and policemen. A similar list for women would include: dietitians, librarians, professional nurses, medical and dental technicians, office machine operators and stenographers.

TABLE 16

Number of Male Negroes in Selected Occupations
for Selected Metropolitan Areas: 1960*

Occupation	SYRACUSE	Buffalo	Rochester	Albany, Schenectady, and Troy
Accountants & auditors	0	5	3	12
Authors, editors and reporters	0	7	0	0
Chemists	0	8	8	8
Social Welfare, recreation workers	0	29	22	7
Teachers	0	33	4	4
Technicians (medical and dental)	0	12	22	6
Mail Carriers	5	25	14	0
Insurance agents, brokers and underwriters	0	12	3	0
Real Estate agents and brokers	0	20	0	0
Carpenters	4	28	30	16
Electricians	0	20	10	0
Plumbers, pipefitters	0	13	3	0
Elevator operators	0	24	17	9
Firemen, fire protection	0	10	0	0
Policemen, sheriffs	0	31	19	3
Total Employed in all Occupations	2, 623	16, 062	4, 790	3, 309

* See footnote: page 14-15.

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population, 1960. Detailed Characteristics, New York. Final Report PC(1)-34D.

* These figures are not necessarily completely accurate since they are based on a 25 per cent sample, the size sample used by the U. S. Bureau of the Census for many of its detailed figures, but they are indicative of

TABLE 17

Number of Female Negroes in Selected Occupations
for Selected New York State Metropolitan Areas: 1960*

Occupation	SYRACUSE	Buffalo	Rochester	Albany, Schenectady, and Troy
Accountants, auditors	0	12	4	0
Authors, editors and reporters	0	0	0	0
Dietitians & nutritionists	0	26	6	21
Librarians	0	4	5	0
Nurses, professional	0	158	57	22
Social Welfare and recreational workers	4	60	31	11
Teachers (elementary and secondary)	4	147	25	8
Technicians (medical and dental)	0	36	25	18
Office machine operators	0	13	4	58
Stenographers	0	41	15	23
Salesmen and sales clerks (retail)	20	175	34	45
Total employed in all categories	1, 498	8, 057	3, 238	2, 537

* See Footnote: pages 14-15.

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population, 1960. Detailed Characteristics, New York. Final Report. PC(1)-34D.

The occupational distribution of the Syracuse Negro community is not only substantially different from that of other upstate Negro communities but differs a good deal from what it was 20 years ago in Syracuse. The proportion of males in professional categories has declined by half since 1940. On the other hand the proportion of Negro women doing private household work has declined from 73 per cent to 16 per cent.

the actual situation and provide a good base for comparison with other cities where the same size sample is used.

The census from which these figures were drawn was taken in April 1960. It is now four years later and significant changes may have occurred during that time. Most noteworthy has been the increase in the number of teachers in the public school system; there are now 47. It has not been possible to check the current situation in every employment category but a spot check indicates that there is greater employment in some of these categories now than was true in 1960. Such changes have probably occurred as well in the cities to which Syracuse is compared. (This committee acknowledges with thanks the information provided by David Sine, Research Director of the Syracuse Public Schools.)

Accompanying this decline in household workers has been an increase in service workers among women from 18 to 32 per cent of the total. At the same time the proportion of Negro men in service employment has declined from 33 to 15 per cent of the total, while the proportion of operatives and kindred workers has increased from 14 to 33 per cent.

In general, this shift in the employment pattern over time reflects the increasing size of the Negro community in Syracuse, the decline in the use of household servants, and the technological changes in Syracuse industry. The fact that nearly half the Negro male labor force is now in the employment categories of craftsmen, foremen, operatives and kindred workers is related to the industrial character of the Syracuse economy. On the other hand the declining proportion of Negro men in white collar callings is inconsistent with the shifts in white employment which has a growing proportion of its workers in these categories.

For women, the most noteworthy shift has been in the category of private household workers where the decline has been substantial, reflecting a shift in both the supply of and demand for workers of this type. Simultaneously, World War II opened up employment opportunities for women in factories. The proportions of Negro women employed as operatives and kindred workers increased from 3 per cent of total Negro female employment in 1940 to 31 per cent in 1950 and has held nearly steady at this figure since. Again the increase in proportion of white collar workers has been slow.

TABLE 18

Occupations of Male Negroes in the Syracuse Metropolitan Area: 1940-60

	1940	1950	1960
Professional, technical and kindred workers	5%	2%	2%
Farmers and farm managers	0	0	0
Managers, officials and proprietors	6	2	1
Clerical and kindred workers	4*	4*	5
Sales workers			1
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	7	15	15
Operatives and kindred workers	14	30	33
Private household workers	3	1	1
Service workers, excluding private household	33	18	20
Farm laborers	-	1	.4
Laborers, excluding farm and mine	26	26	22

* Clerical and kindred workers are combined with sales workers in 1940 and 1950.

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population, 1960. Detailed Characteristics, New York. Final Report PC(1)-34D, and the same census publications for 1940 and 1950.

TABLE 19

Occupations of Female Negroes in the Syracuse Metropolitan Area: 1940-60

	1940	1950	1960
Professional, technical and kindred workers	3%	2%	2%
Farmers and farm managers	-	-	-
Managers, officials and proprietors	1	1	2
Clerical and kindred workers	2*	6*	7
Sales workers			2
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	0	1	1
Operatives and kindred workers	3	31	29
Private household workers	72	25	14
Service workers, excluding private household	18	31	32
Farm laborers	-	-	-
Laborers, excluding farm and mine	1	1	3

* Clerical and kindred workers and sales workers are combined in 1940 and 1950.

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Detailed Characteristics. New York. Final Report PC(1)-34D; and the same publications for 1940 and 1950.

To complete the employment picture requires a look at unemployment. Nationally, unemployment among Negroes tends to be about twice that of unemployment in the total labor force. In 1962 the national figures were 4.9 per cent for white and 11.0 per cent for Negroes.* New York State's record tends to be somewhat better than the national one, due primarily to the better record of New York City. In 1960 for New York State the unemployment percentage for the total male labor force was 4.9 per cent while the non-white was 7.7 per cent. The similar figures for women were 5.6 and 7.1 per cent. For New York City the figures for men were 4.4 and 6.8 and for women, 5.1 and 6.5 per cent.

Syracuse's pattern is closer to the national pattern than to New York State's or New York City's. For both men and women the 1960 non-white unemployment rate is more than twice as great as the unemployment rate of the total Syracuse labor force. This is a slightly better record than Rochester's or Buffalo's and not quite as good as the state's capital city area.

Of increasing significance in the unemployment pattern are the much higher rates among the younger age groups. The pattern is even more pronounced for non-whites than for the total labor force. For example, for the state as a whole, unemployment in the 14-19 age group is 48 per cent greater than it is for the whole (white and non-white) male labor force, while the non-white male rate for the same age group is 120 per cent greater than for the entire male non-white group.

* U.S. Dept. of Labor, Employment and Earnings, Annual Supplement Issue, September 1963 - Table SA-33, p. 113.

TABLE 20

Per Cent Unemployed of White and Non-White Males in Labor Force for Selected Age Groups: New York State and Selected Cities: 1960

	14 yrs. and older		14 to 19 years		20 to 24 years		25 to 29 years	
	Total	Non-White	Total	Non-White	Total	Non-White	Total	Non-White
New York State	4.9%	7.7%	11.6%	20.1%	8.0%	11.2%	4.9%	7.8%
Albany, Schenectady, and Troy	5.9	9.8	13.5	N. A.	9.7	N. A.	6.2	N. A.
Buffalo	6.3	15.7	15.5	34.9	11.0	27.2	6.3	16.6
New York City	4.4	6.8	11.2	19.0	7.0	9.7	4.4	6.8
Rochester	3.9	14.2	8.7	17.1	6.2	16.0	4.2	12.9
SYRACUSE	5.3	11.1	12.5	N. A.	8.9	N. A.	5.2	N. A.

N. A. Not available

Sources: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Detailed Characteristics, New York. Final Report DC(1)-34D. U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960. Census Tracts, Syracuse, PHC(1)-154; Albany-Schenectady-Troy, PHC(1)-3; Buffalo, PHC(1)-20; New York, PHC(1)-104; Rochester, PHC(1)-127.

TABLE 21

Per Cent Unemployed of White and Non-White Females in Labor Force for Selected Age Groups: New York State and Selected Cities: 1960

	14 yrs. and older		14 to 19 years		20 to 24 years		25 to 29 years	
	Total	Non-White	Total	Non-White	Total	Non-White	Total	Non-White
New York State	5.6%	7.1%	8.3%	15.5%	6.2%	10.0%	5.7%	7.4%
Albany, Schenectady, and Troy	4.9	5.1	8.9	N. A.	5.7	N. A.	6.2	N. A.
Buffalo	7.4	14.6	12.6	29.5	8.4	19.5	7.9	15.3
New York City	5.1	6.5	7.1	14.7	5.3	9.2	5.0	6.8
Rochester	5.7	14.1	7.6	31.6	6.6	15.5	7.3	14.7
SYRACUSE	4.8	9.9	8.1	N. A.	5.4	N. A.	4.9	N. A.

N. A. Not available

Sources: U. S. Bureau of the Census. U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Detailed Characteristics. New York. Final Report. PC(1)-34D. _____, U. S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960. Census Tracts. Syracuse, PHC(1)-154; Albany-Schenectady-Troy, PHC(1)-3; Buffalo, PHC(1)-20; New York, PHC(1)-104; and Rochester, PHC(1)-127.

In summary, it is clear that although the unemployment pattern for non-whites in Syracuse is consistent with other upstate cities, other employment characteristics are not. The occupational pattern of Negroes in Syracuse contrasts unfavorably, not only with the white community but with other Negro communities in upstate New York as well. Most noteworthy is the infinitesimally small number in 1960 in the general professional category and even more significant, the many specific occupations in which there was no, or very little, Negro representation. The many other types of jobs in which Negro employment lags behind other upstate cities is equally remarkable. One must either assume that the employability of the Syracuse Negroes in these jobs is less than in other cities or that discrimination against the Negro is more widely practiced in this city than elsewhere in upstate New York.

Related to both the income and occupational pattern is educational level. It might be expected that the income and occupational differences between Negroes in Syracuse and other upstate cities would correspond with educational differences. Such is not the case.

C. Education

The Syracuse non-white community compares favorably with most other upstate cities in both median number of school years completed and in the proportion which have completed four or more years of college. In the state as a whole, the median school years completed for the whole population over 25 years of age was 10.8 in 1960. The similar figure for non-whites was 9.4. For the city of Syracuse the contrasting figures were 11.1 for the total population, while for the non-whites it was 8.7, a figure below that of the average for the whole state, but not substantially below other New York central cities except New York City and Schenectady.

TABLE 22

Median School Years completed for White and Non-White Population Over 25 Years of Age in Selected New York Cities: 1960

	White and non-white	Non-white
Albany	10.9 years	8.8 years
Buffalo	9.6	8.7
New York City	10.1	9.5
Rochester	10.1	8.8
Schenectady	10.8	9.7
SYRACUSE	11.1	8.7
Troy	10.1	8.9
Utica	9.6	8.0

Sources: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Detailed Characteristics, New York. Final Report PC(1)-34D. _____, U. S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960. Census Tracts, Syracuse PHC(1)-154, Albany-Schenectady-Troy PHC(1)-3, Buffalo PHC(1)-20, New York PHC(1)-104, Rochester PHC(1)-127, Utica-Rome PHC(1)-164.

The proportion of non-whites completing four or more years of college shows Syracuse with a higher percentage than most cities in the state. Its 4.6 per cent puts it ahead of all central cities of the state's metropolitan areas, except for Troy and Rome.

TABLE 23
Per Cent of Non-Whites Over 25 Years of Age
Completing More Than Four Years of College: 1960

Albany	2.6%	Rochester	3.4%	SYRACUSE	4.6%
Buffalo	2.2	Rome	4.9	Troy	10.2
New York City	4.1	Schenectady	3.3	Utica	2.1

Sources: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Detailed Characteristics. New York. Final Report PC(1)-34D. _____, U. S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960. Census Tracts. Syracuse, PHC(1)-154; Albany-Schenectady-Troy, PHC(1)-3; Buffalo, PHC(1)-20; New York, PHC(1)-104; Rochester, PHC(1)-127; Utica-Rome, PHC(1)-164.

These educational statistics offer no explanation for the under-representation of Syracuse Negroes in the professional employment categories nor their comparatively small representation in income categories over \$6,000 per year—a proportion which falls considerably behind that of other upstate Negro communities. The rapid growth of the Negro community in Syracuse in recent years may provide some explanation but that growth has not been as great as Rochester's; yet, the proportion in professional occupations and the representation in the upper income categories in Rochester is considerably higher than in Syracuse.

The smaller size of the Syracuse community may play some role since it is possible that the community is not sufficiently large to have professionals who serve only the Negro community. Of the upstate cities probably only Buffalo has a large enough Negro community to produce this kind of situation. Again, however, this small size offers no explanation for the small representation in those professional and other occupations not limited to serving Negroes.

Unless some significant variable not covered in this analysis has great explanatory power, one conclusion suggested by the data analyzed here is that the Negro in Syracuse is not only deprived of employment opportunities, and thereby income opportunities relative to the white community, but, equally significant, he is more denied in Syracuse than in other upstate cities.

This leads to a major point. How are the basic demographic, social, economic and educational variables, briefly described here, related to the Negro housing situation in Syracuse?

IV. HOUSING

Just as significant differences are found in the socio-economic characteristics between the white and Negro in Syracuse and between the Negro community in Syracuse and Negro communities in other cities, so there are

substantial differences in the housing patterns as well. These differences are reflected in a variety of measures. There are, for example, substantial differences in owner-occupancy ratios for both whites and non-whites among cities in the state with over 2,000 non-white housing units. New York City, as might be expected, has the lowest ratios for both whites (23.1% owner-occupied) and non-whites (13.2% owner-occupied). For upstate cities Syracuse has the second highest percentage of owner-occupied housing for whites (50.5 per cent compared to Rochester's 53.1 per cent) but the lowest percentage (15.6) for non-whites. Syracuse, as a result, has the lowest percentage relationship of non-white to white ownership.

TABLE 24

Per Cent Owner-Occupied Housing in New York State Cities
with Over 2,000 Non-White Housing Units: 1960

	Per Cent of Owner-Occupied, Whites	Per Cent of Owner-Occupied, Non-Whites	Non-White Ownership as Per Cent of White Ownership
Albany	40.8%	17.6%	43.1 ^a
Buffalo	46.8	25.4	54.3
Mount Vernon	35.4	27.8	78.5
New Rochelle	47.8	25.8	54.0
New York City	23.1	13.2	57.1
Rochester	53.1	24.1	45.3
SYRACUSE	50.5	15.6	30.8
Yonkers	38.7	18.7	48.3

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Housing: 1960. Vol. 2. States and Small Areas. New York. Final Report HC(1)-34.

Another important difference is in the cost of housing. The Census Bureau, recognizing the difficulty of computing median values based on a small sample, does not make such a computation for non-white owner-occupied housing in Syracuse. By using their data, however, a home ownership value of \$12,200 can be derived. Another way to get an approximation of the median is to examine housing values in those parts of the city which have a high concentration of non-white residents. In census tracts that contained 100 or more non-white household units there were 197 owner-occupied non-white housing units. The median value for all the homes in these census tracts was \$12,700. For the city as a whole the median value of all owner-occupied dwellings was \$14,400.

Although the value of single unit owner-occupied non-white dwellings is lower than that of the whites, it constitutes a considerably higher proportion of their income. The median income of non-white families in the city as reported in 1960, was \$4,358. For the city as a whole, median family income for all families, white and non-white, was \$6,247. No data are available on the exact incomes of non-white homeowners, but it may be estimated that it averages \$4,674, based on the general city-wide relationship between median family income and the income of homeowners. There-

fore, the relationship between the value of homes for non-white homeowners and a family income is 2.7. Median family income in owner-occupied housing, white and non-white, for the city as a whole, is \$6,700. Here the ratio of housing value to family income is 2.2. Thus, for non-whites, the value of owner-occupied housing is substantially greater in relation to income (23 per cent more) than for the city as a whole.

The \$12,200 to \$12,700 value for non-white dwellings in Syracuse makes this the highest figure for any city in New York State outside the New York City metropolitan area. A comparable phenomenon of even greater interest exists with renter-occupied non-white housing. The median gross rent in Syracuse and Rochester, at \$78 per month, is the highest of all the cities in the state with over 2,000 non-white housing units, including those of the New York City metropolitan area. Further, these rentals when compared to income, without distinguishing between the incomes of renters and homeowners, show that non-whites in Syracuse and Rochester must use a larger proportion of their incomes for rent (21.5 and 21.8 per cent) than non-whites in other New York cities.

TABLE 25

Median Value and Median Rent and Median Family Income of Non-White Families in N. Y. Cities with over 2,000 Non-White Dwelling Units: 1960

City	Median Family Income	Median Value Owner-Occupied	Median Gross Rent	Rent as Per Cent of Income*
Albany	\$3,765	\$ 5,400	\$58	18.5%
Buffalo	4,149	9,700	74	21.4
Mount Vernon	4,950	17,200	75	18.2
New Rochelle	4,893	20,600	72	17.6
New York City	4,437	15,600	66	17.8
Rochester	4,300	9,000	78	21.8
SYRACUSE	4,358	12,200** - 12,500**	78	21.5
Yonkers	4,977	15,400	69	16.6

* These computations do not distinguish between the income of owners and renters.

** Computed on basis of Census criteria. Median value in census tracts with over 100 non-white household units.

Sources: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960. Census Tracts, Syracuse, PHC(1)-154; Albany-Schenectady-Troy, PHC(1)-3; Buffalo, PHC(1)-20; New York, PHC(1)-104; Rochester, PHC(1)-127.

Of further interest is the difference in proportion of income used for rent by white and non-white renters within the city of Syracuse. For the city as a whole, the median gross rental per unit, which includes fuel and utility costs paid by the tenant, is \$80 per month. As already shown for the 2,580 non-white rental units in the city, the median gross rent in 1960 was \$78 per month.

The family income of renters is lower than median family income for renters and homeowners combined. In 1960 rental families, white and non-white, had incomes averaging 73.6 per cent as much as all families; the median family income of renters was \$4,600. If the ratio of renters' income to the income of both renters and homeowners is the same for non-whites as for the total population, non-white family income in rental units may thus be estimated at \$3,207.

The ratio of annual gross rental cost to family income for whites and non-whites together is 20.9 per cent. For non-whites, based on the foregoing income estimate, it is 29.3 per cent.* If this estimate is reasonably accurate, non-whites pay almost 50 per cent more in relation to their income for rental units than the average of renters in the city (white and non-white combined).**

In the three Census tracts that have the largest concentration of non-white renters (32, 33, 42) there are 1,719 non-white rental occupied units, or 66.6 per cent of all non-white rental units in the city. For this group the average gross rent per month is \$76 and the average income of tenants, using the same ratios as above, may be estimated at \$3,150. The ratio of annual gross rental to family income for this group of non-whites is therefore 28.9 per cent, slightly less than for non-white renters in the city as a whole.

Comparisons of rental cost per room for white and for non-white show that for the city as a whole the average rental contains 4.1 rooms. For non-whites the average rental contains 4.4 rooms. This means that the average gross rent per room for the city is \$19.51 and for non-whites is \$17.73. Annual rent per room in relation to income is 5.1 per cent for the city as a whole and 6.6 per cent for non-whites.

Data do not permit direct computations for the per person rental cost for white and non-white units. However, data are available on the number of persons per room for rental and non-rental together, in terms of the number of units with more than 1.01 persons per room. For all occupied housing units in the city 5.8 per cent had more than 1.01 persons per room. For non-white units 23.7 per cent had more than 1.01 persons per room.

The number of persons per housing unit, both rental and owner-occupied, differs for non-whites in comparison with the city as a whole. For non-whites this ratio is 3.3 persons per dwelling unit, and for whites and non-whites together it is 2.6 persons per dwelling unit. If this ratio is applied solely to rental units (which implicitly assumes that per person occupancy for rental units and owner-occupied units is the same) the average per person annual gross rent for the city is \$369 and for non-whites is \$284. In relation to estimated family income this is 8.0 per cent for whites and non-whites together and 8.9 per cent for non-whites.

* In this year's Housing Message to Congress President Johnson recommended "that low- and moderate-income families displaced by urban renewal receive two-year supplemental relocation payments equal to the difference between rentals on standard housing in their communities and 20 per cent of their gross incomes."

** If the appropriate ratio of non-white renters' family income to the average of non-white family income is 80%, not 73.6%, the estimate of non-white rental payment in relation to income would be reduced to 26.8% and non-white renters would be paying 28% more in relation to their income than white renters.

For the City of Syracuse the relation of housing to race may be summarized as follows: for white families in Syracuse home ownership is 50 per cent; for non-white families it is 15 per cent. The cost of owner-occupied dwellings for non-whites is about \$1,700 less than for all homeowners, but cost in relation to family income is about 23 per cent greater for non-whites than for the city as a whole. Non-white rentals are \$2 per month lower than the average for the city, but may be as much as 50 per cent more in relation to family income for non-whites than for whites and non-whites together. The number of persons per room and the number of persons per dwelling unit are substantially greater for non-whites than the average of the city.

In addition to differences in housing cost between whites and non-whites and among non-white communities in New York State there are differences in the quality of housing occupied by the two groups. In Syracuse 7.0 per cent of the housing occupied by whites is deteriorating or dilapidated* while the per cent of non-white owner-occupied housing which falls in this category is 49.6. The comparable percentages for renter-occupied is 21.2 (for whites) and 55.5 (for non-whites).

TABLE 26

Condition of Housing in Syracuse: 1960

	White Occupied Units	Non-White Occupied Units	All Housing
<u>Owner-Occupied</u>			
Per Cent Sound	93.0%	50.4%	92.4%
Per Cent Deteriorating	6.2	36.2	6.7
Per Cent Dilapidated	.8	13.4	.9
<u>Renter-Occupied</u>			
Per Cent Sound	78.9	44.5	76.4
Per Cent Deteriorating	18.0	37.6	19.4
Per Cent Dilapidated	3.2	17.9	4.3

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Housing: 1960. Vol. 1, States and Small Areas. New York. Final Report HC(1)-34.

Housing conditions for the Syracuse non-white also compare unfavorably with other upstate non-white communities. 13.4 per cent of the non-white owner-occupied units in Syracuse are dilapidated compared to 8.3 per cent

* The U. S. Bureau of the Census defines these terms as follows:

(1) "Dilapidated housing does not provide safe and adequate shelter. It has one or more critical defects, or has a combination of intermediate defects in sufficient number to require extensive repair or rebuilding, or is of inadequate original construction."

(2) "Deteriorating housing needs more repair than would be provided in the course of regular maintenance. It has one or more defects of an intermediate nature that must be corrected if the unit is to continue to provide safe and adequate shelter."

for Albany, the next highest city. And, so far as renter-occupied units are concerned, only Albany ranks higher than Syracuse in proportion dilapidated.

TABLE 27

Sound and Dilapidated Housing as a Per Cent
of all Non-White Housing Units in Selected Cities: 1960

	Owner-Occupied Housing		Renter-Occupied Housing	
	Per Cent Sound	Per Cent Dilapidated	Per Cent Sound	Per Cent Dilapidated
Albany	54.3%	8.3%	33.4%	19.6%
Buffalo	73.4	3.4	55.5	11.4
Rochester	74.6	6.3	49.1	17.5
SYRACUSE	50.4	13.4	44.5	17.9

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Housing: 1960. Vol. I, States and Small Areas. New York. Final Report HC(1)-34.

It is evident that, as with income and occupation, the condition of housing for the Negro in Syracuse compares unfavorably with the white community in Syracuse and with Negro communities in other upstate cities. The cost of his housing is higher, relative to income, and its condition is worse.

Finally, the residential distribution of the Negro community within the City of Syracuse and the impact of relocation resulting from urban renewal on this distribution remains to be examined.

V. THE NEGRO RESIDENTIAL PATTERN

At the heart of last fall's demonstration against the relocation policies of the urban renewal administration of the city were charges of housing segregation. The leaders of civil rights groups maintained that segregation not only exists in Syracuse but that the relocation practices of the city were reinforcing rather than alleviating it. In answer to these charges, it was argued by some that residential segregation is a result of the economic and educational level of the Negro and not of housing discrimination. It was further maintained that residential segregation was breaking down and that Negroes are now able to find homes in many more parts of the city than was true in the past.

The validity of the charges and the answers depends, in part, on the quality of the measures used to determine the extent of segregation. Particularly important is the care with which census data are used. For example, if it is assumed that all non-white persons are Negroes, the distribution looks very different than if just Negro data are used. This difference is unusually marked in Syracuse because this city has, percentage-wise, nearly twice as many non-Negroes in the non-white group as any other large city in New York State.

TABLE 28

Other Races as Per Cent of Non-White Population
in New York State Cities: 1960

	Per Cent		Per Cent
Albany	2.2%	New York	4.9%
Buffalo	3.5	Rochester	2.7
Mt. Vernon	1.3	SYRACUSE	9.6
New Rochelle	3.7	Yonkers	5.1

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. General Population Characteristics, New York. Final Report. PC(1)-34B.

If non-white data are used to show a "spreading out" of the Negro community and if it is assumed that just one or a very few non-white persons in a census tract* is evidence of a breaking down of segregation, the result is quite dramatic. Use of this kind of measure shows that the number of census tracts with no non-whites declined from 13 to 7 during the decade 1950 to 1960. However, the number of tracts without any Negroes was 16 in 1960.

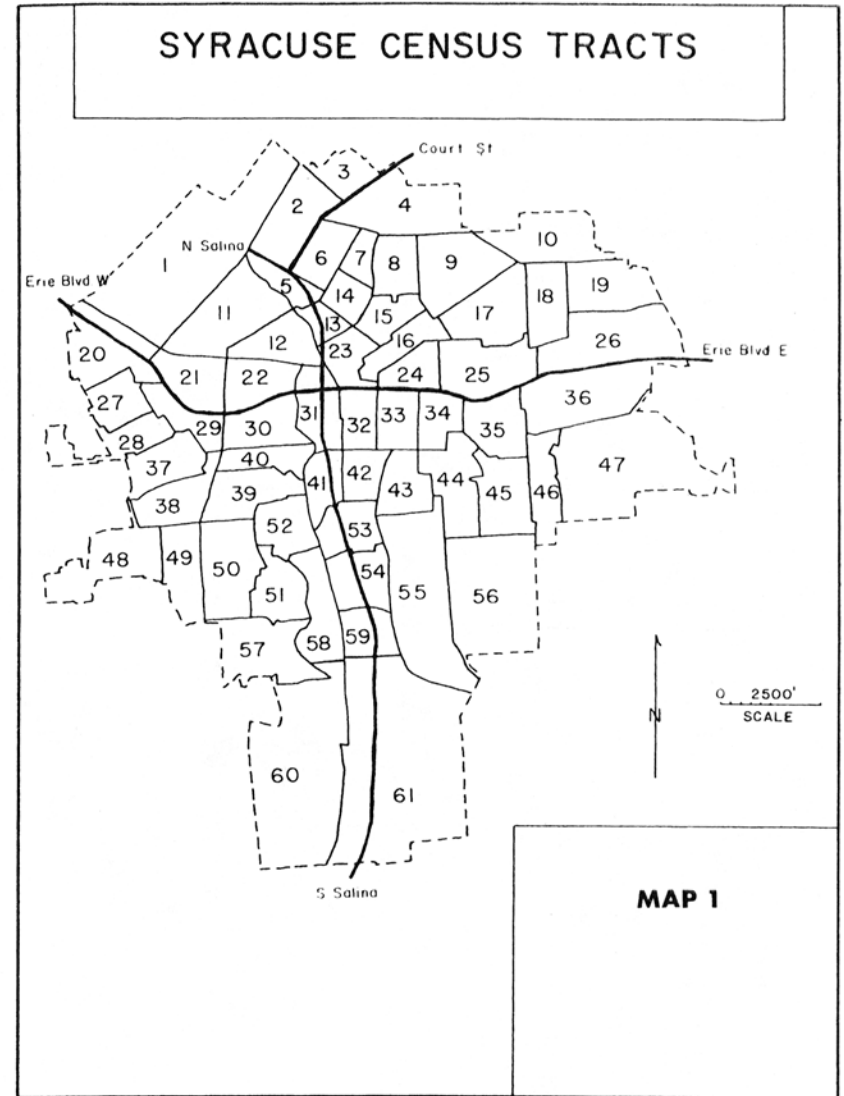
Further, the placing of a census tract into the integrated category when it has only one or a very few Negroes is misleading. These scattered cases of one, two or three Negroes in a census tract usually represent special circumstances having little relationship to the issue of "open occupancy." In a number of instances, for example, the Negroes living in these areas are "live-in" servants—hardly an example of integration. Overall, if Negro households rather than individuals are counted, the number of census tracts with three or fewer such households is 35, over half the tracts in the city, and there are 22 tracts with no Negro households.

Perhaps a more reasonable way to measure the degree of segregation is to determine the extent to which the residential pattern varies from some "standard" distribution. In 1950, Negroes constituted 2.09 per cent of Syracuse's total population. Using this percentage as a "standard" there were five** census tracts over this percentage in 1950 and 56 below it as Map No. 2 shows. Further, the four of these tracts relevant to the issue of segregated housing possessed 94 per cent of the total Negro population

* The U. S. Census Bureau defines census tracts as:

"small areas into which large cities and adjacent areas have been divided for statistical purposes. Tract boundaries were established cooperatively by a local committee and the Bureau of the Census, and were generally designed to be relatively uniform with respect to population characteristics, economic status, and living conditions. The average tract has about 4,000 residents. Tract boundaries are established with the intention of being maintained over a long time so that comparisons may be made from census to census." In the City of Syracuse there are 61 census tracts. The attached Map No. 1 shows their boundaries.

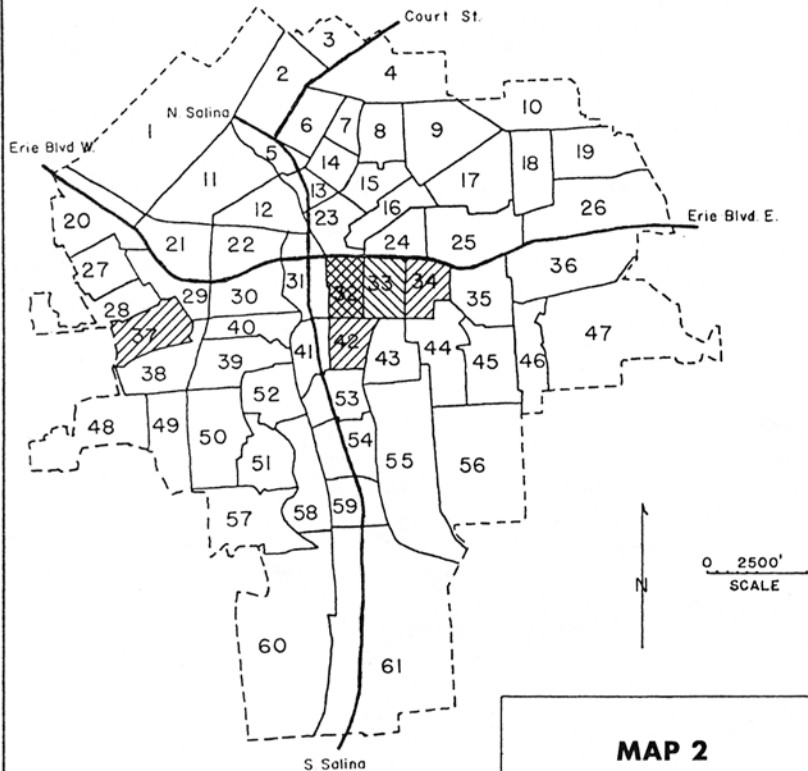
**One of these tracts, No. 37, is a special case since its population consists almost entirely of the residents (440 out of 454) of a state institution. It is excluded from consideration in this report.



of the city. In 1960 Negroes constituted 5.2 per cent of the city's population and there were eight census tracts (not counting tract No. 37) over this percentage and 52 below it, as Map No. 3 shows, and these eight tracts housed 88.2 per cent of the Negro population. The new "over-average" census tracts were, with one exception, contiguous to those over average in 1950. In other words, the number of census tracts with an "over-average" Negro population increased by 100 per cent from 1950 to 1960 while the Negro population increased by 144 per cent.

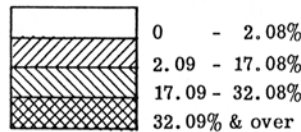
SYRACUSE CENSUS TRACTS

Tracts with Negro population "Above Average*": 1950



*Above average refers to those census tracts in which the percentage of negro population exceeds their percentage for the whole city. The 1950 percentage was 2.09 percent.

MAP 2



The resulting proportion of Negro population in these census tracts by 1960 had produced three tracts with over 50 per cent Negro population: Tract 32, 73.2%; Tract 42, 61.0%; and Tract 33, 57.0%.

TABLE 29

Proportion of Negro Population in Syracuse Census Tracts with "Over-Average" Negro population: 1950 and 1960

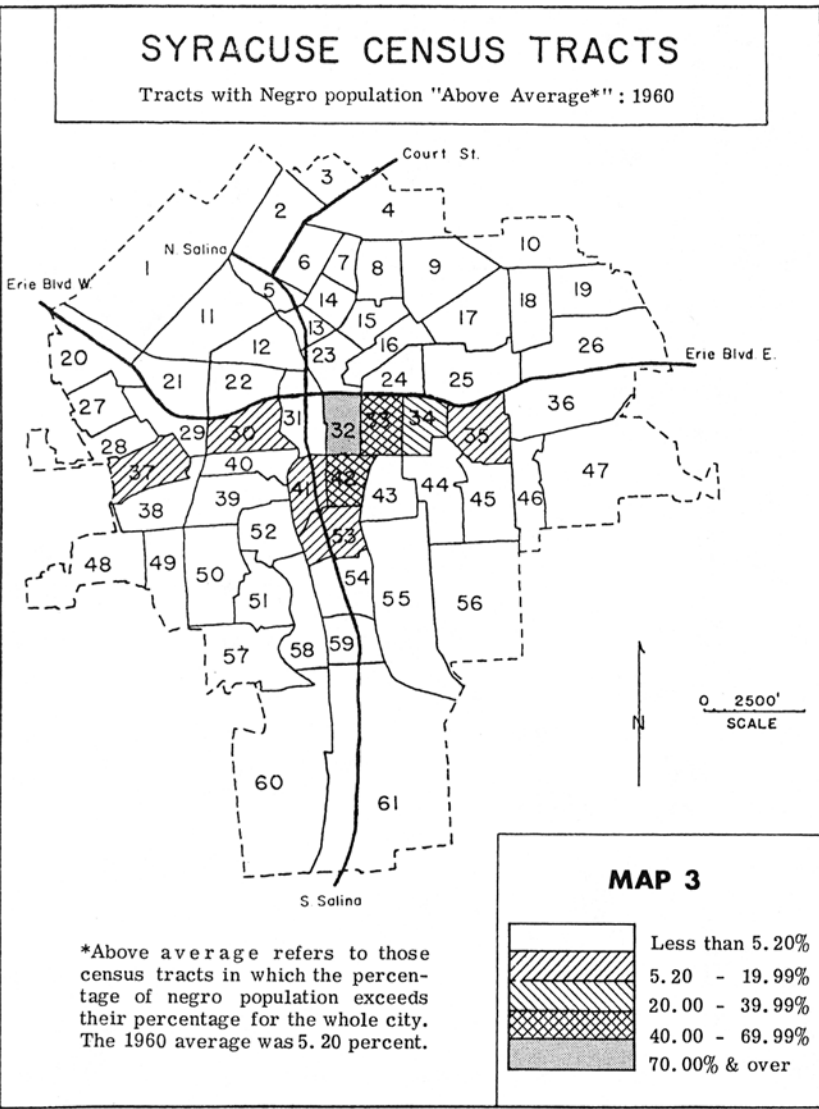
Census Tract	Proportion Negro 1950	Proportion Negro 1960	Percentage Increase 1950-60	Increase in Numbers 1950-60
32	38.9%	73.2%	88.2%	352
33	26.4	57.0	115.9	1,038
34	6.5	24.5	276.9	598
42	11.6	61.0	425.9	2,389
35	0.2	6.0	2,900.0	220
41	0.9	17.4	1,833.3	446
53	0.4	7.5	1,755.0	314
30	0.0	5.5	--	220

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960. Census Tracts, Final Report. SYRACUSE, PHC(1)-154, and the same publication for 1950.

Looked at in these ways, what do the data show? It demonstrates that the Negro population is concentrated in fairly clearly marked areas within the city and that the pattern did not substantially change from 1950 to 1960. In view of the total Negro population increase in the city from 1950 to 1960 the degree of segregation probably has increased. The heavily Negro populated census tracts of 1950 had increased in Negro population by 1960 more than the total Negro population increase for the city as a whole and the spillover into other tracts is largely concentrated in contiguous areas and has produced concentrations of Negroes well in excess of the average Negro population of the entire city.

It has been suggested that the reason for this housing concentration is the difference between white and negro income, this difference forcing the Negroes to live in those areas where rents are sufficiently low relative to their incomes. Negro income is substantially below white income but, as already explained, the Negro uses a higher proportion of income for housing than does the white. The resulting rents paid by Negroes are not substantially below that paid by all renters; on the average 78 rather than 80 dollars per month. This small difference is not likely to close many sections of the city to Negroes which are not also closed to most whites. There are only 20 census tracts in the city in which rents average over \$80 per month, yet there are 52 tracts with less than the average percentage of Negroes in the entire city and 36 tracts with less than 3 Negro families.

Another way of looking at the same data is to measure the increase of Negroes from 1950 to 1960 in the census tracts of already high Negro population. While the Negro population of the city was increasing by 144 per cent, the Negro population in the four census tracts with an over-average Negro population increased as follows: Tract 32, 20.8%; Tract 33, 67.2%; Tract 34, 209.1%; Tract 42, 327.7%. Overall, the census tracts with large Negro population in 1950 had become even more Negro dominated by 1960.



All of this is not said to argue that there would be a completely even distribution of Negroes throughout the city if there were no discrimination barriers, but rather to suggest that the present pattern is not entirely explicable by non-discrimination determinants.

It was this residential pattern which some believe should be altered by the relocation made necessary by the renewal. They maintain that the relocation being carried out was reinforcing the already existent pattern rather than altering it.

VI. RELOCATION AND RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

A. The Pattern of Relocation

To determine the impact which relocation had on the residential pattern in Syracuse, it was necessary to examine in detail all the relocation data kept by the urban renewal administration.*

At the time of the examination, the records revealed that 748 families had been removed due to urban renewal. Of these, 489 families were Negro and the remaining 257 were non-Negro. The non-Negroes were primarily whites but there were a few Orientals and American Indians among them.

Five hundred and seventy-five of the families were relocated in Syracuse (there were no records on the others) and of these, 366 were Negro families and 209 non-Negro. The census tracts from which the families were removed were the adjacent tracts of 32, 33, 41, and 42, the same ones which housed an "over-average" proportion of Negroes in 1950. The relocatees moved into 36 tracts spread all over the city. Whites and Negroes, however, exhibit characteristically different patterns of relocation. The whites were more likely to be relocated at some distance from the redevelopment area than the Negroes were.

By constructing zones of residence from the redevelopment area outward, this difference can be demonstrated. Zone 1 consists of those census tracts of previous residence and the other zones move outward from this central group of tracts with Zone 2 being those tracts contiguous to the ones of previous residence. Over half of the Negroes were relocated in the zone of their original residence, while almost half of the non-Negroes moved at least one zone away from this central area and more whites than Negroes moved to the more outlying zones. Map No. 4 shows the actual new residence of each relocated family.

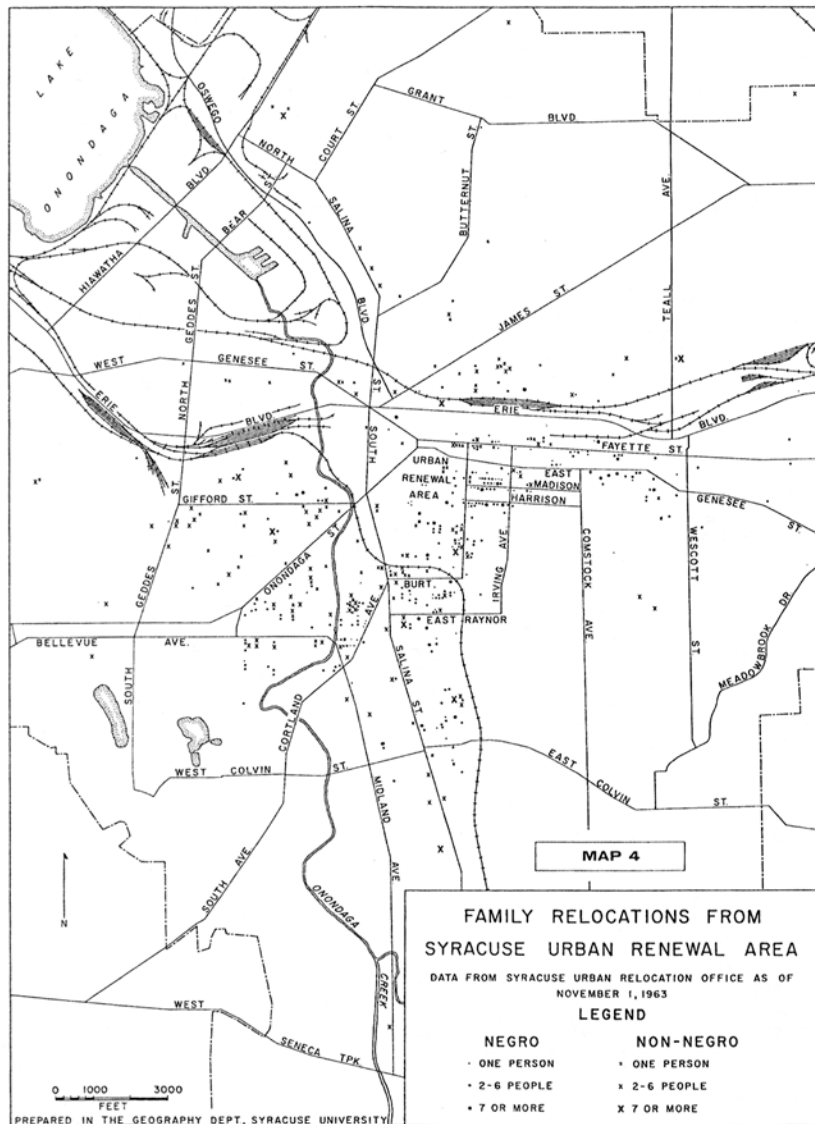
TABLE 30

Per Cent Negro and Non-Negro Families Relocated at Various Distances from the Urban Redevelopment Area

Area	Percentage	
	Non-Negro	Negro
Relocated in same area	31%	56%
Relocated 1 zone removed	43	26
Relocated 2 zones removed	19	16
Relocated 3 zones removed	3	2
Relocated 4 zones removed	4	0

Source: Based on an analysis of records made available by the Urban Improvement Department of the City of Syracuse.

* The Committee which prepared this report acknowledges with thanks the cooperation of the Urban Improvement Department of the City of Syracuse in providing access to the relocation records.



It is clear from this breakdown and Map No. 4 that although segregation has been reduced somewhat by relocation, the residential pattern of the city has not been substantially altered.

Another aspect of relocation relates to changes in the kind and cost of housing before and after relocation. Rent costs increased for both Negroes and non-Negroes because of relocation, but the proportionately higher rent paid by Negroes than whites before relocation was not affected by the move.

TABLE 31

Rents Paid Before and After Relocation by Negroes and Non-Negroes

	Average Rent Per Family Pre-Location	Post-Location
Negroes	\$55.79	\$66.07
Non-Negroes	46.27	55.90

Source: Based on an analysis of records made available by the Urban Improvement Department of the City of Syracuse.

One gain made by the Negro as a result of relocation is the number of rooms in his new housing. The average rooms per family increased by 3.8 to 4.4 for Negro relocatees while for non-Negroes there was a nominal decline from 3.4 to 3.3. This improvement for Negroes may be explained, in part, by the fact that 11 per cent of the Negroes who relocated in Syracuse moved into public housing (the corresponding figure for whites is 5 per cent) and by the characteristically larger families of Negroes.

B. National and State Policy

Overall, relocation has had little impact on the Negro residential pattern in the city. For those relocated it has increased rents somewhat but simultaneously has provided a bit more space per family. The question remains whether relocation should have accomplished more. This question is answerable only in the larger context of the purposes and goals of urban renewal.

In his housing message just sent to Congress, President Johnson gave the following description of the purposes and results of urban renewal.

"The Federal Program of urban renewal is today our principal instrument for restoring the hope and renewing the vitality of older cities and worn-out neighborhoods.

The Federal assistance which provides local leaders and governments with incentives and the tools for revitalizing their communities has proven its worth—

- in eliminating housing blight;
- in contributing to restoration of the economic base of our communities; and
- in helping reshape our central areas into effective nerve centers for our cities."

It is worthy of note that none of these goals is specifically related to the reduction of housing segregation. Urban renewal was primarily designed for slum clearance and the revitalization of cities, particularly downtown areas. How well it is accomplishing these ends is a debatable question but this issue is not related to the purpose of this report. Of central concern, however, is the relocation necessitated by renewal.

Urban renewal projects cannot be carried out until and unless the occupants of areas to be cleared are relocated. The law and regulations of administrative agencies provide for the formulation of procedures and the offering of financial and other assistance to those slated for relocation.

In fact, relocation has properly been described as the "Achilles heel of urban renewal." In community after community it becomes readily apparent that a substantial percentage (if not a majority) of those to be relocated are Negroes. This is no accident but the consequence of the simple fact of lower incomes and racial segregation whereby Negroes are restricted to older and run-down sections of communities and these, in turn, are located adjacent to the central business districts—the areas considered most desirable for urban renewal.

When a relocation program is initiated it becomes apparent that there is generally an inadequate supply of public housing for relocation, and the available new housing in the community is generally barred to Negroes. Consequently, the Negro citizen is forced to seek alternative accommodations in the existing housing supply and, given the constraint of low income and racial segregation, it is not surprising that he is very often 'relocated' in a nearby area of older housing which usually represents the least desirable housing available on the private market. It is this pattern of relocation which has given rise to the contention that urban renewal simply clears one slum and creates another. Insofar as relocation practices result in the concentration of Negro families in older areas of a community, where private property is not maintained and adequate community facilities and public maintenance are not provided, the process of slum creation is accelerated.

An increasing awareness of this situation has caused national governmental concern. On June 25, 1963, the Commissioner of the Urban Renewal Administration of the Housing and Home Finance Agency made a statement explaining certain revisions made in the regulations regarding equal opportunity in housing in urban renewal programs. In that statement he said:

"The urban renewal program is a major national effort to replace slums and blighted areas with attractive working and living environments. It is also an effort to rehouse American families in sound dwellings and socially healthy neighborhoods. Thus it has as its objective not only the physical renaissance of the city, but also the dignity and well-being of the city's people.

"Basic to this objective is the achievement of free access to housing for all families regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin.

"The President in his Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing has clearly stated this commitment: 'The granting of Federal assistance for the provision, rehabilitation, or operation of housing and related facilities from which Americans are excluded because of their race, color, creed, or national origin is unfair, unjust, and inconsistent with the public policy of the United States as manifested in the Constitution and laws.'

"In order to hasten progress toward this goal, it is necessary to look beyond the scope of isolated urban renewal projects. A comprehensive program that examines the needs and requirements of the entire community is essential. The Community Renewal Program of the Urban Renewal Administration offers the means for such an examination. It is a city-wide action program for renewal and related activities.

"Today we are revising our regulations with respect to grants for Community Renewal Programs to make equal opportunity in housing a central factor in the development of communities engaged in such programs. In addition, we are asking cities which have CRP's underway to include this basic objective in their existing programs. Specifically, we are requiring that CRP's include: (1) an analysis of the existing pattern of housing occupied by Negroes and other minorities and the extent to which this pattern is a result of discrimination; (2) projection of the housing needs of Negro and other minority families displaced by urban renewal and other public action or newly moving into the community; (3) development of an affirmative program to increase the quantity, improve the quality, and eliminate barriers to housing for Negro and other minority families.

"As part of its concern for the relocation of families displaced by urban renewal, the Urban Renewal Administration also has a responsibility for seeing that these families are assisted in finding housing accommodations that are free from racial or other such restrictions.

"Consequently, as of today, we are revising our relocation regulations to prohibit the listing of housing accommodations that are not available to all families regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin. Thus the local renewal agency in listing housing available to families being displaced because of urban renewal may not include units that are denied minority families.

"Through these measures, the Urban Renewal Administration hopes to increase its effectiveness in advancing equal opportunity in housing. The Urban Renewal Administration is also continuing the examination of its rules and regulations to identify additional means of contributing to this vital national objective."

Although these revisions in the regulations will not automatically make relocation a positive weapon against segregation in housing, they should help. They will require a more positive and specific evaluation of the measures needed to provide decent, safe and sanitary housing to those being relocated. Of equal significance, they will close a loophole in the arithmetic of relocation by preventing the padding of estimates of housing available for relocation of Negroes by excluding from such estimates any housing denied to minority families.

Such plans will not, however, make much of a contribution to the ending of segregation unless private property owners and their agents are willing to sell or rent housing to all persons economically capable of acquiring it. In New York State, this problem has been attacked by statutes, of which there are two applicable to discrimination in housing.

The broader of the two is the Baker-Metcalf Act. Under this Act, it is unlawful discriminatory practice:

1. to refuse to rent, lease or sell any housing accommodation to any persons because of race, creed, color or national origin except where the housing accommodation is a two-family house one part of which is occupied by the owner, or a rooming facility where either the owner or his agent lives on premises;
2. to refuse to rent, lease or sell any commercial space to any person because of race, creed, color or national origin;
3. for any real estate broker, agent, or salesman to refuse to sell or rent, or to refuse to show or negotiate for any property for reasons of race, color, creed or national origin;

4. for any bank or other lending institution to refuse for reasons of race, creed, color or national origin, to lend money for the purchase, construction or repair of any property;
5. for anyone to aid or abet, incite or compel or attempt to do anything forbidden above.

There are also provisions making it an unlawful discriminatory practice to publish advertisements or ask questions on applications regarding race in any of the above situations.

Under this Act initiative rests with the person charging discrimination who must register a complaint with the State Human Rights Commission. If, after an investigation and hearing, the Commission finds that a discriminatory act has occurred, it may issue an order requiring the respondent to cease and desist from the unlawful discriminatory practice.

Such cease and desist orders of the Human Rights Commission are not self-enforcing. In the event a cease and desist order is not complied with, application may be made to a state court for injunctive relief in the form of a court order implementing the original order. After an injunction has been issued by the court it may be enforced by contempt proceedings which may result in a fine, with possible imprisonment of the defendant until the fine is paid.

The other statute outlawing discrimination in housing is Sections 18A-18E of the Civil Rights Law. This law provides an action for damages or injunctive relief for a refusal to grant or lease to any person because of race, creed, color or national origin, any housing accommodation which;

1. is granted tax exemption after 7/1/50;
2. is constructed after 7/1/50 on land sold below cost pursuant to the Federal Housing Act of 1949;
3. is built after 7/1/50 on land acquired by the state by condemnation proceedings;
4. is built by state financing after 7/1/50;
5. is (1) in a unit of three or more families, and (2) is financed by a government insured mortgage (FHA-VA);
6. is offered for sale by owner of 10 or more contiguous housing accommodations if -
 - (1) acquisition is after 7/1/55 and the loan is governmentally insured, or
 - (2) commitment by government financing is outstanding after 7/1/55.

The circumstances to which the Civil Rights Law applies are about the same as those which limited the authority of the Human Rights Commission prior to the Baker-Metcalf Act. However, in those circumstances to which the Civil Rights Law is applicable, direct court action can be instituted.

These state statutes have been relatively little used in the Syracuse area although in recent months a series of complaints have been filed with the state's Human Rights Commission and are now under investigation. This recent activity in Syracuse demonstrates that these statutes are unlikely to be much used unless there are organizations specifically interested in correcting the situations to which they apply. An individual citizen who is denied housing is not likely to file a complaint on his own. He is probably not well-informed about his rights, and is uncertain of where and how to begin.

In addition to the efforts to fight discrimination by law there are a number of other agencies, some governmental and some private, which are trying by other means to reduce housing discrimination in Syracuse. Just last fall, the Mayor's Commission for Human Rights was established. This body has no enforcement powers but may receive complaints which it can try to settle by persuasion. It has recently divided itself into committees and is attempting to determine what kind of action might be taken to alleviate not only the housing problem but others as well, including education and jobs. Other groups are also active in this field and the magnitude of the task they have undertaken is made clear by the data and analysis provided in this report.

VII. FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Although the writing of this particular report was prompted by the civil rights demonstrations held last fall, it was not undertaken to judge their wisdom. Public interest in the Negro problem in Syracuse, however, was intensified by those demonstrations, and with reference to housing, a debate developed in which it soon became apparent that the facts themselves were at issue. This inquiry was then undertaken to determine and describe as objectively as possible what these facts are.

A major element in the development of a Negro problem in Syracuse has been the rapid growth of the Negro population in recent years: about twice the national rate in central cities during the two decades after 1940; almost three times the national rate in the period 1950-1960. While the relatively better-off whites have been moving to the suburbs, lower-income whites and non-whites have been replacing them in the central city. The result of such large population shifts would have been to create community instability and new problems in any case; to this has been added the element of differences in ethnic, economic and social background.

So far as the Syracuse Negro community is concerned, it suffers a number of disabilities. Its local unemployment rate is double that of whites. Though the annual median income of Negroes in Syracuse is considerably higher in comparison to white annual median income than in the nation as a whole—and the highest of any central city* in New York—it still is 22 per cent lower than white median income. A particularly striking difference lies in the \$6,000-up income bracket: here but 2.7 per cent were Negro in 1960, as compared with 19.4 per cent white. And this in turn reflects the fact that but 2 per cent of Negroes fall in the professional-technical category, as compared with 14 per cent white. It should also be noted that in this respect, the Syracuse Negro community is worse off than in other upstate New York cities.

This generalization also holds true with regard to housing. Syracuse has the lowest percentage (barring New York City) of Negro owner-occupied housing in the state, and (with no exceptions) the lowest ratio of non-white to white ownership. As to the condition of the houses, both rented or owned by Negroes, in almost all cases this compares unfavorably both with the white community in Syracuse and with Negro communities in other upstate cities.

*For definition of "central city," see footnote on page 2.

It will not come as news to a local inhabitant that the Negro population is highly concentrated in a few areas. In 1960, 88.2 per cent lived in eight out of 60 Syracuse census tracts (again, omitting census tract No. 37). The assertion that the preceding decade saw a significant dispersal of this population is not justified by the data. Indeed, in view of the total Negro population increase in the years 1950-1960, the degree of segregation has probably increased. Nor is the belief that this Negro concentration is due to their inability to pay sufficient rent supported by the facts, since the average Negro rental is \$78 per month locally, as compared with the average \$80 paid by all renters. It may be added that the relocation as a consequence of urban renewal has not substantially altered the residential pattern of the city, since the majority of Negro families have either remained in the same area or moved to contiguous areas.

When to employment status and housing conditions is added a lower education level, the picture of the Negro community which emerges is not a comforting one. As opposed to a median of school years completed by all students of 11.1, the non-white median is 8.7. And though the proportion of Syracuse non-whites completing four years of college is higher than almost all upstate cities, this statistic is not reflected in an increase of percentage of employment in the professional-technical category, which is substantially less than other upstate Negro communities. In fact, the 1950-1960 period saw a drop in this category.

Even taking into consideration other factors, it seems clear from the evidence examined that the Negro faces discrimination in housing and employment in this community. But that the situation is far from hopeless is attested by a number of facts. If on the one hand the number of Negroes in professional occupations is disproportionately small, the number who have moved from the service into the operative category (an increase from 14% to 33% in the latter between 1950 and 1960) is encouraging. In its hiring of non-white teachers the Syracuse Public Schools have set an example which might well be emulated. And finally, the relatively small size of the Negro community—about five per cent of the population—makes possible accomplishments and progress which would be much more difficult in other cities.

Though it is not the purpose of this report to make policy recommendations, one point does emerge so clearly that perhaps it should be made explicit. If the conditions described are to be remedied, a concerted community effort must be made. In the language of the political scientist and sociologist, what is needed is a solid and unqualified commitment from the power structure (business, social, governmental, educational and political leaders) of this city. If this is forthcoming, a completely new spirit accompanied by substantial improvements could be the result.

- #1 "CONTINUING EDUCATION," by Finla G. Crawford, at Residual Stress Conference, Sagamore Center, 1955. (Reprinted 1961)
- #2 "BOTTLES OLD, WINE NEW; WINE OLD, BOTTLES NEW," by John B. Schwertman, Director, The Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, at the U.C. Faculty Seminar, Pine Brook Conference Center, May 1954. (Reprinted 1961)
- #3 "SOME MOTIVATIONAL ASPECTS OF COLLEGE TRAINING," by Dr. Donald Snygg, State University of New York Teachers College, Oswego, May 1956. (Reprinted 1961)
- #4 "LEARNING THEORY AND ITS APPLICATION TO CLASSROOM TEACHING," By Herbert Thelen, University of Chicago, May 1956. (Reprinted 1961)
- #5 "LEARNING THEORY AND CLASSROOM PRACTICE IN ADULT EDUCATION," By J. W. Getzels, University of Chicago, May 1956. (Reprinted 1961)
- #6 "COURSE CONSTRUCTION AND THE USE OF TEACHING RESOURCES," By A. A. Liveright, The Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, May 1957.
- #7 "EVALUATION IN EVENING COLLEGES," By Alexander N. Charters, Dean, University College of Syracuse University. Presented at the 17th Annual Meeting of the Association of University Evening Colleges, New Orleans, La.
- #8 "SPECIAL REPORT ON UNIVERSITY COLLEGE," By Alexander N. Charters, Dean, University College of Syracuse University, May 1957.
- #9 "A SUMMARY REPORT ON ADULT COLLEGE STUDENTS," By Dr. Alan B. Knox, Administrator, Adirondacks Conference Programs, University College of Syracuse University, 1959.
- #10 "A REPORT ON THE SEMESTER IN ITALY, AN UNDERGRADUATE FOREIGN STUDY PROGRAM," By John Clarke Adams, Program Administrator in Residence, Syracuse Semester in Italy, June 1960.
- #11 "WORLD AFFAIRS DON'T HAVE TO BE BORING," By Harlan Cleveland, Dean, Maxwell Graduate School, Syracuse University, April 1960.
- #12 "LEARNING AND CHANGE, THE PROBLEMS OF EVALUATION IN LIBERAL ADULT EDUCATION," By John Walker Powell, Consultant, The Fund for Adult Education, May 1960.
- #13 "GOVERNMENT IN ACTION, A FINAL REPORT ON EXPERIMENTAL ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM PRESENTED AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE," By Dr. Karl M. Schmidt, Associate Professor of Political Science, Maxwell Graduate School, Syracuse University, July 1960.
- #14 "DEVELOPMENT OF AN OBJECTIVE INSTRUMENT FOR EVALUATION OF SCIENTIFIC MATURITY IN ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING." By Sakari Tampani Jutila, Assistant Professor of Electrical Engineering, Syracuse University, August 1960.
- #15 "LOCAL COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP," A first report on a study of community leadership by Linton C. Freeman, Warner Bloomberg, Stephen P. Koff, Morris H. Sunshine and Thomas J. Fararo, November 1960.
- #16 "AN INVESTIGATION OF THE STATUS OF THE STUDENT PERSONNEL PROGRAM IN EVENING COLLEGES," By John Simonaitis, Counselor of Students, University College of Syracuse University, November 1960.
- #17 "THE EVENING COLLEGE AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO 'COMMUNITY PUBLICS,'" By Kenneth G. Bartlett, Vice President for Public Affairs and Director of TV and Radio Center, Syracuse University, November 1960.
- #18 "THE FREE UNIVERSITY—ITS ROLE IN EDUCATION FOR PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY AND THE FUTURE OF OUR FREE SOCIETY AND THE FREE WORLD," By C. Scott Fletcher, President, The Fund for Adult Education, February 1961.
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