The New Wave of African Immigrants in the United States

Holly E. Reed¹ and Catherine S. Andrzejewski²

¹Department of Sociology, Queens College, and CUNY Institute for Demographic Research, City University of New York (CUNY) ²Principia International, USA

Abstract

This paper examines demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of African immigrants in the U.S. over time and compares them to native born and all foreign born. We use data from the 1980, 1990 and 2000 Census and 2007 American Community Survey. We focus on trends and key characteristics of the African born in the U.S., and specifically in New York City, which has historically been home to the largest concentration of African immigrants. We find much to pursue in proposed future research, including the interesting paradox of higher education and greater labor force participation among African immigrants (versus both native born and all immigrants), yet greater levels of poverty and lower incomes. The paper is currently descriptive, but we will be developing a more analytical paper over the next months as we prepare to launch a pilot study of African immigrants in New York City in summer 2010.

Introduction

"Obama is one generation away from Africa. I have nothing against my brothers and sisters, black people who were born here, but his father is like me. His father was an immigrant. I can relate to him the way I can relate to my own children. He's almost like my son."—Ahmed Eyow, first-generation Somali immigrant in Silver Spring, MD, July 2008 (as quoted in <u>The Washington Post</u>)

Obama's victory in 2008 presidential election meant many things to many people, but one group that it resonated with most deeply were African immigrants. Previously a sometimes invisible and often ignored bloc of voters, the African foreign-born came out in force for Barack Obama, son of a Kenyan immigrant, who they see as "one of them." Journalists across the country noted that many African immigrants, who had never been involved in politics before are now politically active because of the hope they see for recognition of themselves and for help for their homelands (Braun 2009; Fears 2008; Chude-Sokei 2007). There are tensions, as well, as African immigrants struggle to be recognized as not just "African-American" or "black", while native-born African Americans may feel marginalized by their frequently better-off immigrant counterparts. Although these tensions and issues are not unlike ones that have been explored previously between Afro-Caribbean immigrants and native-born African Americans, very little is known about this far smaller (but rapidly growing) group of African immigrants. Recent immigrants from the continent of Africa make up a small but growing proportion of the foreign-born in the United States. As of 2007, there were an estimated 1,023,000 African-born residents in the U.S. The number of African immigrants increased by almost 80% since 2000, and is expected to continue to increase (Kent 2007). Although their immigrant counterparts from Europe, Asia, and Latin America and the Caribbean have been studied by social science researchers for decades, there is relatively little research available about this small but growing immigrant group. As Africa's population continues to increase and chain migration between Africa and the U.S. expands, the impact of African immigrants in the U.S. is likely to continue. This paper aims to expand our knowledge of African immigrants by investigating their current demographic profile. This, essentially descriptive, paper is thus a background paper for a larger research project that will examine the situation of African immigrants in the New York metropolitan area and, potentially, other metropolitan areas or smaller towns in the U.S. where large numbers of African immigrants reside. Further analysis is currently underway and we will have a more analytical paper prepared prior to the PAA 2010 meetings.

In this paper, we first describe our knowledge from previous studies of African immigrants in the U.S. We then present some broad demographic, trends over time for foreign-born Africans in the United States and New York City, using Census data from the 1980, 1990 and 2000 Censuses, as well as data from the 2007 American Community Survey (ACS). Next, we examine socioeconomic and demographic characteristics for foreign-born Africans compared to all of the foreign-born and all native-born Americans for the four points in time. Finally, we discuss the major gaps in our knowledge about African immigrants in the U.S., and suggest some directions for future research.

Background

While African-born immigrants living in the U.S. make up only about 3 percent of the total foreign-born population, the number of African migrants is increasing. Between 1989 and 1994, an average of about 30,000 African immigrants were admitted each year, but since then, it has increased to about 45,000 per year. It more than quadrupled from the period 1961-1980 to 1981-2000 (Takougang 2003). Continued population growth and economic and political instability in many African nations act as immigration "push" factors and encourage those with skills and resources, to emigrate from their home countries. These factors, in combination with new Africa-friendly U.S. immigration policies and tighter immigration restrictions for Africans in the European Union have made the United States a more frequent destination for many African migrants. And, because of reunification policies, African immigrants in the U.S. are beginning to bring their family members to the U.S. as well (Gordon 1998). It is estimated from the 2000 Census that about 92,000 or approximately 1 percent of New York City's total population were African-born immigrants (Takougang 2003), and this proportion is continuing to increase as well.

Despite many generalizations put forth in the few studies that exist, we still know very little about these African immigrants' socioeconomic and health statuses. African immigrants are particularly concentrated in urban areas (about 95 percent live in a metropolitan area as of 2000), especially large metropolises such as New York, Washington, DC, and Los Angeles. The largest concentrations of Africans are in the Northeast, and 40 percent live in just four states: New York, California, Texas, and Maryland (Dixon 2006). In terms of integration, African-born immigrants can be relatively segregated from both native whites and native blacks, as well as from people of Afro-Caribbean origin. In New York, however, they are known to live in African-origin ethnic enclaves, but within minority neighborhoods, like the West Bronx, Bedford-Stuyvesant in Brooklyn, Hollis in Queens, and parts of Harlem in Manhattan. Africanborn populations have been somewhat wary of being affiliated with native African Americans because of prejudicial attitudes. However, the most recent data available indicate that these patterns may be shifting somewhat, particularly in cities with large concentrations of African Americans, like Washington and Atlanta (Logan 2007). We also know that the African born are less likely to be citizens than the foreign-born population in general (Dixon 2006). However, many of them are newer arrivals and may yet obtain citizenship.

Overall, according to the 2000 Census data, Africans are well educated, even in comparison to the native-born. About 90 percent had a high school education or greater, and two out of every five had a college education (Dixon 2006). These statistics include Africans from all backgrounds, however, so these are not just black Africans or those from sub-Saharan Africa. Yet many Africans have arrived since 2000 and little is known about how these newer arrivals have changed the socioeconomic characteristics of the population. The African immigrant community is now at the stage where chain migration-in which immigrants began to bring their immediate family members, and eventually more distant relatives—may begin to occur, as more Africans become citizens, permanent residents, and native-born and are eligible to apply to bring their families to the U.S. (Gordon 1998). Will these newer migrants be as well educated as their predecessors? What will happen in terms of their continued integration and/or isolation from mainstream Americans? Although some research found that they were less likely to be unemployed, had higher median earnings, and were more likely to work in managerial, professional, sales, and office-related occupations than the foreign born, one in every five African-born individuals lived in poverty (Dixon 2006). As more refugees come from a number of different African countries (many French-speaking, for example), their integration into U.S. society may slow or change. Cultural differences may be heightened and poverty could increase. Even when Africans are well educated, they are not always able to translate that education into professional jobs in the U.S., but work instead in low-paying service industries like taxi driving and street vending.

Transnational behavior among immigrants has become a much-studied topic in migration research, because social networks that immigrants maintain both in their new homes and in their countries of origin can be important forms of social and economic support for both individuals and communities. Social networks can facilitate and perpetuate migration by providing potential migrants with information about destinations, help

obtaining housing and jobs, and other financial and social support (Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003; Massey, Goldring and Durand 1994; Massey et al. 1987). Social networks can also serve as social support mechanisms for others in migrants' networks and facilitate the sending of remittances to origin communities.

Much of the existing research on migrant social networks and remittances has focused on immigrant communities in the United States, primarily from Latin America and the Caribbean (Nyberg-Sorenson, Van Hear and Engberg-Pederson 2002; Levitt 2001; Massey, Goldring and Durand 1994), or in Europe, primarily from North Africa or Asia (Pieke, Van Hear and Lindley 2007; Ballard 2005; Bielefeld and Koning 2005; Korovilas 2005). International agencies and national governments increasingly view remittances as an engine for local and national development (Gammeltoft 2002). Despite the increasing interest in the development potential of international migration and transnational networks (Guarnizo 2003; Gammeltoft 2002; Nyberg-Sorenson, Van Hear and Engberg-Pederson 2002; Landolt 2001), knowledge of African immigrant networks and their potential role in development remains under-studied. Sub-Saharan Africa receives a relatively small share (only 5 percent) of total remittances to the global South and has high levels of migration within countries and within the continent, so it has received relatively little attention from researchers (Sander and Maimbo 2005). But as the African immigrant population in the U.S. increases, it is likely that remittances to Africa will increase as well. Understanding the implications of this is one avenue for further study.

Population Trends among African Immigrants: U.S. and New York City

Although they make up a relatively small number of the total foreign-born population, the number of African immigrants in the U.S. has increased about tenfold in the past thirty years. In 1980, there were a mere 101,520 African-born residents in the U.S., but by 2007, there were 1,023,363 (**Figure 1**).¹ The pace of this increase has also risen sharply since 1990, with the number practically doubling between 1990 and 2000, and again almost doubling between 2000 and 2007. One can anticipate that the 2010 Census will report at least 1,200,000 or more African-born immigrants. Although their numbers are much smaller, they are growing at a pace on par with the foreign-born from Latin America and the Caribbean. There have always been slightly more African-born men than women in the U.S.

According to the 2007 ACS, as shown in **Figure 2**, the largest percentages of African immigrants hail from West Africa (37%), East Africa (28%) and North Africa (19%). These three regions have always topped the distribution, but the rankings have changed somewhat over time. **Table 1** shows the percentage of West Africans has remained relatively steady over the past three decades; just under 40% of all African immigrants are from the West African region in 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2007. Meanwhile, the

¹ All data for this paper come from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS), Version 4.0 at the Minnesota Population Center (Ruggles et al. 2009). The data presented here are from: the 5% state sample and 1% metro area sample for the 1980 Census; the 5% state sample and the 1% metro area sample for the 1990 Census; the 5% sample for the 2000 Census; and the 1% sample for the 2007 American Community Survey (ACS). All data are weighted to be nationally representative.

percentage of North Africans has steadily declined from 38% (the highest ranking) in 1980 to only 19% by 2007. And the percentage of East Africans has rapidly increased from only 12% in 1980 (a distant third place to North and West Africa as a region of origin) to 28% by 2007. About 6% of all African foreign-born were from Southern Africa in the prior time periods; this dropped to only 4% in the most recent 2007 data. Those originating from Central Africa are the smallest percentage; never more than 3% of the total in any year. The number reporting an African place of birth, but not specifying a country has increased from only 4% in 1990 to 11% in 2007, which is a puzzling trend.

When one delves further into the trends to look at the top 10 African sending countries over time (Table 2), the overall trends are reinforced. Egypt, for example, which was the number one country of origin for African foreign-born in 1980, has fallen to only number four as of 2007. Egyptian immigrants arrived in the 1960s and 1970s to flee political and religious persecution and violence, but it seems as though Egyptians have become less likely to migrate to the U.S. in recent years. The top sending country now is Nigeria (156,182 from Nigeria as of 2007), which is not surprising, as it is the largest country (in population) in Africa and relatively wealthy, due to its oil resources. (Note that Egypt is the third most populous African country and Ethiopia is second.) Ethiopia has been the third ranked sending country from Africa since 1990. Other countries with large numbers of immigrants include: Ghana, Somalia, South Africa, Liberia, Morocco, and Kenya. The rankings fluctuate, but many of these countries are likely in the top 10 because they have had numbers of political or humanitarian refugees (due to war and conflict), they are relatively well-educated populations (compared to other African countries), they have English-speaking populations, or they have historical ties with the U.S. Figure 3 emphasizes these trends for the top 5 sending countries (plus "Africa not specified"). Clearly, Nigerian immigrants are increasingly dominating the migration streams.

Where do the African foreign-born live? We know that most of them live in urban areas, so **Table 3** and **Figure 4** show the top receiving cities of African immigrants in the U.S. at each of the four points in time. New York ranks first every time, well above any other city in terms of sheer numbers (of course, New York is the largest city in the country in terms of population too). New York City contains 2 to 3 times more African foreignborn than the second city on the list in every year. Nevertheless, "all other cities (and non-urban areas)" contain the majority of African immigrants in every time period (ranging from 68% in 1980 to 81% in 2007). So while these top 10 cities do contain a large proportion of the African foreign-born, that proportion is declining over time, as more and more African immigrants move to smaller cities, suburbs, exurbs, and small towns. It is likely that this is partly driven by refugee resettlement practices, and partly driven by the increasingly prohibitive costs of living in large metropolises.

Other large cities (apart from New York) that contain significant proportions of Africans include Los Angeles, Minneapolis (which has a large resettled refugee population, particularly Somalis), Chicago, Philadelphia, Washington (and its suburb Alexandria, VA), Boston, and Seattle. The New Jersey suburbs of New York of Newark and Jersey City are also frequently in the top ten. Some areas that previously contained a large

number of African immigrants, including Houston, Dallas, and Atlanta seem to have fallen behind, but this may just be an artifact of urban sprawl, as these numbers are for the city proper, not the total metropolitan area. Further analysis of metropolitan areas needs to be done. The key points are that while African foreign-born do concentrate in several large cities, they also are spreading into other areas. But New York remains an important destination and a good place to do preliminary research with this population.

Looking more closely at New York City, **Table 4** and **Figure 5** show the top 10 sending countries of foreign-born Africans to New York in 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2007.² In Figure 5, we can see immediately that Nigeria, Ghana, and Egypt are the top origin countries and that the number of immigrants from these countries has increased significantly over time. So the trends for New York are similar to the trends for the U.S. overall. It is somewhat surprising that Ghana is such a large sending country, because it has a much smaller population than the other two countries. Ghanaians are known for being quite mobile and entrepreneurial, but it is probably also because Ghana has had long ties to the U.S. through student programs and other exchange programs. This intriguing finding merits further investigation.

Table 4 shows the diversity of African immigrants in New York City. In addition to Egypt, Ghana, and Nigeria, other major sending countries in the top ten over the entire time period include Morocco, Liberia, and Ethiopia. South Africa was a large sending country (ranked seventh in 1980) through 2000, and it does not appear in the top ten in 2007, perhaps because fewer people are leaving now as it stabilizes somewhat following the end of apartheid (of course, this trend could reverse at any time and South Africa still has a significant brain drain). Sierra Leone was in the top ten in 1980 and in 2000, likely because of many refugees fleeing the conflict there. (Sudan was in the top ten in 1990, again likely due to refugee flows.)

Senegal did not appear in the top ten in 1980, but it has been steadily climbing as a source of African immigrants to New York since 1990. Thus, two of the top sending countries to New York are Francophone—Morocco and Senegal—which points to the increasing diversity of the African immigrant population, as well as a potential difficulty for immigrants from these countries if they do not speak English. In further data analysis, we will examine this more closely.

African Immigrants' Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics

Clearly African immigrants to the U.S. and to New York City are a growing and diverse population. What else can be learned about them from these Census and ACS data? **Table 5** gives an overall demographic and socio-economic profile of the African foreignborn in the U.S. and how it has changed over time. Although men still make up a majority of the population, that share has declined since 1980 from almost 64% to only 54% by 2007. Clearly more women are moving here from Africa. The extent to which they are moving alone versus with families will be pursued with further research.

² Interestingly, Africa (ns) or non-specified is a large percentage of all the African foreign-born; why people do not report the specific country is an issue that will be examined further.

The age distribution of African immigrants has also shifted over time. In 1980, they were heavily concentrated in the working ages of 25-34 and 35-44 (total of almost 60%), but by 2007, only 48% are in those age groups. Younger migrants have actually declined slightly as a percentage (compared to 1980), but the percentages of migrants over 45 has increased. The racial distribution of African immigrants has also changed dramatically. While in 1980, 42% of the African foreign-born reported their race as "white" (this category likely includes North Africans of Arabic descent as well as Africans of European descent), by 2007, only about 18% were white and almost 80% were black. In 2000, the impact of the option for multiracial reporting was evident, as over 12% of the African foreign-born reported multiple races.

Marital status has not changed as much over time, although African immigrants are slightly less likely to be married and slightly more likely to be divorced or widowed (because they are slightly more likely to be older as well). The percentage of naturalized citizens has increased from 23% in 1980 to 36% by 2007. This is no doubt partly (but not entirely) related to how long they have been in the U.S., and an issue to be explored further.

English ability has not changed very dramatically among African immigrants, although there has been an increase over time in the percentages who report that they do not speak English well or speak no English, and a corresponding decline over time in the percentages (among those whose first language is not English) who report that they speak English very well.

As shown in Table 5, African immigrants are a highly educated group; in every year, over 40% of them have attained four or more years of college. The percentage with four years of college is somewhat lower in 2007 than it was in 1990 or 2000, and there has been a corresponding rise in the percentages with less than a high school education or a high school diploma. This suggests both the increasing diversity of this population as well as the possibility that some groups (refugees, perhaps) may have more difficulty than others in terms of making a living and a life in the U.S.

In 1980, 40 percent of the African born were not in the labor force, but dropped dramatically in 1990 and was only 24% by 2007. The average household size fluctuated over time, but it has increased from 2.66 in 1980 to almost 3 persons in 2007, which suggests that perhaps large households are becoming more common among African immigrants. Finally, although median household income was rising throughout the period, it peaked in 2000 at almost \$49,000, but has since declined to only \$44,000 in 2007.

How do the African foreign-born compare to all immigrants and the native-born? **Table 6** gives the same demographic and socio-economic characteristics for all three populations from the 2007 ACS data. Africans are more heavily male and generally somewhat younger than both the native born and the foreign born (although the native born do have higher percentage under the age of 17, which makes sense as people with

children are less likely to move than those without). Of course, not surprisingly, there are many more black African born than native born or other immigrants. Marital status is not much different across the three groups.

Africans are less likely to be naturalized citizens than all foreign born, which makes sense as many of them are newer arrivals. The percentage of Africans who speak only English is higher than for the overall foreign born and of those who speak another language, almost 62% of Africans, but only 38% of all foreign born report speaking English very well. As illustrated by **Figure 6**, which compares educational attainment (in 2007 and among adults, age 25+) of the African foreign born, the foreign born overall and the native born, overall, the African born have achieved higher levels of schooling that either the native born or all foreign born. While 42% of them have four or more years of college, only 27 percent of native born and all foreign born have that level of education. Africans are also more likely to be in the labor force than either natives or foreign born.

Nevertheless, despite these possible advantages, a higher percentage of African immigrants live at or below poverty (19%) than the native born (13%) or all foreign born (16%). They are significantly more likely to be renters and have lower median and mean household incomes. This suggests that although African-born immigrants may be more educated and more likely to be working, they are struggling to achieve parity in income and socio-economic status with natives and even other immigrant groups. Further work will be done to look at how they compare to specific groups (e.g., Mexican, Caribbean, etc.). But this preliminary analysis points to the fact that at least some African immigrants may be disadvantaged and that we clearly need to better understand the socioeconomic status of this population (these populations—since we know that the African immigrant population is so diverse) and the potential impact on their well-being.

Next Steps

Clearly our knowledge of the African immigrant population and particularly of their health and overall well-being is quite limited, mainly because there have not been any special surveys and few special qualitative studies. Therefore most of what we do know is either based on Census data (which is limited in terms of questions that are asked) or merely anecdotal. A comprehensive survey of African immigrants is needed. We have proposed a research study called The African Immigrant Project that will be piloted in New York City, where the largest numbers of African migrants are found.

The project aims to improve our understanding of who African immigrants in the U.S. are, as well as how they make a living, whether or not they are integrated into U.S. society, and how well they are doing in terms of health, overall well-being, and economic status. In other words, will Africans integrate successfully into the U.S. (and particularly New York), or will racial discrimination and other issues (i.e., language and cultural barriers) cause African immigrants to struggle with poverty and other challenges? And how will their children fare in comparison to other immigrant groups and the nativeborn? The project will be a first step towards designing a larger study to understand how

African immigrants' socio-economic status in comparison to other groups, and how this relates to their transnational networks. Ultimately, the project aims to understand the implications of these networks and remittances for future African development, which has become a major concern of the international development policy community.

While our funding proposal is under review we continue to pursue further analysis of the available Census and ACS data, particularly for New York City, as well as developing further the background of the project. By the PAA 2010 meetings, we will have an analytical paper prepared based on this (and other) data and a more thorough literature review. We hope that we will also have funding in hand to begin the pilot research project in New York in the summer of 2010.

References

Ballard, R. 2005. "Remittances and Economic Development in India and Pakistan." Pp. 103-118 in Remittances: Development Impact and Future Prospects, edited by S.M. Maimbo, and D. Ratha. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Bielefeld, N., and A. Koning. 2005."International Remittances: Delivering Fair Value." Pp. 193-208 in Remittances: Development Impact and Future Prospects, edited by S.M. Maimbo, and D. Ratha. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Braun, Bob. 2009. "Washington's African immigrants see Obama redefining race." *New Jersey Star-Ledger*, January 15, 2009.

Chude-Sokei, Louis. 2007. "Redefining 'black': Obama's candidacy spotlights the divide between native black culture and African immigrants." *Los Angeles Times*, February 18, 2007.

Curran, Sara R., and Estela Rivero-Fuentes. 2003. "Engendering Migrant Networks: The Case of Mexican Migration." Demography 40 (2):289-307.

Fears, Darryl. 2008. "African immigrants among Obama's enthusiastic backers." *The Washington Post*, July 6, 2008.

Gammeltoft, Peter. 2002. "Remittances and Other Financial Flows to Developing Countries." International Migration 40 (5):181-211.

Gordon, April. 1998. "The New Diaspora: African Immigration to the United States." Journal of Third World Studies 15(1): 79-103.

Guarnizo, Luis Eduardo. 2003. "The Economics of Transnational Living." International Migration Review 37 (3):666-699.

Kent, Mary Medeiros. 2007. "Immigration and America's Black Population." Population Bulletin 62 (4).

Korovilas, J.P. 2005. "Remittances and Pyramid Investment Schemes in Albania." Pp. 175-192 in Remittances: Development Impact and Future Prospects, edited by S.M. Maimbo, and D. Ratha. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Landolt, Patricia. 2001. "Salvadoran Economic Transnationalism: Embedded Strategies for Household Maintenance, Immigrant Incorporation, and Entrepreneurial Expansion." Global Networks 1 (3):217-241.

Levitt, Peggy. 2001. The Transnational Villagers. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Massey, Douglas S., et al. 1987. Return to Aztlan: The Social Process of International Migration from Western Mexico. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Massey, Douglas S., Luin Goldring, and Jorge Durand. 1994. "Continuities in Transnational Migration: An Analysis of Nineteen Mexican Communities." The American Journal of Sociology 99 (6):1492-1533.

Nyberg-Sorenson, Ninna, Nicholas Van Hear, and Poul Engberg-Pederson. 2002. "The Migration-Development Nexus: Evidence and Policy Option State-of-the-Art Overview." International Migration 40 (5):3-47.

Pieke, Frank, Nicholas Van Hear, and Anna Lindley. 2007. "Beyond Control? the Mechanics and Dynamics of "Informal" Remittances between Europe and Africa." Global Networks 7 (3):348-366.

Ruggles, Steven, Matthew Sobek, Trent Alexander, Catherine A. Fitch, Ronald Goeken, Patricia Kelly Hall, Miriam King, and Chad Ronnander. *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 4.0* [Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis, MN: Minnesota Population Center [producer and distributor], 2009. <u>http://usa.ipums.org/usa/</u>

Sander, C., and S.M. Maimbo. 2005."Migrant Remittances in Africa: A Regional Perspective." Pp. 53-80 in Remittances: Development Impact and Future Prospects, edited by S.M. Maimbo, and D. Ratha. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Takougang, Joseph. 2003. "Contemporary African Immigrants to the United States." Irinkerindo: A Journal of African Migration 2.

				Y	ear			
	1980		1990		2000		2007	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Region								
North Africa	38,480	38%	66,020	28%	121,684	21%	190,897	19%
West Africa	37,280	37%	90,561	39%	221,370	39%	375,278	37%
East Africa	12,420	12%	47,131	20%	133,872	23%	283,693	28%
Central Africa	2,060	2%	6,009	3%	3,214	1%	20,806	2%
Southern African	6,160	6%	14,669	6%	35,136	6%	38,409	4%
Africa (not specified)	5,120	5%	10,403	4%	55,461	10%	114,280	11%
Total	101,520		234,793		570,737		1,023,363	

Data: IPUMS.

		Table	2: Top 10 Sending	Countries of	of African Immigran	ts to U.S.		
	1980		1990		2000		2007	
Rank	Country	Ν	Country	Ν	Country	Ν	Country	Ν
1	Egypt	28,060	Nigeria	51,375	Nigeria	114,490	Nigeria	156,182
2	Nigeria	23,000	Egypt	49,312	Egypt	87,751	Africa, ns/nec	114,280
3	Ghana	7,280	Ethiopia	31,401	Ethiopia	58,224	Ethiopia	109,309
4	Ethiopia	5,520	Ghana	17,767	Africa, ns/nec	55,461	Egypt	108,048
5	South Africa	5,220	South Africa	13,714	Ghana	54,081	Ghana	80,783
6	Africa, ns/nec	5,120	Africa, ns/nec	10,403	South Africa	35,136	Somalia	59,305
7	Morocco	3,660	Liberia	8,518	Liberia	32,746	Kenya	57,357
8	Libya	3,340	Morocco	7,692	Somalia	30,327	Liberia	56,151
9	Liberia	2,400	Kenya	5,837	Kenya	24,450	Morocco	41,021
10	Kenya	2,180	Sierra Leone	5,405	Morocco	20,388	Western Africa, ns	40,620
	All Other Countries	15,740	All Other Countries	33,369	All Other Countries	57,683	All Other Countries	200,307
Total		101,520		234,793		570,737		1,023,363

Data: IPUMS.

	Table 3: Top	10 Receiving		African Immigrants to the U.S.
Rank	City	N	<u>1980 Cens</u> %	Top Countries Of Origin
1	New York, NY	14,280	14.1	Egypt, Ghana, Nigeria, Morocco
2	Los Angeles, CA	5,140	5.1	Egypt, Nigeria, Morocco
3	Houston, TX	2,980	2.9	Nigeria, S Africa, Egypt
4	Washington, DC	2,340	2.3	Ethiopia, Nigeria, Africa NS, Sudan
5	Chicago, IL	2,340	2.3	Nigeria, Ghana, Egypt, Africa NS
6	Jersey City, NJ			Egypt (all others minimal)
7	Philadelphia, PA	2,020 1,240	2.0 1.2	
8	Boston, MA		1.2	Nigeria, Egypt, Africa NS Nigeria, Africa NS, Senegal, Ethiopia
9		1,000 980	1.0	
10	Arlington, VA Atlanta, GA			Ethiopia, Egypt, Ghana Nigeria, Liberia, Ghana, Zimbabwe
10	All Other*	840	0.8 67.5	Nigena, Libena, Ghana, Zimbabwe
Total	All Other	68,480		
otal		101,520	100 1990 Cens	
Donk	City	N	1990 Ceris %	Top Countries Of Origin
Rank				
1	New York, NY	29,200	12.4	Egypt, Ghana, Nigeria, Africa NS
2	Los Angeles, CA	9,561	4.1	Egypt, Ethiopia, Nigeria, S Africa
3	Washington, DC	5,207	2.2	Ethiopia, Nigeria, Cameroon, Egypt
4	Dallas, TX	3,617	1.5	Ethiopia, Nigeria, S Africa, Kenya
5	Chicago, IL	3,546	1.5	Nigeria, Ghana, Ethiopia, Africa NS
6	Jersey City, NJ	3,408	1.5	Egypt, Kenya, Nigeria, Liberia
7	Boston, MA	2,707	1.2	Nigeria, Ethiopia, Egypt, Ghana
8	Philadelphia, PA	2,059	0.9	Nigeria, Ethiopia, Egypt, Angola
9	Newark, NJ	2,008	0.9	Nigeria, Ghana, Africa NS, Liberia
10	Alexandria, VA	1,479	0.6	Ethiopia, Africa NS, Nigeria, Ghana
	All Other*	172,001	73.3	
		234,793	100	
			2000 Cens	
Rank	City	N	%	Top Countries Of Origin
1	New York, NY	60,413	10.6	Nigeria, Africa NS, Ghana, Egypt
2	Los Angeles, CA	13,312	2.3	Egypt, Ethiopia, Nigeria, S Africa
3	Minneapolis, MN	10,082	1.8	Somalia, Ethiopia, Kenya, Liberia
4	Chicago, IL	9,822	1.7	Nigeria, Ghana, Africa NS, Egypt
5	Philadelphia, PA	6,756	1.2	Africa NS, Liberia, Nigeria, Egypt
6	Washington, DC	6,591	1.2	Ethiopia, Nigeria, Africa NS, Sierrra Leone
7	Jersey City, NJ	6,267	1.1	Egypt, Kenya, Africa NS, Ethiopia
8	Boston, MA	5,616	1.0	Nigeria, Somalia, Africa NS, Sierra Leone
9	Alexandria, VA	5,509	1.0	Ethiopia, Ghana, Sierra Leone
10	Seattle, WA	5,223	0.9	Ethiopia, Eritrea, Africa NS, Somalia
	All Other*	441,146	77.3	
		570,737	100	
	2007 A	CS		
Rank	City	N	%	
1	New York, NY	90,179	8.8	Country of origin NA for 2007
2	Chicago, IL	16,748	1.6	
3	Minneapolis, MN	15,783	1.5	
4	Los Angeles, CA	14,068	1.4	
5	Philadelphia, PA	11,858	1.2	
	Alexandria, VA	11,031	1.1	
6	Seattle, WA	10,079	1.0	
6 7	Seallie, WA			
7		7.913	0.8	
	Boston, MA	7,913 7,428		
7 8 9	Boston, MA Newark, NJ	7,428	0.7	
7 8	Boston, MA Newark, NJ Washington, DC	7,428 7,177	0.7 0.7	
7 8 9	Boston, MA Newark, NJ	7,428 7,177 831,099	0.7 0.7 81.2	
7 8 9	Boston, MA Newark, NJ Washington, DC All Other*	7,428 7,177	0.7 0.7	

							of African Immi Africans in Ne					
1980 Census				1990 Census			2000 Census			2007 ACS		
Rank	Country	Ν	%	Country	Ν	%	Country	Ν	%	Country	Ν	%
1	Egypt	4,180	29.3	Egypt	7,817	26.8	Nigeria	12,370	20.5	Ghana	16,500	18.3
2	Ghana	2,420	16.9	Ghana	4,665	16.0	Africa (ns)	11,925	19.7	Nigeria	14,522	16.1
3	Nigeria	2,120	14.8	Nigeria	4,418	15.1	Ghana	11,652	19.3	Egypt	13,034	14.5
4	Morocco	960	6.7	Africa (ns)	1,963	6.7	Egypt	10,988	18.2	Africa (ns)	11,998	13.3
5	Africa (ns)	860	6.0	Morocco	1,695	5.8	Liberia	3,803	6.3	W. Africa (ns)	10,342	11.5
6	Liberia	580	4.1	Liberia	1,511	5.2	Morocco	3,177	5.3	Morocco	6,167	6.8
7	South Africa	480	3.4	Ethiopia	1,033	3.5	Ethiopia	1,282	2.1	Senegal	3,921	4.3
8	Ethiopia	400	2.8	Sudan	790	2.7	Senegal	1,184	2.0	Guinea	2,896	3.2
9	Sierra Leone	360	2.5	Senegal	789	2.7	Sierra Leone	1,076	1.8	Liberia	2,463	2.7
10	Tunisia	240	1.7	South Africa	694	2.4	South Africa	1,055	1.7	Ethiopia	1,421	1.6
	All Other	1,680	11.8	All Other	3,825	13.1	All Other	1,901	3.1	All Other	6,915	7.7
Fotal		14,280	100		29,200	100		60,413	100		90,179	100

Data: IPUMS

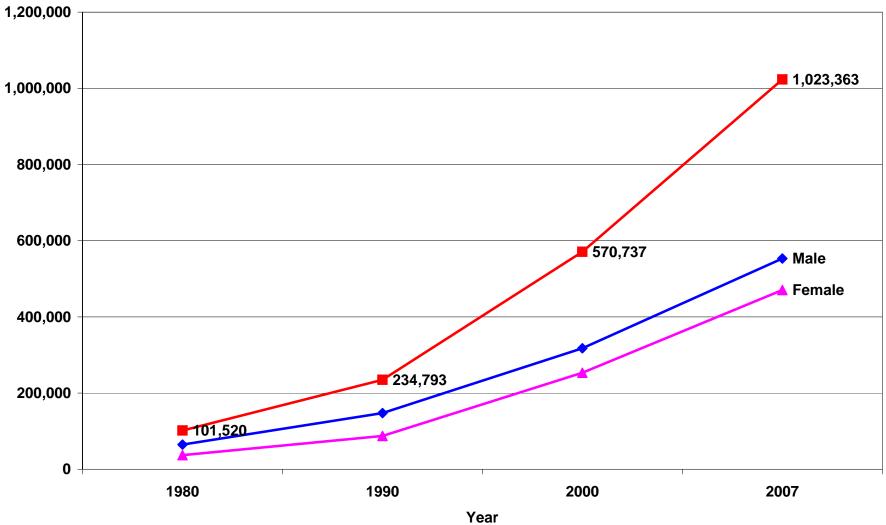
Total 1 Sex	198 Freq. 101,520 64,640 36,880 36,880 14,180 17,180 42,140 18,340 5,800 2,580 1,300	6 6 6 6 3 6 3 6 3 6 3 6 3 6 3 6 3 6 3 6 3 6 3 6 3 6 3 6 3 6 3 6 3 6 3 6 3 6 3 6 3 6 3 6 3 6 3 6 3 6 1 4 1 6 9 4 1 5 7 2 5 7 1 3 6 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	199 Freq. 234,793 147,598 87,195 23,453 24,017 89,896 63,281 21,878 7,891	0 % 100.0 62.9 37.1 10.0 10.2 38.3 27.0	200 Freq. 570,737 317,398 253,339 253,339 71,608 64,088 141,463	% 100.0 55.6 44.4 12.5 11.2	200 Freq. 1,023,363 552,977 470,386 132,156 125,628	% 100.0 54.0 46.0 12.9
Total 1 Sex Sex Male Female Female Female Age Age Age under 17 Age 18-24 Age 25-34 Age 35-44 Age 45-54 Age 65 + Race White Black Amer. Indian	101,520 64,640 36,880 14,180 17,180 42,140 18,340 5,800 2,580 1,300	100.0 63.7 36.3 14.0 16.9 41.5 18.1 5.7 2.5	234,793 147,598 87,195 23,453 24,017 89,896 63,281 21,878	100.0 62.9 37.1 10.0 10.2 38.3	570,737 317,398 253,339 71,608 64,088 141,463	100.0 55.6 44.4 12.5 11.2	1,023,363 552,977 470,386 132,156	100.0 54.0 46.0 12.9
Sex Male Female Age Age under 17 Age 18-24 Age 25-34 Age 35-44 Age 45-54 Age 55-64 Age 65 + Race White Black Amer. Indian	64,640 36,880 14,180 17,180 42,140 18,340 5,800 2,580 1,300	63.7 36.3 14.0 16.9 41.5 18.1 5.7 2.5	147,598 87,195 23,453 24,017 89,896 63,281 21,878	62.9 37.1 10.0 10.2 38.3	317,398 253,339 71,608 64,088 141,463	55.6 44.4 12.5 11.2	552,977 470,386 132,156	54.0 46.0 12.9
MaleFemaleAgeAge under 17Age 18-24Age 25-34Age 35-44Age 45-54Age 55-64Age 65 +RaceWhiteBlackAmer. Indian	36,880 14,180 17,180 42,140 18,340 5,800 2,580 1,300	36.3 14.0 16.9 41.5 18.1 5.7 2.5	87,195 23,453 24,017 89,896 63,281 21,878	37.1 10.0 10.2 38.3	253,339 71,608 64,088 141,463	44.4 12.5 11.2	470,386 132,156	46.0
Female Image Age Age under 17 Age 18-24 Age 25-34 Age 35-44 Age 35-64 Age 55-64 Age 65 + Race Image White Black Amer. Indian Image	36,880 14,180 17,180 42,140 18,340 5,800 2,580 1,300	36.3 14.0 16.9 41.5 18.1 5.7 2.5	87,195 23,453 24,017 89,896 63,281 21,878	37.1 10.0 10.2 38.3	253,339 71,608 64,088 141,463	44.4 12.5 11.2	470,386 132,156	46.0
Age Age under 17 Age 18-24 Age 25-34 Age 35-44 Age 45-54 Age 65 + Race White Black Amer. Indian	36,880 14,180 17,180 42,140 18,340 5,800 2,580 1,300	36.3 14.0 16.9 41.5 18.1 5.7 2.5	87,195 23,453 24,017 89,896 63,281 21,878	37.1 10.0 10.2 38.3	253,339 71,608 64,088 141,463	44.4 12.5 11.2	470,386 132,156	46.0
Age under 17 Age 18-24 Age 25-34 Age 35-44 Age 55-64 Age 65 + Race White Black Amer. Indian	17,180 42,140 18,340 5,800 2,580 1,300	16.9 41.5 18.1 5.7 2.5	24,017 89,896 63,281 21,878	10.2 38.3	64,088 141,463	11.2		
Age under 17 Age 18-24 Age 25-34 Age 35-44 Age 55-64 Age 65 + Race White Black Amer. Indian	17,180 42,140 18,340 5,800 2,580 1,300	16.9 41.5 18.1 5.7 2.5	24,017 89,896 63,281 21,878	10.2 38.3	64,088 141,463	11.2		
Age 18-24 Age 25-34 Age 35-44 Age 45-54 Age 65 + Race White Black Amer. Indian	17,180 42,140 18,340 5,800 2,580 1,300	16.9 41.5 18.1 5.7 2.5	24,017 89,896 63,281 21,878	10.2 38.3	64,088 141,463	11.2		
Age 25-34 Age 35-44 Age 45-54 Age 55-64 Age 65 + Race White Black Amer. Indian	42,140 18,340 5,800 2,580 1,300	41.5 18.1 5.7 2.5	89,896 63,281 21,878	38.3	141,463		120.020	100
Age 35-44 Age 45-54 Age 55-64 Age 65 + Race White Black Amer. Indian	18,340 5,800 2,580 1,300	18.1 5.7 2.5	63,281 21,878					12.3
Age 45-54 Age 55-64 Age 65 + Race White Black Amer. Indian	5,800 2,580 1,300	5.7 2.5	21,878	27.0	404 400	24.8	236,485	23.1
Age 55-64 Age 65 + Race White Black Amer. Indian	2,580 1,300	2.5		0.0	161,162	28.2	251,202	24.5
Age 65 + Race White Black Amer. Indian	1,300		/ 891	9.3	85,175	14.9	171,424	16.8
Race White Black Amer. Indian		1.3		3.4	31,324	5.5	72,073	7.0
White Black Amer. Indian	40.000		4,377	1.9	15,917	2.8	34,395	3.4
Black Amer. Indian	40.000							
Amer. Indian	42,920	42.3	74,691	31.8	110,803	19.4	180,924	17.7
	53,980	53.2	157,503	67.1	382,192	67.0	817,402	79.9
	0	0.0	83	0.0	130	0.0	166	0.0
	820	0.8	1,653	0.7	1,578	0.3	5,829	0.6
Other	3,800	3.7	863	0.4	6,258	1.1	9,116	0.9
	ot avail.	-	not avail.	-	69,776	12.2	9,926	1.0
Marital Status								
(age 15+)	89,660		216,943		517,384		925,915	
Married	52,680	58.8	124,099	57.2	293,051	56.6	497,598	53.7
	2,640	2.9	10,970	57.2	293,051	4.2	35,763	3.9
Separated Divorced								
Widowed	2,840	3.2	14,056	6.5	36,568	7.1	70,028	7.6
	1,360	1.5	4,003	1.8	14,318	2.8	28,189	3.0
Never married/si	30,140	33.6	63,815	29.4	151,579	29.3	294,337	31.8
Citizenship			†					
Status								
Naturalized								
Citizen	23,420	23.1	64,798	27.6	187,750	32.9	367,439	35.9
Not a Citizen	78,100	76.9	169,995	72.4	382,987	67.1	655,924	64.1
Years in the U.S.								
0-5 years	56,480	55.6	82,413	35.1	237,173	41.6	370,482	36.2
6-10 years	26,280	25.9	71,826	30.6	111,240	19.5	276,841	27.1
11-15 years	10,960	10.8	37,056	15.8	75,876	13.3	131,390	12.8
16-20 years	4,560	4.5	25,447	10.8	66,993	11.7	88,261	8.6
21+ years	3,240	3.2	18,051	7.7	79,455	13.9	156,389	15.3

Speaks English								
(age 5+)	98,660		231,996		563,419		1,008,187	
Only English	18,680	18.9	49,372	21.3	108,438	19.2	208,195	20.7
Other								
Language(s)	79,980	81.1	182,624	78.7	454,981	80.8	799,992	79.3
English Very Well	51,780	64.7	126,735	69.4	308,550	67.8	493,361	61.7
English Well	22,300	27.9	43,812	24.0	104,113	22.9	198,903	24.9
English Not Well	5,000	6.3	10,620	5.8	35,446	7.8	84,628	10.6
NO English	900	1.1	1,457	0.8	6,872	1.5	23,100	2.9
Education (age								
25+)	70,160		187,323		435,041		765,579	
Less than HS	6,100	8.7	11,100	5.9	30,382	7.0	72,132	9.4
HS Grad	10,280	14.7	29,820	15.9	92,374	21.2	175,396	22.9
1-3 yrs college	18,980	27.1	50,151	26.8	115,589	26.6	196,884	25.7
4+ yrs college	34,800	49.6	96,252	51.4	196,696	45.2	321,167	42.0
Labor Force								
Employment								
(age 16+)	89,000		215,206		512,002		915,290	
Civilian	53,160	59.7	164,602	76.5	369,266	72.1	689,965	75.4
Employed	48,640	91.5	152,208	92.5	345,844	93.7	635,739	92.1
Unemployed	4,520	8.5	12,394	7.5	23,422	6.3	54,226	7.9
Military	160	0.2	341	0.2	1,653	0.3	2,039	0.2
Not in LF	35,680	40.1	50,263	23.4	141,083	27.6	223,286	24.4
Avg HH Size	2.66		2.89		3.06		2.99	
Median HH								
Income (adjusted								
to 2007)	\$34,552		\$46,806		\$49,751		\$43,714	
Data: IPUMS.								

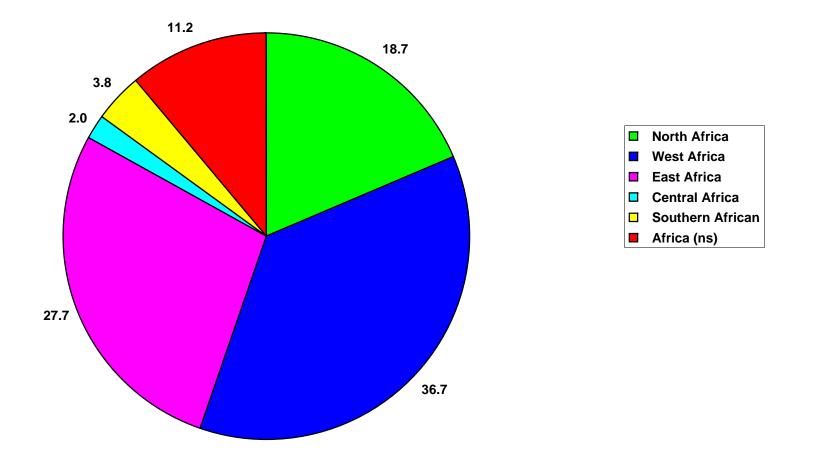
Characteristic	Native U.S. E	Born	All Foreign E	Born	Foreign Born Africans		
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
Total	261,531,677		37,225,633		1,023,363		
Sex							
Male	128,371,677	49.1	18,732,062	50.3	552,977	54.0	
Female	133,160,000	50.9	18,493,571	49.7	470,386	46.0	
A ===							
Age	70.040.004	07.0	0.050.700		400.450	10.0	
Age under 17	70,649,361	27.0	3,056,729	8.2	132,156	12.9	
Age 18-24	25,909,143	9.9	3,510,151	9.4	125,628	12.3	
Age 25-34	31,887,766	12.2	7,968,119	21.4	236,485	23.1	
Age 35-44	35,463,848	13.6	8,279,121	22.2	251,202	24.5	
Age 45-54	37,040,068	14.2	6,173,974	16.6	171,424	16.8	
Age 55-64	29,619,426	11.3	4,253,546	11.4	72,073	7.0	
Age 65 +	30,962,065	11.8	3,983,993	10.7	34,395	3.4	
Race							
White	204,329,373	78.1	17,105,182	46.0	180,924	17.7	
Black	34,098,563	13.0	2,883,101	7.7	817,402	79.9	
American Indian	2,249,064	0.9	127,160	0.3	166	0.0	
Asian	4,587,478	1.8	8,797,141	23.6	5,829	0.6	
Other	10,598,394	4.1	7,836,876	21.1	9,116	0.9	
Multi	5,668,805	2.2	476,173	1.3	9,926	1.0	
Marital Status (age							
15+)	202,902,637		35,055,552		925,915		
Married	99,295,537	48.9	20,929,085	59.7	497,598	53.7	
Separated	4,201,240	2.1	1,131,471	3.2	35,763	3.9	
Divorced	22,469,399	11.1	2,421,931	6.9	70,028	7.6	
Widowed	13,347,505	6.6	1,804,387	5.1	28,189	3.0	
Never married/single	63,588,956	31.3	8,768,678	25.0	294,337	31.8	
Citizenship Status							
(Foreign Born only)			37 225 622		1 022 262		
Naturalized Citizen	(n/2)		37,225,633	12.0	1,023,363	35.9	
Not a Citizen	(n/a)		15,618,600 21,607,033	42.0	367,439	<u>35.9</u> 64.1	
	(n/a)		∠1,007,033	58.0	655,924	04.1	
Years in US (Foreign	Ī						
Born only)							
0-5 years	(n/a)		7,708,528	20.7	370,482	36.2	
6-10 years	(n/a)		6,793,794	18.3	276,841	27.1	
11-15 years	(n/a)		5,092,300	13.7	131,390	12.8	
16-20 years	(n/a)		4,699,441	12.6	88,261	8.6	
21+ years	(n/a)		12,931,570	34.7	156,389	15.3	

Age 5+ Speaks						
English	241,353,519		36,909,544		1,008,187	
Only English	218,138,021	90.4	5,805,709	15.7	208,195	20.7
Speaks Other	23,215,498	9.6	31,103,835	84.3	799,992	79.3
English Very Well	18,479,474	79.6	11,766,860	37.8	493,361	61.7
English Well	3,014,534	13.0	7,725,621	24.8	198,903	24.9
English Not Well	1,448,795	6.2	7,394,811	23.8	84,628	10.6
NO English	272,695	1.2	4,216,543	13.6	23,100	2.9
Education (age 25+)	164,973,173		30,658,753		765,579	
Less than HS	18,158,418	11.0	8,857,350	28.9	72,132	9.4
HS Grad	54,694,375	33.2	8,273,974	27.0	175,396	22.9
1-3 years college	47,400,897	28.7	5,362,029	17.5	196,884	25.7
4+ years college	44,719,483	27.1	8,165,400	26.6	321,167	42.0
Labor Force						
Employment (age						
16+)	198,846,397		34,789,428		915,290	
Civilian	126,907,741	63.8	23,135,474	66.5	689,965	75.4
Employed	118,390,367	93.3	21,758,030	94.0	635,739	92.1
Unemployed	8,517,374	6.7	1,377,444	6.0	54,226	7.9
Military	953,010	0.5	53,968	0.0	2,039	0.2
Not in Labor Force	70,985,646	35.7	11,599,986	33.3	223,286	24.4
Not in Eabor 1 biec	10,000,040	00.1	11,000,000	00.0	223,200	27.7
Poverty						
Person Poverty Base	252,951,889		36,282,077		989,699	
Below/At Poverty	31,499,609	12.5	5,636,316	15.5	190,075	19.2
Above poverty	221,452,280	87.5	30,645,761	84.5	799,624	80.8
Household Tenure	96,878,519		14 742 001		407.055	
Owned	67,120,772	69.3	14,743,981 7,955,361	54.0	427,955 159,531	37.3
Rented	29,757,747	30.7	6,788,620	46.0	268,424	62.7
Renieu	29,151,141	30.7	0,700,020	40.0	200,424	02.7
Average HH Size						
(persons)	2.4		3.2		3.0	
Median HH Income	\$50,525		\$45,735		\$43,714	
Average HH Income	\$67,875		\$64,910		\$60,769	
Data: IPUMS						

Figure 1: Number of U.S. Foreign Born from Africa



Data: IPUMS.





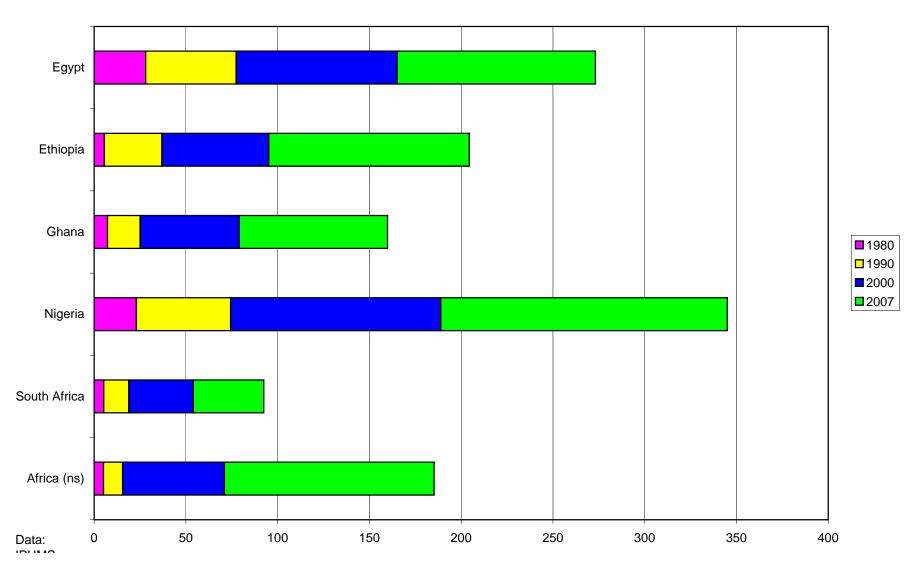
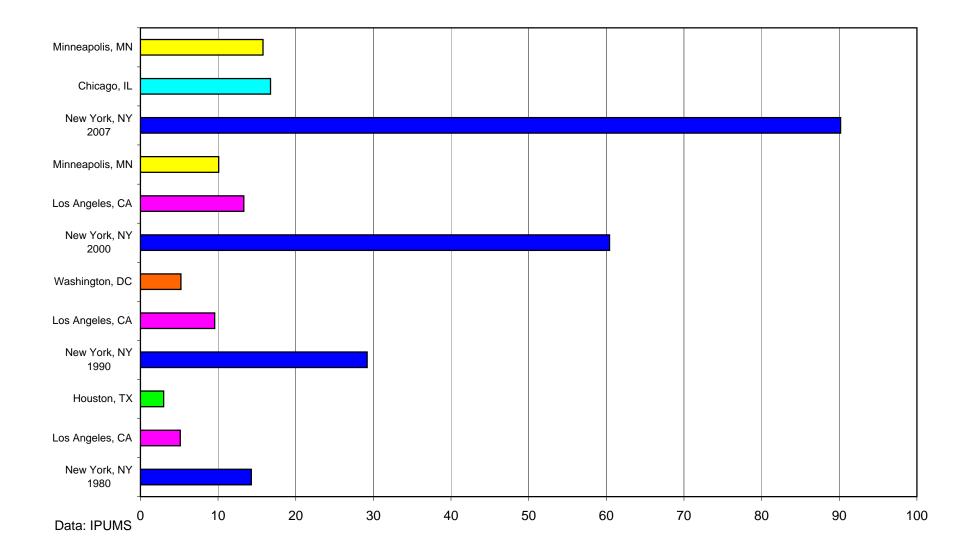


Figure 3: Top Sending Countries of African Immigrants to the U.S. (in thousands)

Figure 4: Top 3 Receiving Cities of African Immigrants to the U.S., over Time (in thousands)



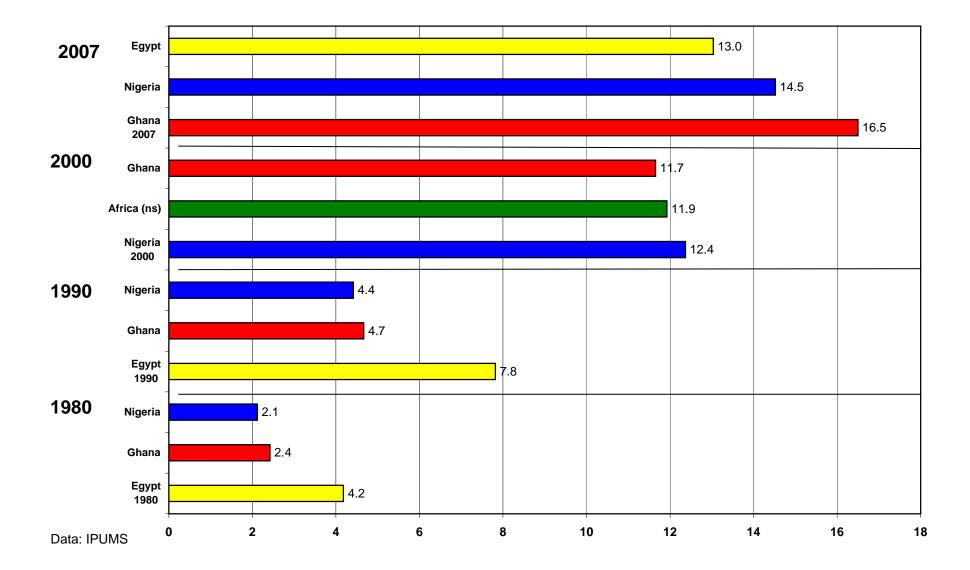


Figure 5: Top 3 Sending Countries of African Immigrants to New York City (in 1000s)

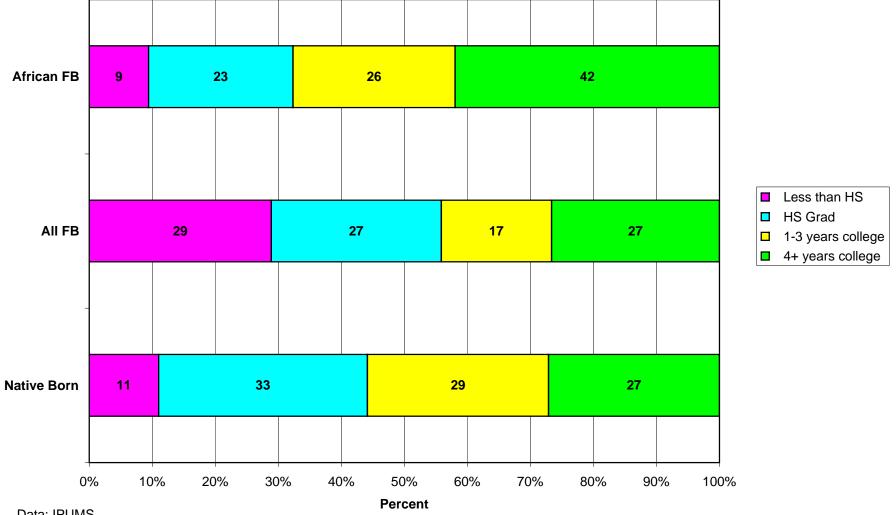


Figure 6: Educational Attainment among Native Born, All Foreign Born, and African Foreign Born (%, age 25+, 2007)

Data: IPUMS