



Black Residential Migration in California: Implications for Higher Education Policy

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Executive Summary

- Between 1980 and 2000, the areas of California with the greatest representation of African Americans experienced the highest net loss of African Americans. These areas included Los Angeles, Compton, Inglewood, Lynwood, Oakland, San Francisco, Berkeley, and East Palo Alto.
- The decrease in the Black population in large urban communities is more pronounced considering the total population of these areas has been growing. As a result, many urban Black communities have become increasingly dispersed.
- There is evidence of a high rate of out-migration to the South. Between 1995 and 2000, African Americans from California moved in large numbers to Texas (17,500), Georgia (14,000), North Carolina (12,000), and Nevada (14,000).
- Between 1980 and 2000, the communities with the greatest increase in African Americans were in commutable distance to large metropolitan areas (Inland Empire, East Bay, and the greater Sacramento area). The greatest numerical increase in Blacks occurred in mid-to large-size suburban cities (Palmdale, Lancaster, Fontana, Stockton, and Sacramento).
- The largest percentage increase in the Black population occurred in smaller, rural communities (Susanville, Tehachapi, Calipatria, and Elk Grove). Before 1980, these communities had a very small number of African Americans.
- In suburban and rural areas the growth in the Black community is outpacing the increase of the total population. This trend is resulting in a rapid increase in the representation and concentration of Blacks in suburban and rural communities.
- Large urban school districts are experiencing the greatest numerical decrease in Black enrollment. These districts include Oakland, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Inglewood, Lynwood, and Compton.
- The districts with the greatest decrease in Black enrollment are also experiencing growth in their total enrollment. This trend is resulting in a decrease in representation among Blacks in many large urban schools and a decrease in the concentration of Blacks across fewer schools in the state.
- Schools in suburban and rural districts are experiencing the greatest numerical gain in Black enrollment. These districts include San Bernardino, Sacramento, Elk Grove, Stockton, Rialto, Riverside, and Moreno Valley.
- The rapid growth of Blacks in small school districts between 1990 and 2000 has created a critical mass of Black students in a number of suburban and rural schools.

OVERVIEW

Following the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, there has been considerable debate about the benefits for Black students attending suburban schools. The debate tends to center around the following three outcomes: 1) Black students are provided with access to resources they might not otherwise have if they remain in segregated urban schools (Wells and Cain 1997; Kaufman and Rosenbaum 1991; Kain 2000; Orfield 2001); 2) even if black students are attending suburban schools, they are being placed into low-track classes (Wells and Cain 1997; Oaks 1994) and experience different degrees of perceived racial discrimination (Wells and Cain 1997); and, 3) despite these contradictory findings, integration is perceived to be better than segregation (Wells and Cain 1997; Orfield 2001). “Critics of desegregation,” according to Orfield (2001), often argue that it would be better to spend money on improving segregated urban schools. The suggestion is that while a great deal of money is being spent on desegregation, we are ignoring alternative solutions that have been shown to produce academic gains in segregated schools.

Adding to the complexity of this debate are the rapidly shifting racial demographics of our communities and schools. California exemplifies this point. The racial demographics of California have faced tremendous changes, particularly in the past 30-40 years. The growth of immigrant communities, among other factors, has resulted in fundamental and complex demographic, educational, and economic changes in the state. California’s schools are now among the most racially, ethnically, and linguistically diverse schools in the nation. However, while the state as a whole is diverse, individual districts and schools are highly segregated. Issues of racial segregation in schools continue to raise issues for access to resources and opportunities.

This study looks specifically at the shift in residential patterns among African American families (from the urban to suburban, county to county, and city to city) in order to assess the representation of African Americans in urban and suburban public schools in the 21st century. The results of this study can be used to inform outreach efforts and other community-based initiatives related to African American students and families.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to: 1) examine the increase and decrease of Black communities across different cities and counties in California; and, 2) assess the impact of these trends on the racial demographics of public schools in the state. The research questions guiding this study are as follows:

1. What counties and cities have experienced the greatest increases and decreases in their Black population between 1980 and 2000?
2. How have trends in Black residential migration patterns affected the racial demographics of California’s public schools?

DATA SOURCE AND METHODOLOGY

There were two sources of data used in this study. First, data from the U.S. Bureau of Census (100 percent file) was used to track the residential patterns of African American families within the state. Analysis was conducted at the county and census tract levels and trends were examined across 1980, 1990, and 2000. Second, data from the California Department of Education identified school enrollment patterns to highlight the ways in which the representation and enrollment of Black students has changed in the state as well as for individual school districts. The school analysis covers a 20 year period between 1985 and 2005.

The analysis of the data and presentation of the results are as follows. First, there is an historical examination of national and state trends. The purpose of this analysis is to place this study in a larger historical context of out-migration from the South and in-migration to urban industrial States, which occurred at the turn of the century and continued until 1950. Second, the results identify changes in California's black population (numerical and proportional) by county and by city between 1980 and 2000. This analysis also examines how the Black share of total population in respective counties and cities has changed over time. Finally, these results were cross-referenced with enrollment data in California public schools.

LIMITATIONS

There are important limitations to note about the data source and methodology. First, the data only allowed for the tracking of increases and/or decreases of populations. Therefore there is no causal connection that can be identified. In other words, the data does not allow for the tracking of individuals and families from one city to another. As a result, while there may be a correlation between the decline of Blacks in one county and the increase in another, the relationship is not casual. Second, the latest comparable set of data that was available was the 2000 census data. A lot has changed in the five years between 2000 and when this report was written. School-level enrollment data was available up to 2005 and was used for the school-level analysis.

BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

The size and the characteristics of the Black population in California need to be placed in a larger national context. In 2003, there were 38.7 million Blacks in the United States representing 13.2 percent of the total population (Table 1). The Black population in the U.S. is projected to increase to 40.5 million in 2010 and 45.4 million in 2020 (Figure 2).

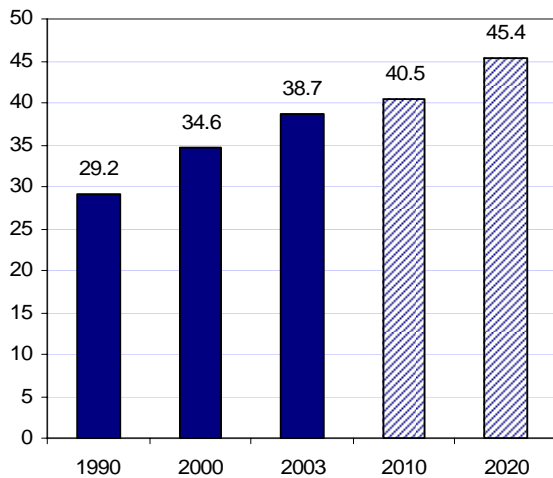
**Table 1:
U.S. Population and Projections by Race, 1990-2020**

	1990		2000		2003		2010		2020	
	Millions	Percent of Total	Millions	Percent of Total	Millions	Percent of Total	Millions	Percent of Total	Millions	Percent of Total
Total Population	249.1	100	279.5	100	294.1	100	308.9	100	363.6	100
White	188.1	75.5	196.1	70.6	197.9	67.3	201.8	65.3	236.1	64.9
Black	29.2	11.7	34.6	12.3	38.7	13.2	40.5	13.1	45.4	12.5
Hispanic	22.4	9.0	35.3	12.5	39.9	13.6	47.7	15.4	58.8	16.2
Asian American	7.3	2.9	11.1	3.7	13.3	4.5	14.2	4.6	17.9	4.9
Native American	2.1	0.9	3.4	1.3	4.3	1.4	4.7	1.5	5.4	1.4

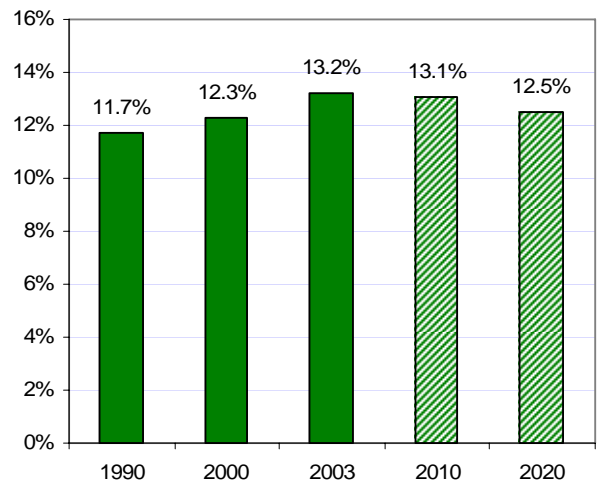
Source: Population Division, U.S. Census Bureau

Despite the increase in the number of Blacks in the U.S., the proportion of the U.S. population that is Black has been and is projected to continue to be steady at around 12 to 13 percent between 1990 and 2020 (See Figure 2).

**Figure 1:
U.S. Black Population (in millions)**



**Figure 2:
Percent Black in the U.S.**



Note: 1990 to 2003 are actual data; 2010 and 2020 reflect projections.
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, decennial census of population, 1990 to 2020.

In 2000, the majority of all African Americans in the U.S. lived in the South (54 percent). The Northeast (18 percent) and the Midwest (19 percent) had the second and third largest share of the total U.S. Black population. While the West had a small share (10 percent) of the total Black population in the U.S., California had a high concentration of Blacks in the region.

In 2000, California had the second highest black population (2.2 million) in the nation after New York State, but before Texas, Florida, and Georgia. California's Black population has grown steadily since 1980 (Table 2). Their growth, however, has been at a slower pace than for Asian Americans and Hispanics. For these groups, the growth rate has been spurred in large part by international migration, which occurs minimally among the Black population.

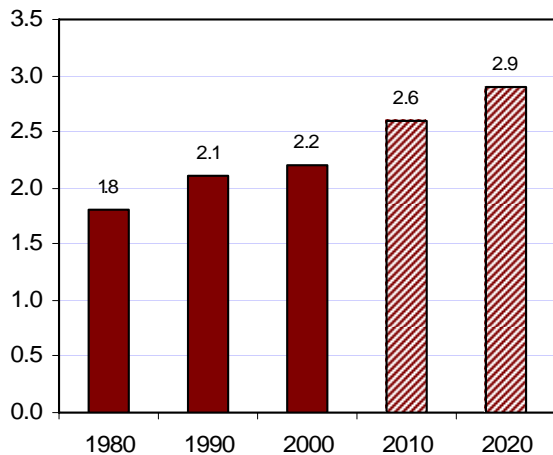
**Table 2:
California Population and Projections by Race, 1980-2020**

	1980		1990		2000		2010		2020	
	Millions	Percent of Total	Millions	Percent of Total	Millions	Percent of Total	Millions	Percent of Total	Millions	Percent of Total
Total Population	23.8	100	30.0	100	34.0	100	39.2	100	43.9	100
White	16.0	67.1	17.1	57.2	16.0	47.1	15.4	39.2	14.8	33.7
Black	1.8	7.5	2.1	7.0	2.2	6.5	2.6	6.7	2.9	6.7
Hispanic	4.6	19.4	7.8	26.0	11.1	32.6	15.2	38.7	18.9	43.0
Asian American	1.3	5.3	2.7	9.2	3.8	11.3	4.8	12.4	5.7	13.1
Native American	0.2	0.7	0.2	0.6	0.2	0.6	0.4	1.0	0.6	1.4

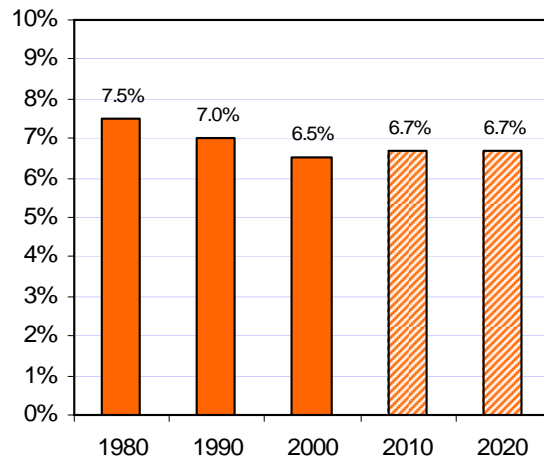
Source: Population Division, U.S. Census Bureau

While the Black population in California increased steadily between 1980 and 2000 (Figure 3), their proportional representation declined during the same time period (Figure 4). The projected proportion of the total population is projected to remain steady through 2020. By 2000 the Hispanic and Asian American population represented about 44 percent of California's population. By 2010, the representation of these two groups in the state is projected to be more than 50 percent.

**Figure 3:
Black Population in California (in millions)**



**Figure 4:
Percent Black in California**



Note: 1990 to 2003 are actual data; 2010 and 2020 reflect projections.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, decennial census of population, 1990 to 2020.

State-to-State Migration Patterns: California in Context

There are important historical trends in national residential patterns that have implications for this study of Black migration patterns in California. Residential and migration patterns need to be placed in a broader social context. Race and class have historically been key factors in the movement of communities. For example, before 1930, African Americans in the United States were almost exclusively concentrated in the South. According to the U.S. Bureau of Census, more than 90 percent of Blacks were concentrated in the South in 1920.

A large migration of Blacks from the South occurred between the 1930s and 1950s. Migration from the South mainly occurred to large urban cities. The Black population in New York State increased from 198,000 in 1920 to 1.4 million in 1960. In Illinois, the Black population increased from 182,000 in 1920 to 1 million in 1960. The City of Los Angeles alone saw an increase from 39,000 in 1920 to 900,000 in 1960. For African Americans, the migration out of the South was driven by need for employment and opportunity, the end of the war, and racism.

In terms of state-to-state migration patterns in recent decades, there are important trends that have occurred. California had an overall net out-migration flow in the 1990s (any race), which reversed a long-standing tradition of more people arriving in California than leaving. California had the second highest net loss (300,000) of any state in the U.S. next to New York (500,000). Between 1995 and 2000, 1 million people arrived in California and 1.3 million people left. Black residents, specifically, moved in large numbers from California to Texas (18,000), Georgia (14,000), North Carolina (12,000), and Nevada (14,000). After leaving California, evidence shows that Blacks were more geographically dispersed than other racial groups.

The South has experienced a high net gain of Blacks from other states. For every Black that left the South, two others arrived. There was a net increase of 350,000 Blacks to the South between 1995 and 2000. Coupled with the decline of Blacks from more populated metropolitan areas to more rural areas there are also trends in levels of residential segregation that are changing. Nationally, residential segregation among Blacks is on the decline.

Although there are high rates of between-state migration for Blacks, the greatest movement of Black residents is occurring within individual states. This study examines these trends to identify patterns of movement for Blacks in California over the past two to three decades. The following analysis of California's in-state migration trends examines county and city out-migration trends first then focuses on county and city in-migration trends. The results continue with an examination of how these changing residential patterns have affected school enrollment among California public schools.

BLACK RESIDENTIAL OUT-MIGRATION TRENDS

The results for California’s out-migration trends show two basic patterns of Black migration. First, Blacks are moving out of large metropolitan areas in California. These communities tend to be experiencing an increase in their total population despite the decrease in the Black population. Second, these trends have resulted in a decrease in Black representation in a number of cities that have historically been concentrated with Blacks. The Black population is essentially dispersing and becoming less concentrated in urban parts of the state. The following analyses identify these trends at the county and city levels.

County-Level Out-Migration Patterns

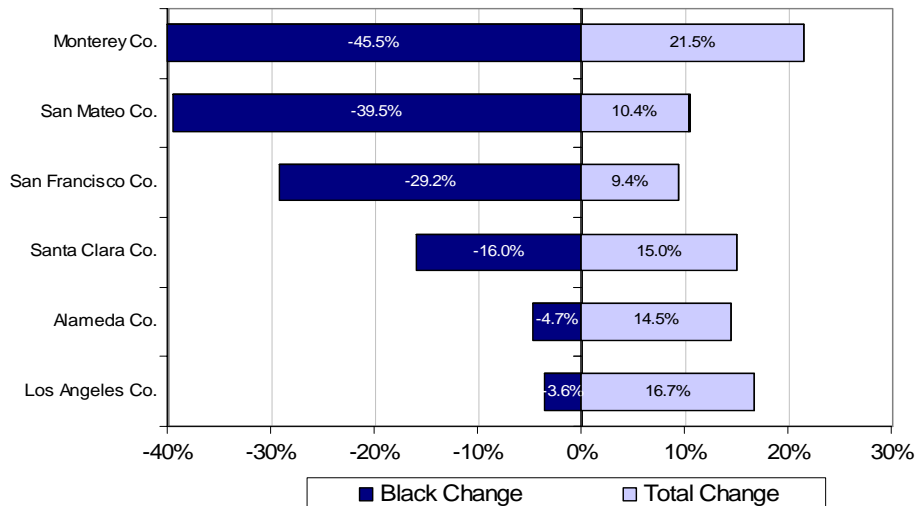
A number of counties in California that have historically had the highest concentration of Blacks in the state have seen a high numerical decrease in the Black population in recent decades. In a 10-year period between 1990 and 2000, there were a number of counties that showed a decrease in their Black population (Table 3). The counties with the greatest numerical decrease were mostly concentrated in the Bay Area (San Francisco, Alameda, San Mateo, and Santa Clara) and Southern California (Los Angeles).

**Table 3:
Counties with the Greatest Numerical Decrease in Black Population, 1990-2000**

	1990	2000	Numerical Decrease
Los Angeles County	964,435	930,957	-33,478
San Francisco County	78,190	60,515	-17,675
Alameda County	225,828	215,598	-10,230
San Mateo County	34,661	24,840	-9,821
Santa Clara County	54,742	47,182	-7,560
Monterey County	21,898	15,050	-6,848

The decrease in the number of Blacks is especially pronounced when it is compared against the change in the total population (Figure 5). In these areas, there was an increase in the total population, while the Black population was experiencing a sharp proportional decrease.

**Figure 5:
Proportional Change in Black Population and Total Population by County, 1990-2000**



The move out of counties with high concentrations of Blacks to counties with fewer Blacks has resulted in a greater dispersion of the population. In 1980, 66 percent of Blacks lived in three counties (Los Angeles, Alameda, and San Diego), 75 percent lived in five counties (with the addition of San Francisco and Contra Costa), and 90 percent lived in 11 counties (table 4).

**Table 4:
Percentage of Total Black Population in California by County, 1980**

County	% of Total Black Population	Cumulative Percentage
1. Los Angeles County	51.9%	51.9%
2. Alameda County	11.2%	63.1%
3. San Diego County	5.7%	68.8%
4. San Francisco County	4.7%	73.5%
5. Contra Costa County	3.3%	76.9%
6. Sacramento County	3.2%	80.1%
7. San Bernardino County	2.6%	82.7%
8. Santa Clara County	2.4%	85.1%
9. San Mateo County	2.0%	87.0%
10. Riverside County	1.7%	88.7%
11. Solano County	1.5%	90.2%

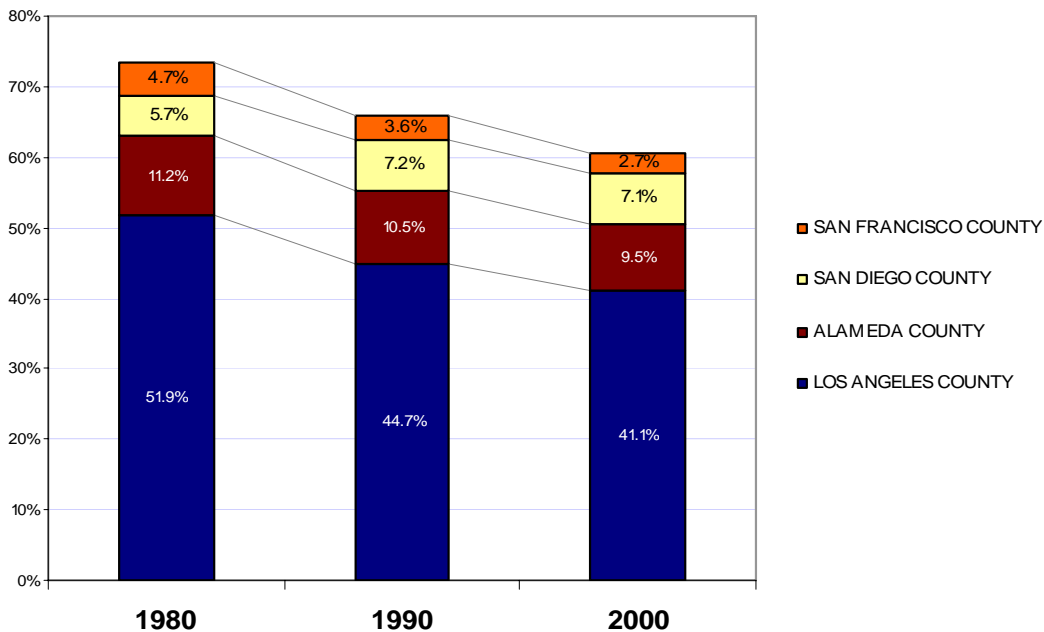
By 2000, two-thirds of Blacks were concentrated in four counties, three-quarters were in six counties and 90 percent were now in 13 counties (Table 5).

**Table 5:
Percentage of Total Black Population in California by County, 2000**

County	% of Total Black Population	Cumulative Percentage
1. Los Angeles County	41.1%	41.1%
2. Alameda County	9.5%	50.7%
3. San Diego County	7.1%	57.8%
4. San Bernardino County	6.9%	64.6%
5. Sacramento County	5.4%	70.0%
6. Riverside County	4.3%	74.3%
7. Contra Costa County	3.9%	78.2%
8. San Francisco County	2.7%	80.9%
9. Solano County	2.6%	83.5%
10. Orange County	2.1%	85.6%
11. Santa Clara County	2.1%	87.7%
12. Fresno County	1.9%	89.5%
13. Kern County	1.8%	91.3%

As a result, California’s Black population in 2000 is less concentrated than it was in 1980 (Figure 6). In 1980, four counties (San Francisco, San Diego, Alameda, and Los Angeles) represented nearly 75 percent of the total Black population in California. In 2000, those same four counties had only about 60 percent of the total Black population.

Figure 6:
Change in Share of the Total Black Population in California by County, 1980-2000



City-Level Out-Migration Patterns

Numerical and proportional changes can also be found among cities in California. In Southern California, the cities of Los Angeles, Compton Inglewood, Lynwood, and Westmont had the highest numerical decrease in their Black population (Table 6). These cities also had a high corresponding percentage decrease in the Black population. Lynwood and Compton, in particular, experienced a high percentage change in their Black population. The proportions of the cities that are comprised of African Americans have also decreased. For example, in 1990, 52.4 percent of Compton was Black, but by 2000, the proportion of the population that was Black decreased to 38 percent.

Table 6:
Southern California Cities with the Largest Numerical Decrease in Black Population, 1990-2000

	Black Population 1990	Black Population 2000	Numerical Change	Percentage Change	Percent Black 1990	Percent Black 2000
1. Los Angeles	460,893	401,986	-58,907	-12.8%	13.2%	10.9%
2. Compton	51,546	39,054	-12,992	-25.2%	52.4%	38.0%
3. Inglewood	55,493	47,260	-5,233	-9.4%	50.6%	46.4%
4. Lynwood	13,385	9,118	-4,267	-31.9%	21.6%	13.1%
5. Westmont	22,182	18,095	-4,087	-18.4%	71.5%	57.2%

There are similar trends that can be found in the Bay Area. Oakland, San Francisco, Berkeley, East Palo Alto, and Richmond experienced the highest numerical decrease of their Black population (Table 7). These numerical decreases also corresponded with a high percentage change in the total Black population for the most of these cities. The proportions of these cities that were constituted by Blacks also decreased. The most significant changes in the Black share of the total population were in East Palo Alto, Richmond, and Berkeley.

**Table 7:
Bay Area Cities with the Largest Numerical Decrease in Black Population, 1990-2000**

	Black Population 1990	Black Population 2000	Numerical Change	Percentage Change	Percent Black 1990	Percent Black 2000
1. Oakland	160,640	140,139	-20,501	-12.8%	43.2%	35.1%
2. San Francisco	76,944	58,791	-18,153	-23.6%	10.6%	7.6%
3. Berkeley	18,805	13,707	-5,098	-27.1%	18.3%	13.3%
4. East Palo Alto	9,818	6,641	-3,177	-32.4%	41.9%	22.5%
5. Richmond	37,700	35,279	-2,421	-6.4%	43.1%	35.6%

Again, the decrease of the Black population in many of these cities is more pronounced when measured against the increase in the total population. For example, while Oakland’s Black population decreased between 1990 and 2000, it is still higher than it was in 1970 (Figures 7 and 8). However, the total population in Oakland has increased significantly since 1980 resulting in Blacks representing a smaller share in the total population.

Figure 7:

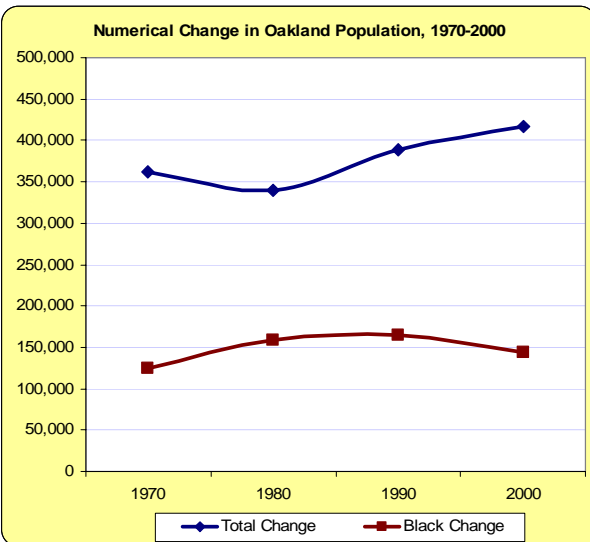
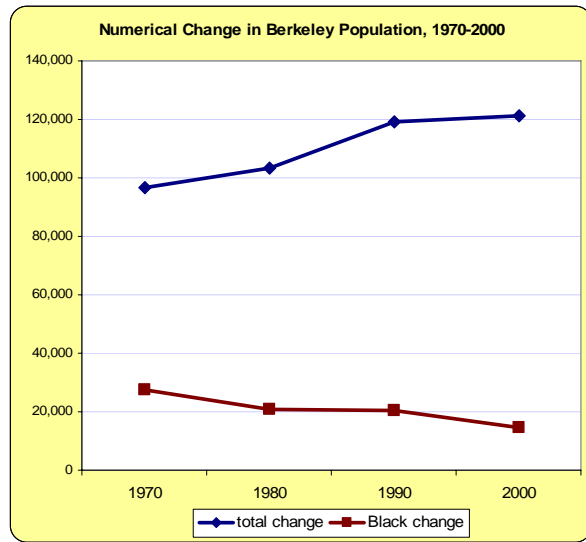


Figure 8:

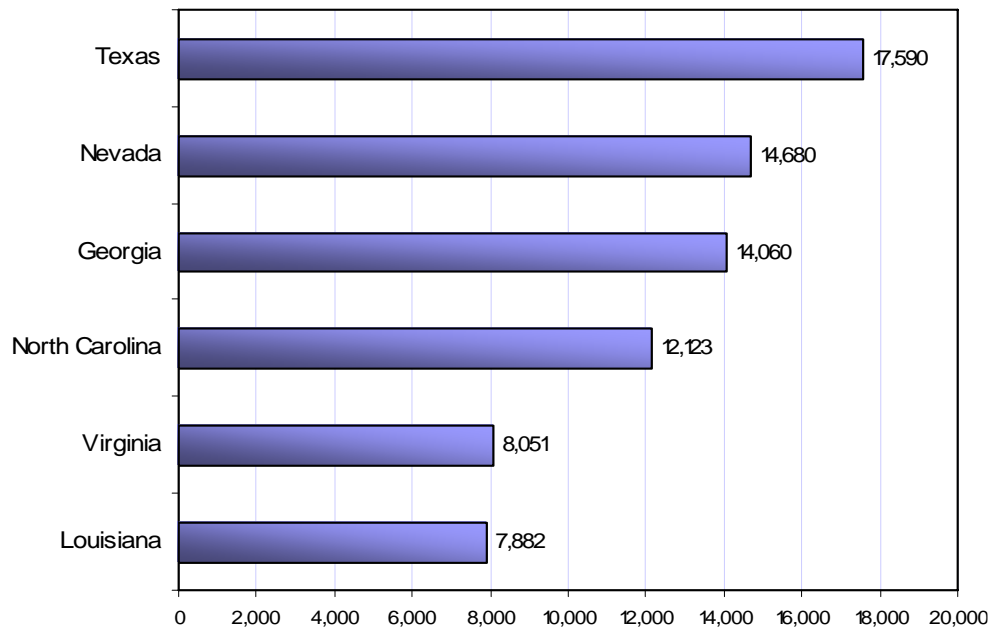


BLACK RESIDENTIAL IN-MIGRATION TRENDS

The previous results show two basic patterns of Black migration. First, Blacks are moving out of large metropolitan areas. These areas tend to be growing despite the decrease in the Black population. Second, these trends have resulted in a decrease in Black representation in a number of cities that have historically been concentrated with Blacks. The Black population is essentially dispersing and becoming less concentrated in urban parts of the state.

The following analysis looks at where there is evidence of growth in the Black population. Where are Blacks increasing in size and concentration? Before examining the within-state trends in Black in-migration, it is important to first consider the large out-of-state migration that is occurring for California. Figure 9 shows the top six states that received Blacks from California between 1995 and 2000. In this five-year period, the trend has been that Blacks leaving California were most likely to migrate to the South, though Nevada also received a large number of Black migrants.

**Figure 9:
Top States to Receive Blacks from California, 1995-2000**



County-Level In-Migration Patterns

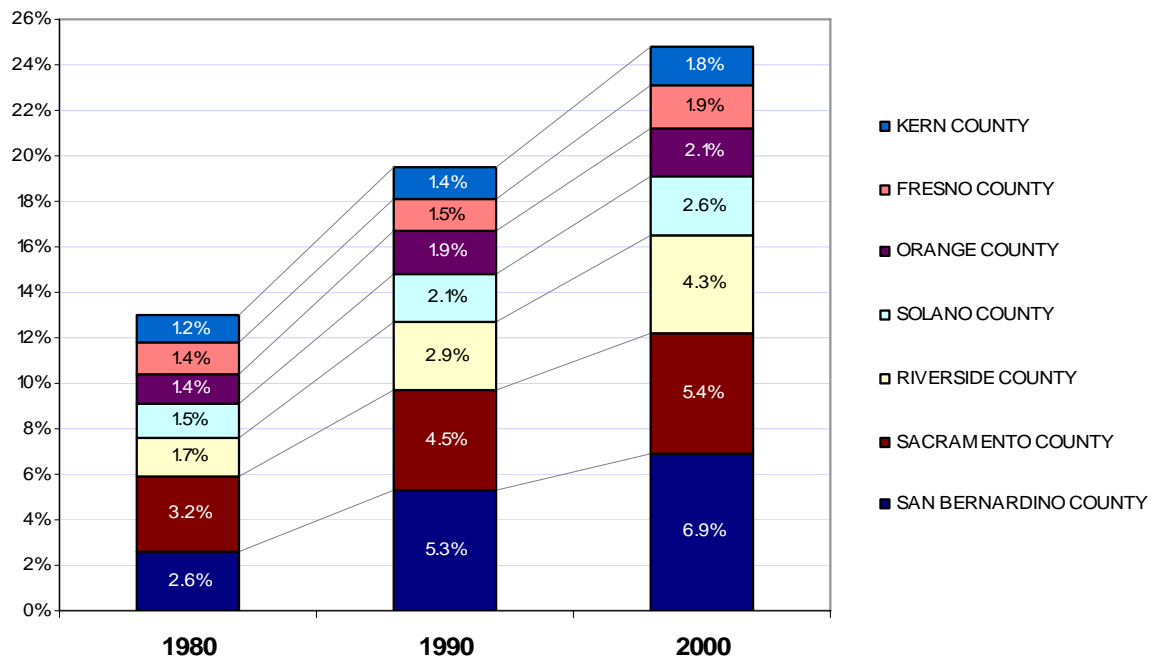
While there is evidence of a high number of Blacks that have left California for other states, the numbers of Blacks that moved within California is much greater. While the decrease in Black residents mostly occurred in urban metropolitan areas, the increase is most pronounced in counties that are predominately suburban or rural (see Table 8 on the next page). Between 1980 and 2000, a number of smaller, suburban counties in Northern, Southern, and Central California experienced a high numerical increase in their Black population. The Black population in many of these counties doubled and even tripled in this 20 year period.

**Table 8:
Counties with the Greatest Numerical Increase in Black Population, 1980-2000**

	1980	2000	Numerical Increase
San Bernardino County	47,964	155,348	107,384
Riverside County	30,870	96,421	65,551
Sacramento County	58,596	121,804	63,208
San Diego County	104,407	161,480	57,073
Solano County	27,690	58,827	31,137
Contra Costa County	60,146	88,813	28,667
Orange County	24,560	47,649	23,089
Kern County	21,148	39,798	18,650
San Joaquin County	19,288	37,689	18,401
Fresno County	25,714	42,337	16,623

As a result of the high numerical increase in the Black population in these regions, the share of the total Black population in California shifted. In 1980, seven counties listed in Figure 10 constituted about 13 percent of the total Black population in the state. In 2000, the same seven counties represented nearly 25 percent of the total Black population.

**Figure 10:
Counties with Increase in Share of the Total Black Population in California, 1980-2000**



City-Level In-Migration Patterns

The trend of suburban and rural migration is also evident at the city-level. In Northern California and the Central Valley, there was a high numerical increase in the greater Stockton, Sacramento, and Fresno regions (Table 9). Some of these cities (Antioch and Elk Grove) had very few Blacks in 1990 so the proportional increase was very high. Other cities (Sacramento, Fresno, Stockton, and Vallejo) had a sizeable Black population, but still experienced a significant proportional increase. The increase is also evident in the share of the total population that is Black, which occurred for all of these cities except Bakersfield. Antioch, in particular, was 2.7 percent Black in 1990 and increased to 9.4 percent in 2000.

**Table 9:
Northern and Central California Cities with the Largest Numerical Increase in Black Population, 1990-2000**

	Black Population 1990	Black Population 2000	Numerical Change	Percentage Change	Percent Black 1990	Percent Black 2000
1. Antioch	1,695	8,551	6,856	404.5%	2.7%	9.4%
2. Stockton	19,613	26,359	6,746	34.4%	9.3%	10.8%
3. Sacramento	54,974	61,136	6,162	11.2%	14.9%	15.0%
4. Fresno	28,368	34,357	5,989	21.1%	8.0%	8.0%
5. Bakersfield	16,222	21,987	5,765	35.5%	9.3%	8.9%
6. Elk Grove	351	4,967	4,616	1315.1%	2.0%	8.3%
7. Vallejo	22,760	27,201	4,441	19.5%	20.8%	23.3%
8. Fairfield	10,343	14,097	3,754	36.3%	13.4%	14.7%
9. Vacaville	5,498	8,691	3,193	58.1%	7.7%	9.8%
10. Pittsburg	8,171	10,457	2,286	28.0%	17.2%	18.4%

In Southern California, there were similar trends as in Northern California, but more pronounced (Table 10). For many of these cities (Rialto, Moreno Valley, Lancaster, San Bernardino, and Landcaster), the growth in the Black population was significant enough that Blacks now have a sizeable critical mass. For some of these cities the Black population's share of the total population more than doubled.

**Table 10:
Southern California Cities with the Largest Numerical Increase in Black Population, 1990-2000**

	Black Population 1990	Black Population 2000	Numerical Change	Percentage Change	Percent Black 1990	Percent Black 2000
1. Palmdale	4,202	16,447	12,245	291.4%	6.1%	14.1%
2. Moreno Valley	15,667	27,536	11,869	75.8%	13.2%	19.3%
3. Lancaster	6,992	18,548	11,556	165.3%	7.2%	15.6%
4. Fontana	7,399	14,629	7,230	97.7%	8.5%	11.3%
5. Rialto	14,495	19,954	5,459	37.7%	20.0%	21.7%
6. San Bernardino	25,164	29,654	4,490	17.8%	15.3%	16.0%
7. Rancho Cucamonga	5,759	9,789	4,030	70.0%	5.7%	7.7%
8. Victorville	3,823	7,431	3,608	94.4%	9.4%	11.6%
9. Ontario	9,245	11,317	2,072	22.4%	6.9%	7.2%
10. Riverside	16,084	18,051	1,967	12.2%	7.1%	7.1%

The cities with the greatest proportional increase in their Black population were relatively small (Table 11 and 12). In the Northern and Central California regions, there were cities with very few Blacks in 1990, but experienced a sharp increase in their Black population. Some of these cities had nearly no Black residents in 1990, but experienced a sharp increase in the number and proportion of their population that is represented by Blacks in 2000. Essentially, these cities went from having no Blacks to a sizeable community of Blacks in a very short period of time.

**Table 11:
Northern/Central California Cities with the Largest Proportional Increase in Black Population, 1990-2000**

	Black Population 1990	Black Population 2000	Numerical Change	Percentage Change	Percent Black 1990	Percent Black 2000
1. Susanville	60	1,682	1,622	X 27	0.8%	12.4%
2. Tehachapi	68	1,497	1,429	X 21	1.2%	13.7%
4. Elk Grove	351	4,967	4,616	X 13	2.0%	8.3%
5. Laguna	565	3,258	2,693	X 5	5.7%	9.5%
6. Antioch	1,695	8,551	6,856	X 4	2.7%	9.4%

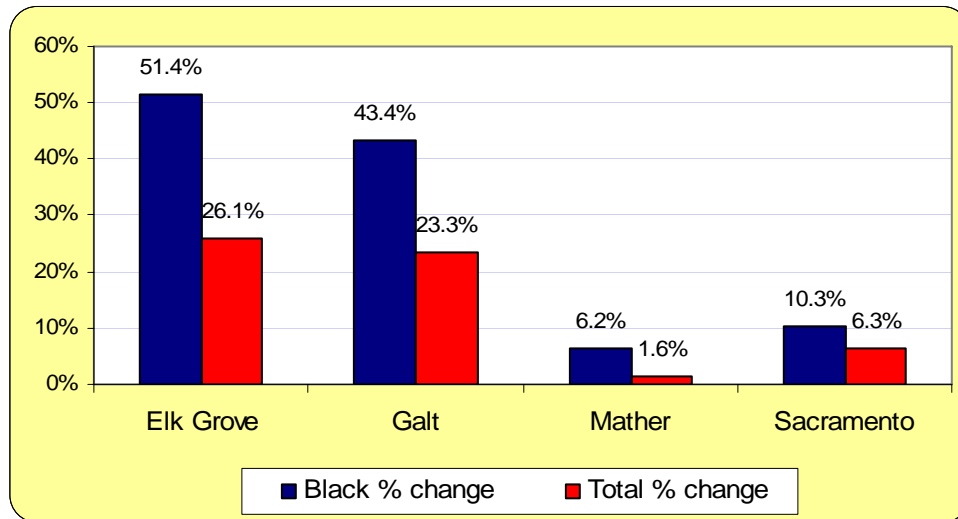
In Southern California, there were also many small cities with very few Blacks in 1990, but experienced a substantial change in a ten-year period. The cities in Southern California with the greatest percentage change were small and had a relatively small number of black residents prior to 1990. Among the cities with the sharpest increase in the Black population, there were a few that experienced a larger change in the representation of Blacks. Calipatria was 5.3 percent Black in 1990, but by 2000 Blacks represented 21 percent of the total population. Similar trends are evident for Landcaster and Palmdale.

**Table 12:
Southern California Cities with the Largest Proportional Increase in Black Population, 1990-2000**

	Black Population 1990	Black Population 2000	Numerical Change	Percentage Change	Percent Black 1990	Percent Black 2000
1. Calipatria	142	1,531	1,389	X 10	5.3%	21.0%
2. Hemet	263	1,407	1,144	X 5	0.7%	2.4%
3. Palmdale	4,202	16,447	12,245	X 3	6.1%	14.1%
4. Corona	2,016	7,704	5,688	X 3	2.6%	6.2%
5. Landcaster	6,992	18,548	11,556	X 2	7.2%	15.6%

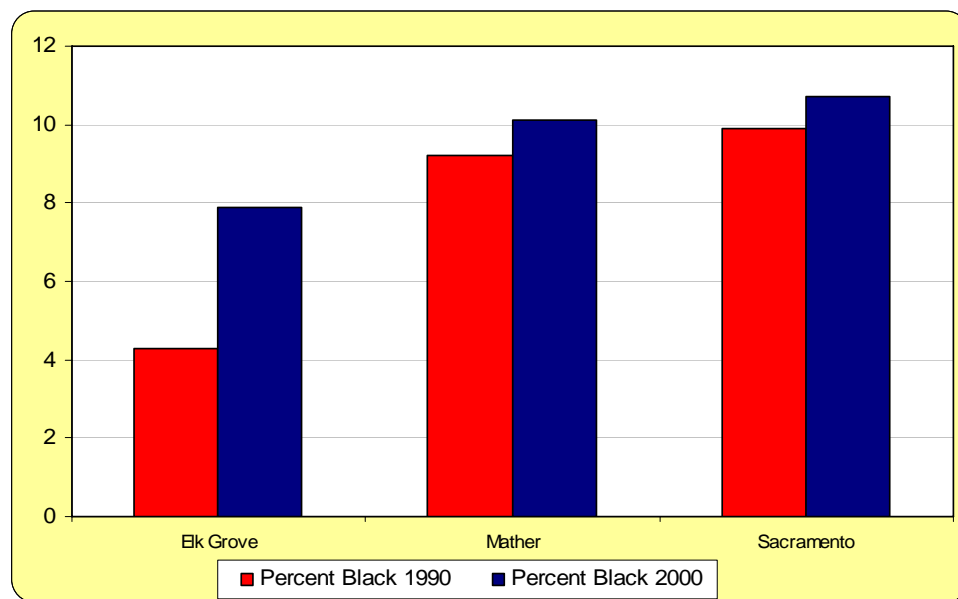
Earlier in the report, the decline in the Black population was noted relative to the growth of the total population. The same analysis is necessary when considering the growth in the Black population. Many of the cities that have experienced an increase in Black families are growing generally. However, the growth rate for Blacks in many suburban neighborhoods is outpacing the growth of the total population. For example, in Sacramento County, there has been both a numerical increase as well as an increase in the proportion of the population comprised by blacks in a number of cities (Figure 11).

Figure 11:
Change in the Black Population and Total Population in Selected Cities, 1990-2000



The gap between the increase in the Black population and the total population is causing an increase in the representation of Blacks in these cities (Figure 12).

Figure 12:
Black Share of Population in Selected Cities, 1990-2000



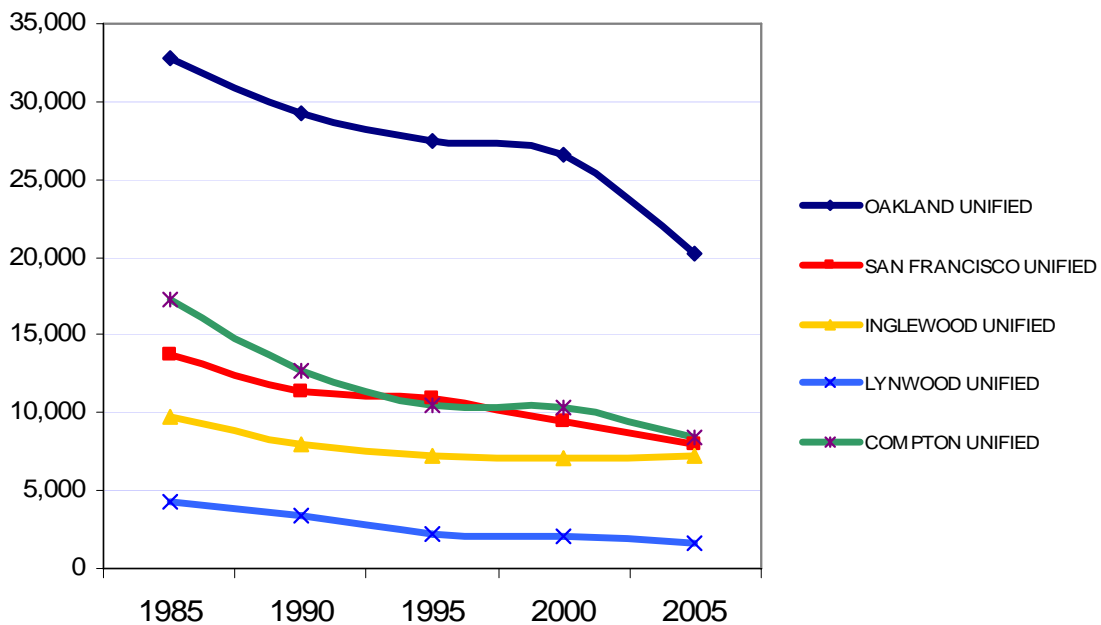
SCHOOL ENROLLMENT TRENDS

The trends in Black residential migration from urban metropolitan areas to suburban and rural regions can be seen in school demographics. In a 20 year period, between 1985 and 2005, there was a sharp decline in Black enrollment in a number of school districts in urban areas. The largest numerical decline can be found in the school districts of Los Angeles, Compton, San Francisco, and Oakland (Table 13). The largest proportional decline was in Lynwood, Compton, and San Francisco. The numerical decline of Black enrollment in urban school districts between 1985 and 2005 is captured in Figure 13.

Table 13:
School Districts with High Numerical Decrease in Black Enrollment, 1985-2005

	1985	2005	Change 1985-2005
OAKLAND UNIFIED	32,826	20,267	-38.3%
SAN FRANCISCO UNIFIED	13,734	7,971	-42.0%
INGLEWOOD UNIFIED	9,783	7,227	-26.1%
LOS ANGELES UNIFIED	113,342	86,316	-23.8%
LYNWOOD UNIFIED	4,328	1,614	-62.7%
COMPTON UNIFIED	17,288	8,457	-51.1%

Figure 13:
School Districts with High Numerical Decrease in Black Enrollment, 1985-2005

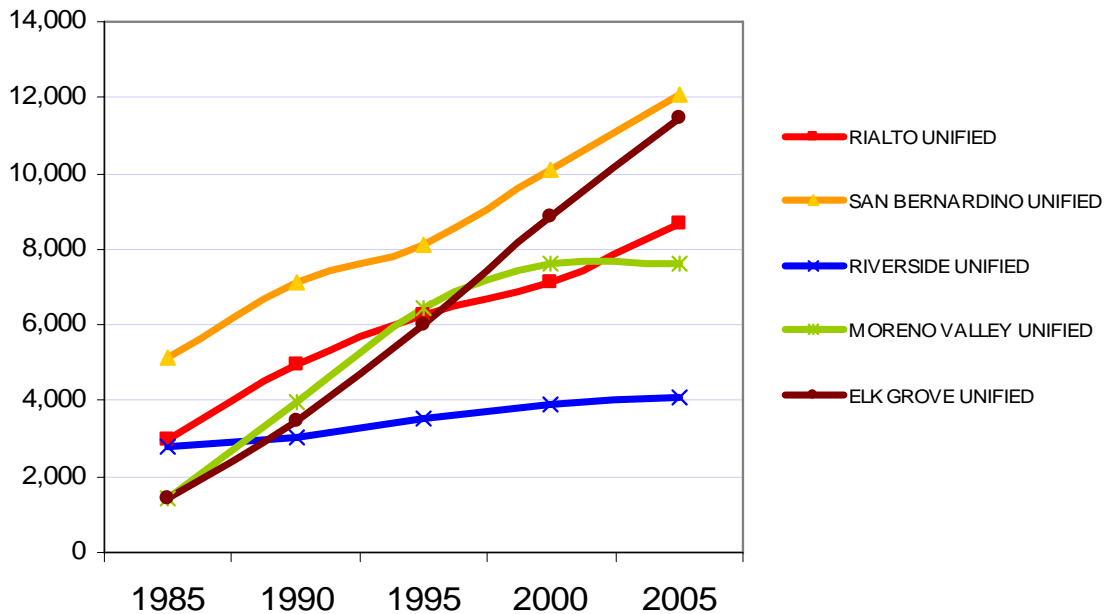


The school districts with the highest numerical gains were San Bernardino, Elk Grove, Moreno Valley and Rialto (Table 14). Some schools had a relatively low Black enrollment in 1985, but grew exponentially by 1995. In particular, school districts in Elk Grove, Moreno Valley, Rialto, and San Bernardino experienced very high proportional changes in their Black enrollment. The slope of Black enrollment over time in Figure 14 captures the sharp increase between 1985 and 2005.

Table 14:
School Districts with High Numerical Increase in Black Enrollment, 1985-2005

	1985	2005	Change 1985-2005
STOCKTON CITY UNIFIED	4,285	5,073	18.4%
RIALTO UNIFIED	2,992	8,680	190.1%
SAN BERNARDINO CITY UNIFIED	5,140	12,098	135.4%
RIVERSIDE UNIFIED	2,759	4,088	48.2%
MORENO VALLEY UNIFIED	1,454	7,614	423.7%
ELK GROVE UNIFIED	1,423	11,464	705.6%
SACRAMENTO CITY UNIFIED	9,935	11,290	13.6%

Figure 14:
School Districts with High Numerical Increase in Black Enrollment, 1985-2005



CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the increase and decrease of Black communities across different cities and counties in California and assess the impact of these trends on the racial demographics of public schools in the state. The need for this report was driven by the need for baseline information on the apparent shifting migration trends for the Black population in California.

Between 1980 and 2000, the greatest numerical decrease in the Black population occurred in urban metropolitan regions of the state. The communities in California with the greatest representation of African Americans experienced the highest net loss of African Americans. These areas included Los Angeles, Compton, Inglewood, Lynwood, Oakland, San Francisco, Berkeley, and East Palo Alto. The same regions that experienced a decline in the number of African Americans also experienced growth in their total population.

As a result, many urban Black communities have become increasingly dispersed. In 1980, two-thirds of Blacks lived in three counties, three-quarters lived in five counties, and 90 percent lived in 11 counties. By 2000, two-thirds of Blacks were concentrated in four counties, three-quarters were in six counties and 90 percent were now in 13 counties.

There is evidence of a high rate of out-migration to the South. Between 1995 and 2000, African Americans from California moved in large numbers to Texas (17,500), Georgia (14,000), North Carolina (12,000), and Nevada (14,000). California, overall, had a net out-migration flow in the 1990s, which reversed a long-standing tradition of more people arriving in California than leaving. California had the second highest net loss (300,000) of any state in the U.S. with the exception of New York (500,000).

The growth of the Black population was most evident in suburban communities in commutable distance to large metropolitan areas (Inland Empire, East Bay, and the greater Sacramento area). Between 1980 and 2000, small counties had a larger share of the total Black population in California. The numerical and proportional growth in the Black population in suburbs and rural counties has created small Black communities that are dispersed across a number of suburban communities rather than concentrated in fewer urban metropolitan areas.

The greatest numerical increase in Blacks at the city-level occurred in large suburban cities (Palmdale, Moreno Valley, Lancaster, Fontana, Stockton, Sacramento, and Fresno). The largest percentage change in the Black population occurred in smaller, rural communities (Susanville, Tehachapi, Calipatria, and Elk Grove). These communities began with a very small number of African Americans in 1980 and grew exponentially. The growth in the Black community is outpacing the total growth in suburban and rural areas. This trend is resulting in a rapid increase in the representation and concentration of Blacks in suburban and rural communities.

The trends in Black residential migration from urban metropolitan areas to suburban and rural regions can be seen in school demographics. Between 1985 and 2005, the largest numerical decline in Black students could be found in large urban school districts. These districts include Oakland, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Inglewood, Lynwood, and Compton. The large districts with the greatest decrease in Black enrollment are also experiencing growth in their total enrollment. This trend is resulting in a decrease in representation among Blacks in many large urban schools and a decrease in the concentration of Blacks across fewer schools in the state.

The enrollment trends show that Blacks are dispersed across more schools in 2000 than was true in 1980. Schools in suburban and rural districts are experiencing the greatest numerical gain in Black enrollment. These districts include San Bernardino, Sacramento, Elk Grove, Stockton, Rialto, Riverside, and Moreno Valley.

IMPLICATIONS

There are many important implications that are apparent in this study. Research, service, and policy needs to consider the rapidly shifting residential and school enrollment patterns of the Black community in California. Many of the policies and practices related to outreach and community services are concentrated in urban communities. These communities still hold the majority of Blacks in the state, but it is important to consider the large number of Blacks that are leaving these urban centers for suburban communities. Within these suburban communities, there needs to be further research conducted that can consider the range of suburbs in which Blacks reside in California (white suburbs; integrated suburbs; and racially and ethnically isolated suburbs).

While Black enrollment is increasing in suburban schools, it could be assumed that there should be greater access to resources and opportunities for African American students in the state. However, enrollment trends for higher education in the past decade have not shown a change in access and success (See Teranishi, Allen, and Solorzano, 2004). This study can serve as a starting point for research on Black student adjustment (academically and socially) to suburban communities and schools.

It is important to question if there are reactions, responses, and/or resistance from existing students, families, and institutional agents that need to be considered. There may be gatekeeping mechanisms in place that are not providing Black students access to resources even though these services exist in these schools.

Finally, it is important for future research to examine the composition of Black families that are leaving urban communities and those that are staying. There is anecdotal evidence of Black middle-class flight, or families that are selling their homes in the cities to start a new life in the suburbs. Is this resulting in an even greater concentration of Black families with low levels of economic and social capital? Also, future research should examine the out-migration that is occurring back to the South. Is there evidence of a loss of middle-class African Americans resulting in an African American “brain-drain” for California? These and other questions should be addressed in a timely manner.

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