

Black Diversity in Metropolitan America

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Early reports from Census 2000 about the growing diversity of the American population have emphasized the large increases in the Hispanic and Asian minorities in many regions of the country. There are also substantial differences within the black population that are worthy of attention.

The number of black Americans with recent roots in sub-Saharan Africa nearly tripled during the 1990's. The number with origins in the Caribbean increased by over 60 percent. Census 2000 shows that Afro-Caribbeans in the United States number over 1.5 million, larger than some more visible national-origin groups such as Cubans and Koreans. Africans number over 600 thousand. In some major metropolitan regions, these "new" black groups amount to 20% or more of the black population. And nationally nearly 25% of the growth of the black population between 1990 and 2000 was due to people from Africa and the Caribbean.

This report summarizes what is known about the social backgrounds and residential locations of non-Hispanic blacks in metropolitan America. Among blacks, both the Afro-Caribbean population (people from such places as Jamaica and Haiti) and people with recent sub-Saharan African ancestry (from places like Nigeria and Ghana) are distinguished from the longer established African Americans.

Highlights:

- It is well known that the socioeconomic profile of non-Hispanic blacks is unfavorable compared to whites, Asians, and Hispanics. There is also striking variation within America's black population. The social and economic profile of Afro-Caribbeans and Africans is far above that of African Americans, and even better than that of Hispanics.
- Afro-Caribbeans are heavily concentrated on the East Coast. Six out of ten live in the New York, Miami, and Fort Lauderdale metropolitan regions. More than half are Haitian in Miami; Haitians are well represented but outnumbered by Jamaicans in New York and Fort Lauderdale.
- America's African population, on the other hand, is much more geographically dispersed. The largest numbers are in Washington and New York. In both places the majority are

from West Africa, especially Ghana and Nigeria. East Africa, including Ethiopia and Somalia, is the other main origin.

- Like African Americans, Afro-Caribbeans and Africans are highly segregated from whites. But these black ethnic groups overlap only partly with one another in the neighborhoods where they live. Segregation among black ethnic groups reflects important social differences between them.
- In the metropolitan areas where they live in largest numbers, Africans tend to live in neighborhoods with higher median income and education level than African Americans and Afro-Caribbeans. In these metro areas Afro-Caribbeans tend to live in neighborhoods with a higher percent homeowners than either African Americans or Africans.

More complete information on the size and residential patterns of these non-Hispanic black groups for every metropolis in 1990 and 2000 is available on the Mumford Center web page:

<http://mumford1.dyndns.org/cen2000/BlackWhite/BlackWhite.htm>

Counting Non-Hispanic Blacks in America

The Bureau of the Census provides different ways of identifying these black populations, depending on the data source that is used.

For data on individuals the 1990 5% Public Use Microdata Sample (1990 PUMS) data files and the Census 2000 1% Public Use Microdata Sample (2000 PUMS) allow us to count the number of African Americans, Afro-Caribbeans, and Africans by combining information on their race, birth and ancestry. Among non-Hispanic blacks, we classify those reporting their ancestry and/or country of birth in the predominantly black islands of the Caribbean (including such places as Jamaica and Trinidad, but not Guyana) as “Afro-Caribbean.” We classify people reporting their ancestry and/or country of birth as a specific sub-Saharan African country as “African.” We classify the remainder of the black population, including those who report their ancestry as “African” without a specific country reference but whose place of birth is not Africa, as “African American.”

The 1990 and 2000 Censuses also provide aggregate data in STF4A (1990) and SF3 (2000) through which we can determine more precisely where members of these three black populations lived (in terms of metropolitan regions or even census tracts). Afro-Caribbeans are defined by ancestry in the predominantly black and non-Hispanic islands of the Caribbean (again including such ancestries as Jamaican and Trinidadian). However the available tabulations force us to define “Africans” solely by country of birth (sub-Saharan African). This means that our counts at the national level, from the 1990 and 2000 PUMS, include group members of all generations, but our analyses at the metropolitan or tract level only include first-generation African immigrants. Readers should be aware that this implies a substantial underestimate of Africans in metro-specific tables. Based on national data, the “true” African population in each metro area including immigrants and their descendants might be 20% higher than our count. The African American population may be slightly overestimated for this same reason.

These data are sample estimates (based on census returns from one of every six households), rather than population enumerations. At the national level they provide a very close approximation of group characteristics. Also when we combine information from many census tracts to calculate metro-level measures, error from sampling has only a small effect.

The size and regional distribution of the black population

Census 2000 counted over 35 million non-Hispanic blacks, as shown in Table 1. This represents over 12 percent of the U.S. population. The non-Hispanic black population grew by over six million people, a growth rate of almost 21 percent, since the last decennial census. More than nine out of ten of these were African American (based on our classification of persons using 2000 PUMS), but the percentage of other black groups is growing rapidly (from 4.0 percent in 1990, based on 1990 PUMS data, to 6.1 percent in 2000).

	Population		Percent of black population		Percent of total population		Growth 1990-2000
	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000	
African American	28,034,275	33,048,095	96.0%	93.9%	11.3%	11.7%	17.9%
Afro-Caribbean	924,693	1,542,895	3.2%	4.4%	0.4%	0.5%	66.9%
African	229,488	612,548	0.8%	1.7%	0.1%	0.2%	166.9%
Non-Hispanic white	188,013,404	194,433,424			75.6%	69.1%	3.4%
Non-Hispanic black	29,188,456	35,203,538			11.7%	12.5%	20.6%
Hispanic	21,836,851	35,241,468			8.8%	12.5%	61.4%
Asian	6,977,447	10,050,579			2.8%	3.6%	44.0%
Total U.S.	248,709,873	281,421,906			100.0%	100.0%	13.2%

We now classify over 1.5 million blacks as Afro-Caribbeans and over 600 thousand as African. The Afro-Caribbean population grew by more than 618,000 (almost 67%) and Africans grew more than 383,000 (a growth rate of almost 167%, approaching a tripling of the African population). These two groups combined, despite being much smaller than the African American population, contributed about 17 percent of the six million increase in the non-Hispanic black population during the 1990's. Although not an often-recognized part of the American ethnic mosaic, both of these groups are emerging as large and fast-growing populations; Afro-Caribbeans now outnumber and are growing faster than such well-established ethnic minorities as Cubans and Koreans.

Analysis of all 331 metropolitan regions reveals distinct residential patterns of African Americans, Afro-Caribbeans, and Africans. Consider the ten metropolitan regions with the largest representation of the latter two groups. These are listed in Tables 2-3. New York, Boston, Washington, D.C., and Atlanta are the metros represented in both tables.

Like African Americans, who are present in large numbers in many metro areas, Africans are dispersed throughout the country. Only a quarter of Africans live in one of the ten largest metropolitan regions for the group and these metro areas are geographically dispersed. In contrast, Afro-Caribbeans are heavily concentrated in just a few metro areas, all on the East coast. Six out of ten live in the New York, Miami, and Ft. Lauderdale metro areas, nearly 600,000 in New York alone.

Table 2. Metros with largest Afro-Caribbean population 2000

	Afro-Caribbean		Percent of black total		Percent of metro total		Growth 1990-2000
	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000	
New York, NY	403,198	566,770	20.3	25.7	4.7	6.1	40.6
Miami, FL	105,477	153,255	28.5	34.4	5.4	6.8	45.3
Fort Lauderdale, FL	55,197	150,476	29.6	43.4	4.4	9.3	172.6
Boston, MA-NH	40,825	62,950	20.6	25.6	1.3	1.8	54.2
Nassau-Suffolk, NY	32,210	60,412	17.7	25.5	1.2	2.2	87.6
Newark, NJ	29,818	55,345	7.3	12.1	1.6	2.7	85.6
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL	20,441	49,402	19.8	30.3	2.4	4.4	141.7
Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV	32,440	48,900	3.1	3.7	0.8	1.0	50.7
Orlando, FL	14,872	42,531	10.4	18.4	1.2	2.6	186.0
Atlanta, GA	8,342	35,308	1.1	2.9	0.3	0.9	323.3

Table 3. Metros with largest African-born population 2000

	African-born		Percent of black total		Percent of metro total		Growth 1990-2000
	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000	
Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV	32,248	80,281	3.0	6.1	0.8	1.6	148.9
New York, NY	31,532	73,851	1.6	3.4	0.4	0.8	134.2
Atlanta, GA	8,919	34,302	1.2	2.9	0.3	0.8	284.6
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	3,788	27,592	4.3	15.4	0.1	0.9	628.4
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	16,826	25,829	1.8	2.7	0.2	0.3	53.5
Boston, MA-NH	11,989	24,231	6.0	9.8	0.4	0.7	102.1
Houston, TX	9,882	22,638	1.6	3.1	0.3	0.5	129.1
Chicago, IL	8,738	19,438	0.6	1.2	0.1	0.2	122.5
Dallas, TX	7,373	19,134	1.8	3.6	0.3	0.5	159.5
Philadelphia, PA-NJ	5,098	16,344	0.6	1.6	0.1	0.3	220.6

All of the top ten metro regions for Afro-Caribbean populations show growth rates of at least 40 percent since 1990, but four metro areas more than doubled the size of this population. Atlanta saw a four-fold increase in its Afro-Caribbean population, while Orlando nearly tripled its

population of this group. With the exceptions of Washington, D.C. and Atlanta, the percentage of the non-Hispanic black population accounted for by Afro-Caribbeans in these top metropolitan regions is quite striking. For instance, over one-quarter of the non-Hispanic black population in the New York and Boston metro areas is Afro-Caribbean.

Jamaicans and Haitians are the two major sources of Afro-Caribbeans in all ten areas in the table. A majority in Miami (61%), West Palm Beach (62%), and Boston (57%), and a near majority in Newark (49.8%) are of Haitian ancestry. Jamaicans are the larger group in Fort Lauderdale (46%), New York (40%), Nassau-Suffolk (39%), Washington (49%), and Atlanta (53%).

Washington, D.C. and New York have the largest African-born populations (80,281 and 73,851, respectively). The 1990-2000 growth rates exceed 100 percent in all the top metro areas for this population, save Los Angeles-Long Beach (at 53.5 percent). Minneapolis-St. Paul saw a 628.4 percent increase in its African population, largely due to refugees from East Africa. In Minneapolis-St. Paul, Africans contribute over 15 percent of the non-Hispanic black population; in Boston, Africans account for nearly 10 percent of non-Hispanic blacks.

In the ten metros in this table, most Africans were born in West Africa (mainly Nigeria and Ghana) or East Africa (Ethiopia or in the “other East Africa” category that includes Somalis). East Africans are the larger source in Minneapolis (61%), and they approximately equal West Africans in Los Angeles-Long Beach (37%) and Dallas (40%). Elsewhere West Africans predominate: Washington (53%), New York (69%), Atlanta (48%), Boston (60%), Houston (61%), Chicago (58%), and Philadelphia (53%).

Social and Economic Characteristics of America’s Black Populations

It is well known that the socioeconomic profile of non-Hispanic blacks is unfavorable compared to whites, Asians, and Hispanics. Table 4 offers a comparison based on the 1990 and 2000 PUMS. Less recognized is the striking diversity within the black population. African Americans have lower educational attainment and median income, and higher unemployment and impoverishment than Afro-Caribbeans and Africans. Afro-Caribbeans and Africans generally compare favorably to America’s Hispanic population, while African Americans fare worse:

- **Nativity** – Over two-thirds of the Afro-Caribbean and nearly 80 percent of the African population is foreign-born. The percent foreign-born of these groups is higher than that of Asians. Not surprisingly, the percent foreign-born among the group we define as African American is small.
- **Education** – Educational attainment of Africans (14.0 years) is higher than Afro-Caribbeans (12.6 years) or African Americans (12.4 years) – indeed, it is higher even than whites and Asians. This suggests that black Africans immigrate selectively to the U.S. based on their educational attainment or plans for higher education.

- **Income** – Median household income of African Americans is lower than any other group in the table, lower even than Hispanics. Africans and Afro-Caribbeans have much higher median incomes (about \$43,000), though still well below whites and Asians.
- **Unemployment and poverty** – Africans and Afro-Caribbeans also have the lowest rates of unemployment and impoverishment among blacks, comparing favorably to Hispanics. Their position is substantially worse than that of Asians and whites, but Africans’ unemployment is not far from that of these two groups.

Table 4. Social and economic characteristics of non-Hispanic black populations in comparison with major U.S. racial and ethnic groups, 1990 and 2000

		Foreign	Years of	Median Household		Below
	Population	Born	Education	Income	Unemployed	Poverty
1990						
African American	28,034,275	1.8%	11.7	\$29,251	12.5%	32.8%
Afro-Caribbean	924,693	72.4%	12.1	\$42,927	9.4%	17.8%
African	229,488	72.1%	14.3	\$35,041	8.5%	24.7%
Non-Hispanic white	188,013,404	3.9%	12.9	\$47,481	4.7%	11.3%
Non-Hispanic black	29,188,456	4.7%	11.7	\$29,850	12.3%	32.3%
Hispanic	21,836,851	42.7%	10.2	\$35,041	9.9%	27.0%
Asian	6,977,447	67.5%	13.1	\$54,508	5.0%	15.9%
2000						
African American	33,048,095	2.2%	12.4	\$33,790	11.2%	30.4%
Afro-Caribbean	1,542,895	68.3%	12.6	\$43,650	8.7%	18.8%
African	612,548	78.5%	14.0	\$42,900	7.3%	22.1%
Non-Hispanic white	194,433,424	4.2%	13.5	\$53,000	4.0%	11.2%
Non-Hispanic black	35,203,538	6.4%	12.5	\$34,300	11.0%	29.7%
Hispanic	35,241,468	40.9%	10.5	\$38,500	8.8%	26.0%
Asian	10,050,579	66.5%	13.9	\$62,000	4.6%	13.9%

The social and economic profile of all three black groups generally improved during the decade of the 1990’s, though the gain in median household income of Afro-Caribbeans was marginal and the average educational attainment of Africans slipped. Gains for African Americans somewhat diminished their gap with other non-Hispanic black populations. Nonetheless very substantial differences remain.

Residential patterns within metropolitan regions

Another way to evaluate and compare the experiences of these black populations is to look at the degree to which their neighborhoods are segregated from those of other groups and from one another. We have seen that the socio-economic conditions of Afro-Caribbeans and Africans are

different from African Americans, and we now ask whether their residential surroundings are also distinct.

To study this question, we turn again to the summary files in which Afro-Caribbeans are identified by ancestry and Africans by country of birth.

The 1990 and 2000 population censuses allow us to calculate levels of group isolation (the percentage of same-group members in the census tract where the average group member lives); exposure to all non-Hispanic blacks and exposure to whites (defined as the percentage of the non-Hispanic blacks and non-Hispanic whites, respectively, in the census tract where the average group member lives); and segregation (the Index of Dissimilarity) from non-Hispanic whites and from other black groups (the scores show the percent of a given group that would have to move to another tract in order for the two groups to be equally distributed). These are indicators of the extent to which a group has developed its own residential enclaves in metropolitan areas. We calculated these figures by computing levels of isolation, exposure, and dissimilarity in every metropolitan area, then taking a weighted average, giving more weight to areas with more group members.

		African Americans	Afro- Caribbeans	African- Born
Exposure to whites	1990	33.4	33.5	56.7
	2000	33.3	29.9	46.3
Segregation (D) from whites	1990	68.6	74.1	69.6
	2000	65.0	71.8	67.8
Isolation (exposure to own group)	1990	54.3	12.5	1.8
	2000	49.4	15.3	3.3
Exposure to blacks	1990	56.1	47.3	23.3
	2000	51.8	47.3	28.3
Segregation from African Americans	1990	---	46.6	68.9
	2000	---	42.5	59.2
Segregation from Afro-Caribbeans	1990	62.3	---	66.7
	2000	56.3	---	60.3
Segregation from Africans	1990	75.8	66.1	---
	2000	66.7	60.0	---

Table 1 showed that African Americans comprise just fewer than 12 percent of the population in the United States, while Afro-Caribbeans and Africans account for one-half of one percent and two-tenths of one percent, respectively. Thus, if these non-Hispanic black groups were distributed randomly (without regard to in-group preferences or discrimination), their isolation

index values would be about 12, 0.5, and 0.2, respectively. Likewise, the exposure scores would match the population percentages of non-Hispanic blacks and whites in Table 1. Dissimilarity is a measure of evenness and thus captures how equally members of a given group are distributed across tracts compared to another group. A dissimilarity score less than 30 is generally thought to be indicative of low segregation, scores between 30 and 55 are moderate, and scores above 55 indicate high segregation.

Table 5 shows that exposure to whites is low and declining for each black group. Africans have the highest exposure to whites (in 2000, just under half of the people in the neighborhood where an average African person lived was white); Afro-Caribbeans now have the lowest exposure to whites (29.9 percent) among black groups. Conversely, dissimilarity scores indicate high, though slightly declining, segregation of all non-Hispanic black groups from whites. All dissimilarity scores from non-Hispanic whites are in excess of 60 percent.

The percent of African Americans in the neighborhood where an average African American person lives declined from 54.3 percent in 1990 to 49.4 percent in 2000. Because of their smaller size, other black groups have much lower isolation scores, though these were on an upward trajectory in the 1990s. While they live in neighborhoods where their own group tends to be a small minority, Afro-Caribbeans' neighborhoods are on average close to 50% black. Africans, on the other hand, live in neighborhoods where blacks are outnumbered by whites. (though they did increase their exposure to blacks from 23.3% to 28.3%.)

Segregation of black groups from one another, as measured by the Index of Dissimilarity, is declining, but it is strikingly high. (Note that these average values are not symmetrical, because the average segregation of group X from group Y is weighted by the number of group X residents; segregation of group Y from group X is weighted by the number of group Y residents.) We caution, however, that because Africans and Afro-Caribbeans are found in very small numbers in many metropolitan areas, the national averages include many values for metro areas where the score is unreliable. It will be more revealing to assess dissimilarity scores among black groups in places like New York, Washington, D.C., and Atlanta where all three are found in larger numbers. We do this in Tables 6 and 7.

Table 6 describes residential patterns for Afro-Caribbeans in the ten largest metropolitan areas for this population. Segregation from whites is very high in all of them, increasing in some while declining in others. Exposure to whites, however, varies greatly – from living in neighborhoods that are less than a quarter white and majority black (New York, Miami, and Newark) to living in neighborhoods where whites are as high as 40% of the population (Boston, West Palm Beach, and Orlando). Segregation from African Americans is only in the moderate range (35-45), indicating that Afro-Caribbeans' neighborhoods overlap substantially with those of African Americans. Segregation from Africans is substantially higher, though it remains within the moderate range. New York is the one case where both Afro-Caribbeans and Africans are present in large numbers and segregation between these two groups is in the high range.

Table 6. Segregation of the 10 metro regions with largest Afro-Caribbean population in Census 2000

	Exposure to whites		Segregation from whites		Exposure to blacks		Segregation from African Americans		Segregation from Africans	
	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000
	New York, NY	15.4	11.8	81.8	82.7	62.2	64.0	40.2	39.2	62.6
Miami, FL	23.9	15.0	66.6	68.1	49.6	54.1	50.6	47.3	66.1	59.0
Fort Lauderdale, FL	52.8	36.6	56.1	57.2	36.3	43.6	44.4	34.6	69.8	67.5
Boston, MA-NH	42.7	40.7	76.4	73.2	42.8	39.3	41.3	34.9	63.4	54.5
Nassau-Suffolk, NY	45.5	36.7	76.8	75.2	38.0	38.7	40.8	36.4	68.7	48.8
Newark, NJ	26.2	22.9	79.8	78.0	60.8	60.0	40.5	37.8	59.7	47.7
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL	46.1	47.3	69.7	60.2	41.5	34.6	42.7	44.0	83.0	74.4
Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV	40.8	34.6	67.0	64.6	43.0	43.3	55.2	48.4	44.9	42.5
Orlando, FL	62.8	42.4	52.9	58.1	26.0	32.6	49.1	40.2	67.3	65.4
Atlanta, GA	48.8	36.2	69.0	61.8	46.6	52.3	53.6	39.8	56.8	48.2

Table 7 shows segregation measures in the ten largest metropolitan areas for the African-born. Exposure of Africans to whites declined significantly in all ten regions, extremely low in New York (17.0%), but near or above 50% only in Minneapolis-St. Paul, Boston, Dallas, and Philadelphia. Segregation from whites is in the high range in all cases, though falling in some of them. At the same time, Africans' exposure to blacks is growing, though it is much lower for Africans than for Afro-Caribbeans.

Table 7. Segregation of the 10 metro regions with largest African-born population in Census 2000

	Exposure to whites		Segregation from whites		Exposure to blacks		Segregation from African Americans		Segregation from Afro-Caribbeans	
	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000
	Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV	47.7	37.5	62.7	63.1	34.6	36.7	62.9	58.2	44.9
New York, NY	29.9	17.0	71.6	78.0	38.4	47.0	62.1	48.5	62.6	57.7
Atlanta, GA	53.1	39.4	67.2	63.6	39.7	43.2	57.4	54.0	56.8	48.2
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	78.0	59.2	73.0	68.4	11.2	21.9	66.1	50.0	79.3	73.5
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	44.7	34.4	59.4	59.9	17.1	19.9	68.3	60.6	65.8	61.1
Boston, MA-NH	55.5	47.5	68.2	63.7	22.4	26.6	64.7	48.9	63.4	54.5
Houston, TX	46.8	33.0	68.2	67.9	23.7	27.3	71.3	64.7	61.6	54.8
Chicago, IL	51.7	45.1	78.0	72.7	29.1	31.0	80.5	71.2	73.2	66.3
Dallas, TX	66.4	49.0	64.8	60.0	15.5	19.6	74.3	64.2	72.9	66.4
Philadelphia, PA-NJ	56.8	49.2	78.1	70.2	34.5	38.7	72.2	61.9	68.0	58.8

The table generally confirms the national pattern in which Africans are surprisingly segregated from African Americans and Afro-Caribbeans, though these values generally declined during the last decade. Washington and Atlanta offer the possibility that where their populations are larger,

Africans' neighborhoods may overlap more with those of other blacks. However the case of New York shows that such a tendency is not inevitable.

Blacks' Neighborhood Characteristics

Non-Hispanic black groups are residentially segregated from whites and from each other. Do they also live in neighborhoods of different quality? In this final section of the report, we analyze selected neighborhood characteristics for the average group member: the median household income of their neighborhood (in constant dollars for 1990 and 2000), the percent of households who own their homes, and percent of residents (over age 25) with a college education. These are characteristics of the neighborhoods in which an average group member lives, rather than of the groups themselves (these were shown previously in Table 4).

Table 8 shows that the non-Hispanic blacks, regardless of ethnicity, live in worse neighborhoods, on average, than do non-Hispanic whites, with one exception – Africans exceed whites in the educational attainment of their neighbors. More relevant for this report are the differences among black populations:

- **Income** – The average African American lives in a census tract with a median income of \$35,679, while the average Afro-Caribbean lives in a census tract with a median income of \$41,328. Africans live in more advantaged neighborhoods with a median income of \$45,567 (though this is still more than \$7,000 below the neighborhood median income of an average non-Hispanic white).
- **Homeownership** – The average African American lives in a tract where 53.1 percent of the residents own homes. This is higher than the other black groups, and to some extent it reflects the advantage of more generations of living in the U.S. The average Afro-Caribbean lives in a tract where 49.8 percent of the residents own homes. Although lower than the national average for African Americans, this deficit is largely due to their concentration in the New York metro area, where this group is mainly found in inner city neighborhoods. Regional comparisons of this neighborhood characteristic show that Afro-Caribbeans fare much better than African Americans in New York, and somewhat better in Washington, D.C. and Atlanta. The average African lives in a tract where 47.2 percent of neighbors are homeowners.
- **Education** – The average African in 2000 lives in a neighborhood where 29.3 percent of residents have a college education, compared to 29 percent for an average non-Hispanic white. This reflects the very high educational attainment of the Africans who have been able to immigrate to the U.S. By contrast the average African American lives in a neighborhood where 17.5 percent of residents have a college education, while 20 percent of an average Afro-Caribbean person's neighbors have a college education.

	Median		Percent		Percent	
	Household Income		Homeowners		College Educated	
	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000
African Americans	\$31,548	\$35,679	49.8%	53.1%	14.0%	17.5%
Afro-Caribbeans	\$39,970	\$41,328	44.1%	49.8%	17.5%	20.3%
African-born	\$44,715	\$45,567	44.7%	47.2%	28.8%	29.3%
Non-Hispanic whites	\$47,683	\$52,637	67.6%	70.7%	23.8%	29.0%

Table 9 provides a closer look at the metro areas where Afro-Caribbeans are most numerous. Homeownership in their neighborhoods, as noted above, is especially low in New York (and Newark and Boston as well, where they also are concentrated in the inner city). Their neighborhoods are relatively less affluent and lower educated in New York. In other areas in the table, homeownership in their neighborhoods is actually well above the national average for African Americans. Afro-Caribbeans live in relatively affluent neighborhoods in Nassau-Suffolk (which is all-suburban), Washington, and Atlanta, and in neighborhoods with a relatively high education level in Washington, Atlanta, and Boston.

	Median		Percent		Percent	
	Household Income		Homeowners		College Educated	
	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000
New York, NY	\$39,410	\$38,758	31.0	35.1	15.5	18.2
Miami, FL	\$33,665	\$33,873	53.8	58.1	13.9	15.0
Fort Lauderdale, FL	\$35,403	\$39,621	59.2	64.3	13.3	17.0
Boston, MA-NH	\$40,825	\$42,463	36.9	42.3	22.5	26.1
Nassau-Suffolk, NY	\$63,190	\$64,241	73.7	75.9	21.4	23.5
Newark, NJ	\$44,036	\$45,216	39.6	41.9	17.9	20.5
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL	\$33,061	\$38,114	54.9	62.2	12.5	17.5
Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV	\$53,864	\$57,218	51.9	57.6	31.5	35.7
Orlando, FL	\$38,210	\$39,252	59.6	60.0	17.2	18.1
Atlanta, GA	\$46,267	\$50,911	57.9	61.9	27.1	29.9

Similar information is given in Table 10 for the top ten metro areas of Africans. Their neighborhoods have especially high levels of education in Washington, but in several others the percent of neighbors with a college degree is higher than the national average for whites' neighborhoods: Atlanta, Los Angeles-Long Beach, Houston, Chicago, and Dallas. Exceptionally low are the education levels in New York and Philadelphia. Africans also live in especially affluent neighborhoods in Washington, with a median income of over \$57,000 – again well

above the national average for whites' neighborhoods. These income levels are lowest in New York and Minneapolis. Finally Philadelphia stands out for high homeownership in Africans' neighborhoods, over 60%, while New York is exceptional low, less than 25%.

Table 10. Neighborhood characteristics of the average African-born resident

	Median		Percent		Percent	
	Household Income		Homeowners		College Educated	
	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000
Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV	\$55,784	\$57,143	47.0%	50.4%	37.5%	39.5%
New York, NY	\$40,145	\$35,243	24.3%	24.2%	22.7%	20.3%
Atlanta, GA	\$43,049	\$48,614	45.1%	49.8%	30.0%	30.5%
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	\$36,321	\$37,679	46.4%	44.0%	31.2%	27.9%
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	\$49,075	\$47,009	41.9%	42.9%	26.9%	29.8%
Boston, MA-NH	\$43,138	\$42,925	37.9%	40.2%	27.3%	28.2%
Houston, TX	\$41,298	\$46,531	39.2%	48.8%	30.9%	30.9%
Chicago, IL	\$40,700	\$45,509	41.0%	47.4%	30.7%	34.3%
Dallas, TX	\$45,671	\$49,347	38.2%	43.6%	35.0%	33.1%
Philadelphia, PA-NJ	\$43,811	\$41,647	60.2%	60.7%	25.4%	23.1%

Conclusion: The Increasing Diversity of America’s Black Populations

All of these analyses point in a similar direction. Black Americans of all ethnic backgrounds are highly segregated from whites and disadvantaged in comparison to them. Yet beneath this communality born of the color line are substantial differences between the majority of blacks with historical origins in slavery and in the rural South and new, growing minorities from the Caribbean and Africa. Nearly 17% of recent growth in the black population is due to increases in these new groups. Particularly in metro areas where they constitute 20% or more of the black population, an increasingly urgent social and political question is whether common problems associated with race will outweigh differences linked to national origins.

The newcomers have numerous advantages compared to African Americans. Their own education levels and incomes tend to be higher. They not only typically live in somewhat different neighborhoods, but in most metro areas these neighborhoods have a higher socioeconomic standing.

Comparable diversity has been documented among Hispanics (particularly contrasting South Americans and Cubans vs. Mexicans, Central Americans, and Dominicans) and Asians (among whom Indians and Filipinos present a very different profile than Chinese or Koreans). The American public is used to thinking in terms of the broader racial and ethnic categories – Hispanic, Asian, black. Certainly in the history of black-white relations in this country the distinctions between blacks of different social class or national origin paled in comparison to their common treatment. We may nevertheless be moving into an era when those distinctions become more salient and when we must think not only in terms of majority and minority groups, but in terms of a nation of many minorities.

**Technical Appendix:
How Ancestry and Place of Birth Are Used to Count Black Populations**

This report extracts information about the non-Hispanic black population from four census data files. Information about group sizes and their social and economic characteristics is from the 1990 5% Public Use Microdata Sample (1990 PUMS) and the Census 2000 1% Microdata Sample (2000 PUMS). These are individual-level files with rich detail about persons and households but they lack the geographic detail to place individuals in their neighborhoods.

The 1990 and 2000 PUMS have detailed information on place of birth and ancestry. Ancestry gives the most complete enumeration of black ethnic groups, place of birth is a secondary selection characteristic. Accordingly we select and group individuals by the following places of birth and ancestries:

Major NHB Groups in 1990 and 2000 PUMS		
	Country of birth	Ancestry
African American	All others	All others, including "African"
Afro-Caribbean	Caribbean (330-374), except Cuban (271) Dominican (275) Dominican Republic (339) Latin America, not specified (356)	West Indies (300-359)
African	Africa (400-499), except Algeria (400) Egypt (415) Libya (430) Morocco (436) Tunisia (456) North Africa, not specified (468)	Sub-Saharan Africa (500-599)
Note: Country of Birth and Ancestry codes shown here are from 1990 PUMS. Census 2000 PUMS identifies equivalent groups but codes are different.		

We use summary files from the 1990 and 2000 Census of Population to describe the residential segregation and characteristics of neighborhoods in which an average member of a non-Hispanic black group lives by metropolitan region. Among non-Hispanic blacks, the best method of identifying Afro-Caribbeans is by first ancestry. The count of Africans, however, would be inflated by using ancestry, because many blacks who are descended from several generations of forebears in the U.S. list their ancestry as African. Therefore, we rely on country of birth for this group, with the accompanying disadvantage of counting only the first generation.