

ANALYSIS OF THE RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURE OF UNDERPRIVILEGED
BLACK NEIGHBORHOODS: A CASE STUDY IN MANHATTAN, KANSAS

by

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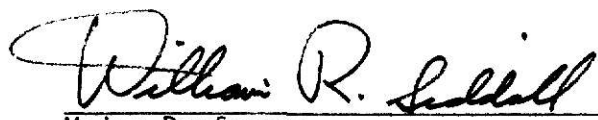
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The United States is the most affluent nation on the face of the earth. This suggests that poverty should not be a major problem and that most of its citizens should be free from destitution. For the majority of the non-white population this is not true. To the contrary, most Afro-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans and other minority groups in this country have benefited less from America's wealth than the white population. Among the results has been the spread of deteriorating housing conditions in low income residential areas where the majority of the population is non-white.

The residential structure¹ of most non-white neighborhoods in small cities and towns are in many ways similar to "the ghetto" in larger cities, the difference being that of scale and intensity. Regardless of where an underprivileged non-white community is located, whether it be in a large city or small town, the visible elements of poverty remain. Deteriorated housing structures with unsound plumbing facilities, inadequate space, and a generally unpleasant environment are constant realities.

How do such communities originate and why are they sustained? Morrill assesses the maintenance of the ghetto in terms of the enforcement of spatial segregation. He suggests that certain external and internal forces contribute to spatial segregation. Forces external to the black ghetto include (1) legal barriers, (2) discriminatory real estate practices,

¹In this study the term "residential structure" denotes an area which is predominately residential where residences are spatially related to other residences and to other desirable or undesirable land-use.

(3) discriminatory financial practices, (4) organized resistance groups, and (5) land use barriers. Internal forces include (1) poverty, (2) fear of the consequences of trying to escape, and (3) preference for the group.²

Other scholars have illuminated the process of ghetto formation, e.g., Forman, Darroch, and Pascal.³ Most of these studies have dealt with conditions in the ghettos of large American cities. There is little doubt that these studies are valuable and should be held in high regard as we continue to battle some of the negative forces haunting American cities. Nevertheless, more attention should be focused on residential conditions of non-white underprivileged neighborhoods of smaller cities and towns. By focusing upon a smaller urban place, this study should help to provide a more vivid image of all underprivileged areas which are predominately non-white.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to objectively describe and analyze the residential structure of a predominately non-white neighborhood in the southern section of Manhattan, Kansas. It endeavors to isolate the major causes and to describe the consequences for the people residing in that area. The study will consider common attitudes and attributes held by the

²Richard L. Morrill, "The Persistence of the Black Ghetto as Spatial Separation," Southeastern Geographer, Vol. 11, Nov. 1971, p. 149.

³See Robert Forman, Black Ghettos, White Ghettos and Slums (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971); A. Gordon Darroch and Wilfred G. Marston, "The Social Class Basis of Ethnic Residential Segregation: The Canadian Case," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 77, Nov. 1971; and A. Pascal, The Economics of Segregation (Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation, 1965).

people in the community as well as general housing conditions as they affect the individual.⁴

The specific objectives of this study include the following:

(1) to identify the distinguishing characteristics of an underprivileged neighborhood in Manhattan known as Southside, (2) to determine the degree in which the study area is related to conditions in other residential areas of the city, and (3) to illuminate the principal causes of the distinct residential structure in the study area.

Justification of the Study

Serious housing problems have been a reality in the United States for over a hundred years. Beyer mentions that serious housing problems began in New York around 1840 when the first tenements were built. They provided such substandard housing and such unhealthy, crowded living conditions that it was only natural that social reform movements should get under way, poor housing being one of its primary targets.⁵ Currently, serious housing problems not only are found in large cities but also in smaller cities and rural communities. This study examines a good example of a non-white underprivileged area in a small city where housing quality and the general residential environment is less than desirable.

A satisfactory housing environment has long been one of the major goals of America's non-white population. While some progress has been made in the

⁴Because of careful empirical examination of the study area, there is reason to believe that the attitudes and attributes of those living in the area are in many ways directly affected by the housing conditions and are almost always indirectly affected.

⁵Glenn H. Beyer, Housing and Society (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1965), p. 450.

attainment of that goal, there yet remains a sizeable differential in the proportion of housing meeting some minimal standard of quality.⁶ The situation has not been a good one. Yet, there is no reason why there can not be improvement, if not elimination of all residential hierarchies which tend to dictate where a certain segment of the population must live. There is reason to believe, therefore, that it is significant to recognize the scope of the problem if a resolution is to be effected.

Articles, essays, and other pamphlets on the structure of cities and towns are replete with information concerning low-income housing in non-white underprivileged neighborhoods. The emphasis in this area of urban development suggests that the quality of housing in the United States is important and that the problem of poor housing is too large to be ignored any longer.

The Problem

Urban areas today have gone through tremendous change since World War II and the evolution of American inner-city ghettos have become more discernable even though they existed long before the war. Less appreciated perhaps, is a parallel concentration of non-whites in smaller cities. The area examined in this study, being a part of a sparsely populated Mid-West city, is not identical to big city ghettos. It does have, however, many of the characteristics which are found in the ghetto. The residential structure of the study area is one which differs substantially from other residential areas in

⁶Harold M. Rose, "The Spatial Development of Black Residential Subsystems," Economic Geography, Vol. 48, Jan. 1972, p. 43.

Manhattan. Why is there such a difference in this area and what kind of relationships emerge when one assesses available information on the differences in the residential structure of the study area and that of other areas in the city? It is an important question which has not been approached from a geographical perspective at this scale. By answering this question insight into operative processes may be gained that will apply to cities of similar size.

Preliminary examination suggests that residential segregation and the housing environment in the study area is primarily associated with factors other than social status or stage in the life cycle. A valid assumption at this time can be that the extreme residential segregation in Manhattan is attributed to discrimination and group affinity.

Review of Literature

There have been many studies in the area of housing and residential structure in American cities. Most of the literature in this area deals with the gigantic problem of housing in large American metropolises. Information on the residential make-up of smaller cities and towns is confined to local administrative agencies.

The review of the literature will be presented in the following order: (1) Literature on segregation in residential neighborhoods and (2) Literature on housing conditions in underprivileged residential neighborhoods.

Literature On Segregation In Residential Neighborhoods

In recent years the literature on residential segregation has been abundant. This is not to suggest, however, that all there is to be done has

been done in this area. Available literature on residential segregation does contain an accurate assessment of neighborhood differences and gives an added dimension to the understanding of the nature of slum areas and underprivileged neighborhoods.⁷

Brown suggests that discrimination in housing is the basic element in the causation and the sustaining of segregated residential neighborhoods.

Brown states:

Racial discrimination in housing is perhaps the most serious and basic aspect of white racism manifest in American society today. It provides not only the basic structure for most other forms of institutional segregation, but also the resulting pattern of racially separate residential areas fosters the persistence of private prejudices and mythologies by which the entire structure is undergirded. The result is a seemingly impenetrable, vast, silent,⁸ and automatic system directed against men and women of color.

⁷Selected examples include: M. J. Bailey, "The Effects of Race and other Demographic Factors on the Values of Single-Family Homes," Land Economic, Vol. 42, May 1966; William Brown, Jr., "Class Aspects of Residential Development and Choice in the Oakland Black Community," Unpublished PH.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1970; William H. Brown, "Access to Housing: The Role of the Real Estate Industry," Economic Geography, Vol. 48, Jan. 1972; A. Gordon Darrock and Wilfred G. Marston, "The Social Class Basis of Ethnic Residential Segregation: The Canadian Case," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 77, Nov. 1971; D. McEntire, Residence and Race (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960); Barry M. Moriarty, "Locational Preferences and Urban Residential Developments," Proceedings of the AAG, Vol. 4, 1972; Richard L. Morrill, "The Persistence of the Black Ghetto as Spatial Separation," Southeastern Geographer, Vol. 11, Nov. 1971; C. Rapkin, "Price Discrimination Against Negroes in the Rental Housing Market," Essays in Urban Land Economics (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966); Karen Elizabeth Walby, "Residential Segregation and Housing Prices," Proceedings of the AAG, Vol. 4, 1972.

⁸William H. Brown, Jr., "Access to Housing: The Role of the Real Estate Industry," Economic Geography, Vol. 48, Jan. 1972, p. 66.

McEntire alludes to a more general explanation for residential segregation. McEntire contends that the segregation of blacks, like that of other racial minority groups, is traceable to low incomes, group cohesion, and external pressures. He continues to argue that the crucial difference between their position and that of white ethnic groups is that actions of the dominant majority toward blacks are based on the visible and unchangeable fact of race. Hence they cannot escape the impact of discrimination by raising their economic level or modifying their social behavior.⁹

McEntire, like Brown, suggests that racial discrimination is a dominant cause of segregation but gives less emphasis to racial discrimination in housing per se. Instead, he indicates that the differentiation of the black population into a variety of groups having little in common save the physical fact of color weakens the disposition of blacks to live together. Thus, racial discrimination begins when a growing number of blacks become prepared to live not as members of a racial group but like other Americans of their economic and cultural level.¹⁰

Segregation as a non-discriminatory entity is expressed by Freeman and Sunshine. They suggest that segregation, like many concepts in sociology, has no universal meaning. They turn to essayistic sociologists who generally agree that residential segregation refers to the degree to which members of a minority are all crowded together in space.¹¹

⁹Davis McEntire, Residence and Race (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960), p. 71.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 73.

¹¹See, for example, P.I. Rose, They and We, (New York: Random House, 1964).

Liggitt, for example, talks of segregation when people who are culturally or otherwise related to each other tend to live in separate areas within the urban community.¹² Although prejudice is mentioned sparingly in the literature, the basic reason given for residential segregation is group affinity.¹³

In accordance to the opinion presented by Liggitt, Muth suggests that residential segregation is not totally a result of realtors not wanting to sell to blacks, but a result of the obvious preference of most whites to live next to other whites. Muth, in an examination of a series of hypotheses attempting to explain the operation of the housing market in promoting racial residential segregation, rejected the hypothesis which puts the onus of responsibility on the real estate operator and accepted the hypothesis that customers exercised preferences. He is of the opinion that white persons have a greater aversion to residing among blacks than do other blacks; therefore, the realtors are only responding to the tastes of their customers.¹⁴ Rose retorts with the assumption that the real estate industry being principally concerned with its customers, who happen to be white, may be faulty. It appears that the industry is simply fearful of offending a segment of the population which they possibly perceive as their most important potential customers.¹⁵

¹²E. Liggitt, "The Urban Community," in Introduction to Sociology, Edited by J.H.S. Bossard, et al. (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole, 1952), p. 180.

¹³Linton C. Freeman and Morris H. Sunshine, Patterns of Residential Segregation (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1970), p. 30.

¹⁴See Harold M. Rose, op. cit., p. 54.

¹⁵Ibid.

To recapitulate briefly, most of the literature on residential segregation expresses the idea that discrimination in housing is one of the major causes of residential segregation. There is also substantial evidence to maintain the opinion that group affinity is a major factor.

Literature On Housing Conditions In Underprivileged Residential Neighborhoods

The literature on housing conditions in underprivileged residential neighborhoods, like that on residential segregation, has been abundant. The following paragraphs review what has been done by scholars in this area.¹⁶

The bulk of the housing problems in the United States are located in the major metropolitan areas. But there are areas in smaller communities where the problem of housing is becoming a major issue and a problem which has been vastly ignored. Hecht asserts that the problems of black Americans have mistakenly become associated in the minds of many people only with the ghettos in the cities. He continues to state that this is because in the cities there has been rebellion and the problems of blacks have become those of the entire community. Also, one must realize that almost ten million blacks, nearly half of those in the nation, do not live in the hundred

¹⁶Selected examples include: Carolyn S. Bell, The Economics of the Ghetto (New York: Western Publishing Company, 1970); Glenn H. Beyer, Housing and Society (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1965); Robert Forman, Black Ghettos, White Ghettos and Slums (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971); Nathan Glazer, "Housing Problems and Housing Policies," in Metropolis in Crisis, Edited by J. Hadden, et al. (Itasca, Ill.: Peacock, 1967); James L. Hecht, Because it is Right (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1970); Herman P. Miller, Rich Man, Poor Man (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1964); Robert Weaver, The Negro Ghetto (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1948).

largest cities, but continue to have some of the same problems that are found in these cities.¹⁷

Beyer gives a good account of the housing conditions in slum and redevelopment areas. The following is a portion of his work in this area:

When a housing area reaches the point of deterioration and obsolescence, where the dwelling units have passed any possible stage of rehabilitation in order to provide decent living quarters, that area constitutes a slum.

The housing in such an area is a detriment to physical well-being. Usually such areas lack sunlight and fresh air, adequate water supplies, and sewage control, and often there are fire and accident hazards, as well as severe overcrowding.¹⁸

The condition of housing, of course, depends on factors other than those associated with the mere quality of a dwelling. Terms most frequently associated with poor or low-income housing--deteriorated housing, dilapidated housing, and substandard housing--are defined according to local government and housing agencies. Having this in perspective, Bell analyzes the economics of ghetto housing by using three types of data. There are, first, facts on the condition of housing; second, summary information about housing tenure; and third, some knowledge of the residents--how many families with how many people living together, and how many single individuals.¹⁹ Here, Bell alludes to the fact that poor quality housing is a result of family

¹⁷James L. Hecht, Because it is Right (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1970), p. 14.

¹⁸Glenn H. Beyer, Housing and Society (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1965), p. 338.

¹⁹Carolyn S. Bell, The Economics of the Ghetto (New York: Pegasus, 1970), p. 56.

status--income, occupation, and family size--as well as the physical quality of the dwelling.

In summation, the serious problems in housing are extensively discussed in the cited literature. Specifically, it can be stated that the underprivileged areas in cities and towns in the United States are areas of poor quality housing.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Operational Definitions

In the review and analysis chapters that follow, a number of terms are used for precision. These could, if undefined, hinder communication of important ideas. Therefore, the following operational definitions are offered for clarification.

Residential structure. Residential structure, as was previously defined in Chapter I, denotes the arrangement of dwellings in an area and their spatial relationship with other dwellings and with other desirable or undesirable land-use in that area. Included in this arrangement is the quality of dwellings as well as the spatial relationships between residential and other land-use.

Residential hierarchy. Residential hierarchy refers to the arrangement of spatially separate and physically distinct neighborhoods in cities and towns.

Underprivileged neighborhood. The word underprivileged is defined by Webster as being "deprived through social or economic condition of some of the fundamental rights of all members of a civilized society."²⁰ More specifically, an underprivileged neighborhood refers to a residential area which is predominately black and one which has the physical characteristics of a "poor" neighborhood, e.g., deteriorated or dilapidated housing.

²⁰Merriam-Webster, Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary (Springfield, Massachusetts: G & C Merriam Company, 1969), p. 967.

Neighborhood. By neighborhood is meant an area which is basically residential and one which is homogeneous ethnically, economically, and culturally. This need not be an area where boundaries are clearly delimited, but it should be an area where the characteristics mentioned above are clearly recognizable to the point where a homogeneous area can be justifiably assumed.²¹

Ghetto. The ghetto represents an area of low-income housing located in the large metropolitan areas of the United States. These low-income areas are almost always located in the "inner-city."²² Physical characteristics of the ghetto include housing deterioration caused by overcrowding and nearness to undesirable land-use, e.g., industry which may be in or directly adjacent to the ghetto.

Similarities might often be made between the ghetto of the inner-city and underprivileged neighborhoods in rural communities. The assumption that the ghetto and the underprivileged neighborhood in rural communities are synonymous should not be made, although it has been mentioned previously that there are distinct similarities between the two areas.

Substandard housing. The Bureau of the Census defines a substandard dwelling unit as one that is dilapidated and that which is not equipped with

²¹The writer recognizes the fact that the existence of a "neighborhood" has been questioned, and that in some cases it may be difficult to separate a homogeneous residential area from another. However, the writer feels that from empirical examination of the study area and other residential areas like it, one can safely assume that there are such neighborhoods and that they can, in most cases, be clearly recognizable.

²²The inner-city is described by Burgess as being a part of the second zone, the zone of transition, in his concentric ring model. See Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, The City (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925).

a private toilet, bath, and hot running water. According to Bell, "Sound housing is defined as that which has no defects, or only slight defects which are normally corrected during the course of regular maintenance. Examples of slight defects include: lack of paint; slight damage to porch or steps; small cracks in walls, plaster, or chimney; broken gutters or downspouts; slight wear on floors and doorsills."²³ If these defects should become major, the dwelling may become "substandard," depending upon the decision of the surveyor.

Deteriorating housing. Deteriorating housing differs from substandard housing in that the former 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. Examples of intermediate defects include: shaky or unsafe porch or steps; holes, open cracks or missing materials over a small area of the floors or doorsills; broken or loose stair treads or missing balusters.²⁴

Dilapidated housing. 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. Examples of critical defects include: holes, open cracks, or missing materials over a large area of the floors, walls, or roof; damage by storm or fire.²⁵

²³Carolyn Shaw Bell, op. cit., p. 60.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid., p. 61.

Community and neighborhood attitudes. As stated in Chapter I, the attitudes of those residing in underprivileged neighborhoods are in many ways affected by housing conditions, e.g., a substandard dwelling causing unpleasant living conditions for the occupants with the result of prevailing negative attitudes by the occupants to the community and society.²⁶

Procedure

This section presents procedures used in the study. The study does not include the use of any statistical technique. The basis of this investigation includes a survey taken in the study area concerning housing and neighborhood conditions. Information on the housing conditions in the study area was a result of a survey taken by the Urban Renewal Agency of Manhattan (See Fig. 2 and Appendix B).

The choice of the study area followed close empirical examination of the residential structure of Manhattan in which the writer found distinct locational differences. There was also sufficient evidence in the literature that Manhattan could be divided into distinct socio-economic areas.²⁷ The area south of Yuma Street between Fourth Street and Manhattan Avenue is distinct from all other areas in Manhattan physically, economically, and ethnically. This area was chosen for this study and henceforth shall be called "Southside."

²⁶For an excellent example, see William Moore, Jr., The Vertical Ghetto (New York: Random House, 1969).

²⁷See, for example, Terry Carlson, "A comparative Study of Two Contrasting Socio-economic Areas of a Small City: Formal and Informal Participation in Relation to Community Perspectives," Master's Thesis, Kansas State University, Manhattan, 1967.

As was stated earlier the study does not include the use of any statistical technique. In order to show the physical distinctiveness of the study area, two methods were employed. First, a description of the study area which includes population analysis, economic analysis, as well as a physical description of the study area showing housing and other physical conditions of the neighborhood. Secondly, a comparison is made between the study area and other residential areas in the city. Some of the critical variables considered here are the physical conditions of housing units, value of housing units, and racial composition.

The survey taken in the study area included 51 respondents. A stratified random sample was employed in this survey. The samples were drawn from 31 blocks in the area. Two households were usually sampled from each block except in cases when a block contained fewer than two housing units. Whenever possible the head of the household was questioned and in the cases where this was impossible, a responsible member of the household was selected. Individuals were asked about both the physical conditions of their homes and about the general condition of their neighborhood.

To place the study in a larger context, the following chapter will offer a brief history on the housing conditions and the residential make-up of northern and western cities as blacks migrated from the South to these areas.

CHAPTER III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF UNDERPRIVILEGED BLACK NEIGHBORHOODS

Slightly over one hundred years have passed since slavery was abolished in which blacks were free for the first time in this country to live independently from whites. Although in many cases they were still economically tied to their former masters, they now had the opportunity to develop their own residential communities.

Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, and other racial minority groups who have concentrated in American cities and towns have done so in a migratory manner. Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans began settling in large northeastern and western cities respectively at the turn of the century. Similar to blacks, they developed their own homogeneous neighborhoods which progressively grew to be more deteriorated.

The following section is a review of black settlement in American cities after 1900. Included is a brief review of neighborhood conditions that confronted this minority group.

The Exodus of Blacks From the South

The migration of blacks to northern cities at the beginning of the twentieth century resulted in many socio-economic problems for this minority group. The reception they received was far from what many blacks had expected. Employment was scarce and the majority of these people were seriously in need of jobs. Perhaps just as important, but a less immediate need was education. But a necessity that was less tangible but certainly just as important as those mentioned above was love; the feeling within an individual

which causes him to reject animosity and receive and accept a human being regardless of race or color. Because of the lack of this one basic need, blacks were segregated and discriminated against to the point where practically every city in America had its "slum" or "underprivileged area."

Many of the problems that confronted blacks after they had left the South and settled in northern cities and communities in the West were problems they had faced in the rural South. The difference between these areas was that the North and West presented what was believed to be a new and better way of life for this minority group than what they would have received in the South.

Rose gives a summary of black migration in the following quotation:

Prior to World War II, black migration streams had been essentially directed at the set of major cities found along the Atlantic seaboard, those fringing the lower Great Lakes, and a few major river cities. But with the new opportunities associated with a sudden gearing up for war, new migration paths began to emerge. For the first time large numbers of blacks began to abandon the Southwest in favor of Pacific coast urban agglomerations. This resulted in the development of a third migration path which could be added to the already well developed courses leading out of the Southeast to the Middle West, and from the South Atlantic region to the Middle Atlantic region. The emergence of this third path added to the racial heterogeneity of Pacific coast cities, which heretofore had known only a relatively small oriental population.²⁸

The migration of blacks into the Middle West and the Rocky Mountain area slowed significantly during and after World War II. However, war-based economic development spurred rapid migration of the black population into large cities in the North and Far West.²⁹

²⁸Harold M. Rose, op. cit., p. 44.

²⁹Ibid.

The migration of blacks to northern and western cities is continuing at the present time but at a much lower rate than before. In the meantime, while there is much concern for the growing black population in large cities and the problems they face there, those who remain in smaller communities outside the large metropolitan areas are often forgotten. Nonetheless, the needs and wants of these individuals are much like the needs and wants of those residing in crowded cities. The following section is concerned with some of the problems that many of these black migrants faced and the general environmental conditions that prevailed in predominately black neighborhoods of northern and western communities.

A New Environment and a New Way of Life

Blacks who settled in residential areas in northern and western communities often found themselves in a more unfavorable condition socially and economically than they had previously been exposed to in the South. First of all, the migrants from the South either resided with a relative, got an apartment, or inherited housing occupied by a previous social group. In all cases there were problems the migrants never had expected. When a migrant moved into the home of a relative he made the already crowded conditions worse. If he elected to move into an apartment he was often faced with deteriorating housing conditions. Furthermore, when he moved into a house occupied by a previous social group, which was usually white, he was often the victim of unusually high rent.³⁰

³⁰See Richard L. Morrill, "The Persistence of The Black Ghetto as a Spatial Separation," Southeastern Geographer, Vol. 11, Nov. 1971, p. 153.

Rose elaborates on choice in the housing market in northern urban-areas which can be applied to some degree to all residential hierarchies in American cities and towns. Rose states that "the manner in which housing is allocated in northern urban markets has generally led to complaints that the markets act as a quasi-closed system denying free access to the full spectrum of choice, as determined by one's ability to pay. Traditionally, one's choice was limited to the range of housing types found in zones which were written off as markets within which prospective white buyers would no longer consider making a purchase".³¹

Where are these areas that are "written off" by prospective white buyers? They are generally areas where there is already a predominately black or non-white population. These areas are located near the least desirable land-use area in the city; adjacent to the commercial-industrial core and along railroad corridors.³²

The result of the mass exodus of blacks from the South to areas in the North and West was the build-up of "underprivileged" neighborhoods in almost every town, as well as the expansion of the ghetto in the large cities of the North. More recently the larger cities of the West have been following the same trends of development in residential housing as those cities in the North. Also, as it was suggested earlier, the trend for underprivileged areas being developed in the smaller communities in the North and West is no different than in the larger cities, although underprivileged areas in larger cities are obviously of greater scale and intensity. Hecht says of

³¹Harold M. Rose, op. cit., p. 54.

³²Richard L. Morrill, op. cit., p. 149.

small communities, "while blacks go to school with whites, and some whites live in the same neighborhoods as Negroes, most housing is not available to blacks. As a result, in small communities where Negroes are a small minority, black families usually have a rough time finding places to live."³³ The result is the gradual confinement of the low-income, non-white population to less desirable areas, hence, the expansion of underprivileged neighborhoods

³³James L. Hecht, Because it is Right (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1970), p. 15.

CHAPTER IV

THE STUDY AREA: DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS

Location of the Study Area

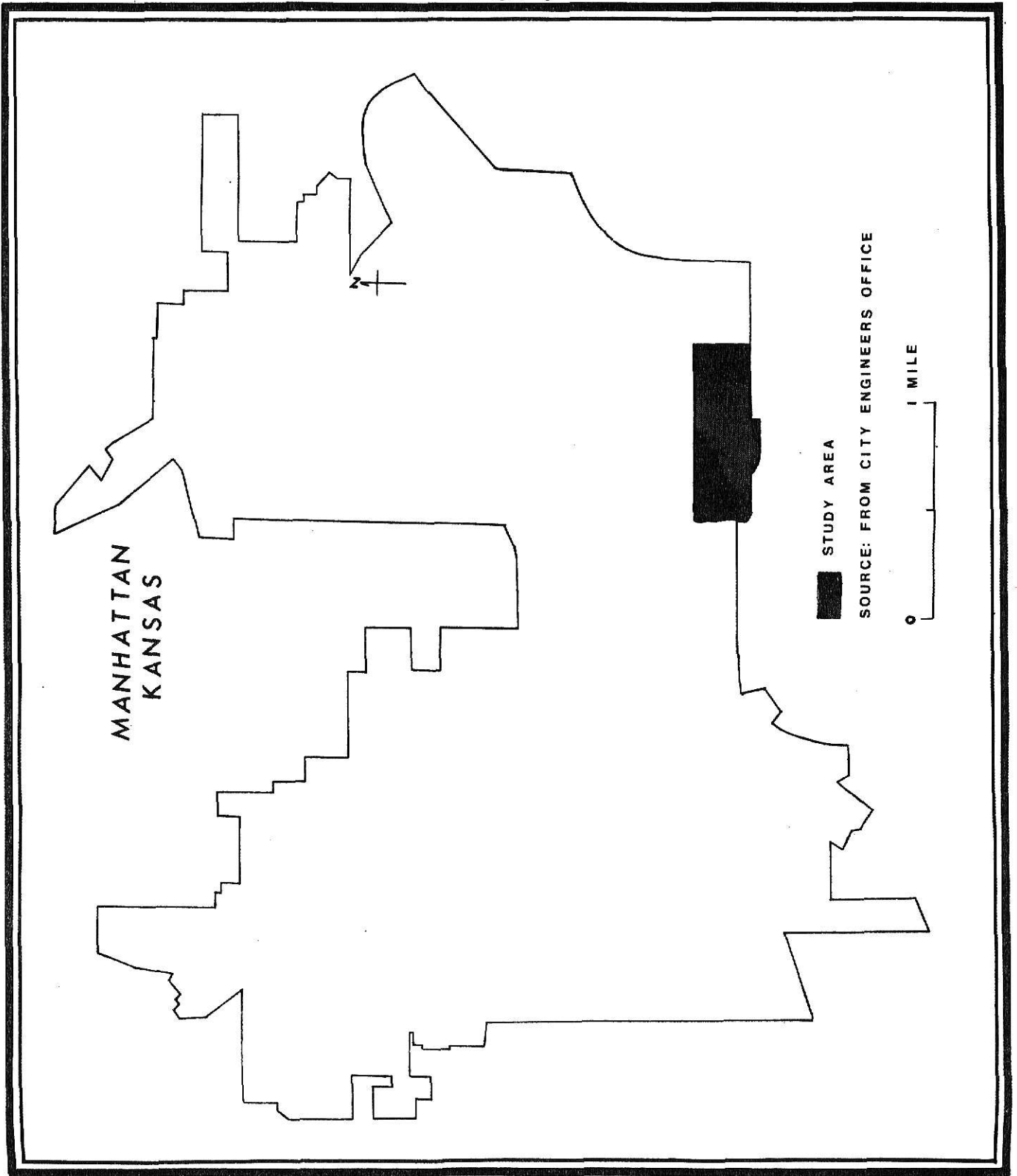
Manhattan, Kansas, like most American cities, has been going through the process of urban renewal in the last decade. It was mentioned earlier that there are few cities where "underprivileged neighborhoods" are absent. By empirical examination of the residential structure in Manhattan it was found that the southern part of the city has distinct physical characteristics, e.g., unpaved and inadequately paved streets and deteriorating housing units. The study area chosen for this thesis is located in the southern section of the city; south of Yuma Street and between Fourth Street and Manhattan Avenue (Southside).

Southside is surrounded by a large residential area to the north and by mostly farmland intergrated with some wasteland to the south. The southern boundary of Southside is the city limit. Fig. 1 shows the area of investigation.

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FIG. 1



Population Analysis

The following information was obtained from several sources. Census block data was supplemented by sample data. In addition the writer engaged in detailed, on-site observation.

Composition by Race

The population of Southside is predominately non-white. Only nine of the thirty-one blocks in the area reported a greater percentage of whites. There is a definite concentration of non-whites in the area south of the railroad tracks beyond Yuma and west of Juliette Avenue. Of the fourteen blocks in this area three had one hundred percent non-white and seven had over eighty percent of its population non-white.

Age Composition

The majority of the population in Southside is below forty years of age. More specifically, the percentage of population under 18 years of age and above 62 years of age is shown in Table 1.

Education Level

A survey taken of Southside revealed that a large share of those living in the study area had graduated from high school (50 percent). Only 17 percent of the individuals in the households studied had attended college.

TABLE 1

Age Characteristics of Southside

Blocks	Total Population	% of Population under 18 years	% of Population 62 years & over
1	51	4	4
2	40	23	5
3	15	47	7
4	36	31	8
5	9	44	--
6	21	57	5
7	--	--	--
8	21	52	--
9	36	28	--
10	--	--	--
11	26	39	12
12	21	52	14
13	26	54	--
14	53	43	11
15	25	44	8
16	27	33	4
17	55	29	--
18	25	32	16
19	7	71	--
20	32	44	13
21	51	22	2
22	24	38	21
23	--	--	--
24	67	42	5
25	17	77	--
26	20	20	20
27	--	--	--
28	18	39	11
29	4	--	--
30	--	--	--
31	26	19	12
Total	654	35	9
Manhattan	27,575	25	10

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Block Statistics: Selected Areas in Kansas, 1970.

In and Out Migration

The survey taken of Southside indicated that there has been a gradual out-migration in this area over the past five years. Twenty-five individuals were said to have left their homes in the past five years to settle in areas outside of Manhattan while only 7 individuals had moved from an area outside the city into the study area in the same time period.

The majority of those migrating to other areas were young people who were either unable to find employment in Manhattan or who found a more compatible living environment elsewhere. There were also individuals in the area who left the city because of military or academic obligations.

Economic Analysis

Economic conditions in the study area were obtained from a random sample of households. Other published work on Southside provides an additional source of information.

Employment and Income

The majority of those in the labor force in Southside are employed in unskilled occupations. Table 2 indicates that 34 percent of those surveyed are in unskilled occupations.

One of the most common complaints of the residents living in Southside was the absence of much needed jobs. A paradox resulted from the feeling of most residents that there should be more industry in the area to create more jobs while at the same time there was a feeling of disgust at the proximity of industrial land-use to the residential area.

TABLE 2

Number and Percentage of Individuals Over
18 Who Are in Professional, Skilled or
Unskilled Occupations, or Unemployed In Southside

Status	Professional occupations	Skilled occupations	Unskilled occupations	Unemployed
Number	3	9	17	14
% of population	6	18	34	28

N = 51, Eight respondents were in other occupations.
Source: From survey taken in the study area.

Surprisingly, there were few individuals who were on welfare or similar federal assistance. The majority of the individuals who were unemployed were retired and were receiving social security or some other retirement income.

Most of the people who were in unskilled occupations were either janitors or service station attendants. Those individuals in skilled occupations were mostly clerks, cooks or mechanics. It is interesting to note that a very large percentage of those in skilled occupations were clerks working in the downtown area. In relation to this it is also interesting to note that the northern section of Southside is directly adjacent to the Central Business District where most of the clerical and related occupations are found.

Despite the reasons to believe that the income is very low in Southside because of neighborhood deterioration, there is a large proportion of the

population that is earning a suitable income. Table 3 shows the distribution of income in the study area.

TABLE 3

Income Distribution in Southside
(per household)

Annual income	Number of households	% of total
Less than \$2,000	5	11.3
2,000 - 3,999	12	27.2
4,000 - 5,999	9	20.4
6,000 - 7,999	11	25.0
8,000 - 9,999	5	11.3
10,000 - 11,999	1	2.0
12,000 and over	1	2.0

N = 51 Median income = \$5,100.

Source: From survey taken in the study area.

There is an extremely high number of veterans in Southside and for most of these individuals, money received from the armed forces is the bulk of their income. In conclusion, it can be said that there were many households where the occupants were in serious financial difficulty but there also was a large number of individuals who seemed to be in a secure condition financially.

Household and Neighborhood Characteristics

General Condition of Dwellings

Southside produces the highest ratings of any residential area in the city in those factors which are normally associated with blight and

deterioration.³⁴ Only a small number of dwellings were found to be in "standard" condition. Fig. 2 gives an indication of housing deterioration in this area. Table 4 shows the number and percentage of dwellings which were considered good, fair, poor, or dilapidated. The condition of the housing units was determined primarily by their outward appearance and by the presence, absence, or the inadequacy of important household facilities, e.g., hot water, plumbing facilities and general household inadequacies.

TABLE 4

Housing Conditions In Southside

Condition	Number of Units	Percent of housing units
Good	5	9.0
Fair	15	29.4
Poor	12	23.5
Dilapidated	19	37.2

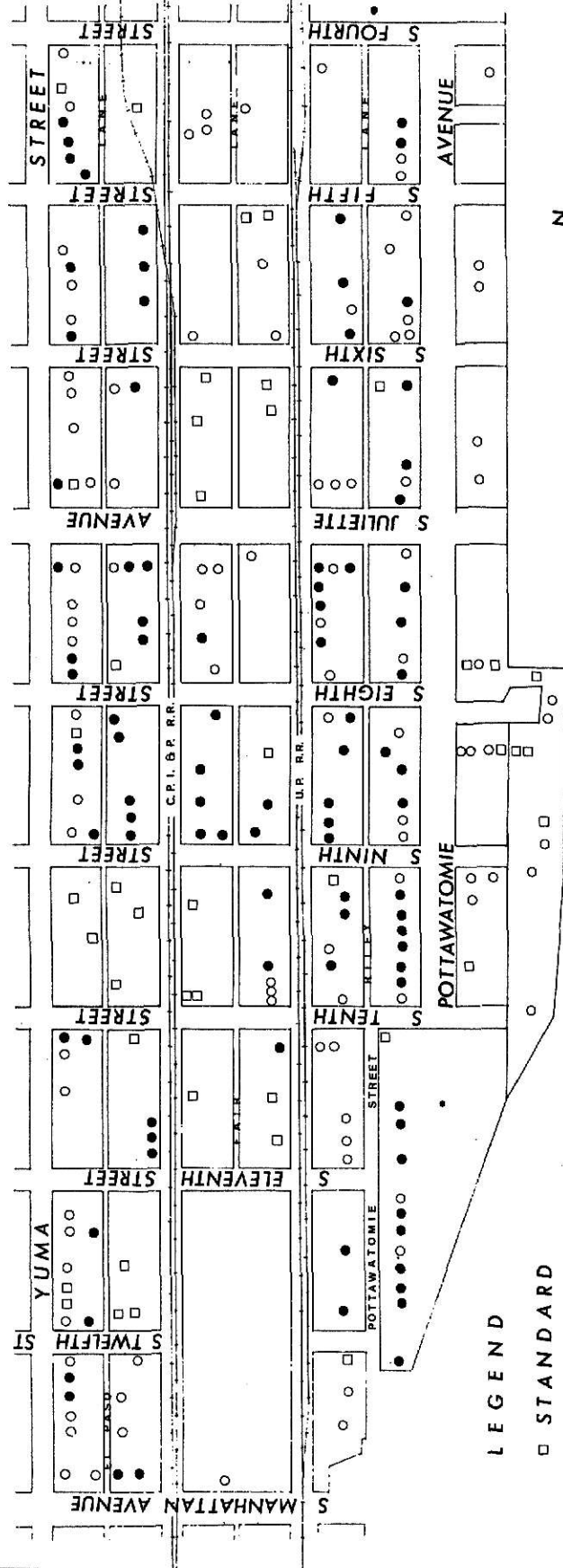
Source: From survey taken in the study area.

The basic needs of those dwellings which were rated either as dilapidated or poor were plumbing repair, painting, floor and roof repair, and better ventilation. Although there were a few instances where it was felt that those individuals in a dwelling which was rated either poor or dilapidated could amend some of the things that needed it, e.g., painting or cleaning the dwelling, most of the things that needed to be fixed were

³⁴Oblinger and Smith, Neighborhood Analysis: Manhattan, Kansas, Planning Consultants, Wichita, Kansas, July 1968, p. 39.

FIG. 2

SOUTH SIDE



- LEGEND
- STANDARD
 - POOR
 - DILAPIDATED

SOURCE: URBAN RENEWAL AGENCY OF
MANHATTAN, KANSAS

0 400 FEET

HOUSING CONDITIONS

beyond repair. In addition to the needs listed above a limited number of residents complained about the heating and the need for more space in the dwellings. Fig. 3 depicts a typical dilapidated dwelling in Southside.

Average Number of Rooms Per Dwelling

Most of the dwellings in Southside are quite old and the rooms are usually very large. In some instances large rooms were divided into two sections, usually by cardboard or plywood. Apartment houses usually had only two or three rooms per apartment. Accordingly, individual homes had slightly more rooms per house than the average number of rooms for all dwellings in Manhattan which was 5.0 rooms.

Average Number of Persons Per Household

There was an average of three individuals per household. It was mentioned earlier that there were several complaints that there were not enough rooms in the dwellings. As might be expected, a larger number of the complaints came from those living in apartments, although this problem also existed for those who were either buying or owning a home.

Number of Dwellings With Hot Water

Hot water did not seem to be a serious problem in Southside. Out of the 51 dwellings surveyed 49 had hot water.

Number of Dwellings With Air Conditioners

There were considerably fewer air conditioning units in the housing units of Southside than hot water. Next to inefficient heating systems,

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FIGURE 3

Dilapidated Housing Unit
(Photo taken by the investigator)

the lack of having an air conditioning unit was among the major grievances concerning heating and cooling comfort. According to the survey taken, only 16 of the 51 dwellings were reported having air conditioning.

General Neighborhood Characteristics

In addition to the large number of deteriorating and dilapidated housing units, public services also tend to be substandard. The whole area can be characterized as blighted with mass deterioration in many sections of the study area. Oblinger and Smith give a good description of the area in the following quotation:

Welfare rates, non-white population, over crowding, large families, and deterioration and dilapidation are all higher in this neighborhood than in any other part of the city. This area also has suffered more than others from the greatly mixed land uses with large areas devoted to industrial uses related to the railroad lines crossing the area. The mixing of industrial and commercial uses with residential uses in an indiscriminate manner have almost certainly been responsible for accelerating the rate of deterioration of the area.³⁵

No one is any more aware of Southside's deterioration than the residents themselves. Table 5 indicates this awareness.

³⁵ Ibid.

TABLE 5

Percentage of Population Who Feel that the
Problems Listed Do Exist and Should Be Corrected

Problem	Number	Percent
Unpaved or inadequately paved streets	26	50.9
Limited playing area for children	35	68.6
Not enough low-income housing	45	88.2
General neighborhood maintenance	36	70.5

N = 51

Source: From survey taken in the study area.

Although the streets in Southside have been repaired to some extent recently, it still appears that the streets in this area are far from adequate. El Paso is unpaved from 10th to Manhattan. In addition, there is inadequate paving on 15th from El Paso to Riley, 14th from Yuma to El Paso, 12th from Yuma to El Paso, 11th from El Paso to Riley, 10th from Yuma to Riley, 9th and 8th from Yuma to Pottawatomie, 6th from Riley to Pottawatomie, and 5th from El Paso to Pottawatomie.³⁶ In general, sidewalks are lacking in the same area, although this situation extends beyond the area of unpaved streets in places.³⁷ Fig. 4 shows a part of the study area where the above conditions are most extreme.

Perhaps the most disturbing characteristic of Southside is the proximity of industrial land use to the residential area. Mixed land use is higher

³⁶C.E. Weaver, "Life Quality in Manhattan, Kansas: Intra-Urban Mobility," paper presented to a research seminar dealing with the quality of the environment in Manhattan, Kansas, 1970, p. 9.

³⁷Ibid.



FIGURE 4

Riley Lane: A Representative Example
of an Unpaved and Narrow Street
(Photo taken by the investigator)

here than anywhere else within Manhattan, with large areas devoted to industrial uses related to the railroad lines in the area. Although dilapidation is concentrated most heavily in the eastern half of the neighborhood, general blight throughout the area reflects this indiscriminate mixing of land uses, as shown in Fig. 5 and 6.³⁸

The city's maintenance department probably has more of a responsibility for the up-keep of public areas than any other job they have. Despite the fact that much of the land in Southside is reserved for public use in addition to residential and industrial land use, little has been achieved concerning the up-keep and development of these areas. For example, development has elluded a large area of potentially useful land in the extreme eastern section of Southside and because of the absence of adequate maintenance, the area has grown weeds and shrubs to the point where habitation is not feasible. The same is true of many areas adjacent to homes which are not privately owned and are poorly maintained. Fig. 7 presents an illustration of this problem.

Another major problem of Southside has been poor drainage. This problem was found to be quite apparent to many of the people residing in the area. The distasteful result has been the susceptibility of the area to flooding and the accumulation of excessive water resulting in much mud after precipitation.

³⁸Ibid.

FIG. 5

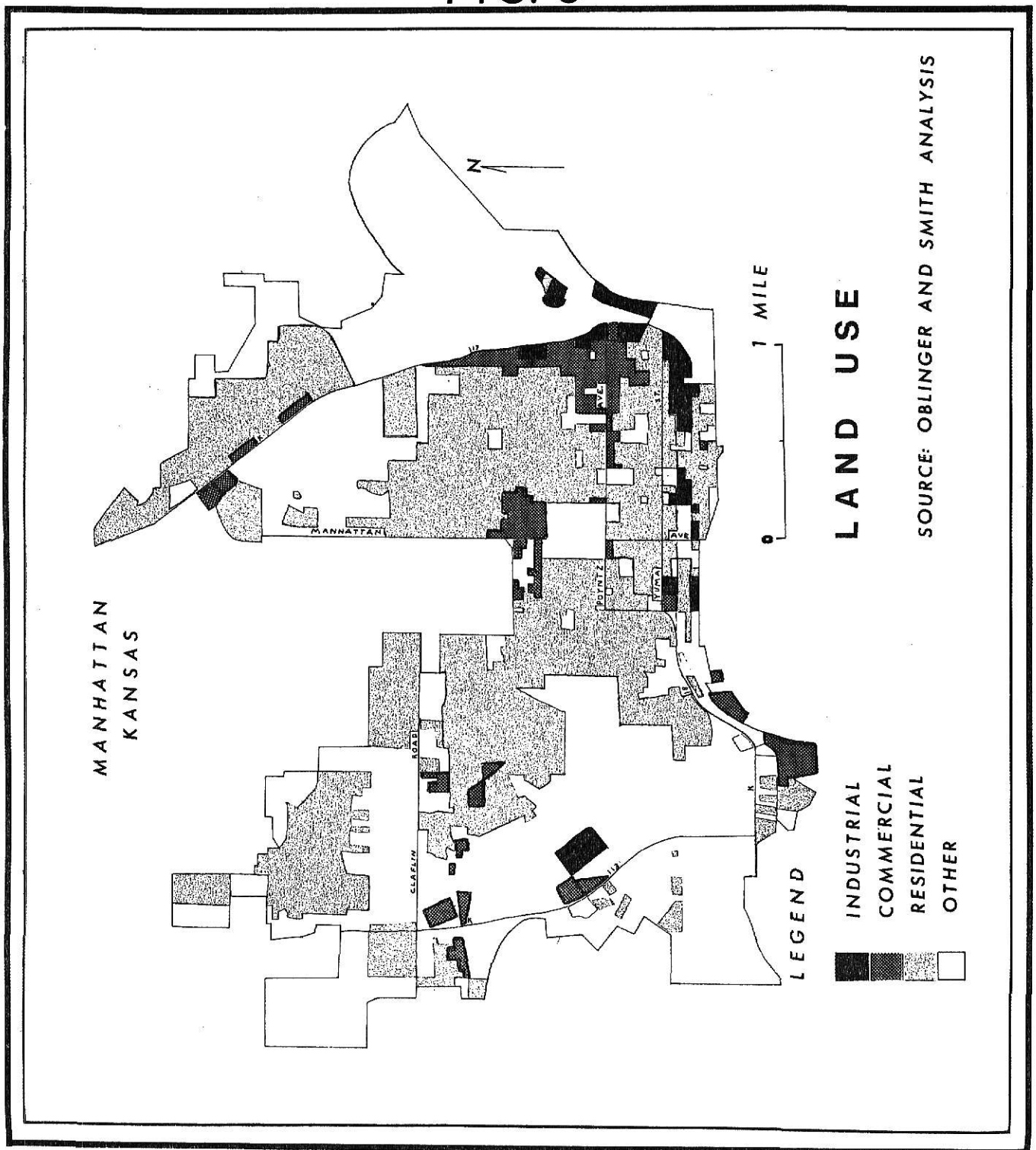




FIGURE 6

An Area Where Industrial Land-use is
Indiscriminately Mixed With Residential Land-use
(Photo taken by the investigator)



FIGURE 7

An Unused, Grown-up Public Area
On the East Side of Southside
(Photo taken by the investigator)

Summary of the Analysis

This chapter illustrated that deterioration and dilapidation is the basic characteristic of housing units as well as public service facilities in Southside. Although there has been much done recently to upgrade the area there are still serious problems that the city's maintenance department should solve. One should take into account, however, the effects that the urban renewal project is having on the neighborhood, both positive and negative. The project is scheduled to be completed within five years and at the present time many of the dilapidated houses in the area are being torn down. On the other hand, this rebuilding project is placing many individuals who formerly resided in dilapidated housing units in a state of limbo. Furthermore, the completion of the renewal program is quite uncertain.

All of the things that are characteristic of a non-white, underprivileged neighborhood are present in Southside. Perhaps the most surprising contrast of characteristics in the area were those concerning the educational level and income. A very low number of those individuals included in the survey had attended college or had graduated from high school. Nonetheless, the incomes of many of those individuals did not reflect this lack of schooling. The basic reason behind this occurrence was the fact that many men in the area had served in the armed forces and received large retirement incomes from the military in addition to other pensions and old age funds.

Concerning the characteristic of race, Southside is predominately non-white with a greater number whites in the western third of the area beyond 10th street. The survey reported 33 blacks, 14 whites, and 4 Mexican-Americans in the study area.

Some of the common problems that were found in the housing units were weak floors and ceilings, ineffective heating and cooling systems, inadequate plumbing facilities, inefficient wiring, need for painting, and limited space. The major problems of the community other than those relating to the deficiencies of housing units were the absence of stop lights and stop signs, inadequate streets, poor drainage, lack of maintenance of public land, and proximity of industrial land use to residential areas.

CHAPTER V

THE STUDY AREA COMPARED TO THE REST OF MANHATTAN

It has been mentioned throughout this thesis that Southside has certain physical, economic and cultural characteristics that make it distinct from all other residential areas in the city. It is true that these differences do exist, but they do not account totally for the extreme residential segregation in Manhattan. Although the main emphasis in this chapter will be the comparison of the study area to the rest of the city, an over-view of the probable causes of the present residential structure in Manhattan will be considered.

The spatial arrangement of the residential structure in Manhattan suggests a high degree of diversity. In addition to the racial and cultural homogeneity of Southside, there is the quasi-middle class culture in sections of the city outside this area resulting in culturally separate as well as racially distinct neighborhoods. Is the residential segregation in Manhattan a result then of a distinct aggregation of attitudes and attributes possessed by a portion of the population, or is it the result of something more extraneous? Internal as well as external factors have been determinants in individual and group life styles. The implication here is that the residential structure in Manhattan is a result of both the internal characteristics of distinct ethnic cultures and the external forces of segregation.

It is apparent that there are major differences in the residential neighborhoods of Manhattan. Accordingly, there are reasons for this residential make-up. The purpose of this chapter, as was mentioned earlier, is to

compare the study area with other residential areas in the city according to their physical, cultural, and economic characteristics and to review the probable causes and effects of the residential structure in Manhattan.

Comparison By Race

The most obvious distinction between Southside and other residential areas in Manhattan is that the majority of the population in the study area is non-white. It was reported that the non-white population made up only 1.3 percent of the population outside the study area. Only neighborhood 2 in the Oblinger and Smith Neighborhood Analysis reported a significant number of non-whites (6.9 percent), most of which were Chicano. It is interesting to note that the area west of Delaware and Denison Avenues has practically no non-white resident. In this section of the city only neighborhood 6 in the Oblinger and Smith Neighborhood Analysis had recorded non-whites living in the area. The non-white population made up only 0.2 percent of the total population in this neighborhood.

Although Southside is predominately black, there is a significant number of white and Chicano residents. Consequently, there is much more diversity in population characteristics concerning ethnic origin in Southside than in other residential areas of the city. According to the sample taken in the study area, 64.2 percent of the total number of households surveyed were black, 27.5 percent were white, and 7.6 percent were Chicano. As was noted earlier, the area outside of Southside is almost entirely white.

Comparison By Age

It was stated earlier that family size in Southside is quite large. In most instances it was found that the majority of the individuals in the housing units surveyed were under 25 years of age. Table 6 shows the age distribution in Manhattan and the study area.

TABLE 6

Percentage of the Population
Below 18 and Above 62 Years of Age

	% of Population below 18	S/C ^a ratio	% of Population above 62	S/C ratio
Southside	41.0	1.4	9.9	0.9
City	27.6		11.2	

^aSouthside/City ratio

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Block Statistics: Selected Areas in Kansas, 1970.

Comparison By the Value of Dwellings

Many of the owner-occupied housing units in Southside were found to be in very good condition despite the fact that many more of the housing units in this area were substandard. In terms of dollars, the average value of an owner-occupied housing unit in Southside was found to be \$12,286. As one might expect, many of the owner-occupied housing units were valued well below this average and some were valued much higher. Table 7 shows the distribution of housing values for owner-occupied units in Southside.

TABLE 7

Distribution of Housing Values for
Owner-occupied Units In Southside

Value	Number of housing units	% of the total
Below \$3,000	1	4.5
3,000 - 5,999	7	31.8
6,000 - 8,999	2	9.0
9,000 - 11,999	5	22.7
12,000 - 14,999	3	13.6
15,000 - 17,999	0	0.0
18,000 - 20,999	2	9.0
21,000 and above	2	9.0

Average = \$12,286

Source: From survey taken in the study area; Residents supplied estimates.

As one might expect, the majority of the owner-occupied housing units outside of Southside are valued higher than those within the area as well as having a lesser amount of deterioration. Outside the study area practically all the owner-occupied housing units are valued above \$10,000 with the Census Tract area 9501.05 reporting the highest average value of owner-occupied housing units at \$25,000.³⁹ Out of the 280 owner-occupied housing units reporting housing value only 9 units were valued below \$10,000. As indicated in Tables 7 and 8, the average value of a housing unit in Southside is \$12,286 compared to \$17,916 outside the study area. The distribution of housing values for owner-occupied housing units outside the study area is shown in Table 8. The average value of housing units in each block was tabulated by the U.S. Department of Commerce.

³⁹See U.S. Department of Commerce, Block Statistics: Selected Areas in Kansas, 1970, p. 117.

TABLE 8

Distribution of Housing Values for
Owner-occupied Units in Manhattan
(excluding the study area)

Value	Number of blocks	% of the total
Below \$10,000	11	3.9
10,000 - 14,999	84	30.0
15,000 - 19,999	66	23.5
20,000 - 24,999	44	15.7
25,000 - 29,999	27	9.6
30,000 - 34,999	20	7.1
35,000 - 39,999	4	0.01
40,000 and above	3	0.01

Average = \$17,916

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Block Statistics: Selected Areas in Kansas, 1970.

The value of renter-occupied housing units reported lesser contrasts in value between Southside and surrounding residential areas of the city. Tabulations indicated that the average amount an individual pays for a rented housing unit in Southside is \$76 compared to \$90 for an individual renting outside the study area.

Comparison By the Percentage of Dwellings Rented

Southside has a higher percentage of housing units being rented than the rest of the city. According to tabulations 53.7 percent of the year-round occupied housing units in Southside were rented while on 49.2 percent of the year-round housing units outside of Southside were rented.⁴⁰ The

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 117.

lower percentage of renter-occupied housing units outside the study area may be attributed to the greater ability of individuals to purchase homes in those areas because of higher incomes. Perhaps a less obvious reason for the higher percentage of renter-occupied housing units in Southside is the large number of "transit residents" who are not planning on permanent residence in the area and who find that rented housing units are both convenient and economical. The most prominent among this group are men in the military.

Comparison By the Percentage of Dwellings In Which
a Female is Head of Household

The presence or absence of both a father and a mother in a household can determine whether a family has a weak foundation or a strong one. There is little doubt to the concept that in the majority of cases, both have a role if the family is to be a stable one.⁴¹ For this reason the writer feels the importance of inserting a brief analysis concerning the percentage of female heads of households in the study area and the rest of the city.

It was found that Southside had a much greater proportion of females as heads of households than the rest of the city.⁴² According to tabulations,

⁴¹Stable, in this sense, means the ability of a family to exist as a unit, with each member being able to contribute his or her share of the responsibility of keeping the family together, e.g., the husband being financially able to support the family, the wife's love, reverence, and understanding for her husband, and the children's obedience to their parents.

⁴²The category "female of family" or "female head of household" comprises all housing units occupied by families with female heads regardless of their marital status. Included are female heads of families with no spouse and female heads of families whose husbands are living away from their families, as for example, husbands in the Armed Forces living on military reservations.

14.7 percent of the housing units in Southside had a female as the head of a household while only 4.4 percent of the housing units outside of Southside had a female as the head of a household.⁴³ It is also interesting to note that according to the survey taken of the study area, over 33 percent of the households sampled had a female as the head.

Comparison By the Condition of Dwellings

There is a definite contrast in the condition of housing units in Southside and those outside the study area. It was noted earlier that the majority of the housing units in Southside are either deteriorating or dilapidated. On the other hand, the majority of the housing units outside of Southside are in "standard" condition.

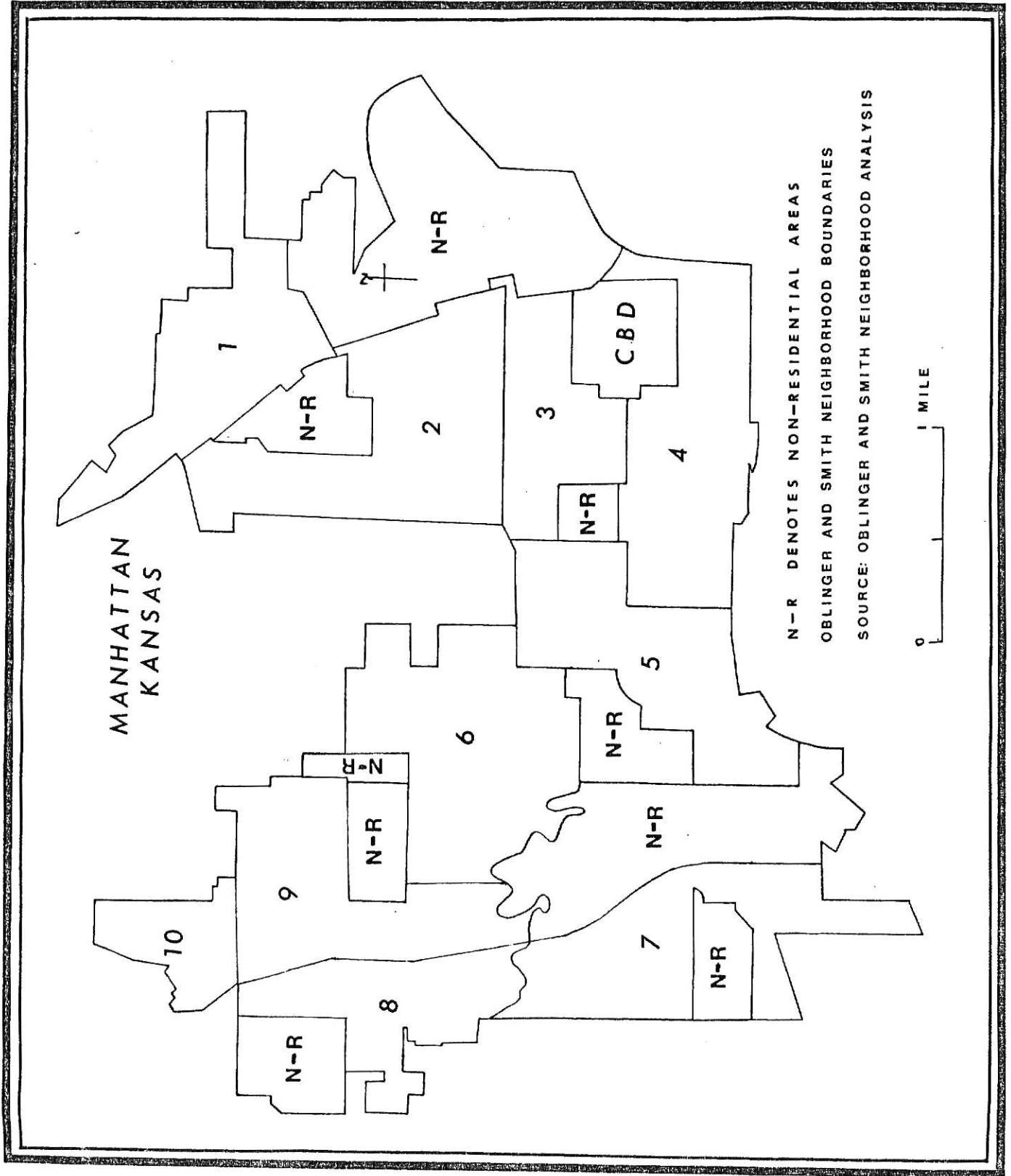
According to the Oblinger and Smith Neighborhood Analysis only neighborhood 3, which is adjacent to neighborhood 4 in which Southside is located, has a substantial amount of deterioration and dilapidation. The following is a brief summary of the housing conditions in the neighborhoods presented by The Oblinger and Smith Analysis. Fig. 8 depicts the neighborhood boundaries in Manhattan.

Neighborhood 4 (includes the study area) - The blight which is reflected is general throughout the area but is most concentrated in the eastern half of the neighborhood.

Neighborhood 1 - In general the area is well maintained and most of the structures are in good to fair condition.

⁴³U.S. Department of Commerce, op. cit., p. 117.

FIG. 8



Neighborhood 2 - . . .fair and poor areas are exclusively located in the south half of the neighborhood with the north half being excellent housing without any signs of deterioration.

Neighborhood 3 - There is substantial deterioration and blight throughout the neighborhood but the worst of it appears to be in the eastern half of the area.

Neighborhood 5 - Nearly 80 percent of the housing is classed as fair or good with the bulk of the deterioration to be found on the east side of the neighborhood (adjacent to the study area).

Neighborhood 6 - Ninety-nine percent of the housing is classified as standard with 74.2 percent being given the highest rating of good.

Neighborhood 7 - Virtually all of the development is considered to be standard with only two areas of sub-standard dwellings which are located in the extreme southeast portion of the neighborhood.

Neighborhood 8 - This neighborhood is a newly developed neighborhood and is generally very good throughout.

Neighborhood 9 - This neighborhood is a new area and is in excellent condition throughout.

Neighborhood 10 - All of the housing is standard though approximately 23.5 percent of it is categorized as only fair.

Comparison By the Condition and Use of Public Land

The contrast of public land-use in Southside and the rest of the city is no less pronounced than the contrast in housing conditions. One can observe from an earlier map that a substantial portion of industrial land-use in Manhattan is found in the study area. The presence of industry has

been one of the major grievances of the residents in this area. All the negative consequences of being located next to industry are almost entirely absent outside of Southside.

It has been mentioned that inadequate maintenance is one of the major problems that the residents of Southside face. Although the area is undergoing urban renewal at the present time, there are many areas within Southside that could and should be properly maintained. Throughout Southside there is public land which has grown up in weeds to the point where these areas are neither inhabitable nor are they pleasant to observe. The situation outside the general area of Southside is quite different. Moving toward the fringes of the city one can find fewer and fewer of the negative characteristics of public land-use.⁴⁴

Summary

The theme of this study has been the distinctiveness of the area of investigation as it is related to other residential areas in Manhattan. Reasons for this distinctiveness may be attributed to internal and external factors. No doubt a major reason Southside is racially homogeneous is because of the internal factor of group affinity. Although most of the individuals in the study area thought that much could be done to upgrade and maintain the neighborhood, they were generally pleased about residing in the area. Most of the individuals were not only satisfied with the area where they resided but were not thinking about moving to another section

⁴⁴See, for example, Oblinger and Smith, Neighborhood Analysis: Manhattan, Kansas, Planning Consultants, Wichita, Kansas, July, 1968.

of the city. They also were very immobile within their own neighborhood. Many individuals, including those renting apartments, had been at their places of residence for a long period. In only one of the households sampled had the residents indicated that they had been in their home for less than two years. In the 50 other households which were sampled, the occupants had been living at their places of residence for over two years.

The most discerning external factor in the residential distinctiveness of Southside is segregation. Freeman and Sunshine describe the causes of residential segregation in the following quotation:

...it appears that the segregation process is the output of the confluence of market-income factors, ethnic proximity, proportion factors, prejudice, and economic-interest factors. These factors control the level of residential segregation by (1) preventing non-whites from purchasing houses in white neighborhoods and by preventing them from remaining in such houses, and (2) by encouraging whites to move out of, or not to buy⁴⁵ houses in, neighborhoods containing non-white residents.

Moreover, residential segregation in Manhattan may be attributed to two factors: (1) the inability of an individual or group of individuals to move into a certain neighborhood because of an inadequate income and (2) the inability of an individual or a group of individuals to move into a certain neighborhood because of prejudice against that individual or group. The latter is obviously much harder to measure and only history and the general attitudes of those residing in middle-class neighborhoods can offer a legitimate account for the presence and the extent of racially segregated neighborhoods in Manhattan and other communities. The former may be valid but it does not explain the reasons for many of those with

⁴⁵Linton C. Freeman and Morris H. Sunshine, Patterns of Residential Segregation (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1970), p. 41.

adequate incomes for remaining in the study area. One can therefore postulate that group affinity, discrimination, and low income are the primary causes of residential segregation in Manhattan.

A factor which adds to the distinctiveness of Southside is that of inadequate maintenance. It was mentioned earlier that certain sections in this area need to be upgraded. Weed and brush clearance is needed in the extreme eastern and western parts of the study area. There should be improvement on the paved and unpaved streets in the area. In addition to the housing deficiencies in Southside the problems above are magnified to the point where the area can be clearly delineated.

Perhaps another reason for the extreme deterioration of many housing units in Southside is the inability of residents to pay for minor repairs. The result is that repairs that would ordinarily be amended are usually left uncorrected and eventually become major problems.

The problems that Southside possesses are problems that can be found in every non-white underprivileged neighborhood. The combination of some or all of the above factors contributes to the physical distinctiveness of the area.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to investigate the nature of non-white underprivileged neighborhoods and to analyze a specific case in Manhattan, Kansas. After a close examination of the literature dealing with residential hierarchies in cities the writer feels that the residential structure of cities in its present form offers little hope to the majority of non-whites and poor whites who are a part of this structure. Current studies reveal that the majority of the affluent population in cities are moving toward the fringes and therefore presenting a dilemma to those who remain near the core of the city. First, the financially deprived individuals who remain near the city's core cannot afford to move to a more compatible living environment, which is found near the city's periphery and outlying suburbs. Second, because of problems in transportation, those individuals living near the core cannot afford to move too far from their jobs. With most of the population and industry moving to the periphery of the city, the inner-city and its low-income residents suffer both the agony of losing their jobs and the pain of losing a large portion of their tax base, which results in even higher taxes for those who remain near the core.

There were certain limitations of this study. First, one of the major intentions of the writer was to examine the differences between two contrasting areas. However, due to the inability to get some of the important information from sections outside the study area, the study was not as detailed as it could have been. This was especially true for data

concerning the condition of housing, annual income, and responses of individuals concerning the adequacy of city maintenance. This resulted in an empirical study which was less precise and objective. This is not to say, however, that such a drawback resulted in a study which was significantly less fruitful, for there have been other meaningful studies that have encountered similar problems.⁴⁶ This study on the residential structure of Manhattan should pave the way for a more detailed analysis in the future.

Geographers are interested in the spatial relationships of various activities on the surface of the earth. Moreover, they are concerned with the nature of these relationships and how they may be used in answering certain questions and solving certain problems which are of geographic interest. In undertaking a study concerning residential hierarchies, one has to take into account the spatial relationships of the areas involved. Consequently, one can statistically demonstrate that in most American cities there is a positive relationship between low-income, non-white populations and areas which are least desirable for people to live. It was the purpose of this thesis to expand this hypothesis to the point where these relationships can be clearly seen and their properties easily understood in the context of a smaller city.

⁴⁶See, for example, Barfour Adjei-Barwuah and Harold M. Rose, "Some Comparative Aspects of the West African Zongo and the Black American Ghetto," in Geography of the Ghetto, Edited by Harold M. Rose and Harold McConnell (Dekalb, Illinois: North Illinois University Press, 1972), p. 272.

Feasibility of Upgrading the Area

Physiographically, Southside is located in the lowest area in Manhattan and is susceptible to flooding and consequently is a victim of poor drainage. The solution to this problem will obviously be more difficult in this area than if the problem was present in another section of the city. Only the most effective types of equipment and know-how will be sufficient in accomplishing such a task as improving drainage in this area. With the current urban renewal project in effect in portions of Southside, capital does not seem to be a problem at the present time. Since this project is in full force, the momentum of area development should bring the problem of poor drainage to the attention of the city's maintenance department and related agencies with the hope of an immediate solution.

The urban renewal project is now in the process of tearing down dilapidated housing units. The project is currently impeding work to correct the drainage problem and is making the area look even less attractive. Nonetheless, urban renewal is in the process of rebuilding the area with owner and renter housing units and it has been estimated that the project should be completed within five years. Should the program stall with only partial completion, it could serve to reinforce the negative aspects of the area.

The help of the local and federal governments is urgently needed for Southside's redevelopment. Fortunately, much has been done by both in recent years. With the public now knowledgeable about the needs of Southside and with increasing financial assistance, the future need not be a pessimistic one.

Recommendations

In order to make the study more fruitful, the following suggestions are made:

1. Housing units must be structurally sound.
2. The present urban renewal project must result in housing units being properly situated in the area so that everyone will be in access to supermarkets, laundering and cleaning facilities, and other important public services.
3. There are a limited number of important public services in the area at the present time, therefore, it may be necessary to construct some of these services and improve inadequate facilities which are currently serving the area.
4. Maintenance must be efficient and prompt.
5. There should be a gradual removal of all industry that is directly adjacent to residential land use.
6. Streets in Southside should be properly paved. It has been mentioned that much work has been done in this area recently, but there are many streets yet to be paved and some of those that were paved are now deteriorating.
7. An adequate system to improve drainage should be installed.

Furthermore, these suggestions are given to aid in additional research in this area of study:

1. More information concerning housing and community conditions should be received from those living outside the study area, especially those residing in middle-class neighborhoods.

2. Statistical analysis should be implemented to show the strength of certain relationships between the area of investigation and the rest of the city, e.g., those relationships of income, land value, federal expenditures and taxation.

3. More comparative studies should be made in other small communities that exhibit complex and contrasting residential hierarchies.

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APPENDIX A

SURVEY TAKEN OF THE STUDY AREA BY THE INVESTIGATOR

Sample Number _____

Zone Number _____

Questionnaire

1. Race _____
2. Head of Household (Male or Female) _____
3. Number of people in household: Male _____ Female _____
4. What is the general appearance of the dwelling?
VERY GOOD/GOOD/FAIR/POOR
5. Do you have hot water? YES/NO
6. Do you own an air conditioner? YES/NO
7. Is your home heated by ELECTRICITY/GAS/OIL/COAL
8. How many rooms do you have?
9. What is the value of your home? _____ rent _____
10. How much does your family earn (per month, week or year) _____
11. Is your family on welfare or any other federal assistance
YES/NO
12. How many individuals in the household have attended college
13. How many individuals in the household have graduated from
high school _____
14. How many individuals in the household are currently in
school _____
15. List the number of social organizations that you know of in the
community _____
16. What kind of work do you do _____
17. Number of people who have moved into your home from outside the
city within the last five years.
18. Number of people who have moved out of your home to some other
city within the last five years.
19. Do you feel more could be done by the city to maintain or upgrade
the appearance of the community?
20. What do you think are some of the basic necessities your home is
in need of?
21. What are some of the things you think should be done for the
community _____

Satisfied with: Playing AREA for children _____
 Roads in community _____
 General neighborhood maintenance _____

Do you think: More low cost housing is needed _____
 Renewal of slums _____

APPENDIX B

COMPREHENSIVE DIAGNOSTIC SURVEY BY THE URBAN
RENEWAL AGENCY OF MANAHATTAN, KANSAS

		MARITAL STATUS		CTZNSHIP		EDUCATION																
	NAME	CODE	AGE	SEX	SINGLE	MARRIED	WIDOWED	DIVORCED	SEPARATED	RACE	U.S.	NATURALIZED	ALIEN	PRE-SCHOOL	GRADE SCHOOL	JUNIOR HIGH	HIGH SCHOOL	COLLEGE	NOT IN SCHOOL	READ	WRITE	
FATHER																						
MOTHER																						
CHILD																						
CHILD																						
CHILD																						
CHILD																						
CHILD																						
CHILD																						
OTHER																						
OTHER																						
OTHER																						

A. If alien specify Country _____
 YES NO

Can you read or speak any languages
 other than English?
 If yes, list:
 1)
 2)
 3)

Code	Type of Work													Retired or Unemployed		Employed			
	Head of Household	Agricultural	Clerical	Domestic	Industrial	Professional	Retail	Semi-skilled	Skilled	Unskilled	Other	Disabled	Unemployed	Retired	Fulltime	Part-time	Seasonal	Odd jobs	
1																			FATHER
2																			MOTHER
3																			OTHER
4																			
5																			

Employer's Name _____ Job Position _____
 Employer's Address _____ How long on this job? _____

1. What is total annual income of all members of family? 2. General sources of income

_____ Less than \$1,000.00
 _____ \$1,001.00 - \$1,500.00
 _____ 1,501.00 - 2,000.00
 _____ 2,001.00 - 2,500.00
 _____ 2,501.00 - 3,000.00
 _____ 3,001.00 - 3,500.00
 _____ 3,501.00 - 4,000.00
 _____ 4,001.00 - 5,000.00
 _____ 5,001.00 - 6,000.00
 _____ 6,001.00 - 7,000.00
 _____ 7,001.00 - 8,000.00

Father _____
 Mother _____
 Other _____

4. Retirement or compensatory incomes
 Private (list) How long Amount

Corporate (list)

Federal (list)

State (list)

3. What is the total investment in
 a) This property \$ _____
 b) Other investments \$ _____

5. Are you happy with your present work? YES _____ NO _____

If not, why?

6. What kind of job would you like to have? _____

Family Expenditures per Month

Food _____

Housing _____

Utilities _____

Lights _____

Water _____

Gas of fuel _____

No. of cars in Family 0 1 2

Debits:

69

Car Payments and Maintenance _____

Gas and oil _____

Medical bills _____

Cost of child care _____

Furniture payments _____

Other major payments _____

Child Care

YES NO

- ____ 1. Is there need for child care because the mother is working?
- ____ 2. How are the children taken care of?
- ____ a) By other adults in family
- ____ b) By children in family
- ____ c) Babysitter
- ____ d) Kindergarten or day nursery
- ____ e) Others (specify) _____

Care of Elderly or Handicapped

YES NO

- ____ 1. Are there any elderly people who need care?
- ____ 2. How are they cared for? _____
- ____ 3. Are there any incapacitated or invalids who need care?
- ____ 4. How are they cared for? _____

Leisure Time Activities Enjoyed by Family

YES NO

- ____ 1. Leisure time activities
- ____ a) Television
- ____ b) Radio
- ____ c) Reading
- ____ d) Movies
- ____ e) Sports
- ____ 1) indoor
- ____ 2) outdoor
- ____ f) Hobbies
- ____ Specify: _____
- ____ g) Other _____
- ____ 2. Reading Material:
- ____ a) Bible
- ____ b) Dictionary
- ____ c) Take daily paper
- ____ d) Subscribe to any paper
- ____ e) Other (specify) _____

3. Do you have a telephone?
- YES NO
- ____

4. Do you have pets:
- YES NO

How Many? _____

What kinds? _____

Characterisitics of the Dwelling

- YES NO 1. Refrigeration facilities:
 _____ _____ a. Refrigerator
 _____ _____ b. Freezer Upright _____ Chest _____
 2. Furnishings (observation--don't ask!)
 a. Furnished partially _____ Complete _____
 b. Quality

VERY GOOD GOOD AVERAGE POOR VERY POOR

--	--	--	--	--

3. Cleanliness of interior (observe--don't ask!)

VERY CLEAN CLEAN FAIR DIRTY VERY DIRTY

--	--	--	--	--

4. Yard (observation--don't ask!)

- a. Well kept _____ Fair _____ Poor _____
 b. Grass Yes _____ No _____
 c. Shrubs Yes _____ No _____
 d. Trees Yes _____ No _____
 e. Flowers Yes _____ No _____

5. Type of Structure

- a. Frame _____
 b. Stucco _____
 c. Masonry or brick veneer _____
 d. Trailer _____
 e. Detached single family _____
 f. Apartment _____
 g. Other (specify) _____

6. Age of Building

- a. 0-9 years _____
 b. 10-19 years _____
 c. 20-29 years _____
 d. 30-39 years _____
 e. 40 or over _____

7. Number of Rooms

- a. Total number _____
 b. Kitchen _____
 c. Dining room _____
 d. Living room _____
 e. Family room (other than living room) _____
 f. Bedrooms (no.) _____
 g. Bathrooms (no.) _____
 h. Porch (if screened or glassed in) _____
 i. Utility room _____
 j. Garage (# of cars) _____
 k. Basement _____
 l. Other (specify) _____

8. Water Supply

- a. None on property _____
 b. Well _____
 c. By city _____
 1. outside faucet _____
 2. piped in _____
 3. kitchen sink _____
 hot _____
 cold _____
 4. flush toilets _____
 5. lavatories _____
 6. tubs _____
 7. showers _____
 8. washer _____

Characteristics of the Dwelling (continued)

9. Lighting facilities
- a. Electricity
 - 1. bare bulbs _____
 - 2. modern fixtures _____
 - b. Other (specify) _____
10. Sewage and toilets
- a. No toilet _____
 - b. Outhouse _____
 - c. Indoor _____
 - d. City Sewer _____
 - e. Septic tank _____
 - f. Cesspool _____
11. Cooking facilities
- a. Electric _____
 - b. Natural gas _____
 - c. Other _____
12. Heating facilities
- a. Central heating
 - 1. gas _____
 - 2. electric _____
 - b. By room
 - 1. open gas heater _____
 - vented _____
 - panel ray _____
 - 2. electric _____
 - 3. Other (specify) _____
13. Air conditioning
- a. Central
 - 1. refrigerated _____
 - 2. evaporative _____
 - b. Room
 - 1. refrigerated (#) _____
 - 2. evaporative (#) _____
 - c. Rooms served _____
 - (specify which) _____
14. General condition of exterior
- a. Very run down _____
 - b. Poor _____
 - c. Fair _____
 - d. Good _____
 - e. Excellent _____
15. Additional structures
- a. Garage _____
 - (not attached) _____
 - (# of cars) _____
 - b. Carport _____
 - (# of cars) _____
 - c. Storage shed _____
 - d. Workroom _____
 - e. Additional sleeping _____
 - or living space _____
16. If you are buying this house,
- a. Is it on a mortgage? _____
 - b. Who holds the mortgage? _____
 - (Name of company or individual)
 - c. Is it being purchased on a _____
 - sales contract? _____
 - d. With whom was this _____
 - contract made? _____
 - (Name of company or individual)
 - e. Is ownership legally _____
 - registered? _____

Rehabilitation

YES NO

- ____ 1. Do you own this structure?
- ____ 2. Do you rent this property?
- ____ 3. If the Urban Renewal Plan is approved by the city and if it is necessary to make repairs to this house, would you be willing to agree to rehabilitate it?
- ____ 4. Would you want to make some repairs yourself?
- ____ 5. Are you making any repairs now?
- Approximate cost \$ _____

Rehabilitation (continued)

YES NO

- ____ ____ 6. Loans and grants can be made if repairs are required.
 ____ ____ a. Would you accept assistance in helping pay the cost of
 making repairs?
 ____ ____ b. If not can you see that the necessary work is carried out
 and paid for?
 ____ ____ 7. Would you rather move than make necessary repairs?
 ____ ____ 8. Are you satisfied with the house you live in?

Relocation

YES NO

- ____ ____ 1. If the Urban Renewal Plan is approved by the city and it is
 necessary for you to move from this house, would you like to
 have assistance from the renewal agency in finding another
 home suitable for your family?
 ____ ____ 2. If it would be necessary for you to move into another house, how
 much space would you need for your family to live comfortably?
 a. Bedrooms 0 ____ 1 ____ 2 ____ 3 ____ 4 ____
 b. Bathrooms 1 ____ 2 ____
 c. Garage 0 ____ 1 car ____ 2 car ____
 d. Separate storage space away from the house
 ____ ____ 3. The Renewal Agency will explain all of the assistance available
 to help you with your moving costs, if necessary to move.
 ____ ____ a. Would you be willing to accept this kind of assistance?
 ____ ____ b. If not, will you be financially able to pay for moving costs?
 ____ ____ 4. Would you prefer to purchase a home rather than rent?
 ____ ____ 5. There are some time limitations on payment for assistance in
 moving. Would you keep in contact with the Renewal Agency
 before moving?
 ____ ____ 6. If required to relocate, would you prefer to remain in this
 neighborhood?
 ____ ____ 7. Partially ____ Do you own your furniture?
 ____ ____ 8. How much rent do you pay? \$ ____

Reaction to Community, Neighborhood and Location

YES NO

- ____ ____ 1. Manhattan has the following advantages:
 ____ ____ a. Friendly people
 ____ ____ b. Fair treatment
 ____ ____ c. Jobs available
 ____ ____ d. Jobs pay well
 ____ ____ e. Cost of living is reasonable
 ____ ____ f. Good schools
 ____ ____ g. Parks
 ____ ____ h. Churches
 ____ ____ i. Other _____

Reaction to Community, Neighborhood and Location (continued))

YES NO

2. This neighborhood has the following advantages:
- a. Friendly people
 b. Low rent
 c. Near to jobs
 d. Near schools
 e. Near churches
 f. Near to good stores for shopping
 g. Other _____
3. Would you like to move from this neighborhood?
 4. Would you join your neighbors in talking about how your neighborhood could be improved?
 5. Would you like to live in public elderly or public low-rent housing?
 6. Have you ever lived in a public housing project?
 7. Do you feel you have been sufficiently informed about the Urban Renewal project?
 8. If the Urban Renewal Agency helps you obtain a better home, would you be willing to make a small increase in payments?
 9. When you have been placed in a better house would you take pride in its maintenance?
 10. How do you generally get downtown?

WALK DRIVE BUS FRIENDS OTHER

--	--	--	--	--

11. Where do you buy the following goods and services?

DOWNTOWN

NEIGHBORHOOD

_____	_____	Groceries
_____	_____	Drugs
_____	_____	Medical Care
_____	_____	Gasoline
_____	_____	Beauty
_____	_____	Barber Shop

12. YES _____ NO _____ Would you prefer to have more of these services closer to this Neighborhood?

ANALYSIS OF THE RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURE OF UNDERPRIVILEGED
BLACK NEIGHBORHOODS: A CASE STUDY IN MANHATTAN, KANSAS

by

WILLIAM AUGUSTA PORTER, JR.

B. S., North Carolina Central University, 1971

AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S THESIS

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KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

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This study is an investigation into the residential make-up of under-privileged non-white neighborhoods, and more specifically the residential make-up of Southside in Manhattan, Kansas. It examines one portion of a cluster of problems which have grown significantly in recent years. The residential structure of cities reflects these problems in the sense that some residential areas are located near incompatible land-use such as industry. These residential areas are usually located near the core of the city and are populated primarily by non-whites. Southside in Manhattan offers an example of such an area in a smaller city. It is demonstrated that Southside has some of the adverse characteristics that the ghetto in larger cities have. Only the more restricted scale and lesser intensity of negative environmental conditions in Southside make it significantly different from the ghetto in large cities.

Despite the developments that are beginning to appear in Southside the problems that have faced the people of this area for many years remain. The problem of poor housing, the crux of this study, remains a very real and common problem in Southside. A related problem is that of incompatible environmental conditions; adjacency of the residential area to a haphazard distribution of industrial and commercial land-use is most prominent. Key variables were selected and assessed to illuminate the effect of these environmental factors that clearly show the distinctiveness of Southside. It was expected that these features would stand out if the area was compared to other residential areas in Manhattan. It was discovered that the physical and the economic conditions of Southside are very different from those conditions for other residential areas in Manhattan even when stage in the

life cycle and socio-economic status are controlled. There is more physical deterioration in this area than in any other area in the city. This is augmented by the fact that much of Southside supports several kinds of industry.

The urban renewal project is currently in the process of rebuilding the area. This is unquestionably the most significant thing being done at the present time to correct many of the housing problems that exist in Southside. Unfortunately, the project is now in the "tearing down" stage with all the delapidated housing units being torn down or scheduled to be torn down in the not too distant future. Consequently, the area is actually declining in its physical appearance which was already distasteful. Nonetheless, the positive aspects of the project seem to heavily outweigh negative aspects because with the aid of this project, Southside will have a new and better appearance within a few years if the program can be sustained.

The local government has also been active recently in trying to cope with the many problems that are in Southside. The most obvious assistance that the study area has received from the local government has been the paving of several streets in the area. Moreover, there is also the planned expansion of the Douglass Youth Center. If this is completed, there will be much more recreation space for the children who attend the center as well as attracting a larger number of young people.

If the major problems in Southside are eliminated, many years will have passed. But the recognition of these problems and the urge to solve them have spurred many into action. The probability that the physical conditions of Southside will improve is very great, thus the major interest now seems to be the time in which these problems can be solved.