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**Insights into the Health and Labor Market Experience of Black
Immigrants in the United States: Three Essays on the Labor Market
and Health Outcomes of Black Immigrants**

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by

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my father, Dennett Hamilton, and my brother, Denneth Hamilton. I wish you guys were here to share this accomplishment with me. The two of you have helped to shape who I am and why I work.

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Abstract

Insights into the Health and Labor Market Experience of Black Immigrants in the United States: Three Essays on the Labor Market and Health Outcomes of Black Immigrants

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Abstract: Black immigrants are a demographically and socially important group in the United States. Between 1960 and 2005 the foreign-born share of the entire black population increased twenty-two fold. Furthermore, this group also accounted for more than 20% of the growth in the black population in the 2000s. In spite of the rapid growth of the black immigrant population, few studies have evaluated their health and labor market outcomes.

The existing literature on black immigrants demonstrates that this group has health outcomes that are substantially different from those of other immigrant populations. Research illustrates that most black immigrants arrive in the United States with better health than black Americans and maintain this health advantage after more

than two decades in the United States. This phenomenon is particularly pronounced among African immigrants.

Research in this area also demonstrates that certain subgroups of black immigrants, such as West Indians, have superior labor market outcomes compared to black Americans. Because of the phenotypic similarities between these two groups, these findings have led some scholars and policymakers to question the salience of discrimination and racism in determining the labor market outcomes of black Americans.

This dissertation expands the literature on the health and labor market outcomes of black immigrants by evaluating the salience of the major sociological theories, including immigrant versus native culture, bias of whites toward black immigrants over black Americans, and selective migration in explaining differences in labor market outcomes between black immigrants and black Americans. In an effort to better understand the unique health patterns among black immigrants, this dissertation also advances and tests a conceptual model that evaluates whether social, economic, and health conditions within the sending countries of black immigrants explain variations in health and disability among these immigrants.

This dissertation uses data on males from the 1980-2000 U.S. Censuses and the 2001-2007 American Community Survey to estimate wage, employment, and self-employment models to determine if black immigrants have outcomes that resemble those of native blacks (collectively) or native black internal migrants. The results suggest that migration selectivity is important in explaining wage and employment differences between black immigrants and black natives. However, migration selectivity plays a

limited role in explaining self-employment differences between black immigrants and black natives. This general finding is produced when black immigrants are evaluated collectively and when they are separated by both region and country of birth. This result suggests that differences that exist between black immigrants and black natives are the result of selective migration rather than culture. This work is the first to provide a comprehensive analysis of the importance of selective migration in explaining labor market differences between black Americans and black immigrants from all the major sending regions and countries of the world.

This work also uses data on black immigrants from the 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, and 2008 March Current Population Survey to evaluate the role that conditions in immigrants' countries of origin play in explaining variation in health and disability among black immigrants in the United States. Estimates from reduced form health and disability models show that these outcomes are more favorable for immigrants who migrate from countries with high combined enrollment ratios, low income inequality, and high life expectancy. The results also demonstrate that country of origin conditions explain some portion of differences in health among immigrants.

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Chapter 1. Statement of the Problem

According to recent census data, the number of foreign-born individuals in the United States increased from roughly 19 million to 32 million between 1990 and 2000. This change represented a 40% increase in the immigrant population of the U.S over just 10 years. In addition to increases in the absolute number of immigrants in the U.S., the share of the immigrant population also increased substantially over that same decade. In 1990, immigrants accounted for about 8% of the total population of the U.S., but by 2007 the share of the immigrant population increased to almost 13% (Borjas and Friedberg 2009).

The composition of the immigrant population of the U.S. has also changed drastically over the last thirty years. Many of these changes are the result of amendments to the 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act (INA). In October of 1965, amendments to INA repealed the national origins quota system. Under the old system, a foreign country was allowed to have 2 percent of its total population immigrate to the United States. In lieu of considerations of nationality and ethnicity, the 1965 amendments established a system based on reunification of families and needed skills. These amendments represented the most important revisions to immigration policy in the United States since the First Quota Act of 1921.

In the 1950s, most immigrants to the U.S. came from Europe. However, in recent decades, immigrants from Latin America and Asia accounted for most of the immigrant flow to the U.S. In the 1950s, roughly 52% of the immigrant population of the U.S. came from Europe. During this period, immigrants from Germany accounted for 19% of the European immigration flow. By comparison, in the 1950s, immigrants from Mexico accounted for less than 12 percent of the immigrant population. By 2000, these patterns changed considerably. In 2000, immigrants from Europe accounted for less than 10% of the overall immigrant flow. The percent of the immigrant population coming from Germany fell below 2%. In contrast, immigrants from Mexico accounted for over 30% of the foreign born population in 2000.

Over the last thirty years, sociologists and economists have vigorously researched many aspects of the immigrant experience to determine if migrants to the U.S. would have the same labor market and health outcomes as previous waves of immigrants to the U.S. In particular, scholars and policy makers wanted answers to four broad sets of questions. (1) What would be the impact of current waves of immigration on the native population? Would immigrants depress the wages and employment probabilities of native workers? If they did, which type of workers would be most impacted (Borjas, Freeman and Katz 1996; Kritz and Gurak 2001; Linton 2002; White and Liang 1998)? (2) Would new immigrants follow the same assimilation paths as previous immigrants? Would the wages and employment rates of new immigrants converge to those of the native population over time? Would immigrants converge to the social and cultural practices of

natives the longer they live in the United States (Alba and Nee 1997; Perreira, Harris and Dohoon 2006; Sakamoto, Woo and Kim 2009; Zhou 1997a, 1997b)? (3) Are new immigrants self selected on different factors than previous waves of immigrants? Is the U.S. attracting immigrants who, on average, are more talented, more skilled, and healthier than individuals left behind in countries of origin? Would immigrants suffer from the same health conditions and experience the same mortality profile as natives (Borjas 1987; Chiswick 1978, 1979, 1986; Jasso et al. 2004)? (4) Relative to their share of the population, will new immigrants disproportionately burden government programs and put strains on the country's health care and education systems (Borjas and Trejo 1991; Funkhouser and Trejo 1995)?

Decades of research on these topics have yielded many informative results. Studies of the labor market experiences of immigrants have found that there was a steady downward trend in the skills of new immigrants between 1940 and 1980. In relation to immigrants that arrived in the U.S during the late 1960s and 1970s, the skills of immigrants arriving in the late 1980s increased; however, the average skill level of immigrants in the 1990s remained low by historical standards (Borjas 1985, 1987, 1994, 1995; Borjas and Trejo 1991; Funkhouser and Trejo 1995). This trend continued into the 2000s for most immigrants. However, Borjas and Friedberg (2009) show that the average skill level of immigrants from Asia and Mexico increased in the 2000s. They attributed the increase in skills among these immigrants to increases in the number of immigrants arriving on H-1b visas from Mexico and Asia.

In a series of papers during the 1980s, Borjas argued that changes in the mix of sending countries were responsible for the general decline in the average skills of immigrants. Borjas argued that immigrants who move to improve their economic well-being are positively selected on skills when income inequality is greater in the receiving country than in the sending country. If the income distribution in the receiving country is more dispersed than in the sending country, then immigrants of a particular skill level should be able to move to the receiving country and occupy a better position in the host country's income distribution (Borjas 1994).

Additionally, studies of wage assimilation suggested that most groups of immigrants were not converging to the wages or employment probabilities of the native work force (Borjas 1987; LaLonde and Topel 1990). Studies have also concluded that immigration does not depress the wages of natives. However, the major labor market impact of immigration is reducing internal migration of the native population (Borjas 2001). Consequently, immigrant workers equalize wages across the country and decrease wage differentials that provide incentive for natives to migrate.

Research on the health of recent immigrants suggests that immigrants arrive in the United States with a health and mortality advantage over the native born population. This result is robust across a wide range of health and mortality indicators. Research shows that infants born to immigrants have lower mortality rates than U.S. infants born to U.S. natives (Hummer et al. 1999a; Hummer et al. 2007; Landale, Oropesa and Gorman 2000). This result holds even among immigrants from less industrialized countries and

among immigrants with few economic resources. Infants of immigrant mothers have higher birth weights than natives even after controlling for socioeconomic factors (David and Collins 1997). It has also been shown that all immigrants, across all race/ethnic groups, have better self-rated health relative to the native born population (Antecol and Bedard 2006). Additionally, immigrants have lower mortality rates for almost all causes of death relative to natives (Singh and Siahpush 2002).

Another consistent finding in the immigrant health literature is that the good health of immigrants does not persist through time (Antecol and Bedard 2006). Indeed, many studies find that the health and mortality advantage experienced by immigrants erodes the longer they are in the U.S. In addition, the health advantage of first generation immigrants does not translate into better health for subsequent generations. Indeed, infant mortality rates of second-generation immigrants are not statistically different from U.S. natives (Collins, Wu and David 2002).

Although the population based literature on immigrant labor market and health outcomes is extensive, there are still many unanswered questions and important insights that can be gained from studying immigrant populations. Given the substantial growth of the black immigrant population since the 1980s, black immigrants are perhaps the least studied subgroup within the immigrant population.

Recent census data show that black immigrants are becoming an increasingly important part of U.S. immigration flows. Estimates from the 2005 American Community Survey suggest that black immigrants accounted for one-fifth of the growth in the black

population between 2001 and 2006 (Kent 2007). These data also show that black immigrants accounted for 8% of the total black population in 2005, representing an increase from just 1% in 1980. The largest group of black immigrants, Jamaican immigrants, account for 19% of all black immigrants in 2005. Jamaicans also represented 4.5% of all legal immigrants to the United States in the early 1990s. In recent years, there has been considerable research on the health and economic outcomes of Mexican immigrants, a group which represents approximately 30% of the legal immigration flow in the 2000s. However, there has been relatively little research on the health and economic outcomes of black immigrants. Research on the health and labor market experiences of black immigrants could provide insight into the overall well-being of this demographically significant group. Additionally, a better understanding of labor market and health outcomes among black immigrants could provide insight into the persistent health and economic disparities between black and white Americans.

A substantial literature documents large differences in health outcomes by race/ethnicity and nativity. For example, relative to whites, blacks in the United States report worse self-rated health, are more likely to have health problems that limit physical activity, are more likely to quit work for health reasons, have higher infant mortality rates, and higher adult mortality rates for almost all causes of death (David and Collins 1997; Hummer 1993; Hummer et al. 1999a; Hummer et al. 1999b; Singh and Siahpush 2002). Indeed, most of these differences cannot be completely explained by socioeconomic status.

Much of the debate surrounding the health disparity between blacks and whites has focused on identifying the factors that attribute to the differences between the two groups. Research in this area has identified three somewhat competing explanations for health differences between blacks and whites. The first explanation is that differences in current and past socioeconomic status explain a large portion of the health disparity between the two groups (Rogers, Hummer and Nam 2007; Rogers et al. 1996). The second explanation for differences between the two groups is that blacks engage in health retarding cultural practices and behaviors such as smoking, drinking, and poor exercise patterns at higher rates than whites. The third explanation for differences between the two groups suggests that genetic differences between blacks and whites produce disparities in health and mortality. However, studies in this literature have consistently found that even after controlling for the social and behavioral factors listed above, there are still disparities in health between blacks and whites (Hummer 1993; Manton, Patrick and Johnson 1987; Rogers et al. 1996).

Research has also identified discrimination as a possible explanation for health disparities between blacks and whites. Recent work has shown that there are differences between blacks and whites in both access to medical services and treatment for various diseases and illnesses. For example, relative to whites, blacks are more likely to perceive discrimination in the provision of medical services. Additionally, blacks are also less likely to receive invasive treatment for chronic illnesses such as heart disease (Burton et

al. 1995; LaVeist 2005; LaVeist, Nickerson and Bowie 2000; LaVeist and Nuru-Jeter 2002).

Moreover, native blacks also fare worse than whites on almost every measure of economic well-being. Every census of the United States population has shown that relative to whites, blacks hold jobs with lower occupational prestige, earn lower wages, are more likely to be unemployed, and are less likely to be self-employed. Additionally, blacks also rank lower than whites in characteristics that are strongly associated with economic well being such as marriage.

The literature on black/white economic disparities spans nearly five decades. Two competing explanations have emerged from this literature. The first argues that the persistent disparity between blacks and whites is the result of past and current discrimination (Darity 2005; Darity, Jason and Guilkey 2001; Darity and Williams 1985; Goldsmith, Hamilton and Darity 2007). The second argues that although some of the initial disparities between the two groups are explained by discrimination, its persistence is the result of current poverty status and cultural practices that are adverse to family formation, education, and hard work (Sakamoto, Wu and Tzeng 2000; Sowell 1978; Watson and Bridge 2002).

In the 1960s and 1970s the debate over the economic, and to a lesser degree, health disparities between blacks and whites were challenged with the arrival of immigrants from the West Indies. After the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 under Lyndon Johnson, the number of black immigrants from the Caribbean

arriving in the United States increased markedly. In the 1970 Census, the foreign born black population had increased by 125,000 in comparison to 1960. Moreover, by 1980, the foreign born black population had increased by 816,000. This represented almost a sevenfold increase in the foreign-born black population in twenty years (Kent 2007).

Perhaps more striking than the rapid increase in the foreign-born black population was the economic success of this group. Adjusting for socioeconomic and demographic characteristics, relative to native blacks, West Indian Immigrants were more likely to be in the labor force, less likely to be unemployed, and held jobs with greater occupational prestige than native blacks (Model 2008). The success of West Indian Immigrants during the 1960s and 1970s led researchers, such as Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan (1979), to consider West Indian Immigrants a “model minority” for their economic success, in spite of facing racial discrimination that hampered the native born black population.

In addition to the relative economic success of black immigrants over black natives, studies also show that black immigrants are healthier than native blacks on several measures. Although this finding is somewhat expected, given the relative health advantage of other immigrant groups over natives, the causal route of the immigrant advantage is still an open question. Moreover, unlike other immigrant groups that begin to lose their initial health advantage over natives after five years in the U.S., a recent study by Antecol and Bedard (2006) suggest that black immigrants maintain their relative health advantage over black natives even after 25 years in the U.S. This is a significant

departure from an almost stylized fact in the immigrant health assimilation/acclulturation literature.

The goal of this dissertation is to expand the literature on the health and labor market experiences of black immigrants. Specifically, this dissertation is composed of three analytic chapters. Focusing on black immigrants, Chapter Two estimates wage, employment, and self-employment models that account for migration selectivity to determine if black immigrants have wages, employment levels, and self-employment rates that are more similar to black natives (collectively) or U.S.-born internal black migrants. Given the significant changes in the composition of more recent cohorts of black immigrants, Chapter Three estimates wages, employment, and self-employment assimilation models to determine if labor market differences exist among cohorts of black immigrants and whether different cohorts of black immigrants assimilate to labor market outcomes of black natives (collectively), U.S.-born black internal migrants, or non-Hispanic white Americans. Chapter Four evaluates the effect that health conditions in immigrants' countries of origin have on immigrants' health advantage in the U.S.

Several studies have evaluated differences in economic outcomes between black immigrants and black natives over the last two decades (Butcher 1994; Doodoo and Takyi 2002; Kalmijn 1996; Model 2008; Waters 1994). However, most of these studies have evaluated the performance of West Indian immigrants relative to native-born African Americans. Additionally, the last of these, Model (2008), was conducted using the 2000 census and focused almost exclusively on West Indian Immigrants. Since the 1990s, immigration to the U.S. from countries in Africa has increased significantly. Given this

change in the sending country mix of black immigrants and the absence of studies that document the relative economic performance of all black immigrants since the 1990s, Chapter Two uses census data from 2000 and data from the 2000 to 2007 American Community Survey (ACS) to estimate wage, employment, and self-employment models to determine if migration selectivity helps explain labor market differences between black immigrants and black Americans.

Building on Chapter two, Chapter Three uses census data from 1980 to 2000 and data from the 2000 to 2007 ACS to estimate wage, employment, and self-employment assimilation models that take into account immigrant selectivity to determine if black immigrants converge to wage, employment, and self-employment rates of either native blacks (collectively), U.S.-born black internal migrants, or non-Hispanic white Americans over time. This chapter also evaluates whether there has been significant changes in cohort quality over the last 30 years.

In the immigrant health literature, there are few papers that evaluate the role that health conditions in immigrants' countries of origin play in explaining the health of the immigrant population within the U.S. As the mix of sending countries continues to shift from more developed countries in Europe to less developed countries in Asia, Latin America, the West Indies, and Africa, country of origin differences in health and living conditions may play an increasingly important role in explaining health differences among immigrant to the U.S. For example, the population health literature shows that early life conditions can play an important role in explaining health and mortality differences in the United States (Blackwell, Hayward and Crimmins 2001; Hayward and

Gorman 2004; Hayward et al. 2000; Warner and Hayward 2006; Zhang, Gu and Hayward 2008). Consequently, immigrants who face similar health conditions as U.S natives in early life might be expected to follow health and mortality profiles that mirror those of U.S. natives. However, if early life conditions between immigrants and natives vary, then the health and mortality patterns of these two groups might also differ.

Two seminal papers in the literature that attempt to address these issues are Jasso et al. (2004) and Landale et al (2000). Jasso et al. (2004) show that "...immigrants from countries with high output per worker and with low average levels of schooling will have the highest skill levels and best health among immigrants with identical own schooling" (Jasso et al. 2004; p. 256). Additionally, Landale et al. (2000) shows that infants born to Puerto Rican mothers that have migrated to the U.S. (mainland) have lower infant mortality rates than babies born to mothers in Puerto Rico.

The immense diversity in health and economic conditions across the sending countries from which black immigrants migrate allows for a unique analysis of the role of country of origin differences on the initial health of black immigrants. To date, there are no papers in the immigrant health literature that focus on country of origin differences among black immigrants. To fill this hole in the literature, focusing on black immigrants, Chapter Four evaluates the effect that health conditions in immigrants' countries of origin have on immigrants' health advantage in the U.S.

Chapter Five of this dissertation summarizes the study's findings, discusses limitations of the study, and provides some policy suggestions. Moreover, the concluding chapter discusses future research needs in this area of study.

Chapter 2. Labor Market Differences between Black Immigrants and Black Natives: The Impact of Selective Internal and International Migration

I. INTRODUCTION

The labor market outcomes of Mexican immigrants are well documented (Bean, Lowell and Taylor 1988; Borjas 1985, 1986, 1987; Chiquiar and Hanson 2005). In contrast, there has been relatively little research on the labor market experiences of black immigrants. The relative lack of research studying black immigrants is unfortunate for two reasons. First, black immigrants are becoming an increasingly important part of American society (Kent 2007). Second, black immigrants are often touted as a natural comparison group for native blacks. Data from the 2000 U.S. Census show that black immigrants have better social and labor market outcomes than the native born black population. These data and previous empirical studies show that black immigrants are more educated, are more likely to be married, and are more likely to be in the labor force relative to black natives (Butcher 1994; Model 2008). Additionally, before adjusting for socioeconomic characteristics, black immigrants earn more and are more likely to be employed and self-employed than native blacks (Bogan and Darity Jr. 2008; Kalmijn 1996; Kallehlon and Eule 2003).

Studies that evaluate the unadjusted differences between black immigrants and black natives conclude that a significant portion of the labor market advantage credited to black immigrants is the result of the superior labor market qualifications of black immigrants. Indeed, controlling for these characteristics erase the earnings advantage of

black immigrants over black natives and significantly reduces their employment advantage (Dodoo 1997; Kalmijn 1996; Model 1991, 1995, 2008). However, relative to black natives, black immigrants consistently have higher self-employment rates (Bogan and Darity Jr. 2008; Fairlie and Meyer 1996).

Viewed in a broader context, these results are not surprising. The relatively high rates of employment and self-employment among all immigrants are a standard finding in the labor market literature (Bates 1999; Borjas 1986; Portes and Zhou 1996). In spite of this, black immigrants are often viewed as “model minorities” by many scholars and policy makers who suggest that cultural differences in attributes toward work and racism drive labor market differences between black immigrants and natives (Glazer and Moynihan 1979; Waters 1994, 1999).

The leading attack on the cultural position is rendered by scholars who argue that migration selectivity (or selection bias) generates labor market differences between black immigrants and black natives (Butcher 1994; Model 1995, 2008). The issue of selection bias, which is often overlooked in most studies that evaluate labor market differences between black immigrants and black natives, could drive substantial differences between black immigrants and black natives. No subgroup of immigrants (black or white) is a random sample of their country of origin. For example, relative to individuals that immigrants leave behind in their countries of origin, immigrants are generally more educated and have better health outcomes (Feliciano 2005; Landale et al. 2000). Moreover, some cohorts of immigrants might be selected on hard to measure characteristics, such as motivation and ambition. As a result, inferences obtained from

studies that compare black immigrants to black natives might suffer from selection bias. This selection bias might lead to over (or possible under) estimates of the labor market advantages of black immigrants.

This chapter has two goals. First, using data from the 2000 U.S. Census extracted from the Integrated Public Use Micro Series (IPUMS) and the IPUMS samples of the 2001 to 2007 American Community Survey (ACS) for males between the ages of 25 and 62, this chapter evaluates labor market (i.e., employment, earnings, and self-employment) differences between black natives and black immigrants. In an effort to account for the unobserved factors that produce migration, this chapter also applies the selection correction technique developed by Butcher (1994) to control for immigrant selectivity. In her seminal paper, Butcher (1994) used data from the 1980 United States Census of Population to compare the labor market outcomes of black immigrants to U.S. native internal black movers and found that outcomes for the two groups are remarkable similar. She concluded that labor market differences between black immigrants and black natives are the result of migration selectivity rather than culture.

There are several factors that should be considered when evaluating Butcher (1994). First, her results might be unique to labor market conditions in 1979. If this is the case, then Butcher's results might not hold in a more recent period. Second, Butcher only separates the black immigrant population into three major subgroups: Jamaicans, other Caribbean, and Africans. Since 1979, there have been significant increases in the number of black immigrants in the United States from different regions and countries of the world. Furthermore, the mix of countries in which black immigrants emigrate from has

also changed dramatically. For example, since 1979, immigration from Africa to the United States has increased substantially. Thus, comparing native black migrants to recent waves of black immigrants from particular regions and major sending countries could highlight whether migration selectivity (internal or international) continues to explain labor market differences between black natives and black immigrants. Evaluating labor market outcomes between different subgroups of black immigrants and black natives might also provide theoretical insights into the relative importance of the dominant theories (i.e. culture, white favoritism, and selectivity) that attempt to explain labor market differences between the black immigrants and black natives.

This chapter finds that the labor market experiences of black immigrants closely resemble those of native blacks who migrate within the United States. Results show that black natives receive higher payoffs to education than black immigrants, particularly at high education levels. Black immigrants are also observed to have a persistent self-employment advantage over all subgroups of black natives. These conclusions hold across most subgroups of black immigrants from different regions and countries of the world.

Theoretically, the collective results in this chapter suggest that differences between black immigrants and black natives can be attributed to selective migration. This chapter finds limited support for the argument that cultural differences between black immigrants and black natives drive labor market differences between the two groups.

The remainder of this chapter will proceed as follows: Section II discusses the theoretical background, Section III describes the data, measures, and methods, Section IV presents results, and Section V provides a conclusion.

II. BACKGROUND

Researchers in the fields of sociology and economics have proposed several explanations for the observed labor market differences between native blacks and black immigrants. The three primary explanations are cultural differences between the two groups, immigrant selectivity among immigrants, and preferences of employers for certain groups of immigrants.

Cultural Argument

There exist two primary cultural arguments for labor market differences between black immigrants and black natives. The first attributes the success of black immigrants, particularly West Indian immigrants, to socialization in an all-black society. The second, also motivated by the experiences of West Indian immigrants, suggests that differences in slave histories explain labor market differences between the two groups.

Some scholars attribute the success of West Indian immigrants to growing up in an all-black society. They argue that, compared to African Americans, growing up in a society in which blacks are the dominant race makes West Indian immigrants more ambitious and less willing to accept discrimination or marginalized roles in society (Foner 1985; Glazer and Moynihan 1979; Waters 1994, 1999). The success of the West

Indian population led others, most notably Sowell (1975, 1978, 1981, 1983), to argue that differences in slave histories explain differences in economic success between black immigrants and black natives. One of the focal points of Sowell's argument is that West Indian slaves were given more opportunity to engage in commerce than slaves in the United States before and after slavery ended.

According to Sowell, in the West Indies, it was common for slaves to be given farming land to grow food for subsistence. He argues that, over time, slaves in the West Indies became so efficient at farming these grounds that they were able to generate surplus crops which they were allowed to sell for money. According to Sowell, the opportunity to earn money provided incentive for West Indian slaves to work hard and develop work cultures that are aligned with those of whites. In contrast, Sowell argues that slaves in the United States were given rations by their owners which they used for survival. Consequently, there was little opportunity for the slave population in the United States to engage in commerce and minimal incentive for autonomous work effort.

Sowell argues that these differences in slave histories persisted and were reinforced over time by Jim Crow and discriminatory laws in the United States. This served to alienate African Americans from mainstream values and culture. Consequently, Sowell believes current day differences between African Americans and West Indians are the result of differences in culture and values produced by the different slave regimes.

Kalmijn (1996) evaluates the labor market differences between blacks from the Caribbean and native born blacks and finds mixed support for the argument that cultural

differences between foreign born and native born blacks explain labor market differences between the two groups. Using data from the 1990 Census, Kalmijn finds that blacks from the British Caribbean, particularly from the second and later generations, have better labor market experiences than native blacks net of socioeconomic and demographic differences between the two groups. However, Kalmijn finds that blacks from the French and Spanish speaking Caribbean have worse outcomes than African Americans.

Similarly, Doodoo (1997) also provides mixed conclusions about the role of culture in explaining labor market differences between black natives and black immigrants. Doodoo (1997) finds that, after controlling for observed differences, there is no statistically significant difference in earnings between African Americans and African-born blacks. However, he finds that Caribbean immigrants earn 8% more than both African-born and native blacks. This result is also supported by Kollehlon and Eule (2003). Using data from the 1990 U.S. census, they find no statistically significant difference in hourly earnings between African and native black Americans.

Demand Side Argument (White Favoritism)

Demand side arguments suggest that, relative to native blacks, Caribbean blacks have a greater belief that racism can be overcome by hard work and perseverance. This belief generates less hostility between Caribbean workers and white employers vis-à-vis African Americans and white employers. Because of this, over time, white employers begin to favor Caribbean workers over native blacks because they perceive Caribbean

workers as more diligent and harder-working than native blacks (Waters 1994, 1999). Consequently, differences in labor market outcomes between native blacks and black immigrants, particularly employment differences, might be due to bias by employers. Counter to this view, scholars such as Arnold (1984) and Grosfoguel (2003) suggest that white employers might favor Caribbean immigrants over African Americans because Caribbean immigrants occupy a higher position in the social hierarchy than African Americans.

Although there is evidence to suggest that Caribbean workers benefit from the positive perceptions of white employers, research suggests that this might not be the case for African immigrants. Although some of Waters' arguments might apply to African immigrants, the literature also suggests that African immigrants bear the burden of a negative bias. This bias results from media portrayal of violence, political unrest, and poverty in Africa that serves to erode the value of African immigrants in the United States labor force (Hawk 1992; Mpanya 1995).

Selectivity Argument

Immigrants are a self-selected group. Many immigrants, including black immigrants, come to the United States to pursue educational advancement and to find better employment opportunities. Therefore, black immigrants might have better labor market success than some groups of native blacks because of this selection bias. Authors such as Chiswick (1977) and Featherman and Hauser (1978) argue that immigrants have traits, talents, and ambitions that differ significantly from non-migrant individuals in their

origin countries that might make black immigrants more successful than black natives in the U.S. labor market.

One avenue in which this selection might be captured is through education. In fact, Feliciano (2005) finds that almost all immigrant groups to the United States are selected on higher education relative to individuals left behind in their countries of origin. However, the literature on the labor market experiences of immigrants documents that education obtained abroad, particularly from less developed countries, is not perfectly compatible with education obtained in the United States. Indeed, studies in this literature suggest that black immigrants, particularly those from Africa, receive lower returns to education than black natives (Kollehlon and Eule 2003). This phenomena has also been observed among Asian Americans in the United States (Zeng and Xie 2004).

Chiswick (1986) suggests that the pattern of positive selection, both on observed and unobserved characteristics, might not be true for all immigrants who migrated before 1965. After 1965, there were changes in U.S. immigration policy that once favored skilled workers to favoring family reunification. Consequently, since most black immigrants entered the U.S. after 1965, particularly immigrants from the Caribbean, it could be the case that a higher percentage of black immigrants are now entering the United States for non-labor market reasons. Therefore, it is possible for black immigrants to be negatively selected. Similarly, Borjas (1987) argues that immigrants could be positively or negatively selected depending on the distribution of incomes in the immigrant's origin country.

Several empirical studies find support for the selectivity argument. Work by Bogan and Darity Jr. (2008) finds that differences in entrepreneurship between African Americans and black immigrants can be attributed to differences in resources that immigrants bring to the United States that facilitate entrepreneurship. This general result is also supported by Butler and Herring (1991). Model (1995) finds that while Caribbean immigrants have higher labor force participation than native blacks, these immigrants typically earn less than native blacks when they arrive in the United States. However, consistent with selectivity arguments, after 10 years in the U.S., the earnings of these immigrants converge and subsequently surpass those of native blacks. Furthermore, using data from 1980, Butcher (1994) finds that labor market differences between black immigrants and black natives is the result of observed and unobserved factors that are highly correlated with migration.

In light of previous theoretical and empirical contributions, this chapter expects to find that most subgroups of black immigrants will have better labor market outcomes than native blacks (collective); however, most subgroups of black immigrants should have similar labor market outcomes as native internal migrants. Together, these results would support selectivity arguments that explain labor market differences between black immigrants and black natives. In contrast, if black immigrants outperform both native black internal migrants and non-migrants, then this would suggest that cultural differences between black immigrants and black natives might explain labor market differences between the two groups.

To test whether white favoritism explains labor market differences between black immigrants and black natives and differences among black immigrants, this study evaluates regional variation among black immigrants. If white employers in the United States exhibit a preference toward Caribbean workers over black natives and other black immigrants, then they should favor Caribbean workers over native black movers, native black non-movers, and black immigrants from the rest of the world. Given that the primary expectation of this chapter is that the observed labor market advantages among black immigrants are driven by selection, this chapter expects to find limited support for theories of white favoritism. In particular, the central hypothesis of this chapter is that black internal migrants will either have similar or better outcomes than all subgroups of black immigrants. Moreover, this chapter expects to find considerable regional and country variation in labor market outcomes among black immigrants. This result would be inconsistent with white favoritism.

III. DATA, MEASURES, AND METHODS

Data

This chapter uses 2000 Census data on males between the ages of 25 and 62 taken from the 5% Integrated Public Use Series (IPUMS) and the IPUMS samples of the 2001 to 2007 American Community Survey (ACS) to evaluate labor market differences between black immigrants and black natives. This chapter also extracts a 10% sample of white natives and white immigrants from the 5% IPUMS sample of the 2000 Census and

the IPUMS sample of the 2001 to 2007 ACS. These samples exclude individuals who reside in institutions or group quarters, individuals who were born abroad to American parents, individuals who report having a disability that restricts work, and individuals with negative business income, farm, or wage/salary income. This merged dataset contains 419,003 black natives, and 51,742 black immigrants¹. The sample of whites is composed of 476,315 white natives and 16,863 immigrants. Since the primary goal of this chapter is to study subgroup heterogeneity among black immigrants, the sample of whites will primarily be used for descriptive purposes.

The literature on migration documents that the factors that drive male migration differ significantly from those that drive female migration. Depending on the country of origin, the gender of the primary mover within household varies significantly. For example, among emigrants from the Caribbean, women are often the primary movers. According to the 2000 Census and the 2001 to 2007 American Community Survey, women compose 56 percent of the Caribbean population in the United States. This differential is attributed to several factors: immigration laws that favored nurses and household domestic workers, the matriarchal family structure of the Caribbean, and specific segments of the labor market in the United States that have historically favored female migrants (Model 2008).

Conversely, these same data show that men represent almost 55% of African immigrants. Accordingly, changes over time in labor market outcomes among black immigrants might be driven by a decline in the labor characteristics of primary migrants, the arrival of secondary migrants that might have different labor market motivations, or

changes in immigration policy that impact the gender composition of emigrants. To avoid these confounding effects, this chapter focuses exclusively on males. However, future work in this area should explore labor market differences study among women.

Measurement

Blacks are separated into two categories: native-born blacks and immigrant blacks. Immigrant blacks are then divided into six regional categories: West Indian immigrants, Africans, Central Americans, South Americans, Europeans, and a residual category that is composed of immigrants from the rest of the world (other black immigrants)². Additionally, this study also disaggregates immigrants by specific sending countries for those that have a significant immigrant population within the United States. These countries include Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, Ghana, Nigeria, and Ethiopia. These sending countries account for roughly 80% of immigrants from the Caribbean and Latin America, and almost 40% of immigrants from Africa. Moreover, collectively, these sending countries represent over 60% of all black immigrants to the United States.

To account for the selection bias associated with migration, black U.S. natives are further separated into two groups, native black movers and native black non-movers. Native blacks that currently reside in a different state from their state of birth are defined as black movers. Non-movers consist of native-born men who reside in their state of birth. It should be noted that non-moving native blacks are more likely to live in the

South than native black movers, which may account for some portion of the observed labor market gaps to be shown in the analysis.

The decision to migrate for natives and immigrants is very different. Immigrants incur greater moving costs and have less information about their potential labor market success. Additionally, the group of native black movers is partly composed of individuals who moved with their parents as children. Given these differences, it might be expected that the factors that produce international migration and internal migration would differ. However, differences in migration processes should produce black immigrants who have better observed and unobserved labor market characteristics given a more pronounced influence of selectivity.

To evaluate labor market differences between black immigrants and black natives, three dependent variables are generated. To evaluate employment differences between the two groups, a dichotomous variable is generated that indicates whether or not an individual is employed. This variable is equal to 1 for all individuals who reported positive weeks worked and positive wage/salary income in the year prior to the respective survey and is zero for all others.

The second dependent variable measures differences in weekly earnings between black natives and black immigrants. The preferred income variable for this study would be the sum of wage/salary income and business income. However, the 2000 Census and 2001 to 2007 American Community survey combines business income with farm income. Consequently, total earnings is generated by summing the wage/salary income of respondents with any positive business or farm income earned by respondents. This total

is then divided by the total number of weeks worked by the respondents in the previous year. The earnings variable is designed to capture whether immigrants earn higher wages than natives or whether immigrants are simply employed for more weeks during the year (Butcher, 1994, p. 268).

Butler (2005) suggests that immigrants might respond to difficulties entering the wage salary sector of the labor market by engaging in self-employment. To evaluate differences in self-employment between black immigrants and black natives, this chapter uses a self-employment measure ascertained from the “class of worker” variable contained in each census or ACS sample year. This variable identifies whether an individual works for wages or whether an individual is self-employed. The self-employment measure used in this study is equal to 1 for respondents who are identified as self-employed from the “class of worker” variable and zero for all others.

Each dependent variable is regressed on the same set of independent variables. Since education and experience are standard predictors of each outcome (Borjas 1986, 1987; Model 2008), each set of equations includes years of education and predicted experiences³. To capture the nonlinear effect of experience, the square root of experience is also included in each model. The labor market literature suggests that married men earn more than non-married men (Correll, Benard and Paik 2007; Korenman and Neumark 1991). To account for this effect, an indicator variable that identifies whether an individual is married or not is included in each model. Likewise, since some immigrants do not speak English or speak English poorly, each equation also includes an indicator variable that equals 1 if an individual does not speak English or does not speak

English well (Chiswick 1991; Chiswick and Miller 1995). Since a high percentage of black immigrants tend to cluster in particular states within the United States (such as New York), these models also include indicators for state of current residence. Finally, to account for differences in labor market conditions through time, survey year fixed effects are also included in each equation.

Empirical Models

Equations (1) and (2) illustrate the baseline estimation equations in this chapter. In these equations, Y_i^* represents the labor market outcome of interest (i.e., log weekly earnings, employment status, and self-employment status). These equations are estimated using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regressions. Since the employment and self-employment measures in this chapter are dichotomous variables, estimating OLS regressions result in Linear Probability Models (LPM) of employment and self-employment.

The LPM measures the conditional probability of achieving a particular outcome. In this chapter, LPM measures the $P(Y_i^*=1|X)$ where Y_i^* is equal to either being employed or being self-employed. Therefore, the coefficients in the LPM measures the change in the probability of achieving $Y_i^*=1$ when a particular independent variable changes, ceteris paribus. The LPM provides approximately the same marginal effects as the logistic and probit regression models. Additionally, the signs and significant levels are the same in each model; however, because LPM is *linear*, interpreting interaction

effects are simple and straight forward. Specifically, coefficients can be summed within a single regression model.

(1)

$$Y_i^* = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 Experience_i + \alpha_2 Experience_i^2 + \alpha_3 Education_i + \alpha_4 Blackimmigrant_i + \alpha_5 Blackimmigrant_i * Education_i + X_i \delta + T_i \phi + \varepsilon_i$$

(2)

$$Y_i^* = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 Experience_i + \alpha_2 Experience_i^2 + \alpha_3 Education_i + \sum_{j=1}^{J-1} \eta_j POB_{ij} + \sum_{j=1}^{J-1} \varphi_j POB_{ij} * Education_i + X_i \delta + T_i \phi + \varepsilon_i$$

In Equation (1), X represents a vector of social and demographic characteristics. These characteristics include indicator variables for: being married, speaking English poorly, and current region of residence. Additionally, T is a vector that identifies the survey year in which an observation is observed. The reference group in this equation is all black natives. Equation (1) also includes an interaction between black immigrant status and education. This interaction accounts for differences in the returns to education between black immigrants and black natives that might be generated by differences in fields of study or differences in the country in which immigrants obtained their education (Zeng and Xie 2004). Consequently, the mean difference between black immigrants and black natives is determined by adding the black immigrant coefficient to the product of the interaction term at the mean years of education for black immigrants.

In Equation (2), the black immigrant indicator is replaced by a set of variables that identify the exact region or country of birth (POB) for the black immigrants.

Similarly, the interaction term in Equation (1) between black immigrant status and education is replaced by a set of interactions between years of education and region of birth for black immigrants. These interactions allow the returns to education to vary for black immigrants by region of birth.

(3)

$$Y_i^* = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 Experience_i + \alpha_2 Experience_i^2 + \alpha_3 Education_i + \alpha_4 Blackimmigrant_i + \alpha_5 BlackNonmover_i + \alpha_6 BlackMonmover_i * Education_i + \alpha_7 Blackimmigrant_i * Education_i + X_i \delta + T_i \phi + \varepsilon_i$$

(4)

$$Y_i^* = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 Experience_i + \alpha_2 Experience_i^2 + \alpha_3 Education_i + \alpha_4 BlackNonmover_i + \alpha_5 BlackNonmover_i * Education_i + \sum_{j=1}^{J-1} \eta_j POB_{ij} + \sum_{j=1}^{J-1} \phi_j POB_{ij} * Education_i + X_i \delta + T_i \phi + \varepsilon_i$$

In order to evaluate labor market differences between black immigrants and native black internal migrants, Equations (3) and (4) augments Equation (1) and (2) by including dummy variables that indicate whether a black native is a non-internal migrant (i.e., resides in the same state in which he/she was born) and an interaction between native black non-internal-migrant status and education. This interaction term allows the returns to education to vary between native movers and non-movers. Consequently, these models evaluate mean differences between black immigrants, native black non-movers, and native black movers at a given education level. The reference group in these models is native black movers.

IV. RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Tables 2.1 and 2.2 show summary statistics for native and immigrant males in the 2000 IPUMS sample of the United States Census and the 2005 to 2007 American Community Survey, respectively. Table 2.1 shows that the mean annual earnings of black immigrants in 2000 is approximately \$2,000 higher than that of native born blacks. When this comparison is conducted for the sub-samples of native black movers and non-movers, Table 2.1 shows that native black movers earn, on average, roughly \$8,000 more annually than native black non-movers. In addition, collectively, black immigrants earn, on average, roughly \$3,000 less than native black movers. Table 2.1 also shows that a larger fraction of native black movers are employed compared to native black non-movers. The fraction employed among native black movers is the same (82%) as the fraction employed among black immigrants. Although native black movers earn more than black immigrants, a close comparison of the estimates in Columns 2 and 4 of Table 2.1 shows that the earnings of black immigrants are more similar to the earnings of native black movers than to any other group in the sample.

Although native black movers and black immigrants have similar employment levels and wages, black immigrants consistently have higher self-employment rates than all subgroups of native blacks. Table 2.1 shows that 8% of black immigrants report being self-employed. The percent of self-employed black immigrants is three percentage points higher than that of all black natives and native black movers. These descriptive data

provide some evidence to support the claim that native migrants are more similar to black immigrants than to native non-movers (Butcher 1994).

Table 2.1 also shows that black immigrants and black natives differ along characteristics that could influence labor market performance. Relative to native born blacks, black immigrants have higher educational attainment (12.62 years vs. 13.22 years) and are more likely to be married (47% vs. 55%). Although most of the means in Table 2.1 show that, collectively, native born blacks are very different from black immigrants in terms of education and percent married, again native black movers appear to closely resemble black immigrants rather than native black non-movers. Columns 2 and 4 show that 53% of black internal migrants are married and 55% of black immigrants are married, respectively. In contrast, Column 3 shows that only 44% of native non-movers report being married. Similarly, almost 27 percent of black immigrants report having at least a bachelor's degree. This percentage is 7 percentage points higher than native movers and 16 percentage points higher than black non-movers.

Although Table 2.1 shows that, collectively, black immigrants appear to have better average labor market outcomes and characteristics that produce favorable labor market outcomes than the entire native black population and the subpopulation of black native non-movers, this comparison conceals subgroup heterogeneity among black immigrants. To determine if certain subgroups of black immigrants are driving the differences between black immigrants and black natives, Table 2.1 also provides summary statistics for black natives and black immigrants where black immigrants are separated by region of birth.

Table 2.1 shows that all subgroups of black immigrants have similar employment levels, but the annual earnings among black immigrants vary significantly by region of origin. Table 2.1 shows that all subgroups of black immigrants have higher annual earnings than native black non-movers. With the exception of black immigrants from Central America, all subgroups of black immigrants have higher annual earnings than black natives, collectively. These subgroup statistics reveal that the earnings advantage experienced by black immigrants is driven by immigrants from Africa, South America, and Europe. For example, the subgroup of black immigrants with the highest earnings, immigrants from Europe, earned approximately \$7,000 more on average than the native born black population, \$2,000 more on average than native movers, and \$6,000 more on average than the largest subgroup of black immigrants, immigrants from the Caribbean.

Turning to self-employment, Table 2.1 shows that black immigrants from Africa have the highest fraction of self-employment at 9%. The group with the next highest level of self-employment is immigrants that compose the residual category. In spite of the variation in self-employment across immigrant groups, all subgroups of black immigrants have a self-employment percentage that is greater than or equal to any subgroup of black natives.

Table 2.1 also shows significant variation in demographic and socioeconomic characteristics among black immigrants. Black immigrants from the Caribbean and South America, with an average age of 42, have the highest average age among black immigrants. Black immigrants from the Caribbean and Central America have the lowest levels of education among black immigrants. With the exception of black immigrants

from Europe, 46% of whom are married, all subgroups of black immigrants are more likely to be married than black natives. Moreover, with the exception of immigrants from Africa and Europe, all other subgroups of black immigrants are more likely to be married than native black movers. This difference is substantial given that the percent married among native black movers is 6 percentage points higher than the entire native black population and 9 percentage points higher than black non-movers. Table 2.2 replicates the summary statistics calculated in Table 2.1 using ACS data from 2005-2007. Although the absolute levels of the summary statistics in Table 2.2 are larger, the overall patterns shown in this table are very similar to those presented in Table 2.1 that used 2000 Census data.

The summary statistics presented in this section of the chapter provide evidence to suggest that there are demographic differences between native blacks and black immigrants that might cause the two groups to have different labor market outcomes. Additionally, differences between black immigrants and all black natives may be due to cultural or demand side explanations. At the same time, the similarity between black native movers and black immigrants may provide tentative support for migrant selectivity. Indeed, the mover/non-mover differences presented in this section suggest that the differences between black immigrants and black natives are produced by observed and unobserved factors that influence migration rather than cultural factors among blacks or labor market favoritism on the behalf of whites.

To evaluate the robustness of the internal migrant/non-migrant distinction, Tables 2.1 and 2.2 also show summary statistics for subgroups of native white movers,

native white non-movers, and white immigrants. These descriptive statistics show that, like native black movers, white movers are more similar to white immigrants than white non-movers. Thus, these preliminary results suggest that a more appropriate comparison group for any group of immigrants is other migrants in the same ethnic group rather than a collective group of native born individuals.

Multivariate Results

This section presents ordinary least squares and linear probability regression models to analyze adjusted differences in earnings, employment, and self-employment between black immigrants and black natives.

Before estimating Equation (1), which includes an interaction between immigrant status and education, Table 2.3 first evaluates differences between black immigrants and black natives adjusting for a standard set of controls. The sign on the black immigrant variable in the employment model presented in Column 1 of Table 2.3 is statistically significant; however, the coefficient is small. This coefficient suggests that black immigrants have roughly a 1% greater probability of being employed than black natives after controlling for demographic and socioeconomic characteristics.

Consistent with the unadjusted means presented in the previous section, black immigrants exhibit 3% greater probability of being self-employed than black natives. However, counter to what might have been expected from the descriptive data, Column 2 of Table 2.3 shows that black immigrants earn approximately 10% less than black natives. One possible explanation for the lower adjusted earnings for black immigrants is

differences in the returns to education. Studies document that education obtained outside the United States may not have the same labor market returns as education obtained in the United States (Kollehlon and Eule 2003; Zeng and Xie 2004). Moreover, the literature on black immigrants suggests that black immigrants and black natives who have similar years of education might have different labor market outcomes because of their chosen field of study. To account for these factors, Columns 4, 5, and 6 show regressions models that allow for different returns to education for black immigrants and black natives. These interaction effects indeed show that black immigrants receive lower returns to education in the models of employment and log weekly earnings. For example, relative to native blacks, Column 5 shows that black immigrants have returns to education that are 3.6 % lower.

To determine whether immigrants have higher average outcomes in the models that include interactions between immigrant status and education, the partial derivative of each model with respect to immigrant status needs to be evaluated at the mean level of education for black immigrants. This exercise reveals a mixed picture. When years of education are evaluated at 13.43, the mean years of schooling for black immigrants, black immigrants have a statistically significant, albeit small (.01) employment advantage over black natives. Performing this exercise in the earnings model reveals that black natives maintain their earnings advantage over black immigrants when the partial derivatives are evaluated at 13.43.

These results suggest that at low levels of education, black immigrants receive greater returns to education than black natives. However, at some threshold level of

education, the returns to education are greater for black natives. To determine the exact crossover point, it is necessary to find the years of education that make the partial derivatives of each equation with respect to immigrant status equal to zero. In the employment model, at 13.95 years of education, the black immigrant derivative is equal to zero. Consequently, black immigrants with fewer than 13.95 years of education have a higher probability of being employed than black natives. Conversely, black immigrants with more than 13.95 years of education are less likely to be employed than black natives. Similarly, the crossover level of education in the earnings model presented in Column 5 of Table 2.3 is 10.91. This finding suggests that although black immigrants have much higher levels of education than black natives, the labor market returns to their education is much lower for most of the education distribution.

Since the descriptive statistics show that black immigrants from different regions of the world have different levels of education and labor market outcomes, Table 2.4 estimates the models based on Equation (2) to determine whether the patterns observed in Table 2.3 hold for black immigrants from different regions of the world.

Table 2.4 shows significant variation in labor market outcomes by region of birth. Column 1 of Table 2.4 shows that black immigrants differ in employment compared to natives. Immigrants from Africa have a .025 lower probability of being employed than black natives. Table 2.4 also shows that black immigrants from the Caribbean and Latin America have higher probabilities of being employed than black natives. Column 1 of Table 2.4 also shows no statistically significant difference in employment between black

natives and black immigrants from Europe and black immigrants that compose the residual category.

Column 2 of Table 2.4 evaluates subgroup heterogeneity in earnings among black immigrants. Column 2 shows that the only subgroups of black immigrants that have higher average earnings than black natives are immigrants from Europe. European immigrants earn roughly 11% more than black natives. The most disadvantaged group of black immigrants is the subgroup from Africa. African immigrants earn roughly 22% less, on average, than black natives. Indeed, this earnings disadvantage is larger than any other subgroup of black immigrants.

The self-employment model presented in Column 3 of Table 2.4 shows that, with the exception of black immigrants from Central America and Europe, all subgroups of black immigrants are more likely to be self-employed than black natives. Column 3 reveals that the subgroup of black immigrants with the largest immigrant/native wage gaps is also the subgroup most likely to be self-employed. African immigrants exhibit almost a .04 greater probability of being self-employed than native blacks.

Columns 4, 5, and 6 of Table 2.4 add interactions between region of origin and education to the models estimated in Columns 1, 2, and 3. Similar to results discussed previously, differences in returns to education do not consistently explain differences in self-employment between immigrants and natives. Most of the interaction terms in Column 6 are either statistically insignificant or quite minor in magnitude. Indeed, Columns 4 and 5 show similar results as those presented in Table 2.3. Almost all subgroups of black immigrants have lower returns to education than black natives.

However, even after allowing for different slopes, black natives still maintain most of the advantages discussed in Columns 2 and 3 at the mean years of education for each immigrant subgroup. The only subgroups of black immigrants that consistently have similar returns to education as black natives are immigrants from Europe. This suggests that the United States labor market values education obtained in Europe and United States similarly for black men.

Collectively, Tables 2.3 and 2.4 show few advantages for black immigrants over black natives. Additionally, the advantages that are experienced by black immigrants are seen mostly in the probability of being employed and for self-employment. Moreover, the labor market advantages are also restricted to certain groups of black immigrants and not to black immigrants in general.

The results in Tables 2.3 and 2.4 do not address the issue of selection bias. Black immigrants are not a random sample of their respective home countries; consequently, comparing black immigrants to all black natives biases the labor market comparisons between the two groups. In an effort to account for this selection bias, Tables 2.5 and 2.6 evaluate labor market outcomes between black immigrants and two subgroups of black natives – native movers and native non-movers by estimating Equations (3) and (4).

Consistent with the descriptive statistics, Table 2.5 shows that black non-movers are less likely to be employed and earn less than black movers, *ceteris paribus*. However, non-movers are slightly more likely to be self-employed than native movers. This suggests that the factors correlated with migration that produce favorable employment

and wage outcomes for black natives do not increase the likelihood of being self-employed.

Column 1 shows no statistically significant difference in the probability of being employed between black immigrants and black native movers. Furthermore, Column 2 shows that black immigrants earn significantly less than native black movers. What is more, the relative earnings deficit experienced by black immigrants increases by almost 40% when the reference group is changed from all native blacks to black movers. This difference holds even when immigrants and natives are allowed to have different returns to education. Columns 4 and 5 show that the cross-over years of education for black natives to surpass the employment probabilities and earnings of black immigrants is 14 years in the employment model and 10.26 years in the earnings model. Since years of education are truncated between 8 and 19 years, this suggests that, collectively, black immigrants only earn more than black natives at the lowest levels of education and that black immigrants have slightly higher probability of being employed (.008) than black native movers at their mean level of education.

Table 2.6 further evaluates differences between black immigrants and black movers by disaggregating black immigrants by region of origin. As discussed in Table 2.5, Table 2.6 shows that native black non-movers and most black immigrants are more likely to be self-employed than black native movers. Turning to the employment model, while Column 1 shows that black immigrants from Central America and those from the Caribbean have employment probabilities that are significantly greater than those of native black movers, unlike the results in Table 2.4, the coefficient on the South

American indicator is no longer statistically significant. Likewise, the employment probabilities for Caribbean and Central American reduce by more than .01 point. Similar to Table 2.4, all other subgroups of black immigrants have employment probabilities that are less than or statistically similar to native black movers.

The earnings model presented in Column 2 of Table 2.6 shows a consistent and substantial earnings advantage for native black movers. Indeed, no subgroups of black immigrants earn significantly more than native black movers. Although black immigrants from Europe have earnings that are statistically similar to black native movers, all other region coefficients in Columns 2 are negative and statistically significant. Allowing for differences in the returns to education in columns 4 through 6 does not erase the results in Columns 1, 2, and 3. That is, although black immigrants have a persistent self-employment advantage over black natives, black immigrants earn substantially less than black movers and, with the exception of black immigrants from Central American and the Caribbean, black immigrants have lower or similar probabilities of being employed relative to native black movers.

To determine whether Table 2.6 conceals subgroup heterogeneity among black immigrants from particular sending countries, Table 2.7 estimates Equations 3 and 4 using indicators for country and region of origin. Once again, the reference group for these models is native black movers. Column 1 of Table 2.7 shows that the employment advantage among black immigrants from Central America is driven by migrants from Mexico. Conversely, the employment disadvantage among African immigrants is driven

by immigrants from Nigeria, Ethiopia, and immigrants that comprise the residual African category.

The employment results for Caribbean and South American immigrants from Table 2.6 hold for immigrants from all the major sending countries within these regions. Specifically, although variation exist among the countries, immigrants from all the major sending countries in the Caribbean have a greater probability of being employed relative to native black movers. Likewise, immigrants from Guyana (where most black immigrants from South America hail) and those from other South American countries have similar employment probabilities.

The earnings model in Column 2 of Table 2.7 shows that while Caribbean immigrants from all countries identified earn less than native black movers, Jamaican immigrants have the highest earnings among Caribbean immigrants. Turning to the earnings results for immigrants from South America, Column 2 shows that black immigrants from Guyana earn more than immigrants from other countries in South America. Similar heterogeneity is observed from immigrants from Africa. African immigrants from Ghana and Nigeria earn almost 11 percentage points more than immigrants from Ethiopia.

The self-employment model in Column 3 of Table 2.7 shows that black immigrants from most of the major sending regions are more likely to self-employed relative to native black movers. Columns 4 through 6 show that most black immigrants have lower returns to education than native black movers in the earnings and employment models. However, differences in the returns to education between black immigrants and

native blacks do not significantly explain self-employment differences between the two groups.

V. CONCLUSION

The main results of this chapter suggest that black immigrants are more likely to be self-employed than all native blacks (collectively) and the subgroup of native black movers. Analysis of subgroup variation confirms that black immigrants from most of the regions specified in this study are more likely to be self-employed than native black non-movers and movers. However, self-employment is the only outcome in which black immigrants have a consistent and substantial labor market advantage over native blacks. Moreover, the high self-employment rates among black immigrants do not confer them an earnings advantage over black natives. Future work in this area should investigate whether black immigrants use self-employment to adjust to difficulties they might face (i.e. discrimination) entering into the wage/salary sector.

In models of employment and earnings, all black natives, and native black movers in particular, seem to consistently outperform most black immigrants. Indeed, when black immigrants are compared to native black movers, black movers have higher earnings than all subgroups of black immigrants except black immigrants from Europe. Black movers also have a similar employment probability as black immigrants from South America and a higher probability of being employed than black immigrants from Africa, Europe, and black immigrants that make up the residual category.

From a theoretical perspective, neither the positive cultural factors among black immigrants nor demand theories seem to explain the differences between black

immigrants and black natives. If culture was the main explanation, either in the form presented by Sowell (1975, 1978, 1981, and 1983) or in the form presented by Glazer and Moynihan (1963), or Waters (1999), the results in this chapter should not reveal the substantial differences between native black non-movers and native black movers. Moreover, the results should not reveal the degree of variation among black immigrants, particularly among immigrants from the same region of the world. Table 2.7 shows that black immigrants from Jamaica earn significantly less than black immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago. Moreover, black immigrants from Guyana earn more than immigrants from other countries in South America. Likewise, black immigrants from Ghana earn almost 8 percentage points more than immigrants from Ethiopia. Culture does not explain subgroup heterogeneity among black immigrants from the same region of the world nor does white favoritism.

On the other hand, these results provide support that immigrant selectivity, and migrant selectivity more generally, is very important for labor market outcomes among blacks (and perhaps among other race/ethnic groups). Black immigrants who reside in the United States are not a random sample of their countries of origin; however, a random sample of black natives in the United States is representative of the entire population. Consequently, inferences obtained from analyzing black immigrants are not generalizable to black natives. Results in this chapter suggest that studies and theories that seek to explain labor market differences (and possible other socioeconomic differences) between black immigrants and black natives need to account for the fact that the two groups are quite different.

Given these results, some might question whether the experiences of black immigrants say anything at all about the experiences of black natives. Without a doubt, they do. Black immigrants and black natives are phenotypically similar. However, because of the selection associated with migration, relative to black natives, black immigrants have superior labor market characteristics. Yet, the labor market outcomes of black immigrants—even before accounting for the selectivity associated with migration—are not drastically better than native blacks. In fact, for most groups, the earnings of black immigrants are consistently worse than those of native blacks. The premise behind using black immigrants, particularly West Indian immigrants, as a “model minority” for black natives is based on the assumption that if black natives work hard and obtain a good education they could close the labor market gaps between whites and blacks. Given that the labor market outcomes of black natives are substantially worse than those of white natives, the fact that black immigrants have worse outcomes than native blacks casts serious doubt on this assertion. In reality, these results highlight the detrimental effect of having dark skin among all blacks— in spite of work hard and relatively high levels of education.

Notes

1. The black sample includes 101 individuals who have a person weight of 0. These individuals will be used to compute descriptive statistics. However, they will not be used to conduct regression analysis. Consequently, the final analytic sample is composed of 418,908 black natives and 51,736 black immigrants.
2. The Other Black Immigrants category is composed of immigrants who were born in a region other than Central America, the Caribbean, Africa, South America, or Europe. Caribbean refers to individuals born in one of the island nations in the Caribbean Sea.
3. Following Funkhouser and Trejo (1995) and LaLonde and Topel (1990), predicted experience is equal to $(\text{age} - \text{years of education} - 6)$.

Chapter 3. Chapter Four: Do Black Immigrants Assimilate to the Labor Market Outcomes of U.S.-born Blacks, Black Movers, and Non-Hispanic White?

I. INTRODUCTION

Blacks in the United States fare worse than whites on almost every measure of economic well-being. Every census of the United States population shows that relative to whites, blacks hold jobs with lower occupational prestige, earn lower wages, and are more likely to be unemployed (Darity et al. 2001). Additionally, blacks are less likely than whites to possess characteristics that are strongly associated with economic well being, such as marriage and good health (Smock 1993; Smock, Manning and Gupta 1999; Thomson, Hanson and McLanahan 1994).

Research that investigates differences in economic outcomes between blacks and whites argues that persistent disparities between the two racial groups are either the result of past and current discrimination (Bodenhorn and Ruebeck 2007; Darity 2005; Darity and Williams 1985; Goldsmith et al. 2007; Tyson, Darity and Castellino 2005), or the result of current poverty status and cultural practices that are adverse to family formation, education, and hard work (Sakamoto and Tzeng 2000; Sowell 1978; Wilson 1980). The debates between the two camps heightened with the arrival of West Indian immigrants to the United States during the 1960s and 1970s.

When this new wave of black immigrants first began to arrive in the United States, they appeared to outperform U.S.-born blacks on many measures of social and economic well-being. Every census of the United States population since 1970 shows that before adjusting for social and demographic characteristics, foreign-born blacks tend to have higher earnings and are more likely to be employed than U.S.-born blacks (Model 2008). These findings led many scholars and policymakers to doubt the role of race in determining the welfare of U.S.-born blacks (Glazer and Moynihan 1979; Sowell 1975, 1978, 1981, 1983).

However, in the last two decades, scholarship has emerged that challenges the view that race is declining as a major predictor of labor market outcomes. Researchers have shown that after accounting for a standard set of social and demographic characteristics, U.S.-born blacks have higher incomes and only a small employment deficit relative to foreign-born blacks (Butcher 1994; Doodoo 1991, 1999; Farley 1987; Model 2008). This work also shows that foreign-born blacks are only able to surpass the earnings of U.S.-born blacks after having lived in the United States for more than ten years (Butcher 1994; Chiswick 1979; Model 1995, 2008).

Although the aforementioned literature has contributed to our understanding of the labor market experiences of black immigrants, there are important limitations associated with most of these studies that might hinder their applicability to current policy and theory building. Most of the current research on black immigrants either use data from the 1980s or 1990s, evaluate black immigrants in the aggregate, focus on differences between West Indian immigrants and black Americans, or focus exclusively

on cross-section variation among black immigrants (Butcher 1994; Farley 1996; Model 1997, 2008; Portes and Rumbaut 2006; Poston 1994). Since the 1990s, immigration to the United States from countries in Latin America and Africa has increased significantly. For example, in the 1980s, 134,000 Africans migrated to the United States (Kent 2007). In contrast, 323,000 Africans migrated to the United States during the 1990s, and 353,000 Africans migrated to the United States between 2000 and 2005 (Kent 2007). Given these gaps in the literature, this chapter uses data from the 1980 to 2000 U.S. Censuses of Population and data from the 2001 to 2007 American Community Surveys to estimate wage, employment, and self-employment assimilation models to determine if black immigrant wages, employment rates, and self-employment rates converge to those of U.S.-born blacks.

One of the more salient explanations for labor market differences between foreign-born and U.S-born blacks is migration selectivity (Butcher 1994). Black immigrants are not a random sample of their countries of origin. If migration is highly correlated with factors that produce better labor market outcomes, then foreign-born blacks would tend to have better labor market outcomes than native-born blacks. To help account for migration selectivity, this chapter also estimates assimilation models that compare black immigrants to U.S.-born blacks who have migrated within the United States. This comparison is based on the assumption that the factors that produce internal migration are similar to those that produce international migration (Butcher 1994). If this assumption holds, then labor market differences between foreign-born blacks and U.S.-born blacks who have migrated within the United States (black movers) should be

smaller than the differences between foreign-born blacks and the entire U.S.-born black population.

Results in this section indicate that upon arrival in the United States, black immigrants have lower earnings, are less likely to be employed, and are less likely to be self-employed relative to U.S.-born blacks collectively and black movers. While cohorts of black immigrants are able to catch-up to the labor market outcomes of U.S.-born blacks in the aggregate, few cohorts converge to or surpass the outcomes of black movers. Collectively, these results suggest that migration selection, both internal and international, help explain nativity differences in labor market experiences among blacks in the United States.

The remainder of this chapter will proceed as follows: Section II presents the background, Section III describes the data and methodology used in the study, Section IV presents results, and Section V offers conclusions.

II. BACKGROUND

Between 1960 and 2005 the number of black immigrants in the United States increased from 125,000 to 2,815,000 (Kent 2007)¹. This immigration surge has drastically changed the composition of the black population in the United States. For example, black immigrants accounted for 17 percent of the growth of the black population in the 1990s and for 20 percent of the growth between 2000 and 2006 (Kent 2007). Although black immigrants represent only 8 percent of the black population, 16 percent of black births are to foreign-born mothers (Kent 2007:4). If these trends continue, black immigrants and their descendants will play an increasingly important role in determining the perception and socioeconomic standing of all blacks in the United States.

When the first significant recent waves of black immigrants arrived in the United States in the 1960s, scholars and policy makers observed that these immigrants appeared to have better labor market outcomes than U.S.-born blacks. The 1970 Census, the first census with significant numbers of recent black immigrants (most emigrating from the Caribbean), showed that black immigrants had greater earnings and higher labor force participation rates than U.S.-born blacks. These raw differences generated three strains of competing theories to explain the disparate outcomes between the two groups. These theories argued that labor market differences between black immigrants and U.S.-born blacks can be explained by either: (1) cultural differences between black immigrants and

U.S.-born blacks produced by differences in slave histories or socialization in a majority black versus a majority white country (Sowell 1975, 1978, 1981, 1983; Waters 1994, 1999), (2) favoritism toward black immigrants by white employers (Waters 1994, 1999), or (3) immigrant selectivity (Butcher 1994; Kalmijn 1996; Model 1991, 1995, 2008).

Three decades of research in this area has led to several important insights. First, the labor market advantages experienced by Caribbean immigrants do not apply to black immigrants in general but rather to certain subgroups of black immigrants from the English-speaking Caribbean (Kalmijn 1996; Model 2008). Second, compared to U.S.-born blacks, black immigrants have more favorable social characteristics that account for a significant portion of their labor force advantage (Butcher 1994; Butler and Herring 1991; Doodoo 1997, 1999; Farley 1987; Kalmijn 1996; Kollehlon and Eule 2003; Model 1995, 2008; Poston 1994). For example, Kollehlon and Eule (2003) find that African immigrants, on average, are more likely to be married and have more years of schooling than U.S.-born blacks. After these and other social characteristics are accounted for, African immigrants have a slightly higher labor force participation rate than U.S.-born blacks; however, U.S.-born blacks have higher earnings and a greater rate of return to education than African immigrants, particularly at higher education levels. Third, black immigrants' labor force advantage over U.S.-born blacks is also attributed to selective migration. Chapter 2 of this dissertation and other papers in this literature show that after controlling for this selectivity, black immigrants and U.S.-born black movers have labor force participation rates and incomes that are statistically indistinguishable (Butcher 1994; Model 2008). This suggests that labor market differences between black

immigrants and U.S.-born blacks are also the result of factors that are correlated with migration (either international or internal).

In summary, the literature suggests that black immigrants have two persistent advantages over U.S.-born blacks. First, after roughly ten years in the United States, black immigrant earnings and employment probabilities surpass those of U.S.-born blacks. Second, black immigrants have a significantly higher self-employment rate when compared to U.S.-born blacks. Although some studies suggest that the high self-employment rate among black immigrants is the result of resources that immigrants bring from their countries of origin and hostility they encounter when trying to enter the wage/salary sector (Bogan and Darity Jr. 2008; Borjas 1986; Butler and Herring 1991; Lofstrom 2002), few studies have evaluated whether this high self-employment rate is generated by initial differences in self-employment or whether it results from factors associated with duration in the United States.

Although both the relatively low initial earnings and employment rate among black immigrants and the subsequent increase in both outcomes toward and then eventual surpassing those of U.S.-born blacks could be considered evidence of migration selectivity, these results could also be explained by culture. Proponents of a cultural position might argue that it takes time for black immigrants to adjust to their new labor markets. However, after they adjust to these markets, cultural attributes associated with being a black immigrant allow them to achieve better outcomes than most U.S.-born blacks.

If the assimilation patterns of black immigrants are associated with migration selectivity rather than culture or white favoritism, one might expect that black immigrants should be unable to surpass (or require significantly more time to surpass) the earnings or the employment probabilities of a similarly selected group of U.S.-born blacks. To evaluate this hypothesis, this chapter compares the earnings, employment rates, and self-employment rates of black immigrants with those of U.S.-born black movers.

This chapter expects to find that most subgroups of black immigrants will surpass the earnings, employment rate, and self-employment rate of U.S.-born blacks, collectively. However, most black immigrants will be unable to surpass the earnings and employment rate of black movers. This finding would provide evidence that selective migration explains labor market differences between black immigrants and U.S.-born blacks.

Theories of Immigrant Assimilation

There exists a large body of sociological literature that explores the adaptation and assimilation of immigrants and their children (Alba and Nee 1997; Alba, Logan and Stults 2000; Alba and Nee 2003; Bankston and Zhou 1995; Farley and Alba 2002; Gordon 1964; Hernandez et al. 1999; Portes 1996; Portes and Rumbaut 2007; Portes and Schaufli 1994; Sakamoto et al. 2009; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001; Waldinger 2001; Zhou and Bankston 1998; Zhou and Carl 1994). Classical assimilation theory, also referred to as straight-line assimilation, was originally written to explain the assimilation process of European immigrants. This theory views assimilation as a

straight-line process in which immigrants and their descendents gain upward mobility by adapting to the culture, values, and language of the host society. In the American context, immigrants' experiences converge to those of middle-class Anglo-Americans (Alba and Nee 1997; Gordon 1964; Hirschman 1983).

The classical assimilation framework also conjectures that upward mobility and assimilation are co-outcomes for immigrants and their descendants. However, studies that examine the experiences of non-European immigrants suggest that recent waves of immigrants from non-European countries might not follow a similar, straightforward path of mobility and adaptation (Rumbaut 1997). Relative to immigrants from Africa, Latin America, and Asia, earlier immigrants entered the country during a period in which manufacturing-based economic expansion made it relatively easy for them to be absorbed into the American middle class. In contrast, the disparate economic conditions faced by recent immigrants and the narrowing opportunity structure within the United States have generated diverging assimilation processes for more recent immigrants. For these immigrants, the direction of assimilation will depend on the absorbing communities in the United States and the diverse skills that immigrants bring from their countries of origin. As a result, the assimilation processes of these recent immigrants do not fit neatly into a unidirectional framework (Alba and Nee 1997; Portes and Rumbaut 2007; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001).

The racial composition of immigrants from Latin American and Caribbean countries also place these immigrants into different positions within the social hierarchy of the United States. For example, U.S.-born blacks and black immigrants share a similar

skin tone. Thus, black immigrants are subject to the same racism and discrimination faced by U.S.-born blacks in both the housing and labor markets. Consequently, black immigrants' minority status not only makes them more likely to live in socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhoods and attend poor performing schools, it also makes it more difficult for both the first and the second generation to fully assimilate into the Anglo-American middle class (Gans 1992; Portes and Rumbaut 2007; Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997b).

In an effort to explain the diverging patterns of non-European immigrants, Portes and Zhou (1993) introduced the theory of "segmented assimilation." Taking into account the unequal nature of American society, Portes and Zhou (1993) outline three distinct paths of assimilation that immigrants can pursue. The first path is straight-line assimilation in which immigrants acculturate and integrate in the Anglo-American middle class. The second path is acculturation and assimilation into an urban underclass. The third path is selective acculturation in which immigrants maintain aspects of their immigrant culture but integrate into the Anglo-American middle class mainstream.

While most of the literature on immigrant assimilation views assimilation (either upward or downward) as a generational process, this chapter focuses on the economic mobility or integration of first generation black immigrants. This process is important because it provides an inference about the context in which the second and subsequent generations will be socialized. From a theoretical perspective, if first generation black immigrants are able to surpass the outcomes of U.S.-born blacks over time and achieve economic parity with non-Hispanic whites in the United States, this would suggest that

second generation black immigrants might follow either a path of straight-line assimilation or a path of selective assimilation. However, if black immigrants are able to surpass the economic outcomes of U.S.-born blacks (collectively) but only achieve parity with black movers, this would suggest that black immigrants are following an entirely different path of assimilation—assimilation into existing black middle class within the United States (Neckerman, Carter and Lee 1999).

Portes and Zhou (1993) assume only a downward path toward both acculturation and assimilation into the black community. This assumption ignores the immense history of economic integration and selective acculturation of both post-Emancipation Era and post-Civil Rights Era black entrepreneurs and businessmen in the black community (Butler 2005). Butler (2005) argues that after both of these periods, subgroups within the black community integrated (to the degree possible) into the mainstream economy but maintained a set of cultures and values distinct from both poor blacks and the white community in general.

III. DATA, MEASURES, AND METHODS

Data

This chapter combines data on males aged 25 to 62 from the 5% Integrated Public Use Micro Series (IPUMS) samples of the 1980, 1990, and 2000 United States Censuses of Population with data from IPUMS samples of the 2001 to 2007 American Community Survey (ACS) to analyze labor market differences between foreign-born black men and men born in the United States. The U.S.-born white sample for this study is generated by taking a 5% sample of U.S.-born non-Hispanic white men from each of the 5% census waves and a 10% sample of U.S.-born non-Hispanic white men from each ACS wave. Similarly, the U.S.-born black sample is generated by taking a 10% sample of each census wave and a 20% sample from each ACS wave. The analysis excludes individuals who reside in institutions or group quarters, individuals who were born abroad to American parents, individuals who report having a disability that restricts work, and individuals with negative business, farm, or wage/salary income. After these restrictions, the final analytic sample includes 99,477 U.S.-born black men, 76,569 foreign-born black men, 508,065 U.S.-born non-Hispanic white men, and 308,407 foreign-born non-Hispanic white men. The factors that drive male migration differ significantly from those that drive female migration (Model 2008). To avoid these confounding factors, this chapter focuses exclusively on the labor market outcomes of males.

Dependent Variables

The outcome measures used in this study are the logarithm of weekly earnings, employment, and self-employment. The Consumer Price Index (CPI) for the each survey year is used to adjust earnings to reflect 2006 dollars—the year in which the 2007 ACS was conducted. The weekly earnings variable is generated by summing the total wage/salary income of respondents with any positive business or farm income earned by the respondent. This variable is then divided by the total number of weeks worked in the previous year. A logarithmic transformation of this variable is taken to account for the non-linear nature of wages. This design captures whether immigrants earn higher wages than U.S.-born respondents or whether they are simply employed more weeks during the year (Butcher 1994).

The employed variable is equal to 1 if a respondent reports any positive weeks worked and positive earnings in the survey year and 0 otherwise. Similarly, the self-employed variable is equal to 1 if a respondent reported his class of work as self-employed and 0 otherwise. The survey questions used to obtain these data are consistent across the survey years used in this study.

Labor Market Determinants

Factors such as education, predicted experience, marital status, English proficiency, and state of residence partly determine the labor market outcomes of U.S.-born workers (Borjas 1986, 1987; Chiswick 1991; Chiswick and Miller 1995; Correll et al. 2007; Korenman and Neumark 1991; Model 2008). In addition to these factors, skills

that immigrants acquire in their countries of origin and time spent in the U.S. labor force determine the labor market outcomes of immigrants. From a modeling perspective, cohort, assimilation, and country effects influence the labor market outcomes of immigrants.

As shown by Borjas (1985, 1987), when multiple cross-sections are available, it is possible to separately identify the impact of assimilation and cohort quality changes among black immigrants by tracking cohorts of black immigrants across different cross-sections of data. The estimation equation used to conduct this exercise is as follows:

In Equations 1 and 2, Y is the outcome measure of interest. X is a vector of variables that control for a standard set of economic and demographic factors. These factors include experience, experience squared, education, marital status, region of residence, and metropolitan area status. A is a vector of dummy variables indicating how long an immigrant has lived in the United States. These variables are set to 0 for natives. C is a vector of dummy variables identifying immigrant arrival cohorts. T is a vector of dummy variables indicating the survey year. Lastly, ε is a random error term.

In order to identify both cohort and assimilation effects, Equations 1 and 2 impose the restriction that the period effect on each outcome is the same for both immigrants and the U.S.-born. Therefore, the period effect is estimated for U.S.-born blacks and this

information is used to identify cohort and assimilation effects for immigrants (Borjas 1987). Equations 1 and 2 will be used to estimate ordinary least squares regression models of log weekly earnings, employment, and self-employment.

Within these specifications, the cohort variables account for quality differences among immigrants who arrived in the United States at different time periods. Changes in immigration policy could produce such differences. For example, the 1980 Refugee Act increased the types of immigrants who could enter the United States as refugees. As a result, labor market differences between immigrants who migrated before 1980 and those who migrated after 1980 are partly the result this policy change. The effect of time in the United States on earnings is captured by duration in the United States variables. If an immigrant cohort converges to or surpasses the outcomes of the U.S.-born non-Hispanic whites (the reference group in both specifications) over time, then the sum of the coefficient on that cohort plus the respective duration dummy variable should be equal to zero for simple convergence and greater than zero if black immigrants surpass the labor market outcomes of the U.S.-born.

In Equations 1 and 2, labor market differences among blacks are determined by comparing the cohort of arrival variables to either the U.S.-born black variable in Equation 1 or the black mover or black non-mover variables in Equation 2. When the dummy variables indicating the length of U.S. residence are included in these models, the cohort variables represent differences between non-Hispanic whites and members of each arrival cohort when years of U.S. residence are between 0 and 5, the excluded reference category for the duration in the U.S. variables. The black mover, black non-mover, and

U.S.-born black variables represent differences among each of these categories and U.S.-born non-Hispanic whites. Consequently, members of a particular immigrant arrival cohort have greater net labor market outcomes than U.S.-born blacks upon arrival in the United States if the coefficient on that arrival variable is greater than that of a subgroup of U.S.-born blacks.

IV. RESULTS

Descriptive Results

Using data on black and non-Hispanic white men from each of the survey waves used in this study, Table 3.1 illustrates the remarkable similarities and vast differences in employment rates, self-employment rates, earnings, and demographic characteristics of among U.S-born and foreign-born individuals. Columns 1 and 4 of this table show that roughly 85% of both foreign-born and U.S.-born blacks are employed. Columns 5 through 10 also show that employment probabilities are fairly constant among black immigrants. With the exception of black immigrants who comprise the residual category (other black immigrants) all other subgroups of black immigrants have employment probabilities between .85 and .86. Columns 11 and 14 show greater nativity variation in employment among non-Hispanic whites. Roughly 87% of non-Hispanic whites born in the United States are employed. This fraction is three percentage points higher than that of non-Hispanic white immigrants (84%).

In contrast to the employment profiles among blacks, Columns 1 and 4 of Table 3.1 show that, in the aggregate, foreign-born blacks earn approximately \$1,577 more than U.S.-born blacks. Column 9 of Table 3.1 shows that blacks born in Europe have the highest earnings among black immigrants (\$48,380) followed by immigrants from South America (\$43,012) and Africa (\$41,169), respectively. Descriptive results for whites,

Columns 11 and 14, show that non-Hispanic white immigrants earn on average \$9,379 more than U.S.-born non-Hispanic whites.

Turning to self-employment, Table 3.1 shows that the fraction of self-employed among foreign-born blacks (.08) is three percentage points higher than that of U.S.-born blacks (.05). Indeed, Columns 5 through 10 show that all subgroups of foreign-born blacks are more likely to be self-employed than U.S.-born blacks. This general pattern is also shown among whites. The percent of self-employed among non-Hispanic white immigrants (18%) is four percentage points higher than that of non-Hispanic whites born (14%) in the United States.

Social and demographic differences between foreign-born and U.S.-born blacks might explain the differing labor market outcomes between the two groups. Although variation exists among foreign-born blacks, in general, foreign-born blacks are younger, are more likely to be married, and are better educated than U.S.-born blacks. For example, 57% of foreign-born blacks are married compared to 53% of U.S.-born blacks. Likewise, the average mean years of education for foreign-born blacks is 13.06 compared to 12.45 for U.S.-born blacks. Consequently, the social characteristics of foreign-born blacks might partly explain labor market differences between the two groups.

Selective migration might also explain these differences. No group of migrants (international or internal) is a random sample of their country (place) of origin. To help determine whether the factors that produce international migration explain labor market differences between U.S.-born blacks and foreign-born blacks, U.S.-born blacks are separated into two groups—those who reside in their state of birth (black non-movers)

and those who have migrated across states since birth (black movers) (Butcher 1994). If selective migration confers a labor market advantage to foreign-born blacks, then migration selection should also confer an advantage to U.S.-born blacks.

The descriptive results in Table 3.1 support this claim. Columns 2, 3, 12, and 13 suggest that U.S.-born internal migrants (both black and white) look systematically different from non-internal migrants born in the United States. Relative to non-internal migrants, internal migrants have higher annual earnings, are more likely to be employed, have a higher marriage rate, and have more years of education. In fact, across most measures included in Table 3.1, U.S.-born internal migrants are more similar to foreign-born individuals than U.S.-born individuals who reside in their state of birth. These descriptive results suggest that selective migration plays an important role in explaining labor market differences between foreign-born and U.S.-born blacks.

Table 3.1 also shows dummy variables that account for the year in which immigrants arrived in the United States. Relative to non-Hispanic whites, these variables show that black migration to the United States is fairly recent. Indeed, roughly 50% of non-Hispanic whites immigrated to the United States before 1975. In contrast, only 27% of black immigrants arrived during this period. These variables also show significant region of birth variation among black immigrants. For example, immigration patterns differ significantly among the two largest groups of black immigrants, those born in the Caribbean and those born in Africa. Column 6 shows that 49% of Caribbean immigrants migrated to the United States prior to 1980. In contrast, only 26% of African immigrants arrived during this period. Therefore, differences in the year of immigration among black

immigrants might produce labor market differences between black immigrants and U.S.-born blacks and among black immigrants.

Regression Results

To further analyze nativity differences among blacks and cohort differences among foreign-born blacks in the United States, assimilation models of employment, weekly earnings, and self-employment are estimated using pooled data for all U.S.-born blacks, U.S.-born non-Hispanic whites, and foreign-born blacks. The models in Table 3.2 evaluate whether earnings differences among blacks are explained by social and demographic characteristics. Additionally, these models will also explore whether various cohorts of foreign-born blacks assimilate to the earnings of U.S.-born blacks collectively or to black movers.

The baseline regression, shown in Column 1, shows differences between cohorts of foreign-born blacks and non-Hispanic whites as well as differences between blacks and whites who were born in the United States controlling only for the survey year of observations. These results confirm the descriptive statistics shown in Table 3.1. Indeed, all the coefficients in Column 1 are negative. This suggests that while variation in earnings exists among foreign-born blacks, prior to controlling for other factors, both foreign-born blacks and U.S.-born blacks have lower earnings than non-Hispanic whites (reference group). This model also shows a steady decline in earnings among cohorts of

black immigrants. For example, foreign-born blacks who arrived in the United States prior to 1970 earn approximately 12% less than non-Hispanic whites. In contrast, foreign-born blacks who arrived in the United States after 2000 have earnings that are 64% less than non-Hispanic whites.

Since non-Hispanic whites are the reference group for both foreign-born blacks and U.S.-born blacks, the coefficients for both subgroups of blacks can be compared. Column 1 shows that nativity differences in earnings among blacks are partly the result of differences in the time of migration among foreign-born blacks. For example, foreign-born blacks who arrived in the United States prior to 1990 earn significantly more than U.S.-born blacks. Among these immigrants, those who arrived in the United States prior to 1970 have the highest earnings. These individuals earn almost 22% more than U.S.-born blacks. However, this pattern reverses after 1990. Black immigrants who arrived in the United States after 1990 earn significantly less than U.S.-born blacks. Black immigrants who arrived in the United States after 2000 have the most pronounced earnings deficit. These immigrants earn almost 30% less than U.S.-born blacks.

Social and demographic characteristics partly account for the differences between blacks and non-Hispanic whites. Column 2 of Table 3.2 shows that controlling for a standard set of social and demographic characteristics increases the magnitude of the coefficients for almost every black category. Controlling for these factors also improves the relative earnings of U.S.-born blacks. While all blacks continue to earn less than non-Hispanic whites, only foreign-born blacks who arrived in the United States prior to 1970 earn more than U.S.-born blacks. This result suggests that this subgroup of black

immigrants achieves higher earnings than U.S.-born blacks even net of demographic and social characteristics between the two groups.

Previous research suggests that the earnings of immigrants increase with time spent in the United States. Column 3 of Table 3.2 accounts for this effect by including variables that capture the number of years spent by foreign-born individuals in the United States. The reference category for this variable is foreign-born individuals whose tenure in the United States is between 0 and 5 years. Including these variables in the regression models changes the interpretation of the cohort of arrival variables. These coefficients now represent differences between cohorts of foreign-born blacks and non-Hispanic whites when the tenure of foreign-born blacks in the United States is between 0 and 5 years.

The coefficients on all the years since migration variables are positive and statistically significant. This suggests that the earnings of foreign-born blacks increase as they acquire greater tenure in the United States. These variables show that foreign-born blacks who have been in the United States for more than 21 years earn 24% more than foreign-born blacks who have been in the United States between 0 and 5 years. In spite of significant gains that foreign-born blacks achieve with increased tenure in the United States, no cohort of black immigrants achieve earnings that are comparable to those of non-Hispanic whites. Blacks who migrated to the United States prior to 1970 have the smallest initial deficit in earnings. This group earns approximately 42% less than non-Hispanic whites when they first arrive in the United States. The model also suggests that this deficit persists after more than 21 years in the United States. Column 3 suggests that

members of the pre-1970 cohort earn almost 19% (-.42 plus .23) less than non-Hispanic whites after they have lived in the United States for more than 21 years (also see Figure 1 for a graphical summary of these results).

Similarly, Column 3 suggests that U.S.-born blacks earn more than all cohorts of foreign-born blacks when they first arrive in the United States. Indeed, these differences range between 21.51% for members of the pre-1970 and 1986-1990 arrival cohorts and 28.1% for the post 2000 cohort. With the exception of the most recent cohort of foreign-born blacks, those who arrived after 2000, all other cohorts are able to catch-up to or surpass the earnings of U.S.-born blacks after more than 21 years of residence in the United States. This convergence happens earlier for some cohorts. For example, when the 1986-1990 arrival cohort is in the United States between 16 and 20 years, they earn 21.3% (-.417 plus .204) less than non-Hispanic whites. This sum is larger than the coefficient on the U.S.-born black variable. This implies that members of the 1986-90 arrival cohort have earnings that are 1% greater than U.S.-born blacks when they have lived in the United States between 16 and 20 years. The earnings advantage for this cohort increases to 4.4% after 21 or more years of U.S. residence.

Columns 4 through 6 evaluate whether the earnings patterns observed among blacks are the result of factors unique to individuals who chose to move (either domestically or internationally). The models in these columns adjust for migration selection by comparing cohorts of foreign-born blacks to two subgroups of U.S.-born blacks: those who move outside their state of birth (black movers) and those who currently reside in their state of birth (black non-movers). If migration selection partially

explains the earnings assimilation of black immigrants, then black immigrants should require more time to surpass the earnings of black movers.

Column 6 of Table 3.2 supports this claim. Although both subgroups of U.S-born blacks earn less than non-Hispanic whites, the earnings of black movers are nine percentage points higher than black non-movers. Additionally, while most cohorts of black immigrants are able to surpass the earnings of black non-movers, no cohort of black immigrants is able to surpass the earnings of black movers. These results suggest that selective migration accounts for the earnings advantage that foreign-born blacks achieve over U.S.-born blacks with increased tenure in the United States.

Table 3.3 considers whether these same factors explain nativity differences in employment among blacks. Prior to controlling for social and demographic characteristics, Column 1 of this table shows that U.S.-born blacks and all cohorts of foreign-born blacks have employment levels that are equal to or less than non-Hispanic whites. Column 1 also shows that the probability of being employed varies considerably among foreign-born blacks. For example, there is no statistical difference between blacks who migrated to the United States between 1981 and 1985, those who migrated between 1991 and 1995, and non-Hispanic whites. In contrast to these findings, relative to non-Hispanic whites, foreign-born blacks who arrived in the United States between 1996 and 2000 are 3.7 % less likely to be employed.

Unlike comparisons between foreign-born blacks and non-Hispanic whites, prior to adjusting for relevant factors, most cohorts of foreign-born blacks are more likely to be employed than U.S.-born blacks. Given that non-Hispanic whites are the reference group

for both U.S.-born blacks and foreign-born blacks, when the coefficient on an immigrant cohort variable is larger (less negative) than the U.S.-born black variable, then members of that cohort are more likely to be employed than U.S.-born blacks. Comparing the cohort of arrival variables with the U.S.-born black variables reveal that only members of the 1996 to 2000 arrival cohort have lower unadjusted levels of employment than U.S.-born blacks. However, this difference is not substantial (.004).

Some of these disparities might be the result differences in social or demographic characteristics such as age or education. Column 2 accounts for these differences in observation characteristics by including a set of standard variables that impact employment. This adjustment has a more varied effect among foreign-born blacks. Controlling for social and demographic factors either reduces or eliminates employment disparities between foreign-born blacks who migrated to the United States prior to 1980 and non-Hispanic whites. However, among immigrants who arrived after 1986, accounting for these characteristics decreases the probability that these members will be employed. For post-1986 immigrants, these estimates suggest that even when foreign-born blacks have similar characteristics to non-Hispanic whites, they are less likely to be employed. As Chapter 2 illustrates, these results are partly driven by differences in the returns to education among foreign-born blacks.

An additional consideration is time spent in the United States by the foreign-born. Table 3.3 evaluate this possibility by estimating employment assimilation for foreign-born blacks (also see Figure 2 for a graphical summary of these results). This table shows that all cohorts of foreign-born blacks are less likely to be employed than both non-

Hispanic whites and U.S.-born blacks when they first arrive in the United States. This deficit is largest among blacks who migrated to the United States between 1976 and 1980. Relative to non-Hispanic whites, this cohort is almost 13% less likely to be employed. Furthermore, the probability of being employed for this group is approximately 10.6 percentage points lower than that of black Americans.

In spite of these initial employment disparities, all cohorts of foreign-born blacks seem to achieve higher employment probabilities than both non-Hispanic whites and U.S.-born blacks as their tenure in the United States increases. For example, the arrival cohort with the largest initial deficit in employment, the 1976 to 1980 cohort, are just as likely to be employed as non-Hispanic whites after they have lived in the United States for at least 21 years. Similarly, this group is more likely to be employed than U.S.-born blacks after they have lived in the United States between 11 and 15 years.

Similar to the earnings models estimated in Table 3.2, the relatively rapid employment assimilation experienced by foreign-born blacks in comparison to U.S.-born blacks might be the result of selective migration. If this is the case, then foreign-born blacks should require more time to assimilate to the employment levels of black movers. Columns 4 through 6 support this claim. Column 4 shows that the probability of being employed is markedly different for the two subgroups of U.S.-born blacks. For instance, the coefficient on the black mover variable in this model is statistically insignificant. This suggests that non-Hispanic whites and U.S.-born black movers have similar probabilities of being employed. In contrast, the probability of being employed is 3.4% lower for black non-movers relative to non-Hispanic whites. The statistically insignificant coefficient on

the black mover variable also reveals that foreign-born blacks assimilate to the employment levels of black movers and non-Hispanic whites at the same rate. In contrast, all cohorts of foreign-born blacks surpass the employment levels of black non-movers faster than they surpass the employment levels of U.S.-born blacks in the aggregate.

Summary statistics in Table 3.1 of this chapter showed that foreign-born blacks are more likely to be employed than U.S.-born blacks. This implies that nativity differences in employment among blacks is partially the result of self-employment differences between the two groups. In spite of this observable fact, few papers have explored whether these differences are unique to particular cohorts of foreign-born blacks or to the foreign-born in general. Similarly, few papers have explored whether the higher rate of self-employment among foreign-born blacks is observed when they first arrive in the United States or whether the high self-employment rate is the result of time spent in the United States.

This consideration is important for two reasons. First, being self-employed does not necessarily signal labor market success. Black immigrants might be more likely to be self-employed than U.S.-born blacks because they face difficulties entering the formal wage/salary sector of the economy. Second, high rates of self-employment among the foreign-born might simply signal a willingness for these blacks to engage in employment below their skill-level at a wage below what similar members of an American-born population (black or white) would accept. These points are considered in greater detail in Table 3.4.

As illustrated by Columns 1 and 2 of Table 3.4, all blacks are less likely to be self-employed than non-Hispanic whites. However, foreign-born blacks are more likely to be self-employed than U.S.-born blacks. Column 3 of Table 3.4 also reveals that foreign-born blacks who migrated to the United States after 1980 have higher self-employment rates than U.S.-born blacks when they first arrive in the United States (years in the United States between 0 and 5). This result, in combination with the positive and significant coefficients on the years in the United States variables, suggests that these subgroups of foreign-born blacks build on the initial self-employment advantages with tenure in the United States. Although pre-1980 immigrants are less likely to be employed than U.S.-born blacks when they first arrive in the United States, all of these early cohorts will erase this disadvantage when their tenure in the United States is between 11 and 15 years (also see Figure 3 for a graphical summary of these results). Models that partition the U.S.-born black population by migration status imply that the factors that produce internal migration do not drive self-employed black movers. In fact, Columns 4 through 6 of Table 3.4 suggest that black movers are less likely to be self-employed than black non-movers.

The summary statistics in Table 3.1 show that different cohorts of black immigrants have different origin mixes and skill levels. Consequently, results from models that aggregate black immigrants might hide assimilation differences among different subgroups of black immigrants from different regions of the world. To examine this possibility, separate assimilation models are estimated for West Indian immigrants and African immigrants. Ideally, separate assimilation models should be estimated for

each region identified in this chapter (and perhaps separately by country of origin); however, in order to estimate more detailed assimilation models, sufficient observations are needed for each cohort and duration variable in each survey wave for each subgroup identified. Consequently, this requirement limits the degree of specificity that can be obtained from the models. Thus, Table 3.5 estimated separate assimilation models for African and West Indian immigrants, respectively.

The most striking results from Table 3.5 come from comparisons between black immigrants and non-Hispanic whites. This table shows that most cohorts of black immigrants are able to catch-up to the employment rates of non-Hispanic whites after many years in the United States; however, black immigrants never close the self-employment or the substantial earnings gap with non-Hispanic whites. In fact, many cohorts of African immigrants earn 40% less than non-Hispanic whites even after more than 21 years in the United States. This result is particularly interesting given that African immigrants have higher mean years of schooling than any subgroup of Americans, black or white. Without a doubt, this result is more interesting than any labor market gap between black immigrants and U.S.-born blacks.

The assimilation models in this section also show that few cohorts of black immigrants have lower self-employment rates than U.S.-born blacks when they first arrive in the United States. Additionally, the arrival cohorts that have lower self-employment rates than U.S.-born blacks quickly close the deficit and surpass the self-employment rates of U.S.-born blacks.

These results also highlight the problems associated with aggregating all black immigrants together. While the aggregate results show modest changes in cohort quality over the last 37 years, results from assimilation models estimated separately for Caribbean and African immigrants show more drastic changes. These models show that more recent arrivals from the Caribbean and Africa are more likely to be employed than later arrivals. Additionally, while the earnings of different cohorts of Caribbean immigrants change modestly over the last the last 37 years, African immigrants who arrived in the United States prior to 1986 have weekly earnings that are roughly 50% less than U.S.-born blacks.

These models also show significant differences in assimilation among black immigrants. Although the speed of convergence varies for different subgroups of black immigrants, most cohorts of Caribbean immigrants will eventually converge to and surpass the employment levels of U.S.-born blacks and black movers. However, only more recent cohorts of African immigrants are able to erase their initial deficit in employment with time in the United States. Similarly, only the most recent cohorts of African immigrants are able to converge to the earnings of U.S.-born blacks. However, comparisons between African immigrants and black movers suggest that most African immigrants never converge to the earnings of black movers. Caribbean immigrants exhibit a similar assimilation pattern. While five of the eight cohorts of Caribbean immigrants catch-up and surpass the earnings of all U.S.-born blacks after 21 years, no cohort of Caribbean immigrants is able to catch-up to the earnings of native black movers.

V. CONCLUSION

Several studies have evaluated differences in economic outcomes between black immigrants and U.S.-born blacks over the last two decades (Butcher 1994; Doodoo 1991; Kalmijn 1996; Model 2008; Waters 1994). However, most of these studies utilize either 1980 or 1990 Census data or evaluate the performance of West Indian immigrants relative to U.S.-born blacks.

Since the 1990s, immigration to the United States from countries in Africa has increased significantly. Given this change in the sending country mix of black immigrants and the absence of studies that document the relative economic performance of black immigrants since the 1990s, using Census data from 1980 to 2000 and data from the ACS from 2000 to 2007, Chapter Three estimates wage, employment, and self-employment assimilation models that take into account immigrant selectivity to determine if black immigrants converge to wage, employment, and self-employment rates of different subgroups of U.S.-born blacks over time.

This chapter shows that the only labor market outcome in which black immigrants consistently outperform all subgroups of U.S.-born blacks is self-employment. However, in spite of the high self-employment rates of black immigrants, many cohorts of black immigrants are observed to have a substantial earnings and employment deficit relative to U.S.-born blacks when they first arrive in the United States. Moreover, many cohorts of black immigrants are not able to close these initial gaps until they have been in the United States for more than 21 years.

Models that use U.S.-born black movers as the reference group to compare the labor market outcomes of black immigrants reveal enormous initial gaps in earnings and employment between black immigrants and black movers. Indeed, few cohorts of black immigrants ever catch-up to the earnings of black movers. These results highlight the problems associated with comparing black immigrants to all U.S.-born blacks. Although black immigrants share a phenotype with U.S.-born blacks, the experiences of black immigrants provide little insight into the labor market experiences of the entire black population.

Consequently, if researchers are interested in studying the labor market outcomes of black immigrants, a better comparison group than all U.S.-born blacks might be internal migrants, other immigrants, or simply non-Hispanic whites. Although demographics are changing, non-Hispanic whites are still the largest racial group in the United States. Non-Hispanic whites are also the standard for almost every other comparison in the United States. As illustrated throughout this chapter, most cohorts of black immigrants do not assimilate to the outcomes of non-Hispanic whites. Indeed, in spite of the high education levels of more recent immigrants from Africa, these immigrants are particularly disadvantaged.

Although the literature on the labor market experiences of immigrants documents that education obtained abroad, particularly from less developed countries, is not perfectly compatible with education obtained in the United States, the gap between African immigrants, and non-Hispanic whites is driven by more than this phenomena. The mean differences between African immigrants and non-Hispanic whites remain large

even after allowing the returns to education to vary for the two groups. What is more, when other studies have evaluated initial differences between non-Hispanic whites and all immigrant groups (collectively), after controlling for race, region of birth, and education, the initial gap between non-Hispanic whites and immigrants is normally between 15 to 20% (Funkhouser and Trejo 1995). The gap for most cohorts of African immigrants is three times as large. Moreover, the gap for many cohorts of Caribbean immigrants is twice as large. These results highlight the detrimental effect of having dark skin in spite of working hard and being well-educated.

One possible explanation for the wide labor market outcomes between U.S.-born blacks, black immigrants, and non-Hispanic whites is skin shade. The literature on skin shade differences among U.S.-born blacks and black immigrants suggests that lighter skinned individuals have better labor market outcomes than darker skinned members of both groups (Hersch 2002, 2008). The relative earnings among black immigrants reveal a striking pattern. Although this data set does not measure skin tone, the subgroups of black immigrants with the highest wages are also from regions that are likely to have the largest distribution in skin tone within the black population. For example, Chapter 2 shows that African immigrants have the largest adjusted deficit in earnings followed by black immigrants from the Caribbean, South America, Central America, and Europe, respectively. Indeed, black immigrants from Europe earn 11% more than the entire U.S.-born black population and 7% more than black movers.

Future research that examines labor market and health outcomes of black immigrants and U.S.-born blacks should take into account selection bias and the immense

diversity within both groups of blacks. Taking these factors into account, this study highlights that if black immigrants are a “model minority,” then increasing the average employment rates, self-employment rates, and years of education within the U.S.-born black population might not have as large an impact on economic and social outcomes as many hope.

Notes

1. Among the policies that generated the most pronounced impact on black immigration are: the 1965 Immigrant Act that included provisions that replaced country of origin quotas with policies that favored family reunification and a preference system for skilled professionals; the Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1976 that loosened restrictions for studying in the United States, family reunification, and skills visas; the 1980 Refugee Act that increased the scope of the types of immigrants that enter the United States as refugees; the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act that allowed undocumented workers in the United States to apply for legal status; and the 1990 Immigration Act that increased the number of immigrants entering the United States with skills visas and introduced a diversity visa lottery to attract immigrants from non-traditional source countries.

Chapter 4. Evaluating the Health Advantage of Black Immigrants: Refining the Theory of Immigrant Health Selection

I. INTRODUCTION

A number of studies report that immigrants have better self-rated health, lower adult mortality rates, and lower infant mortality rates than native-born Americans (Cho et al. 2004; Hummer et al. 1999a; Singh and Siahpush 2002). However, after about five years in the United States, the health of most immigrants begins to erode and eventually converge to the health levels of the native-born population (Antecol and Bedard 2006; Biddle, Kennedy and McDonald 2007; McDonald and Kennedy 2005). This phenomenon has been termed the “healthy immigrant effect”. Indeed, these initial health benefits are achieved even among immigrants from low social and economic backgrounds. The two primary explanations for the healthy immigrant effect are “selective migration” and “cultural buffering” (Cho et al. 2004; Jasso et al. 2004; Landale et al. 2000).

Arguments based on selectivity suggest that there is nothing particular about being an immigrant that produces better health. In this context, health is highly correlated with factors that produce migration. Studies have shown that some of the health advantages experienced by immigrants are the result of age selection. Many migrants, particularly those that are economically motivated, migrate during their prime working years. These years also tend to be relatively healthy years for most individuals (Marmot, Adelstein and Bulusu 1984; Palloni and Ewbank 2004; Sharma, Michalowski

and Verma 1990). Moreover, Jasso et al. (2004) argue that differences in the price of skills across countries predicts the degree of selectivity among immigrants. Specifically, they argue that immigrants from countries with relatively high skills prices should have better health than immigrants from countries with low skills prices.

Explanations based on cultural buffering suggest that much of the health and mortality differences between immigrants and native-born individuals may be explained by the relatively low tendency for immigrants to smoke, consume alcohol, and use illicit drugs when compared to similar members of the native born population. This argument also suggests that the positive culture that initially helps to produce better health and lower mortality rates among immigrants begins to erode the longer immigrants are exposed to the negative health behaviors and social factors within the United States (Amaro et al. 1990; Angel, Buckley and Sakamoto 2001; Cho et al. 2004; Hummer et al. 1999a; Mutchler, Prakash and Burr 2007).

Explanations for the healthy immigrant effect that are grounded in selectivity and culture have contributed valuable insights into the relative health advantages of immigrants in the United States over the native born population. However, these explanations do not offer much insight about the relative health among immigrants. Indeed, differences in the degree of health promoting and damaging behaviors practiced by different groups of immigrants might explain differences in health among immigrants. However, most cultural theories say little about how these behavioral conditions are produced. In the case of health selection, the situation is more uncertain. After controlling

for demographic characteristics, most theories of health selection do not provide much insight about why some immigrants are healthier than others.

Perhaps the flaw in most theories that attempt to explain the initial health of immigrants is their disconnect from general theories of migration. Indeed, most immigrants do not migrate to improve their health. Most immigrants are motivated by a combination of economic and social factors. Some migrants move to improve their economic well being. Some migrate to reunify with family. Given this, it is reasonable to expect that there should be initial health differences and differences in health trajectories between economically motivated migrants and those who are motivated by social factors.

For example, economically motivated immigrants might be selected on factors such as age, education, and motivation. These factors are highly predictive of labor market success in the destination country and in the sending country. As a result, economically motivated migrants might be healthier than other types of migrants because they can afford goods and services that produce better health in both the destination country and in the sending country (Grossman 1972).

Moreover, even in the absence of selective migration, incomes, education levels, health conditions, and social practices vary by country. Therefore, health differences between immigrants and natives and among immigrants might be produced by general health, economic, and social conditions across countries. Consequently, theories of health selectivity need to consider conditions faced by immigrants in their country of origin and factors that produce emigration. This chapter provides these considerations for black immigrants who migrate to the United States.

Black immigrants are becoming an increasingly important part of overall immigration flows to the United States. Over the last twenty years, black immigrants have contributed substantially to the growth of the overall black population in the United States. Data from the American Community Survey show that black immigrants accounted for 8% of the total black population in 2005, an increase from just 1% in 1980 (Kent 2007). In addition to the growing demographic significance of black immigrants, black immigrants migrate from a diverse set of sending countries. Understanding how conditions in these countries impact the initial health and health trajectories of immigrants could provide valuable predictions about the overall health of the black population as immigration from particular sending countries increases.

This chapter has two specific goals. First, this chapter expands current knowledge on the observed health advantage of black immigrants by accounting for health conditions and economic conditions within the destination country of immigrants to the United States. Second, this chapter presents and tests an empirical model that can be used to determine whether the health and economic conditions within an immigrant's country of origin explain health differences among immigrants in the United States.

The structure of the chapter is as follows. Section II provides the conceptual framework and hypotheses that explain the initial health of immigrants and the post migration health of immigrants. Section III outlines the data, measures, and methodology. Section IV presents descriptive and multivariate results. Section V presents a summary and conclusion.

II. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND HYPOTHESES

Initial Health of Immigrants

An important factor that determines the degree of health selectivity among immigrants is the degree of labor market selectivity. Borjas (1985, 1987) argues that immigrants can be positively or negatively selected on skills depending on the degree of income inequality between an immigrant's country of origin and the destination country.

According to Borjas, if income inequality is greater in the destination country relative to an immigrant's country of origin, then individuals who are in the extreme right tail of the income distribution in their home country can migrate to the destination country and occupy a better position along the destination country's income distribution. Since individuals in the extreme right tail of the home country's income distribution are normally the individuals with high levels of human capital, these individuals should be able to earn more income and make better decisions about their health than individuals with less human capital in their sending country and in the destination country.

Similarly, if income inequality is greater in the sending country than the receiving country, then immigrants are selected from the extreme left tail of the income distribution. This means that worse off individuals in the country of origin can migrate to the destination and occupy a better position in the host country's income distribution. In this case, it is possible to observe that these immigrants might have better health than U.S.

natives, but worse health relative to immigrants from countries with less income inequality than the United States.

Borjas's view of migration is rooted in income differences across countries. However, the literature also suggests other factors that might impact the selectivity of immigrants. Indeed, Feliciano (2005) suggests that immigrants to the United States from almost all regions of the world are selected on education relative to individuals left behind in their countries of origin. Using aggregate data on education from an immigrant's country of origin in conjunction with data on the average level of education for immigrants in the United States, she finds that, on average, immigrants in the United States have more years of schooling than natives in their country of origin. Additionally, Feliciano shows that distance from the destination country partly explains the degree of education selectivity among immigrants. Specifically, she finds that immigrants from countries in which the average level of education is relatively high are less selected on education than immigrants from countries in which the average level of education is relatively low. Consequently, prior educational differences among immigrants are a key determinant of the health of immigrants.

In a seminal paper by Jasso et al. (2004), the authors try to explain variation in health among U.S. immigrants using a combination of conditions in the country of origin and in the host country. They find that immigrants who migrate to the United States from countries in which the price of skills are relatively high and where the average level of education is relatively low should be among the healthiest immigrants within the United States. This is consistent with Borjas' (1987) theoretical framework since countries with

high skills prices, measured by Gross National Product, are also countries that have low levels of income inequality. The results of Jasso et al. (2004) are also consistent with the recent work described above by Feliciano (2005).

Studies also imply that health conditions within an immigrant's country of origin can explain health differences among immigrants in the United States. For example, Razum and Twardella (2002) suggest two factors that might explain the initial differences between immigrants and natives in a destination country. First, they suggest that immigrants, particularly from less developed countries, get an initial boost in health when they arrive in the United States. The boost is attributed to immigrants' utilization of available public services that exist in the United States. This factor could explain some of the differences in self-rated health between immigrants and natives. If immigrants arrive in the United States suffering from a large number of minor ailments, they may almost immediately be able to get relief from these conditions. Consequently, the high self-rated health scores of immigrants could be the result of initial health improvements generated by migration.

Second, Razum and Twardella (2002) suggest that immigrants have limited exposure to carcinogens and heart disease that are responsible for a large proportion of serious illnesses in the United States. Additionally, some immigrants would have lived physically active lives prior to migration as a result of the level of development in their country of origin. Consequently, some of the health advantage experienced by immigrants could be the result of limited exposure to factors that lead to cancer and heart disease in the United States. However, the authors argue that many immigrants are more

susceptible to death from stomach cancer and stroke as a result of poverty and health deprivation early in life.

Read and Emerson (2005) adds to the theoretical and empirical literature on immigrant health by introducing the importance of the racial context of immigrant's country of origin. Read and Emerson (2005) argue that black immigrants from majority black countries might be expected to have better health than immigrants from mixed or majority white countries because these immigrants might have limited exposure to racial discrimination. They also argue that these immigrants might have been privileged to a socialization process that could produce favorable mental and physical health outcomes. Read and Emerson (2005) empirically test the importance of the racial context of origin and find that U.S. immigrants from majority black regions of the world have better health than black immigrants from racially mixed regions, or from regions where blacks are a racial minority.

The Read and Emerson (2005) paper is an important contribution to the literature on black immigrants. However, it is not clear why all black immigrants from majority black regions should have better health than other immigrants because they migrated from a majority black society. For example, 85% of the population of South Africa is black. However, almost 90% of the wealth in South Africa is owned by whites. The share of wealth held by whites is disproportionately high given that whites represent less than fifteen percent of the total population. In addition, it may be argued that the South Africa society oppresses blacks more than some European countries.

Theoretically, it seems to make more sense that blacks from South Africa would have better health than other black immigrants because of selection. The social and economic cost of migrating from a country in Africa might make African immigrants more selected than immigrants from South America or the Caribbean where the social and economic cost of migration is lower. In spite of these considerations, if the racial context of the country of origin plays a role in explaining health differences among black immigrants, this effect is likely captured through variables such as the initial health stock of immigrants, education, income, and medical care use – which should be higher for black immigrants from majority white countries due to factors such as discrimination and stress associated with being at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

In summary, previous literature on immigrant selectivity finds that differences in individual level characteristics such as age, education, and income can produce health differences among immigrants. Additionally, aggregate level characteristics of an immigrant’s country of origin such as income inequality, average education levels, Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and life expectancy can also produce differences in health among immigrants. Given this, building on the work of Jasso et al. (2004), the initial health of immigrants can be summarized by Equation 1:

$$H_{it} = f(H_{i,t-1}, G_i, B_{it}, MC_{it}, ED_{it}, Y_{it}, D_i, X_{it}, Z_i, CO_i, I_i). \quad (1)$$

Equation 1 shows a health production function that describes how the health of an immigrant is determined. According to Grossman (1972), “The central proposition of the model is that health can be viewed as a durable capital stock that produces an output of healthy time. It is assumed that individuals inherit an initial stock of health that

depreciates with age and can be increased by investment” (Grossman, 1972, p.223). In this framework, if immigrant i emigrates from his/her country of origin in period t , given information available to him/her in period t , then his/her health upon arrival in the destination in period t is a function of his/her health prior to arrival in the United States ($H_{i,t-1}$), a set of time invariant genetic factors that are unique to each individual (G_i), health behaviors in the current period (B_{it}), utilization of medical care in the current period (MC_{it}), the immigrant’s own education in period t (ED_{it}), their permanent income in period t (Y_{it}), a set of time varying demographic characteristics such as age, marital status, and number of children (X_{it}), a set of time invariant demographic characteristics such as gender and race (Z_i), distance from the United States (D_i), a set of country of origin characteristics (CO_i), and the level of inequality in the country of origin (I_i). In this model, an immigrant’s optimal health in period t is a function of exogenous factors such as race, genetic factors, the price of education, the price of medical care, and price of current health behaviors. The optimal health in this framework also depends on prices of other consumption goods that an immigrant may consume.

Post-Migration Health

The literature suggests that the health of immigrants erodes with time in the United States. Moving Equation 1 forward one period, Equation 2 shows how the health of immigrants can change after migration .

$$H_{i,t+1} = f(H_{it}, B_{i,t+1}, MC_{i,t+1}, ED_{i,t+1}, N_{i,t+1}, Y_{i,t+1}, X_{i,t+1},) \quad (2)$$

Equation two shows that the health trajectory of immigrants is determined by their initial health at time t (H_{it}), their health behaviors and medical utilization in period $t+1$ ($MC_{i,t+1}, B_{i,t+1}$), their income in period $t+1$ ($Y_{i,t+1}$), social and economic conditions in the destination country in period $t+1$ ($N_{i,t+1}$), and time varying demographic characteristics in period $t+1$ ($X_{i,t+1}$).

In this context, country of origin conditions impact the health trajectories of immigrants by impacting their health stock after migration. Consequently, immigrants with better health in period t should also have better health in period $t+1$. In this model, the health of immigrants erodes over time if their health behaviors and medical care use change in a manner that deteriorates health. Negative neighborhood factors and general conditions in the destination can also erode the health of immigrants over time.

Hypotheses

In order to test whether health and economic differences across origin countries explain the health advantage of immigrants, researchers need individual level data on immigrants' physical health and economic status prior to migration and after migration. To determine the impact of living in a less developed country, measures of exposure to various health conditions need to be collected. Currently, no source collects these data at the individual level. However, aggregate data on health and economic conditions within sending countries can provide preliminary answers to some of these questions. Although these aggregate variables should enhance the current knowledge on the health of black immigrants, these variables do not allow for a full test of the model previously presented.

However, reduced form health models can be used to test the degree to which aggregate-level variables on health, social, and economic conditions in immigrants' countries of origin help explain initial health differences among immigrants (Chiswick, Lee and Miller 2008). Given this caveat, the following hypotheses are tested.

At the individual level, health among black immigrants should be more favorable for immigrants who have more years of education, are male, are married, migrate at younger ages, and are proficient in the destination country's language (Chiswick et al. 2008). At the aggregate level, health should be more favorable among black immigrants who migrate from countries with high incomes, low income inequality, high life expectancy, and greater years of education.

III. DATA, MEASURES, AND METHODS

The analytic sample for this chapter comes from the 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, and 2008 waves of the Current Population Survey (CPS) for individuals who self-identify themselves as black between the ages of 25-62. The sample also excludes individuals born abroad to American parents, individuals born in U.S. outlying areas, and individuals born abroad to American parents. These restrictions are made to avoid including individuals in the immigrant sample who are more similar to U.S. born blacks than immigrant blacks. In this study, an immigrant is defined as an individual who was born outside of the United States. Immigrants who migrated to the United States prior to 1980 are not included in the study. This restriction is made to avoid assigning recent country of origin data to immigrants who comprise the open ended category of the year of immigration variable. Immigrants from countries with missing country of origin data are excluded from the sample. The final analytic sample is composed of 60,150 U.S. born blacks and 2,867 black immigrants.

The outcome measures in this chapter are self-assessed health and the presence or absence of health conditions or disabilities that limit work. Both of these measures are taken from the 1996-2008 Current Population Survey (CPS). The self-assessed health measure is generated from the CPS question that asks respondents to “rate their current health on a five-point scale, as excellent, very good, good, fair, or poor”. Data from this question are used to create an ordinal variable which assigns a value between one and

five to each health category. For example, individuals in poor health are assigned a value of one and individuals in excellent health are assigned a value of five. The work limitations measure is a dichotomous variable that is equal to one for persons who identify themselves as having "a health problem or a disability which prevents him/her from working or which limits the kind or amount of work" and a zero otherwise.

The CPS is unique for three reasons. First, it contains significantly larger samples of black immigrants than other datasets commonly used to study the health of immigrants, such as the National Health Interview Survey (NHIS). Second, these data identify the exact country in which immigrants were born. Knowing the exact birthplace of immigrants allows for a rich analysis of the subgroup(s) of black immigrants who are primarily responsible for the overall good health of black immigrants. Third, aggregate-level variables can be merged to the immigrant sample. Therefore, using aggregate measures of health, economic, and education conditions in the country of origin of immigrants taken from the Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), this chapter evaluates the degree to which country of origin conditions help to explain the relative differences in health among black immigrants.

The Human Development Reports contain measures of health and living conditions for almost every country in the world. This chapter utilizes four broad variables from this source. Basic education conditions within an immigrant's country of origin are captured by the combined gross enrollment ratio for primary, secondary, and tertiary education. This measure ranges from 0 to 100. A value of 100 means that all

school aged children within a country is enrolled in school. Conversely a value of zero means that no school aged children are enrolled in school. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita is used to account for differences in economic well-being across countries. Life expectancy at birth is utilized in this study to account for health and basic human well-being within a country. The Gini Coefficient is used to capture differences in income inequality across countries. This measure ranges from zero to one. A Gini Coefficient of zero represents perfect income equality within a country where as a value of one depicts perfect inequality. In addition to these factors, distance from the United States may also impact the health of immigrants. To account for this factor, a variable that identifies whether an individual lives in a country that borders the United States is also included in the models.

These aggregate-level measures are extracted from the 2009 Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Programme. The 2009 report records the 2006 values of each of these measures. Consequently, this study assigns 2006 country of origin data to every black immigrant who appears in CPS waves between 1996 and 2008. The procedure introduces measurement error if the relative position of countries changes dramatically between the survey years. However, the relative position among countries in both Africa and the Caribbean has remained stable for the last 20 years.

Health Models

The baseline models in this study come from equations Equations 1 and 2.

$$Health_i = X_i\delta + T_i\phi + Ri\phi + \varepsilon_i$$

(1)

$$Work_Limitations_i = X_i\delta + T_i\phi + Ri\phi + \varepsilon_i$$

(2)

Equations 1 and 2 represent ordered logit regression estimates of self-rated health and logistic regression estimates of work limitations using data on black immigrants from the 1996-2008 CPS. In these models, X is a vector of variables that control for a standard set of social and demographic factors. These factors include age, gender, marital status, and education. T is a vector of dummy variables indicating the survey year. R is a vector of dummy variables that identifies the region of birth for every immigrant. Lastly, ε is a random error term.

$$Health_i = X_i\delta + T_i\phi + Ri\phi + H_i\eta + \varepsilon_i$$

(3)

$$Work_Limitations_i = X_i\delta + T_i\phi + Ri\phi + H_i\eta + \varepsilon_i$$

(4)

In order to evaluate the impact of health and socioeconomic conditions within an immigrants' country of origin, Equations 3 and 4 are estimated. These models includes all the variables presented in Equations 1 and 2 with the addition of H . H is a vector of

country level variables for that are assigned to immigrants based on their country of birth. These variables include Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita, life expectancy at birth, the combined gross enrollment ratio for primary, secondary, and tertiary education, the Gini Coefficient, and whether an immigrant migrated from a country that borders the United States. Based on the theoretical framework presented in this chapter, it is expected that immigrants from countries with high life expectancy will have better health in the United States than immigrants from countries with low life expectancy. Similarly, immigrants from countries with high per capita incomes and higher combined education ratios should have better health in the U.S. than immigrants from countries with low per capita incomes and education enrollments.

The key country of origin variable that explains labor market selectivity is the Gini Coefficient. It is expected that immigrants from countries with low income inequality should be healthier than immigrants from countries with high income inequality. Since immigrants from countries with low income inequality should be selected on human capital factors such as education and motivation, these individuals should be able to purchase better health inputs in both the destination country and in the country of origin. Moreover, immigrants with higher levels of human capital should be able to adapt within the host society better than immigrants with low levels of human capital. A final prediction from these models relates to differences among black immigrants. If the variables included in the H vector explains some portion of the initial health of immigrants, including these variables in the model should reduce the magnitude

of the region of birth dummies.

Research suggests that the health of immigrants declines with tenure in the United States. Additionally, different cohorts of immigrants arrive in the United States with varying levels of health. This suggests that health models should include variables that account for the cohort in which an immigrant arrives and variables that account for duration in the United States. Because of the high degree of correlation between cohort of arrival, duration in the United States, region of birth, and the country level characteristics, this study does not directly account for these factors. Excluding cohort and duration variables introduce bias into the effect of emigrating from a particular region. However, this exclusion does not impact the variables that account for country level characteristics, which are the main focus of this paper. Additionally, Antecol and Bedard (2006) show that, unlike other immigrants, the health of black immigrants does not decline with tenure in the United States. Consequently, excluding these variables might have a marginal effect of the region of origin variables.

III. RESULTS

Descriptive Results

Although the empirical models focus exclusively on black immigrants, the summary statistics in Table 4.1 also includes comparisons with U.S. black natives. This is done to illustrate the magnitude of health selection among black immigrants. The summary statistics in Table 4.1 show that, collectively, black immigrants report better average health, are much less likely to report being in fair/poor health, and are substantially less likely to have disabilities that limit or prevent work compared with U.S.-born blacks. Indeed, 19% of black natives report their health as fair/poor compared to only 9% of the black immigrant population. The socioeconomic and demographic characteristics in Table 4.1 show that while minor nativity differences exist in mean years of education, on average, black immigrants are younger than native blacks within this 25-62 age range, and are more likely to be married relative to native blacks. The percent married is almost 11 percentage points higher for black immigrants relative to black natives.

Table 4.1 also shows large differences in the current region of residence between the two groups. Most black immigrants reside in the northeastern region of the United States. In contrast most black Americans reside in the southern region of the U.S. These

region of residence differences might partly explain health differences between the two groups.

Table 4.2 shows summary statistics for black immigrants separated by major sending regions. This table shows significant variation in health and disability status among black immigrants from particular sending regions. For example, black immigrants from Africa and Europe report the most favorable self-assessed health whereas immigrants from the Caribbean have the least favorable reports of self-assessed health. Similarly, only 3% of black immigrants from Africa, Europe, and Central America report having health conditions or disabilities that limit work. In contrast, 5% of immigrants from South America and the Caribbean report having work limitations.

These differences in health among black immigrants from different regions of the world might be driven by variation in socioeconomic status among the subgroups. For example, black immigrants from Africa have the second highest mean years of schooling (approximately 14.14 years) and the second highest fraction married (.52) among all black immigrants. Conversely, immigrants from Central America have the lowest mean years of schooling (10.70) among all regions of origin.

Table 4.2 also illustrates considerable country of origin variation among black immigrants. Because the country of origin measures are assigned to each immigrant based on his/her country of birth, the country of origin descriptive statistics represent averages among immigrants from countries within each region. Relative to other regions where black immigrants emigrate, those from Africa come from countries with very low per capita incomes, low life expectancies at birth, and low combined gross enrollment

ratios in education. Conversely, immigrants from Europe have the highest values on each of these measures.

The level of income inequality also varies across the major sending regions of black immigrants. The Gini Coefficient is a measure of income inequality that ranges between zero and one. Societies are more unequal the closer the Gini Coefficient is to one. Likewise, societies that have Gini values that are closer to zero have less income inequality. Table 4.2 shows that immigrants from countries in South America (.48) and Central America (.50) have the highest levels of income inequality. Immigrants from Europe (.35) and Africa (.41) have the lowest levels of income inequality. Upon close evaluation, these comparisons illustrate the complications associated with interpreting inequality based on the Gini Coefficient. While Africa has the second lowest Gini Coefficient, individuals who originate from this region also lived in a context with the lowest per capita incomes (measured by GDP per capita). On the other hand, Europe has the lowest Gini Coefficient and highest per capita income. Together, these examples show that income equality (or inequality) can be achieved at the extreme tails of the income distribution. This consideration highlights the importance of accounting for the absolute level of income within a country when analyzing the degree of income inequality within a country.

Regression Results

Table 4.3 evaluates the importance of individual and country level characteristics by estimating a set of ordered logistic regressions of self-assessed health. As a starting point, Columns 1 and 2 of this table present models that do not include country of origin characteristics. Consistent with prior research, Column 1 shows that married individuals report better health than non-married individuals and that females report worse health than males. The region of birth dummy variables account for unobserved factors that are associated with emigrating from a particular region of the world and also highlight adjusted variation in health among black immigrants. The odds ratios on all the region of birth indicators are either less than one or statistically insignificant. This suggests that African immigrants, the reference group for this set of variables, have greater or equal odds of reporting being in the best health category versus the lower categories than all other subgroups of black immigrants.

Column 2 of Table 4.3 adds controls for individual-level education and current region of residence in the United States. The education variables suggest that individuals with higher levels of education report better health. The current location variables suggest that black immigrants who reside in the southern region of the country report better health than immigrants who reside in the northeastern region of the country. Including these sets of variables reduces the magnitude of the health advantage experienced by African immigrants. However, African and European immigrants still have self-reports of health that are statistically indistinguishable. After these subgroups, immigrants from the Caribbean and South America report the third and fourth best health. Black immigrants

from Central America and those who comprise the residual category have the lowest odds of reporting excellent health.

Columns 3 through 7 evaluate the impact of adding each of the country level characteristics to the model presented in Column 2. When included separately, three of the five country of origin variables are statistically significant. These variables include being a border country to the U.S., Ln (Life Expectancy), and the combined gross enrollment ratio in education. Indeed, all of these variables have the expected sign. For example, as the Ln(Life Expectancy) increases, immigrants have greater odds of being in the highest health category versus one of the lower health categories. Although statistically insignificant, the odds ratios for the Ln (GDP) per capita and the Gini Coefficient both have the expected signs. The odds ratios of 1.04 on the per capita income variable and .98 on the Gini coefficient variable suggest that health is better among individuals who migrate from richer countries and among those who migrate from places with lower levels of income inequality.

Column 8 of Table 4.3 includes all the country level characteristics. This model evaluates the net effect of each country variable. While all the odds ratios in this model have the expected signs, only the odds ratios on the combined gross enrollment ratio in education variable and the Gini Coefficient variable are statistically significant. Together, these two variables suggest that immigrants from countries with high level of educational enrollment and low income inequality have greater odds of being in the excellent health category versus any of the other health categories.

The region of origin variables in Table 4.3 exhibit an interesting pattern as country level characteristics are added to the model. For instance, the odds ratios on the region of origin variables in Column 8, the fully specified model, are significantly smaller than the odds ratios in Column 2. This implies that adding country characteristics elevates the health of African immigrants, the reference group. This comparison also shows that the relative health among black immigrants also changes as the country variables are added to the regression models. For example, European and African immigrants have the greatest odds of being in the highest health category in Column 2. In contrast, Column 8 reveals that European immigrants have much lower odds than African immigrants of being in the highest health category versus the lower categories. These results suggest that immigrants report better health in part because of the health benefits associated with emigrating from a country with relatively good aggregate characteristics. However, once these factors are taken into account, immigrants from countries with relatively poor aggregate characteristics have higher adjusted self-reports of health. This implies that health selection is more pronounced for immigrants from countries with poor aggregate characteristics. This also suggests that African immigrants to the United States are exceptionally select.

To evaluate whether country level characteristics also impact the odds of reporting health problems or disabilities that limit work, Table 4.4 presents logistic regression models of work limitations. While most of the individual level demographic and social variables have the expected signs and levels of significance, Table 4.4 shows relatively little variation in work limitations among regional subgroups of black

immigrants. Indeed, across the eight specifications of the model, only two odds ratios on the residual region variable are ever statistically significant.

The country level variables in Table 4.4 show some similarities to the models presented in Table 4.3. When included separately, immigrants from a country that border the United States have lower odds of having work limitations. Similarly, immigrants from countries with high levels of income inequality have greater odds of reporting work limitations. When all five of the country variables are included in Column 8, only the combined gross enrollment ratio in education variable and the Gini Coefficient variable are statistically significant. This is consistent with the results presented for self-rated health in Table 4.3.

While these variables have no significant impact on the region of origin variables, comparing the odds ratios on these region of origin variables in Column 2 to those in Column 8 reveal that the magnitude of the odds ratios drastically increase. The changes suggest that adding the country of origin variables lowers the adjusted odds of reporting work limitations for immigrants from countries with poor aggregate characteristics and increases the odds of reporting work limitations for immigrants from countries with good aggregate characteristics.

IV. CONCLUSION

Many studies in the immigrant health literature discuss health selectivity without discussing the primary causes of migration, which are usually grounded in economic and social contexts. Using a theoretical model that takes into account conditions within the country of origin for immigrants, this chapter presents a conceptual model that provides concrete pathways by which individual characteristics and country level characteristics might impact the health of immigrants.

Moreover, this chapter extends the literature on the health of immigrants by evaluating the relative health advantage of black immigrants. This extension is important because black immigrants are becoming a demographically significant fraction of both the overall immigrant flow to the United States and the black population within the United States. Additionally, this chapter adds to the theoretical understanding of how health selection may operate in the United States.

Using data from the 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, and 2008 CPS, this chapter estimates empirical models of self-assessed health and work limitations among working aged adult black immigrants in the United States. The central individual level findings from the regression models are that health and disability are more favorable for black immigrants who have more years of education, are male, and are married. At the aggregate level, models show that health is more favorable among immigrants who migrate from countries with high combined educational enrollment ratios, low income inequality, and high life expectancy. Models also show that country of origin conditions

explain some portion of differences in health among immigrants. Consequently, including these variables in regression models changes the relative magnitude of health differences among black immigrants from different regions of the world. Doing so also strongly suggests that black immigrants from Africa are strongly selected on good health relative to black immigrants from all other regions of origin.

The use of country of origin variables is a significant contribution to the literature on black immigrants and immigrants in general. However, it is important to highlight that this paper uses average level country variables to predict individual level outcomes. The use of these variables may seem problematic to some because immigrants are never a random sample of their native populations. However, even in the context of selective migration, average variables that capture general conditions in the country of origin have interpretative value for individual-level immigrant health.

For example, consider two immigrants selected from the extreme right (i.e., positive) tails of the income and health distributions in their respective countries. Let's further assume that one of the immigrants is from a country that measures low on most health and economic measures, such as Ethiopia, and the other is from a high income country with fairly good health conditions, such as Trinidad and Tobago. The empirical results in this chapter suggest that aggregate variables, such as income inequality, are associated with better health and lower odds of work limitations after controlling for individual level and other aggregate level characteristics. This means that among highly selected immigrants, immigrants migrating from countries where the level of inequality is

low have better health than immigrants from countries with high levels of inequality. Extrapolating this example, results from health and disability models that include aggregate variables suggest that even in the context of selection, emigrating from a country with good economic and social conditions produces better relative health for immigrants.

Chapter 5. Chapter Five: Conclusion and Future Work

This dissertation examines the health and labor market outcomes of black immigrants in the United States. The ultimate goal of this research is to provide both empirical and theoretical insights into the experiences of black immigrants and to understand how black immigrants inform our understanding of the complex nature of race/ethnicity and discrimination in the United States. This dissertation is informed in part by the growing demographic significance of black immigrants within the United States and the persistence of health and labor market disadvantages of native-born blacks.

A substantial U.S. literature documents large differences in health outcomes by race/ethnicity and nativity. Similarly, native-born blacks also fare worse than whites on almost every measure of economic well-being. Broadly speaking, two competing explanations for these differences have emerged from this literature. The first argues that the persistent disparity between blacks and whites is the result of past and current discrimination. The second argues that although some of the initial disparities between the two groups are explained by discrimination, its persistence is the result of current poverty status and cultural practices that are adverse to good health, family formation, education, and hard work.

In the 1960s and 1970s the debate over the economic, and to a lesser degree, health disparities between blacks and whites were challenged with the arrival of black immigrants from the West Indies. After the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 under Lyndon Johnson, the number of black immigrants from the Caribbean arriving in the United States increased markedly. Between 1960 and 2005, the foreign

born share of the entire black population increased twenty-two fold. Black immigrants have also contributed immensely to the growth of the entire black population. Indeed, black immigrants accounted for 13% of the growth of the black population in the 1980s, 17% of the growth in the 1990s, and 20% in the 2000s. What is more, as birth rates decline for black natives, the birth rate among black immigrants is rising. These demographic changes mean that black immigrants and their descendants will play an increasingly important role in determining the welfare and perceptions of all blacks in the United States as the population grows.

Perhaps more striking than the rapid increase in the foreign-born black population was the economic success of this group. Adjusting for socioeconomic and demographic characteristics, relative to native blacks, West Indian immigrants were more likely to be in the labor force, less likely to be unemployed, and held jobs with greater occupational prestige than native blacks. This finding led many scholars and policy makers to consider West Indian Immigrants a “model minority” for their economic success, in spite of facing racial discrimination that seemed to hamper the native born black population. In addition to the relative economic success of black immigrants over black natives, studies also show that black immigrants are healthier than native blacks on several measures. Although this finding is somewhat expected, given the relative health advantage of other immigrant groups over native-born persons in the United States, the causal route of the immigrant advantage is still an open question.

This dissertation examines the relative importance of the major sociological theories that attempt to explain labor market and health differences between black

immigrants and black natives. These theories invoke the importance of immigrant versus native cultures, emphasize the bias of whites towards black immigrants over black natives, or illustrate the impact of migration selectivity in explaining labor market differences between black natives and black immigrants from different regions and countries of the world. The goals of this work were threefold:

- first, to highlight the importance of migration selectivity in explaining labor market and health differences between black immigrants and black natives;
- second, to demonstrate that black immigrants and black natives are diverse groups; consequently, empirical and theoretical research on black immigrants must account for heterogeneity among black immigrants from different regions and countries of the world and variation among native blacks; and
- third, to highlight that while much can be learned about the role of race in American society by comparing black immigrants to black natives, just as much can be learned from comparing black immigrants to white and other immigrant groups.

Several key findings arise from this dissertation. First, Chapter Two shows that the labor market outcomes of black immigrants are more similar to black internal migrants than all black Americans or black Americans who have never migrated within the United States. This work suggests that whatever differences exist between black immigrants and black natives are largely the result of migration selectivity rather than culture. Although other papers in the literature have produced this result (Butcher 1994; Model 2008), this work is the first to provide a comprehensive analysis of migration selectivity in explaining labor market differences between black natives and black immigrants from all the major sending regions and countries of the world.

The second key finding relates to the labor market assimilation of black immigrants. The literature on labor market assimilation patterns of West Indian

immigrants show most arrival cohorts from this region experience an initial deficit in earnings and employment relative to native-born blacks when they first arrive in the United States. However, with increasing duration within the United States, most cohorts of black immigrants from countries in the West Indies eventually converge and surpass the earnings and employment probabilities of black Americans collectively (Model 1995, 2008).

Chapter Three of this dissertation, which accounts for migration selectivity, shows that only the most recent cohorts of West Indian immigrants are able to catch-up with and over take the employment and earnings probabilities of black native movers; however, this earnings cross-over for West Indian immigrants takes more than 21 years. Among black immigrants from Africa, while more recent cohorts are able to surpass the employment probabilities of native black migrants, no cohort is able to surpass the earnings of native black movers. These results are striking since African immigrants are one of the most educated subgroups within the entire United States population. Indeed, this work shows that the earnings benefit of a graduate degree for some African immigrants is similar to the earnings benefit of a high school degree for native-born blacks. Although some of this deficit can be attributed to speaking poor English and the incompatibility of education earned outside of the United States in the U.S. labor market, this result also suggests that African immigrants might experience a double burden of discrimination—first from their skin shade and second from their country of origin.

The take home point from Chapters Two and Three is that the experiences of black immigrants must be evaluated within the larger context of race and migration

selectivity within the United States. The premise behind using black immigrants, particularly West Indian immigrants, as a “model minority” for black natives (Sowell 1978, 1981, 1983; Waters 1999) is based on the assumption that if black natives work hard and obtain a good education, they could close the labor market gaps between whites and blacks. Given that the labor market outcomes of black natives are substantially worse than those of white natives, the fact that black immigrants have worse outcomes than native-born black movers casts serious doubt on this assertion. In reality, these results highlight the detrimental effect of having dark skin among all blacks— in spite of work hard and high levels of education.

Chapter Four of this dissertation evaluates the role that conditions in immigrants’ countries of origin play in explaining health in the United States. This chapter uses aggregate data on education, economic conditions, life expectancy, and inequality within sending countries of black immigrants to estimate reduced form health and disability equations. The goal of these models is to determine the degree to which these factors explain health differences among black immigrants. The key findings in this chapter are that health and disability outcomes are more favorable for immigrants who migrate from countries with high combined education enrollment ratios, low income inequality, and high life expectancy. This chapter also shows that country of origin conditions explain some portion of differences in health among immigrants. Consequently, accounting for country of origin factors impact the relative magnitude of health differences among black immigrants from different regions of the world. Moreover, the findings also demonstrate

that black immigrants from Africa have an especially high level of health selection among black immigrants.

Although this dissertation adds to the body of knowledge on the labor market and health experiences of black immigrants, this work has several limitations. First, all of the results in this study are produced using cross-sectional data. Longitudinal data is better suited for studying labor market and health changes among black immigrants. However, to date, no longitudinal datasets exist with sufficient numbers of black immigrants to answer the questions outlined in this dissertation. Second, all three empirical chapters implicitly assume no systematic return migration patterns. However, it is likely that the comparisons presented in this study represent differences between Americans and black immigrants who chose to stay in the United States at the time of the survey. This problem introduces selection bias and measurement error into the estimates presented in this dissertation.

The third limitation pertains exclusively to Chapter Four. In order to evaluate whether country of origin conditions explain relative health patterns among black immigrants, data are needed on the exact country of origin for black immigrants. Currently, the Current Population Survey is the only dataset with measures of health that contain both sufficient numbers of black immigrants and data on the exact country of birth for black immigrants. However, the self-assessed health and disability measures contained in these data only offer crude measures of health.

To address some of these limitations, I am in the process of obtaining survey data from Jamaica to evaluate the micro-level determinants of health and labor market

outcomes in Jamaica, the country from which most black immigrants emigrate. This project will use data on anthropometric measures, health, aging, education, fertility, consumption, labor market activity, and social services. Using this survey, I will evaluate differences in labor market activity, physical disability, activity limitations, weight for height, health care utilization, and health access among residents of Jamaica. The goal of this work is twofold. First, I want to explore the pathways by which health is produced within Jamaica. Second, I hope to provide a context for understanding the nature of health and migration selection from this country. Results from this research will help allow me to disentangle the components of immigrants' health and welfare that are attributed to country of origin factors and those that are unique to the host country.

With the next two years I intend to apply for grant funding to support the design of a survey and the assembly of primary data on the impact of racism and discrimination on the health of black immigrants in the United States. Specifically, I hope to determine whether statistical labor market discrimination and perceptions of racism and discrimination by black immigrants are correlated with worse health outcomes and lower utilization of health services. A large literature in both public health and the social sciences suggests that discrimination in the provision of health services, as well as other forms of racism, play roles in eroding the health of black Americans. Since black immigrants and black natives often share the same phenotype, more research is needed to ascertain whether the health profiles of black immigrants will mirror those of other immigrant groups or those of black natives over time and across generations.

Understanding these processes holds the potential for illuminating the significance of race in determining patterns of health and stratification in the United States.

Table 2.1 Descriptive Statistics for Black Natives, White Natives, White Immigrants, and Black Immigrants by Region of Birth in 2000, U.S. Men Aged 25-62

	Black Natives and Immigrants										White Natives and Immigrants			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
	All Black Natives	Black Native Movers	Black Native Non-Movers	All Black Immigrants	Central Americans	Caribbeans	Africans	South Americans	Europeans	Other Black Immigrants	All Non-Hispanic White Natives	Non-Hispanic White Native Movers	Non-Hispanic White Native Non-Movers	Non-Hispanic White Immigrants
Number of Observations	222717	77606	145111	22868	1393	12925	6358	1141	498	553	208355	80081	128274	7867
Positive Wages and Salary* (Mean)	32634.22 (72.48)	37409.81 (136.78)	29888.79 (81.60)	34633.60 (243.97)	31805.95 (1085.66)	33827.93 (317.16)	36008.36 (471.05)	37815.49 (1098.82)	39458.45 (1840.60)	33065.63 (1341.02)	49254.86 (116.78)	55751.40 (218.27)	45114.44 (129.63)	60355.21 (804.98)
Employed (Proportion)	0.78 (0.00)	0.82 (0.00)	0.76 (0.00)	0.82 (0.00)	0.82 (0.01)	0.82 (0.00)	0.84 (0.00)	0.83 (0.01)	0.84 (0.02)	0.82 (0.02)	0.86 (0.00)	0.87 (0.00)	0.85 (0.00)	0.83 (0.00)
Average Weeks worked last year	37.58 (0.04)	39.92 (0.07)	36.33 (0.06)	40.25 (0.13)	38.28 (0.54)	40.01 (0.17)	41.05 (0.23)	40.78 (0.56)	41.38 (0.81)	39.55 (0.81)	45.55 (0.03)	45.79 (0.05)	45.41 (0.04)	43.70 (0.18)
Average Positive Weeks Worked	46.42 (0.03)	47.12 (0.04)	46.02 (0.04)	46.59 (0.08)	45.42 (0.36)	46.85 (0.10)	46.24 (0.15)	47.19 (0.34)	47.15 (0.48)	45.85 (0.53)	48.79 (0.02)	48.76 (0.03)	48.81 (0.02)	47.81 (0.12)
Self Employed (Proportion)	0.05 (0.00)	0.05 (0.00)	0.05 (0.00)	0.08 (0.00)	0.05 (0.01)	0.07 (0.00)	0.09 (0.00)	0.07 (0.01)	0.06 (0.01)	0.08 (0.01)	0.14 (0.00)	0.13 (0.00)	0.14 (0.00)	0.18 (0.00)
Age (Mean)	41.28 (0.02)	42.69 (0.04)	40.53 (0.03)	40.91 (0.06)	40.35 (0.27)	41.96 (0.09)	39.28 (0.11)	42.03 (0.29)	36.62 (0.33)	38.08 (0.39)	42.73 (0.02)	43.34 (0.04)	42.34 (0.03)	43.52 (0.11)
Married (Proportion)	0.47 (0.00)	0.53 (0.00)	0.44 (0.00)	0.55 (0.00)	0.55 (0.01)	0.56 (0.00)	0.51 (0.01)	0.58 (0.01)	0.46 (0.02)	0.53 (0.02)	0.69 (0.00)	0.70 (0.00)	0.69 (0.00)	0.73 (0.01)
Education Mean in Years	12.62 (0.00)	13.05 (0.01)	12.39 (0.00)	13.22 (0.02)	11.74 (0.07)	12.66 (0.02)	14.62 (0.03)	13.09 (0.07)	13.94 (0.10)	13.82 (0.11)	13.58 (0.00)	14.12 (0.01)	13.25 (0.01)	14.21 (0.03)
Less than High School (Proportion)	0.15 (0.00)	0.11 (0.00)	0.17 (0.00)	0.14 (0.00)	0.32 (0.01)	0.17 (0.00)	0.05 (0.00)	0.11 (0.01)	0.04 (0.01)	0.10 (0.01)	0.07 (0.00)	0.05 (0.00)	0.08 (0.00)	0.09 (0.00)
High School Degree (Proportion)	0.41 (0.00)	0.34 (0.00)	0.45 (0.00)	0.31 (0.00)	0.33 (0.01)	0.37 (0.00)	0.18 (0.00)	0.38 (0.01)	0.25 (0.02)	0.25 (0.02)	0.32 (0.00)	0.24 (0.00)	0.37 (0.00)	0.22 (0.00)
Some College (Proportion)	0.24 (0.00)	0.27 (0.00)	0.22 (0.00)	0.20 (0.00)	0.17 (0.01)	0.20 (0.00)	0.19 (0.00)	0.19 (0.01)	0.29 (0.02)	0.18 (0.02)	0.23 (0.00)	0.23 (0.00)	0.23 (0.00)	0.17 (0.00)
Associates Degree (Proportion)	0.06 (0.00)	0.07 (0.00)	0.05 (0.00)	0.08 (0.00)	0.06 (0.01)	0.08 (0.00)	0.09 (0.00)	0.10 (0.01)	0.08 (0.01)	0.07 (0.01)	0.07 (0.00)	0.07 (0.00)	0.07 (0.00)	0.07 (0.00)
Bachelors (Proportion)	0.10 (0.00)	0.13 (0.00)	0.08 (0.00)	0.15 (0.00)	0.07 (0.01)	0.11 (0.00)	0.25 (0.01)	0.12 (0.01)	0.19 (0.02)	0.25 (0.02)	0.20 (0.00)	0.24 (0.00)	0.17 (0.00)	0.23 (0.00)
Masters (Proportion)	0.03 (0.00)	0.05 (0.00)	0.02 (0.00)	0.07 (0.00)	0.02 (0.00)	0.04 (0.00)	0.15 (0.00)	0.06 (0.01)	0.08 (0.01)	0.08 (0.01)	0.07 (0.00)	0.10 (0.00)	0.05 (0.00)	0.13 (0.00)
Graduate (Proportion)	0.01 (0.00)	0.02 (0.00)	0.01 (0.00)	0.05 (0.00)	0.02 (0.00)	0.03 (0.00)	0.10 (0.00)	0.04 (0.01)	0.07 (0.01)	0.06 (0.01)	0.04 (0.00)	0.06 (0.00)	0.03 (0.00)	0.10 (0.00)

Notes: The sample consists of black and white males aged 25-62. The black sample is taken from the 5% IPUMS Sample of the 2000 United States Census of Population. The white sample is generated by taking a 1 and 10 sample of whites from the 5% IPUMS Sample of the 2000 United States Census of Population. The sample excludes individuals that live in institutions or other group quarters, individuals born abroad to American parent, individuals born in U.S. outlying areas, individuals with any type of disability, individuals with negative business income, farm, or wage/salary income. Standard errors are shown in parenthesis. * This wage/salary variable is calculated using only individuals with wage/salaries and weeks worked that are greater than zero.

Table 2.2 Descriptive Statistics for Black Natives, White Natives, White Immigrants, and Black Immigrants by Region of Birth in 2005-2007, U.S. Men Aged 25-62

	Black Natives and Immigrants										White Natives and Immigrants			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
	All Native Blacks	Black Native Movers	Black Native Non-Movers	All Black Immigrants	Central American	Caribbeans	Africans	South Americans	Europeans	Other Black Immigrants	Hispanic Whites	Non-Hispanic White Native Movers	Non-Hispanic White Non-movers	Non-Hispanic White Immigrants
Number of Observations	129655	46682	82973	20191	873	10399	6933	1002	379	605	138169	54660	83509	5883
Positive Wages and Salary* (Mean)	38731.61 (103.06)	45185.14 (203.86)	34942.26 (108.93)	40379.71 (273.59)	33201.08 (951.78)	39785.23 (355.09)	41287.71 (510.13)	43014.46 (1279.73)	53167.83 (2577.64)	38391.96 (1619.40)	60241.62 (166.44)	68590.77 (300.23)	54698.04 (189.47)	72817.03 (1067.70)
Employed (Proportion)	0.84 (0.00)	0.87 (0.00)	0.83 (0.00)	0.87 (0.00)	0.88 (0.01)	0.87 (0.00)	0.87 (0.00)	0.87 (0.01)	0.86 (0.02)	0.89 (0.01)	0.87 (0.00)	0.88 (0.00)	0.87 (0.00)	0.84 (0.00)
Average Weeks worked last year	40.60 (0.05)	42.17 (0.08)	39.72 (0.07)	43.59 (0.11)	43.34 (0.55)	43.66 (0.16)	43.53 (0.19)	43.94 (0.52)	43.20 (0.87)	43.33 (0.66)	45.92 (0.04)	45.95 (0.06)	45.90 (0.05)	44.70 (0.20)
Average Positive Weeks Worked	45.99 (0.04)	46.59 (0.06)	45.63 (0.05)	46.89 (0.08)	46.77 (0.39)	47.06 (0.11)	46.49 (0.14)	47.91 (0.33)	47.59 (0.56)	46.73 (0.47)	48.36 (0.03)	48.37 (0.04)	48.36 (0.03)	47.74 (0.13)
Self Employed (Proportion)	0.06 (0.00)	0.07 (0.00)	0.06 (0.00)	0.10 (0.00)	0.08 (0.01)	0.10 (0.00)	0.11 (0.00)	0.08 (0.01)	0.08 (0.01)	0.09 (0.01)	0.15 (0.00)	0.14 (0.00)	0.15 (0.00)	0.21 (0.01)
Age (Mean)	43.05 (0.03)	44.15 (0.05)	42.43 (0.04)	42.79 (0.07)	41.60 (0.36)	43.88 (0.10)	41.59 (0.11)	43.51 (0.32)	40.08 (0.41)	40.10 (0.38)	44.47 (0.03)	45.12 (0.04)	44.04 (0.04)	44.34 (0.13)
Married (Proportion)	0.49 (0.00)	0.55 (0.00)	0.46 (0.00)	0.58 (0.00)	0.55 (0.02)	0.59 (0.00)	0.57 (0.01)	0.61 (0.02)	0.52 (0.03)	0.53 (0.02)	0.70 (0.00)	0.71 (0.00)	0.69 (0.00)	0.72 (0.01)
Education Mean in Years	13.03 (0.01)	13.49 (0.01)	12.76 (0.01)	13.58 (0.02)	11.76 (0.09)	13.02 (0.02)	14.61 (0.03)	13.25 (0.08)	14.57 (0.12)	13.93 (0.11)	13.93 (0.01)	14.44 (0.01)	13.59 (0.01)	14.57 (0.03)
Less than High School (Proportion)	0.11 (0.00)	0.07 (0.00)	0.13 (0.00)	0.11 (0.00)	0.34 (0.02)	0.13 (0.00)	0.05 (0.00)	0.10 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.09 (0.01)	0.05 (0.00)	0.04 (0.00)	0.06 (0.00)	0.06 (0.00)
High School Degree (Proportion)	0.40 (0.00)	0.33 (0.00)	0.44 (0.00)	0.31 (0.00)	0.32 (0.02)	0.38 (0.00)	0.19 (0.00)	0.40 (0.02)	0.20 (0.02)	0.26 (0.02)	0.30 (0.00)	0.22 (0.00)	0.36 (0.00)	0.22 (0.01)
Some College (Proportion)	0.24 (0.00)	0.26 (0.00)	0.22 (0.00)	0.18 (0.01)	0.15 (0.00)	0.19 (0.00)	0.17 (0.00)	0.17 (0.01)	0.22 (0.02)	0.17 (0.02)	0.21 (0.00)	0.21 (0.00)	0.22 (0.00)	0.16 (0.00)
Associates Degree (Proportion)	0.07 (0.00)	0.09 (0.00)	0.07 (0.00)	0.09 (0.01)	0.06 (0.00)	0.09 (0.00)	0.09 (0.00)	0.10 (0.01)	0.11 (0.02)	0.07 (0.01)	0.08 (0.00)	0.08 (0.00)	0.09 (0.00)	0.07 (0.00)
Bachelors (Proportion)	0.13 (0.00)	0.17 (0.00)	0.10 (0.00)	0.18 (0.01)	0.09 (0.01)	0.13 (0.00)	0.26 (0.01)	0.14 (0.01)	0.25 (0.02)	0.26 (0.02)	0.22 (0.00)	0.27 (0.00)	0.19 (0.00)	0.25 (0.01)
Masters (Proportion)	0.04 (0.00)	0.06 (0.00)	0.03 (0.00)	0.09 (0.01)	0.03 (0.01)	0.05 (0.00)	0.16 (0.00)	0.06 (0.01)	0.12 (0.02)	0.07 (0.01)	0.08 (0.00)	0.12 (0.00)	0.06 (0.00)	0.14 (0.00)
Graduate (Proportion)	0.01 (0.00)	0.02 (0.00)	0.01 (0.00)	0.05 (0.01)	0.01 (0.00)	0.02 (0.00)	0.08 (0.00)	0.03 (0.01)	0.08 (0.01)	0.06 (0.01)	0.04 (0.00)	0.06 (0.00)	0.03 (0.00)	0.11 (0.00)

Notes: The sample consists of black and white males aged 25-62. The black sample is taken from the 2005 to 2007 IPUMS samples of the American Community Survey. The white sample is generated by taking a 1 and 10 sample of the 2005 to 2007 IPUMS samples of the American Community Survey. The sample excludes individuals that live in institutions or other group quarters, individuals born abroad to American parent, individuals born in U.S. outlying areas, individuals with any type of disability, individuals with negative business income, farm, or wage/salary income. Standard errors are shown in parenthesis. * This wage/salary variable is calculated using only individuals with wage/salaries and weeks worked that are greater than zero.

Table 2.3 Determinants of Employment Status, Weekly Earnings, and Self-Employment:
 Estimated Regression Coefficients for a Pooled Sample of
 Black Natives and Black Immigrants, U.S. Men Aged 25-62

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Coefficients					
	Whether Employed	Log Weekly Earnings	Self- Employed	Whether Employed	Log Weekly Earnings	Self- Employed
(Reference Group: Black Natives)						
Black Immigrants	0.009*** (0.003)	-0.102*** (0.007)	0.031*** (0.002)	0.307*** (0.016)	0.393*** (0.038)	0.066*** (0.013)
Education in Years	0.018*** (0.000)	0.113*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.000)	0.022*** (0.001)	0.120*** (0.001)	0.005*** (0.000)
Black Immigrant * Education				-0.022*** (0.001)	-0.036*** (0.003)	-0.003*** (0.001)
Experience in Years	0.006*** (0.000)	0.023*** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.000)	0.006*** (0.000)	0.024*** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.000)
Experience Squared	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)
Speaks Poor English	0.023** (0.009)	-0.057*** (0.020)	-0.015** (0.006)	-0.015 (0.009)	-0.121*** (0.020)	-0.020*** (0.006)
Married	0.081*** (0.002)	0.189*** (0.004)	0.007*** (0.001)	0.080*** (0.002)	0.188*** (0.004)	0.007*** (0.001)
Constant	0.517*** (0.009)	4.311*** (0.021)	-0.063*** (0.006)	0.466*** (0.010)	4.220*** (0.021)	-0.069*** (0.006)
Observations	470644	383778	470644	470644	383778	470644
R-squared	0.058	0.155	0.009	0.060	0.156	0.009

Sources: The sample consists of black men between the ages of 25-62. The black men are taken from the 5% Integrated Public Use Micro Series sample of the 2000 Census and the 2001 to 2007 waves of the American Community Survey. These regressions also include variables that capture current state of residence and survey year indicators. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. Coefficients are weighted using person weights. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 2.4 Determinants of Employment Status, Weekly Earnings, and Self Employment Status:
 Estimated Regression Coefficients for Blacks Natives, Black Movers,
 Black Non-movers, and Subgroups of Black Immigrants, U.S. Men, Aged 25-62

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
VARIABLES	Coefficients					
	Whether Employed	Log Weekly Earnings	Self- Employed	Whether Employed	Log Weekly Earnings	Self- Employed
(Reference Group: Black Natives)						
Central American	0.049*** (0.012)	-0.011 (0.025)	0.012 (0.009)	0.318*** (0.058)	0.467*** (0.122)	0.110** (0.050)
Caribbean	0.033*** (0.004)	-0.033*** (0.009)	0.028*** (0.003)	0.341*** (0.020)	0.377*** (0.047)	0.060*** (0.017)
African	-0.025*** (0.005)	-0.218*** (0.012)	0.036*** (0.004)	0.182*** (0.030)	0.129* (0.073)	0.115*** (0.022)
South American	0.029** (0.012)	-0.028 (0.022)	0.034*** (0.011)	0.304*** (0.058)	0.405*** (0.120)	0.048 (0.050)
Europe	-0.024 (0.016)	0.111** (0.045)	0.025 (0.016)	0.170 (0.106)	0.331 (0.316)	-0.042 (0.103)
Other Black Immigrants	-0.015 (0.014)	-0.151*** (0.035)	0.034** (0.013)	0.314*** (0.088)	0.254 (0.190)	-0.014 (0.055)
Education in Years	0.019*** (0.000)	0.115*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.000)	0.022*** (0.001)	0.120*** (0.001)	0.005*** (0.000)
Interaction of Education with:						
Central American				-0.021*** (0.005)	-0.038*** (0.009)	-0.008* (0.004)
Caribbean				-0.024*** (0.001)	-0.031*** (0.004)	-0.002* (0.001)
African				-0.014*** (0.002)	-0.024*** (0.005)	-0.005*** (0.002)
South American				-0.021*** (0.004)	-0.032*** (0.009)	-0.001 (0.004)
Europe				-0.014* (0.007)	-0.015 (0.022)	0.005 (0.008)
Other Black Immigrants				-0.024*** (0.006)	-0.029** (0.014)	0.003 (0.004)
Constant	0.511*** (0.009)	4.290*** (0.021)	-0.062*** (0.006)	0.467*** (0.010)	4.222*** (0.021)	-0.070*** (0.006)
Observations	470644	383778	470644	470644	383778	470644
R-squared	0.059	0.157	0.009	0.060	0.158	0.009

Notes: The sample consists of black men aged 25-62. The sample is taken from the Integrated Public Use Micro Series (IPUMS) 5% samples of the 2000 Census and the 2001 to 2007 waves of the American Community Survey. These regressions also include indicators for survey year, current state of residence, experience, experience squared, marital status, and a variable that captures whether an individual speaks English well. Robust standard errors are used. Coefficients are weighted using person weights.

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 2.5 Determinants of Employment Status, Weekly Earnings, and Self Employment Status:
 Estimated Regression Coefficients for Blacks Natives Movers,
 Black Non-movers, and Black Immigrants, U.S. Men Aged 25-62

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Coefficients					
VARIABLES	Whether Employed	Log Weekly Earnings	Self- Employed	Whether Employed	Log Weekly Earnings	Self- Employed
(Reference Group: Native Black Movers)						
Black Non-movers	-0.020*** (0.002)	-0.069*** (0.005)	0.003* (0.001)	-0.146*** (0.014)	0.096*** (0.030)	0.003 (0.010)
Black Immigrants	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.142*** (0.008)	0.033*** (0.003)	0.210*** (0.018)	0.421*** (0.042)	0.069*** (0.014)
Black Non-Movers*Education				0.010*** (0.001)	-0.012*** (0.002)	0.000 (0.001)
Black Immigrant*Education				-0.015*** (0.001)	-0.041*** (0.003)	-0.003*** (0.001)
Education in Years	0.019*** (0.000)	0.111*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.000)	0.016*** (0.001)	0.125*** (0.002)	0.005*** (0.001)
Constant	0.542*** (0.009)	4.397*** (0.022)	-0.067*** (0.007)	0.569*** (0.013)	4.208*** (0.028)	-0.073*** (0.009)
Observations	470644	383778	470644	470644	383778	470644
R-squared	0.058	0.156	0.009	0.061	0.158	0.009

Sources: The sample consists of black men between the ages of 25-62. The black men are taken from the 5% Public Use Sample of the 2000 Census and the 2001 to 2007 waves of the American Community Survey. These regressions also variables that capture experience, experience squared, speaking poor English, marital status, current state of residence indicators, and survey year indicators. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. Coefficients are weighted using person weights. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 2.6. Determinants of Employment Status, Weekly Earnings, and Self-Employment Status:
Estimated Regression Coefficients for Black Native Movers, Black Non-movers and Black Immigrants,
U.S. Men Aged 25-62

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Coefficients					
VARIABLES	Whether Employed	Log Weekly Earnings	Self-Employed	Whether Employed	Log Weekly Earnings	Self-Employed
(Reference Group: Native Black Movers)						
Black Non-Movers	-0.019*** (0.002)	-0.067*** (0.005)	0.002* (0.001)	-0.146*** (0.0139)	0.094*** (0.030)	0.00302 (0.010)
Central American	0.038*** (0.012)	-0.052** (0.025)	0.014 (0.010)	0.221*** (0.0587)	0.497*** (0.124)	0.113** (0.050)
Caribbean	0.021*** (0.004)	-0.074*** (0.009)	0.030*** (0.003)	0.245*** (0.0219)	0.407*** (0.050)	0.0625*** (0.018)
African	-0.036*** (0.005)	-0.254*** (0.013)	0.038*** (0.004)	0.085*** (0.031)	0.158** (0.075)	0.118*** (0.023)
South American	0.017 (0.012)	-0.070*** (0.022)	0.036*** (0.011)	0.206*** (0.059)	0.428*** (0.122)	0.0508 (0.051)
Europe	-0.036** (0.016)	0.072 (0.045)	0.026* (0.016)	0.073 (0.106)	0.361 (0.317)	-0.0385 (0.103)
Other Black Immigrant	-0.026* (0.014)	-0.188*** (0.035)	0.035*** (0.013)	0.217** (0.088)	0.286 (0.191)	-0.0107 (0.055)
Education in Years	0.019*** (0.000)	0.111*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.000)	0.016*** (0.000)	0.125*** (0.002)	0.005*** (0.000)
Interaction of Education with:						
Central American				-0.0147*** (0.005)	-0.043*** (0.009)	-0.008* (0.004)
Caribbean				-0.0171*** (0.002)	-0.036*** (0.004)	-0.002* (0.001)
African				-0.008*** (0.002)	-0.029*** (0.005)	-0.006*** (0.002)
South American				-0.0141*** (0.004)	-0.037*** (0.010)	-0.001 (0.003)
Europe				-0.007 (0.007)	-0.021 (0.022)	0.005 (0.008)
Other Black Immigrant				-0.017*** (0.006)	-0.034** (0.014)	0.003 (0.004)
Black Non-Movers				0.010*** (0.001)	-0.012*** (0.002)	-1.47e-05 (0.000)
Constant	0.535*** (0.009)	4.374*** (0.022)	-0.065*** (0.007)	0.570*** (0.013)	4.211*** (0.028)	-0.074*** (0.009)
Observations	470644	383778	470644	470644	383778	470644
R-squared	0.059	0.158	0.009	0.061	0.159	0.009

Notes: The sample consists of black men between the ages of 25-62. The sample is taken from the 5% Integrated Public Use Micro Series (IPUMS) samples of the 2000 Census and the IPUMS samples of the 2001 to 2007 waves of the American Community Survey. These regressions also variables that capture experience, experience squared, speaking poor English, marital status, current state of residence indicators, and survey year indicators. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. Coefficients are weighted using person weights. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 2.7 Determinants of Employment Status, Weekly Earnings, and Self-Employment Status: Estimated Regression Coefficients for Black Natives, Black Movers, Black Non-movers, and Country Subgroups of Black Immigrants, U.S. Men, Ages 25-62

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Whether Employed	Log Weekly Earnings	Self-Employed	Whether Employed	Log Weekly Earnings	Self-Employed
Coefficients						
(Reference Group: Native Black Movers)						
Black Non-movers	-0.019*** (0.002)	-0.066*** (0.005)	0.002* (0.001)	-0.146*** (0.014)	0.094*** (0.030)	0.003 (0.010)
Mexico	0.072*** (0.017)	-0.136*** (0.043)	0.016 (0.011)	0.168** (0.075)	0.753*** (0.201)	0.128*** (0.046)
Other Central Americans	0.023 (0.016)	-0.028 (0.029)	0.011 (0.013)	0.224*** (0.083)	0.474*** (0.171)	0.101 (0.079)
Dominican Republic	0.036* (0.019)	-0.079** (0.039)	0.044*** (0.016)	0.360*** (0.087)	0.898*** (0.214)	-0.032 (0.080)
Haiti	0.019*** (0.006)	-0.180*** (0.014)	0.011** (0.005)	0.299*** (0.032)	0.394*** (0.071)	0.005 (0.026)
Jamaica	0.024*** (0.006)	-0.018 (0.014)	0.044*** (0.005)	0.182*** (0.035)	0.420*** (0.089)	0.108*** (0.032)
Trinidad and Tobago	0.025** (0.010)	-0.044** (0.021)	0.031*** (0.008)	0.209*** (0.062)	0.164 (0.128)	0.108** (0.048)
Other Caribbeans	0.013 (0.009)	-0.025 (0.017)	0.027*** (0.007)	0.252*** (0.049)	0.366*** (0.101)	0.067 (0.044)
Guyana	0.017 (0.013)	-0.053** (0.024)	0.036*** (0.012)	0.180** (0.072)	0.279** (0.137)	0.031 (0.065)
Other South Americans	0.020 (0.021)	-0.143*** (0.048)	0.035** (0.016)	0.283*** (0.090)	0.857*** (0.217)	0.099* (0.057)
Europe	-0.035** (0.016)	0.072 (0.045)	0.026* (0.016)	0.074 (0.106)	0.354 (0.316)	-0.040 (0.103)
Ghana	0.008 (0.011)	-0.227*** (0.024)	0.007 (0.008)	0.169*** (0.063)	0.052 (0.158)	0.044 (0.054)
Nigeria	-0.051*** (0.009)	-0.224*** (0.026)	0.058*** (0.008)	0.115* (0.068)	0.007 (0.211)	0.104 (0.064)
Ethiopia	-0.042*** (0.013)	-0.335*** (0.050)	0.069*** (0.012)	0.219*** (0.071)	0.675** (0.329)	0.136** (0.062)
Other Africans	-0.038*** (0.006)	-0.257*** (0.016)	0.028*** (0.005)	0.037 (0.043)	0.175** (0.082)	0.163*** (0.030)
Other Black Immigrants	-0.026* (0.014)	-0.194*** (0.035)	0.034** (0.013)	0.219** (0.088)	0.264 (0.191)	-0.016 (0.055)
education	0.019*** (0.000)	0.111*** (0.000)	0.004*** (0.000)	0.016*** (0.001)	0.124*** (0.002)	0.005*** (0.001)

**Interaction of Education
with:**

Mexico				-0.008 (0.006)	-0.077*** (0.018)	-0.010*** (0.004)
Other Central Americans				-0.016** (0.006)	-0.038*** (0.012)	-0.007 (0.006)
Dominican Republic				-0.026*** (0.007)	-0.077*** (0.016)	0.006 (0.007)
Haiti				-0.021*** (0.002)	-0.043*** (0.005)	0.001 (0.002)
Jamaica				-0.012*** (0.003)	-0.033*** (0.007)	-0.005** (0.002)
Trinidad and Tobago				-0.014*** (0.004)	-0.015 (0.010)	-0.006* (0.004)
Other Caribbeans				-0.018*** (0.004)	-0.029*** (0.008)	-0.003 (0.003)
Guyana				-0.012** (0.005)	-0.025** (0.010)	0.000 (0.005)
Other South Americans				-0.020*** (0.007)	-0.076*** (0.017)	-0.005 (0.004)
Europe				-0.007 (0.007)	-0.020 (0.022)	0.005 (0.008)
Ghana				-0.011** (0.004)	-0.020* (0.011)	-0.003 (0.004)
Nigeria				-0.010** (0.004)	-0.016 (0.014)	-0.003 (0.004)
Ethiopia				-0.018*** (0.005)	-0.071*** (0.026)	-0.005 (0.004)
Other Africans				-0.005* (0.003)	-0.031*** (0.006)	-0.010*** (0.002)
Other Black Immigrants				-0.017*** (0.006)	-0.033** (0.014)	0.004 (0.004)
Black Non-movers				0.010*** (0.001)	-0.012*** (0.002)	-1.83e-05 (0.001)
Constant	0.534*** (0.009)	4.375*** (0.022)	-0.065*** (0.007)	0.570*** (0.013)	4.213*** (0.028)	-0.073*** (0.001)
Observations	470644	383778	470644	470644	383778	470644
R-squared	0.059	0.159	0.010	0.062	0.160	0.010

Notes: The sample consists of black men between the ages of 25-62. The sample is taken from the 5% Integrated Public Use Micro Series (IPUMS) samples of the 2000 Census and the IPUMS samples of the 2001 to 2007 waves of the American Community Survey. These regressions also variables that capture experience, experience squared, speaking poor English, marital status, current state of residence indicators, and survey year indicators. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. Coefficients are weighted using person weights. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 3.1 Descriptive Statistics for Black Natives, White Natives, White Immigrants, and Black Immigrants by Region of Birth in 1980-2007, U.S. Men Aged 25-62

	Black Natives and Immigrants										White Natives and Immigrants			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
	All Native Blacks	Black Native Movers	Black Native Non-Movers	All Black Immigrants	Central American	Caribbeans	Africans	South Americans	Europeans	Other Black	All Non-Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White Native Movers	Non-Hispanic White Non-movers	Non-Hispanic White Immigrants
Number of Observations	99477	37608	61869	76569	4451	43822	20795	4046	1506	1949	508065	197546	310519	308407
Positive Weekly Earnings (Mean)*	874.83 (4.78)	980.54 (8.01)	807.83 (5.91)	915.15 (6.71)	895.07 (29.71)	885.42 (6.38)	942.23 (9.99)	961.96 (24.71)	1111.90 (48.08)	1093.02 (173.89)	1264.43 (2.92)	1412.78 (4.99)	1169.91 (3.56)	1489.24 (4.72)
Positive Earnings (Mean)*	38351.22 (110.39)	44014.24 (200.44)	34760.35 (125.53)	39928.76 (141.47)	37063.39 (551.37)	39084.08 (176.35)	41169.32 (300.69)	43012.18 (601.65)	48380.52 (1204.29)	39151.34 (878.45)	59281.13 (80.64)	66256.67 (146.64)	54836.15 (92.33)	68660.17 (127.88)
Employed (Proportion)	0.84 (0.00)	0.86 (0.00)	0.83 (0.00)	0.85 (0.00)	0.86 (0.01)	0.85 (0.00)	0.85 (0.00)	0.86 (0.01)	0.86 (0.01)	0.83 (0.01)	0.87 (0.00)	0.88 (0.00)	0.87 (0.00)	0.84 (0.00)
Average Weeks worked last year	40.26 (0.06)	41.93 (0.09)	39.24 (0.08)	41.62 (0.06)	41.14 (0.27)	41.76 (0.08)	41.30 (0.12)	42.73 (0.27)	41.82 (0.45)	40.45 (0.42)	46.16 (0.02)	46.19 (0.03)	46.15 (0.02)	44.52 (0.03)
Average Positive Weeks Worked	46.14 (0.04)	46.84 (0.06)	45.70 (0.05)	46.38 (0.04)	46.11 (0.19)	46.57 (0.06)	45.86 (0.09)	47.25 (0.18)	46.86 (0.29)	46.08 (0.28)	48.49 (0.01)	48.47 (0.02)	48.50 (0.02)	47.80 (0.02)
Self Employed (Proportion)	0.05 (0.00)	0.05 (0.00)	0.05 (0.00)	0.08 (0.00)	0.06 (0.00)	0.08 (0.00)	0.09 (0.00)	0.07 (0.00)	0.06 (0.01)	0.08 (0.01)	0.14 (0.00)	0.13 (0.00)	0.15 (0.00)	0.18 (0.00)
Age (Mean)	41.16 (0.03)	42.54 (0.05)	40.32 (0.04)	40.68 (0.04)	40.23 (0.15)	41.62 (0.05)	39.16 (0.06)	41.28 (0.16)	36.89 (0.22)	38.46 (0.21)	42.59 (0.01)	43.17 (0.02)	42.22 (0.02)	43.33 (0.02)
Married (Proportion)	0.52 (0.00)	0.57 (0.00)	0.48 (0.00)	0.57 (0.00)	0.59 (0.01)	0.59 (0.00)	0.53 (0.00)	0.62 (0.01)	0.48 (0.01)	0.54 (0.01)	0.72 (0.00)	0.73 (0.00)	0.72 (0.00)	0.74 (0.00)
Education Mean in Years	12.45 (0.01)	12.78 (0.01)	12.25 (0.01)	13.06 (0.01)	11.80 (0.04)	12.48 (0.01)	14.49 (0.02)	12.95 (0.04)	13.66 (0.06)	13.54 (0.06)	13.45 (0.00)	13.97 (0.01)	13.13 (0.00)	13.67 (0.01)
Experience	22.71 (0.03)	23.76 (0.06)	22.06 (0.04)	21.62 (0.04)	22.43 (0.15)	23.14 (0.05)	18.67 (0.06)	22.33 (0.16)	17.23 (0.23)	18.92 (0.22)	23.13 (0.02)	23.20 (0.02)	23.09 (0.02)	23.65 (0.02)
Speaks Poor English	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.08 (0.00)	0.21 (0.01)	0.09 (0.00)	0.04 (0.00)	0.06 (0.00)	0.02 (0.00)	0.11 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.08 (0.00)
Immigrated Prior to 1970 (Proportion)				0.15 (0.00)	0.28 (0.01)	0.18 (0.00)	0.04 (0.00)	0.15 (0.01)	0.28 (0.01)	0.13 (0.01)				0.41 (0.00)
Immigrated between 1971-1975 (Proportion)				0.12 (0.00)	0.14 (0.01)	0.14 (0.00)	0.09 (0.00)	0.12 (0.01)	0.12 (0.01)	0.07 (0.01)				0.09 (0.00)
Immigrated between 1976-1980 (Proportion)				0.16 (0.00)	0.15 (0.01)	0.17 (0.00)	0.13 (0.00)	0.16 (0.01)	0.14 (0.01)	0.14 (0.01)				0.12 (0.00)
Immigrated between 1981-1985 (Proportion)				0.16 (0.00)	0.13 (0.00)	0.17 (0.00)	0.16 (0.00)	0.19 (0.01)	0.15 (0.01)	0.12 (0.01)				0.08 (0.00)
Immigrated between 1986-1990 (Proportion)				0.15 (0.00)	0.13 (0.01)	0.16 (0.00)	0.15 (0.00)	0.18 (0.01)	0.12 (0.01)	0.15 (0.01)				0.10 (0.00)
Immigrated between 1991-1995 (Proportion)				0.10 (0.00)	0.07 (0.00)	0.09 (0.00)	0.13 (0.00)	0.09 (0.00)	0.08 (0.01)	0.12 (0.01)				0.08 (0.00)
Immigrated between 1996-2000 (Proportion)				0.11 (0.00)	0.08 (0.00)	0.07 (0.00)	0.21 (0.00)	0.07 (0.00)	0.08 (0.01)	0.18 (0.01)				0.09 (0.00)
Immigrated after 2000 (Proportion)				0.05 (0.00)	0.03 (0.00)	0.03 (0.00)	0.10 (0.00)	0.04 (0.00)	0.03 (0.00)	0.09 (0.01)				0.03 (0.00)

Notes: The sample consists of black and white males aged 25-62. The black sample is taken from the 1980 to 2007 IPUMS samples of the American Community Survey. The white sample is generated by taking a 1 and 10 sample of the 1980 to 2007 IPUMS samples of the American Community Survey. The sample excludes individuals that live in institutions or other group quarters, individuals born abroad to American parent, individuals born in U.S. outlying areas, individuals with any type of disability, individuals with negative business income, farm, or wage/salary income. Standard errors are shown in parenthesis. * This wage/salary variable is calculated using only individuals with wage/salaries and weeks worked that are greater than zero. Yearly earnings and weekly earnings are adjusted to reflect 2006 dollars.

Table 3.2 Assimilation Models of Log Weekly Earnings for Black Natives, Black Immigrants, and Non-Hispanic White Natives, U.S. Men Aged 25-62

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Coefficients					
Variables	Weekly Earnings					
U.S.-Born Blacks :						
<i>(Reference: Non-Hispanic White Natives)</i>						
Black Natives	-0.359*** (0.003)	-0.222*** (0.003)	-0.223*** (0.003)			
Black Mover				-0.223*** (0.004)	-0.169*** (0.004)	-0.169*** (0.004)
Black Non-Mover				-0.444*** (0.004)	-0.259*** (0.003)	-0.259*** (0.003)
Year of Arrival: (Reference: Non-Hispanic White Natives)						
Prior to 1970	-0.119*** (0.008)	-0.191*** (0.007)	-0.415*** (0.013)	-0.118*** (0.008)	-0.190*** (0.007)	-0.414*** (0.013)
1971-1975	-0.212*** (0.008)	-0.254*** (0.008)	-0.444*** (0.013)	-0.211*** (0.008)	-0.254*** (0.008)	-0.444*** (0.013)
1976-1980	-0.292*** (0.008)	-0.281*** (0.007)	-0.459*** (0.011)	-0.292*** (0.008)	-0.281*** (0.007)	-0.459*** (0.011)
1981-1985	-0.318*** (0.007)	-0.284*** (0.007)	-0.456*** (0.012)	-0.318*** (0.007)	-0.284*** (0.007)	-0.456*** (0.012)
1986-1990	-0.361*** (0.007)	-0.286*** (0.007)	-0.417*** (0.010)	-0.362*** (0.007)	-0.286*** (0.007)	-0.417*** (0.010)
1991-1995	-0.411*** (0.009)	-0.311*** (0.009)	-0.423*** (0.012)	-0.411*** (0.009)	-0.311*** (0.009)	-0.424*** (0.012)
1996-2000	-0.503*** (0.009)	-0.386*** (0.009)	-0.434*** (0.010)	-0.504*** (0.009)	-0.386*** (0.009)	-0.434*** (0.010)
After 2000	-0.643*** (0.013)	-0.496*** (0.014)	-0.503*** (0.014)	-0.643*** (0.013)	-0.496*** (0.014)	-0.503*** (0.014)
Years Since Arrival: (Reference: Immigrants with 0-5 years of U.S. Residence)						
6-10			0.093*** (0.010)			0.093*** (0.010)
11-15			0.164*** (0.011)			0.164*** (0.011)
16-20			0.204*** (0.011)			0.204*** (0.011)
More that 21			0.238*** (0.012)			0.238*** (0.012)
Education		0.109*** (0.000)	0.109*** (0.000)		0.109*** (0.000)	0.109*** (0.000)
Experience		0.040*** (0.000)	0.040*** (0.000)		0.040*** (0.000)	0.040*** (0.000)
Experience Squared		-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)		-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)
Poor English		-0.061*** (0.010)	-0.045*** (0.010)		-0.062*** (0.010)	-0.046*** (0.010)
Married		0.237*** (0.002)	0.236*** (0.002)		0.236*** (0.002)	0.235*** (0.002)
Constant	6.856*** (0.005)	4.576*** (0.011)	4.583*** (0.011)	6.856*** (0.005)	4.589*** (0.011)	4.595*** (0.011)
Observations	638761	638761	638761	638761	638761	638761
R-squared	0.039	0.196	0.196	0.041	0.196	0.197

Sources: The sample consists of black men between the ages of 25-62. The black men are taken from the 5% Public Use Sample of the 1980, 1990, 2000, Census and the 2001 to 2007 waves of the American Community Survey. These regressions also include variables that capture current state of residence indicators, and survey year indicators. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 3.3 Assimilation Models of Employments for Black Natives, Black Immigrants, and Non-Hispanic White Natives, U.S. Men Aged 25-62

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Coefficients					
Variables	Employment Status					
U.S.-Born Blacks:						
<i>(Reference: Non-Hispanic White Natives)</i>						
Black Natives	-0.033*** (0.001)	-0.019*** (0.001)	-0.020*** (0.001)			
Black Mover				-0.010*** (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)
Black Non-Mover				-0.048*** (0.002)	-0.034*** (0.002)	-0.034*** (0.002)
Year of Arrival:						
<i>(Reference: Non-Hispanic White Natives)</i>						
Prior to 1970	-0.019*** (0.003)	0.008** (0.003)	-0.115*** (0.006)	-0.019*** (0.003)	0.009** (0.003)	-0.114*** (0.006)
1971-1975	-0.007* (0.004)	-0.001 (0.004)	-0.116*** (0.006)	-0.007* (0.004)	-0.001 (0.004)	-0.116*** (0.006)
1976-1980	-0.033*** (0.003)	-0.029*** (0.003)	-0.126*** (0.006)	-0.033*** (0.003)	-0.029*** (0.003)	-0.126*** (0.006)
1981-1985	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.114*** (0.006)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.114*** (0.006)
1986-1990	-0.028*** (0.003)	-0.031*** (0.003)	-0.112*** (0.005)	-0.028*** (0.003)	-0.031*** (0.003)	-0.112*** (0.005)
1991-1995	0.000 (0.004)	-0.010** (0.004)	-0.101*** (0.006)	0.000 (0.004)	-0.010** (0.004)	-0.101*** (0.006)
1996-2000	-0.037*** (0.004)	-0.050*** (0.004)	-0.094*** (0.005)	-0.037*** (0.004)	-0.051*** (0.004)	-0.094*** (0.005)
After 2000	-0.028*** (0.006)	-0.042*** (0.006)	-0.049*** (0.006)	-0.028*** (0.006)	-0.042*** (0.006)	-0.049*** (0.006)
Years Since Arrival: (
<i>Reference: Immigrants with 0-5 years of U.S. Residence)</i>						
6-10			0.095*** (0.005)			0.095*** (0.005)
11-15			0.110*** (0.005)			0.110*** (0.005)
16-20			0.115*** (0.006)			0.115*** (0.006)
More that 21			0.125*** (0.006)			0.125*** (0.006)
Education		0.007*** (0.000)	0.007*** (0.000)		0.007*** (0.000)	0.007*** (0.000)
Experience		0.003*** (0.000)	0.003*** (0.000)		0.003*** (0.000)	0.003*** (0.000)
Experience Squared		-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)		-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)
Poor English		-0.019*** (0.005)	-0.010** (0.005)		-0.019*** (0.005)	-0.010** (0.005)
Married		0.056*** (0.001)	0.055*** (0.001)		0.055*** (0.001)	0.055*** (0.001)
Constant	0.867*** (0.002)	0.759*** (0.005)	0.762*** (0.005)	0.867*** (0.002)	0.764*** (0.005)	0.767*** (0.005)
Observations	684111	684111	684111	684111	684111	684111
R-squared	0.003	0.038	0.039	0.003	0.038	0.039

Sources: The sample consists of black men between the ages of 25-62. The black men are taken from the 5% Public Use Sample of the 1980, 1990, 2000, Census and the 2001 to 2007 waves of the American Community Survey. These regressions also include variables that capture current state of residence indicators, and survey year indicators. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 3.4 Assimilation Models of Self-Employment Status for Black Natives, Black Immigrants, and Non-Hispanic White Natives, U.S. Men Aged 25-62

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Coefficients					
Variables	Self-Employment Status					
U.S.-Born Black:						
<i>(Reference: Non-Hispanic White Natives)</i>						
Black Natives	-0.089*** (0.001)	-0.077*** (0.001)	-0.077*** (0.001)			
Black Mover				-0.087*** (0.001)	-0.081*** (0.001)	-0.081*** (0.001)
Black Non-Mover				-0.089*** (0.001)	-0.074*** (0.001)	-0.074*** (0.001)
Year of Arrival:						
<i>(Reference: Non-Hispanic White Natives)</i>						
Prior to 1970	-0.056*** (0.003)	-0.065*** (0.003)	-0.100*** (0.004)	-0.056*** (0.003)	-0.065*** (0.003)	-0.100*** (0.004)
1971-1975	-0.058*** (0.003)	-0.056*** (0.003)	-0.088*** (0.004)	-0.058*** (0.003)	-0.056*** (0.003)	-0.088*** (0.004)
1976-1980	-0.058*** (0.003)	-0.052*** (0.003)	-0.079*** (0.003)	-0.058*** (0.003)	-0.052*** (0.003)	-0.079*** (0.003)
1981-1985	-0.055*** (0.003)	-0.046*** (0.003)	-0.076*** (0.004)	-0.055*** (0.003)	-0.046*** (0.003)	-0.076*** (0.004)
1986-1990	-0.061*** (0.003)	-0.044*** (0.003)	-0.065*** (0.003)	-0.061*** (0.003)	-0.044*** (0.003)	-0.065*** (0.003)
1991-1995	-0.055*** (0.003)	-0.035*** (0.003)	-0.053*** (0.004)	-0.055*** (0.003)	-0.035*** (0.003)	-0.053*** (0.004)
1996-2000	-0.084*** (0.003)	-0.057*** (0.003)	-0.065*** (0.003)	-0.084*** (0.003)	-0.057*** (0.003)	-0.065*** (0.003)
After 2000	-0.090*** (0.004)	-0.060*** (0.004)	-0.061*** (0.004)	-0.090*** (0.004)	-0.060*** (0.004)	-0.061*** (0.004)
Years Since Arrival: (
<i>Reference: Immigrants with 0-5 years of U.S. Residence)</i>						
6-10			0.018*** (0.003)			0.018*** (0.003)
11-15			0.023*** (0.003)			0.023*** (0.003)
16-20			0.036*** (0.004)			0.036*** (0.004)
More than 21			0.038*** (0.004)			0.038*** (0.004)
Education		0.005*** (0.000)	0.005*** (0.000)		0.005*** (0.000)	0.005*** (0.000)
Experience		0.008*** (0.000)	0.008*** (0.000)		0.008*** (0.000)	0.008*** (0.000)
Experience Squared		-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)		-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)
Poor English		-0.008** (0.003)	-0.005 (0.003)		-0.008** (0.003)	-0.005 (0.003)
Married		0.017*** (0.001)	0.016*** (0.001)		0.017*** (0.001)	0.016*** (0.001)
Constant	0.147*** (0.002)	-0.057*** (0.005)	-0.056*** (0.005)	0.147*** (0.002)	-0.058*** (0.005)	-0.057*** (0.005)
Observations	684111	684111	684111	684111	684111	684111
R-squared	0.012	0.027	0.027	0.012	0.027	0.027

Sources: The sample consists of black men between the ages of 25-62. The black men are taken from the 5% Public Use Sample of the 1980, 1990, 2000, Census and the 2001 to 2007 waves of the American Community Survey. These regressions also include variables that capture current state of residence indicators, and survey year indicators. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 3.5 Assimilation Models of Employments for Black Natives, Black Immigrants, and Non-Hispanic White Natives, U.S. Men Aged 25-62

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Coefficients					
	Africans			Caribbeans		
Variables	Log Earnings	Employment	Self-Employment	Log Earnings	Employment	Self-Employment
U.S.-Born Blacks: (Reference: Non-Hispanic White Natives)						
Black Mover	-0.167*** (0.004)	0.003 (0.002)	-0.081*** (0.001)	-0.169*** (0.004)	0.002 (0.002)	-0.080*** (0.001)
Black Non-Mover	-0.253*** (0.003)	-0.034*** (0.002)	-0.074*** (0.001)	-0.256*** (0.003)	-0.034*** (0.002)	-0.073*** (0.001)
Year of Arrival: (Reference: Non-Hispanic White Natives)						
Prior to 1970	-0.601*** (0.035)	-0.208*** (0.016)	-0.092*** (0.013)	-0.368*** (0.017)	-0.085*** (0.008)	-0.092*** (0.005)
1971-1975	-0.660*** (0.026)	-0.188*** (0.012)	-0.088*** (0.009)	-0.366*** (0.017)	-0.089*** (0.008)	-0.082*** (0.005)
1976-1980	-0.623*** (0.022)	-0.224*** (0.011)	-0.070*** (0.006)	-0.391*** (0.015)	-0.084*** (0.007)	-0.079*** (0.004)
1981-1985	-0.616*** (0.021)	-0.164*** (0.010)	-0.074*** (0.008)	-0.375*** (0.016)	-0.090*** (0.008)	-0.072*** (0.005)
1986-1990	-0.510*** (0.019)	-0.175*** (0.010)	-0.055*** (0.006)	-0.360*** (0.014)	-0.086*** (0.007)	-0.063*** (0.004)
1991-1995	-0.486*** (0.020)	-0.120*** (0.009)	-0.046*** (0.007)	-0.370*** (0.017)	-0.086*** (0.008)	-0.054*** (0.006)
1996-2000	-0.489*** (0.015)	-0.100*** (0.007)	-0.068*** (0.004)	-0.368*** (0.017)	-0.094*** (0.008)	-0.064*** (0.005)
After 2000	-0.565*** (0.018)	-0.037*** (0.008)	-0.073*** (0.005)	-0.437*** (0.025)	-0.068*** (0.012)	-0.052*** (0.008)
Years Since Arrival: (Reference: Immigrants with 0-5 years of U.S. Residence)						
6-10	0.121*** (0.017)	0.104*** (0.008)	0.030*** (0.006)	0.073*** (0.015)	0.088*** (0.007)	0.010** (0.005)
11-15	0.199*** (0.020)	0.146*** (0.010)	0.034*** (0.007)	0.134*** (0.015)	0.088*** (0.007)	0.015*** (0.005)
16-20	0.270*** (0.023)	0.161*** (0.010)	0.057*** (0.008)	0.168*** (0.015)	0.093*** (0.007)	0.024*** (0.005)
More than 21	0.284*** (0.023)	0.189*** (0.011)	0.056*** (0.008)	0.201*** (0.016)	0.099*** (0.007)	0.032*** (0.005)
Education	0.112*** (0.000)	0.007*** (0.000)	0.005*** (0.000)	0.111*** (0.000)	0.007*** (0.000)	0.005*** (0.000)
Experience	0.042*** (0.000)	0.003*** (0.000)	0.008*** (0.000)	0.041*** (0.000)	0.003*** (0.000)	0.008*** (0.000)
Experience Squared	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)
Poor English	-0.012 (0.017)	-0.030*** (0.008)	0.012* (0.007)	-0.080*** (0.012)	-0.010* (0.006)	-0.010** (0.004)
Married	0.246*** (0.002)	0.055*** (0.001)	0.017*** (0.001)	0.242*** (0.002)	0.055*** (0.001)	0.017*** (0.001)
Constant	4.514*** (0.012)	0.776*** (0.005)	-0.059*** (0.005)	4.538*** (0.012)	0.770*** (0.005)	-0.061*** (0.005)
Observations	588835	628337	628337	609367	651364	651364
R-squared	0.195	0.041	0.026	0.197	0.040	0.027

Sources: The sample consists of black men between the ages of 25-62. The black men are taken from the 5% Public Use Sample of the 1980, 1990, 2000, Census and the 2001 to 2007 waves of the American Community Survey. These regressions also include variables that capture current state of residence indicators, and survey year indicators. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 4.1 Descriptive Statistics for U.S. and Foreign Born Blacks Aged 25-62

Variables	All Blacks (n=63017)	Black Natives (n=60150)	Black Immigrants (n=2867)
<i>Health Indicators</i>			
Self-Rated Health (Mean)	3.49	3.47	3.82
Fair/Poor Health (Proportion)	0.18	0.19	0.09
Health Limits Work (Proportion)	0.14	0.14	0.04
 <i>Demographic Characteristics</i>			
Age (Mean)	42.23	42.40	38.75
Female (Proportion)	0.58	0.58	0.54
Married (Proportion)	0.41	0.41	0.52
Metropolitan Area (Proportion)	0.87	0.87	0.98
North East (Proportion)	0.15	0.14	0.48
Mid West (Proportion)	0.19	0.19	0.09
South (Proportion)	0.57	0.58	0.35
West (Proportion)	0.09	0.09	0.09
 <i>Socioeconomic Characteristics</i>			
Education (Mean)	12.92	12.93	12.77

Source: These data are taken from the 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, and 2008 Current Population Survey for blacks between the ages of 25 and 62. The sample excludes individuals born abroad to American parents and individuals born in U.S. outlying areas. Immigrants from countries with missing country of origin data were excluded from the sample.

Table 4.2 Descriptive Statistics for Black Immigrants Aged 25-62 in the United States by Region of Birth

Variables	Africa (n=765)	South America (n=296)	Caribbean (n=1159)	Europe (n=72)	Central America (n=423)	Other (n=96)
<i>Health Indicators</i>						
Self-Rated Health (Mean)	4.03	3.76	3.72	3.86	3.75	3.86
Fair/Poor Health (Proportion)	0.06	0.06	0.11	0.07	0.09	0.05
Health Limits Work (Proportion)	0.03	0.05	0.05	0.03	0.03	0.07
<i>Demographic Characteristics</i>						
Age (Mean)	37.45	40.52	40.20	37.21	35.82	40.35
Female (Proportion)	0.49	0.53	0.60	0.56	0.48	0.58
Married (Proportion)	0.54	0.53	0.48	0.48	0.53	0.78
Metropolitan Area (Proportion)	0.99	0.98	0.99	0.99	0.95	0.93
North East (Proportion)	0.26	0.66	0.66	0.51	0.30	0.29
Mid West (Proportion)	0.19	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.10	0.19
South (Proportion)	0.43	0.25	0.29	0.33	0.43	0.34
West (Proportion)	0.13	0.07	0.02	0.14	0.16	0.18
<i>Socioeconomic Characteristics</i>						
Education (Mean)	14.14	12.71	12.48	14.18	10.70	13.72
<i>Country of Origin Characteristics</i>						
Country that Borders the U.S.	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.51	0.06
GDP per Capita in 2007	1753.44	4755.32	9035.29	31382.99	10158.07	8031.27
Life Expectancy at Birth in 2007	52.64	68.47	71.45	78.83	74.23	70.37
Combined Gross Enrollment Ratio in Education	54.54	83.96	74.34	89.95	77.42	68.61
Gini Coefficient of Income	0.41	0.48	0.46	0.35	0.50	0.38

Source: These data are taken from the 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, and 2008 Current Population Survey for black immigrants between the ages of 25 and 62. The sample excludes individuals born abroad to American parents and individuals born in U.S. outlying areas. Immigrants from countries with missing country of origin data were excluded from the sample. Country of origin characteristics are taken from the United Nations Development Programme's 2009 Human Development Reports.

Table 4.3 Determinants of Health Status for Black Immigrants Aged 25 to 62

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Odds Ratios from Ordered Logit Regression Models							
Variables	Self-Assessed Health							
Individual Level Characteristics								
<i>Region of Origin Variables</i>								
<i>(Reference Group: Africa)</i>								
South America	0.576***	0.738**	0.730**	0.709**	0.455***	0.504***	0.782	0.363***
Caribbean	0.621***	0.788**	0.778**	0.735*	0.445***	0.611***	0.817*	0.403***
Europe	0.691	0.735	0.728	0.649	0.342**	0.462**	0.683	0.191***
Central America	0.508***	0.723**	0.565***	0.670*	0.382***	0.538***	0.799	0.347***
Other	0.578***	0.628**	0.618**	0.599**	0.367***	0.524***	0.611**	0.328***
<i>Demographic and Social Characteristics</i>								
Age	1.014	0.994	1.000	0.994	0.998	0.996	0.996	1.003
Age Squared	0.999	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.999
<i>(Reference Group: Individuals who are not married)</i>								
Married	1.207**	1.168*	1.158*	1.166*	1.174*	1.176*	1.165*	1.168*
Female	0.821**	0.830**	0.834**	0.830**	0.826**	0.827**	0.829**	0.823**
<i>(Reference Group: Less than High School)</i>								
High School		1.315**	1.345**	1.313**	1.311**	1.324**	1.309**	1.321**
Some College		1.283*	1.330*	1.277	1.289*	1.297*	1.284*	1.318*
Associates		2.309***	2.364***	2.307***	2.335***	2.316***	2.298***	2.330***
Bachelors		1.838***	1.878***	1.823***	1.897***	1.859***	1.843***	1.905***
Masters		3.065***	3.162***	3.035***	3.213***	3.103***	3.102***	3.264***
Graduate		2.861***	2.940***	2.842***	3.099***	2.948***	2.843***	3.075***
Metropolitan		0.996	1.040	1.005	1.004	1.010	1.002	1.062
<i>(Reference Group: North East)</i>								
Mid West		1.054	1.001	1.055	1.067	1.056	1.023	0.982
South		1.278***	1.258**	1.279***	1.289***	1.275***	1.269**	1.254**
West		1.146	1.107	1.149	1.117	1.144	1.112	1.054
Country Level Characteristics								
Country Borders the United States			1.680***					1.222
Ln(GPD) per Capita				1.042				1.059
Ln (Life Expectancy)					6.204**			2.600
Combined Gross Enrollment Ratio in Education						1.013*		1.018**
Gini Coefficient							0.989	0.978*
Observations	2867	2867	2867	2867	2867	2867	2867	2867

Source: Individuals who self-identify as black immigrants in the 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, and 2008 March Current Population Survey (CPS).

Notes: All models also include survey year dummy variables. Person weights are used in all models.

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4.4 Determinants of Having a Disability that Limits Work for Black Immigrants Aged 25 to 62

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Logistic Regression Models (Odds Ratios)							
Variables	Work Limitations							
Individual Level Characteristics								
<i>Region of Origin Variables</i>								
<i>(Reference Group: Africa)</i>								
South America	1.340	1.207	1.278	1.204	2.504	2.541	0.901	3.158
Caribbean	1.290	1.180	1.256	1.175	2.846	1.940	0.972	2.404
Europe	0.442	0.580	0.610	0.576	1.870	1.415	0.778	4.992
Central America	1.251	0.735	1.382	0.731	1.963	1.300	0.458	1.560
Other	2.782*	1.975	1.952	1.968	4.566	2.881*	2.105	4.239
<i>Demographic and Social Characteristics</i>								
Age	1.032	1.069	1.053	1.069	1.066	1.061	1.065	1.039
Age squared	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
<i>(Reference Group: Individuals who are not married)</i>								
Married	0.535***	0.570**	0.583**	0.570**	0.561**	0.567**	0.574**	0.579**
Female	1.265	1.295	1.279	1.295	1.299	1.302	1.291	1.288
<i>(Reference Group: Less than High School)</i>								
High School		0.531**	0.509**	0.531**	0.532**	0.522**	0.538**	0.516**
Some College		0.755	0.711	0.755	0.746	0.737	0.753	0.694
Associates		0.325*	0.313**	0.325**	0.315**	0.319**	0.337*	0.325*
Bachelors		0.222***	0.217***	0.221***	0.208***	0.218***	0.218***	0.200***
Masters		0.173*	0.162*	0.173*	0.156*	0.167*	0.162*	0.140*
Graduate		0.177*	0.170*	0.177*	0.151*	0.165*	0.178*	0.148*
Metropolitan		0.292**	0.259**	0.292**	0.285**	0.280**	0.274**	0.231**
<i>(Reference Group: North East)</i>								
Mid West		2.669**	3.087***	2.669**	2.598**	2.645**	3.044**	3.480***
South		0.992	1.030	0.992	0.987	1.017	1.011	1.084
West		1.536	1.719	1.536	1.606	1.548	1.746	2.073*
Country Level Characteristics								
Country Borders the United States			0.162**					0.286
Ln(GPD) per Capita				1.002				0.996
Ln (Life Expectancy)					0.056			0.766
Combined Gross Enrollment Ratio in Education						0.975		0.955*
Gini Coefficient							1.051*	1.075**
Observations	2867	2867	2867	2867	2867	2867	2867	2867

Source: Individuals who self-identify as black immigrants in the 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, and 2008 March Current Population Survey (CPS).

Notes: All models also include survey year dummy variables. Person weights are used in all models.

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 3.1. Adjusted Differences in Log Weekly Earnings between Black and Non-Hispanic White Men , Aged 25-62

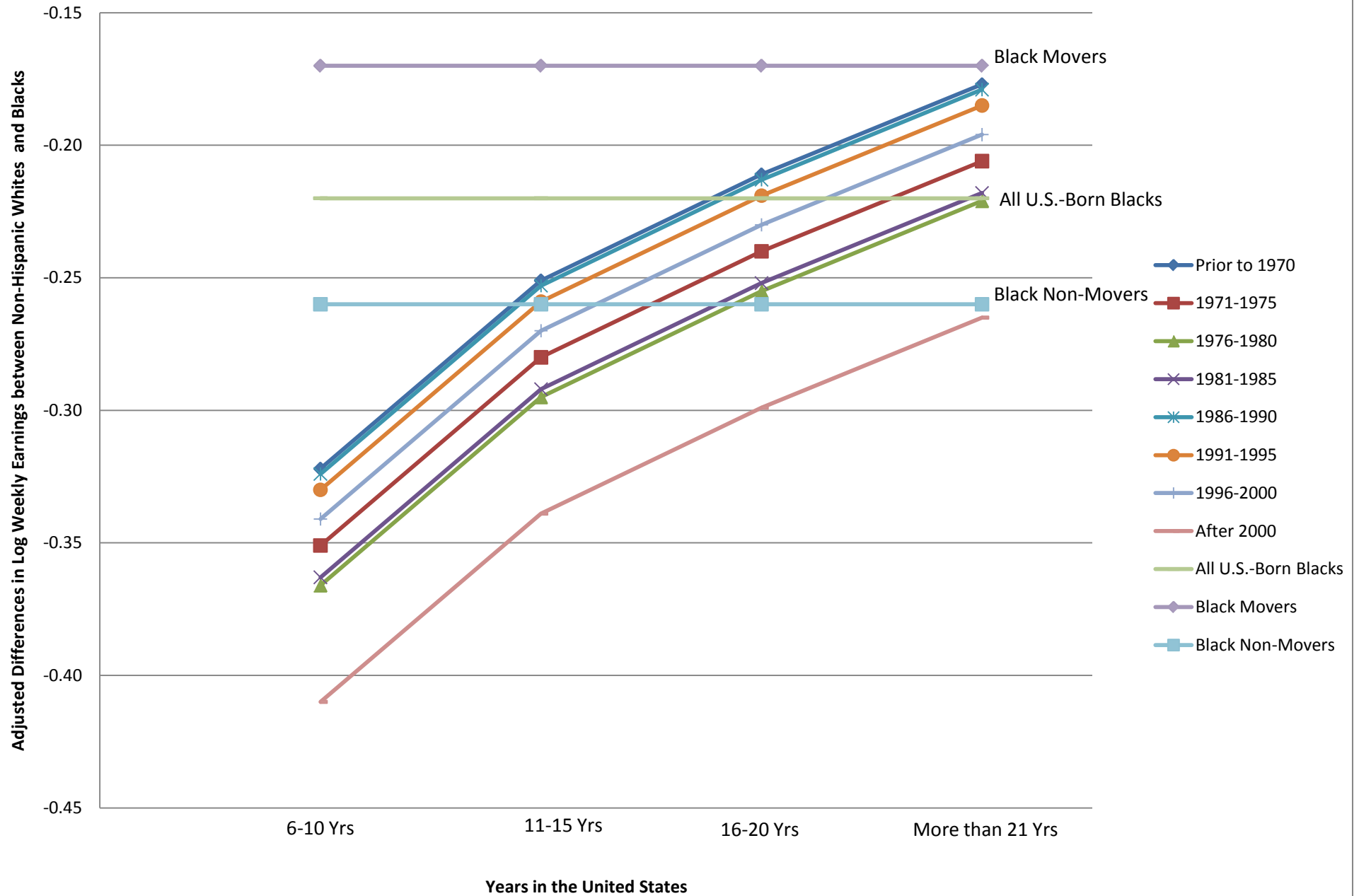


Figure 3.2 Adjusted Differences in the Probability of being Employed Between Blacks and Non-Hispanic White Men, Age 25-62

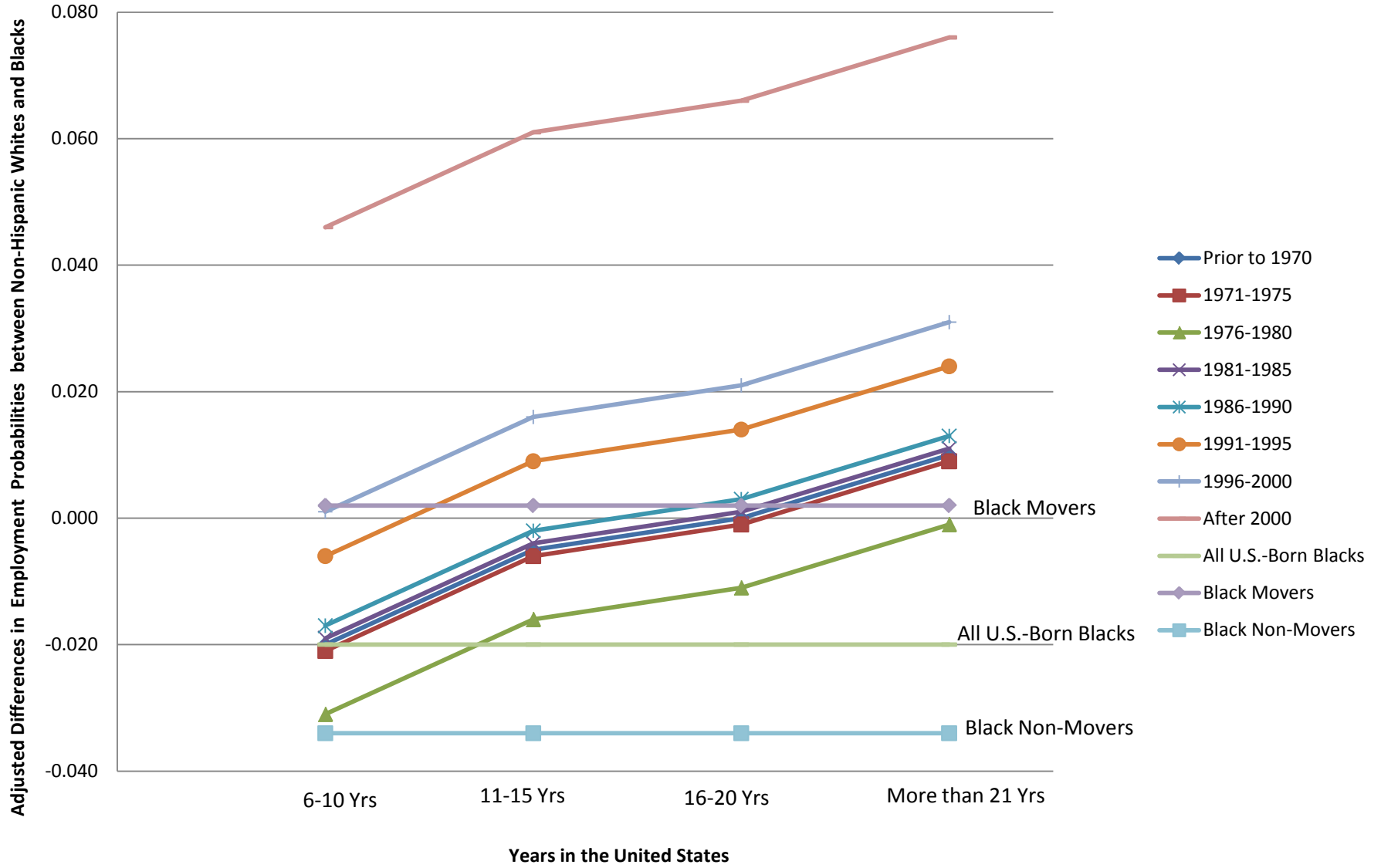
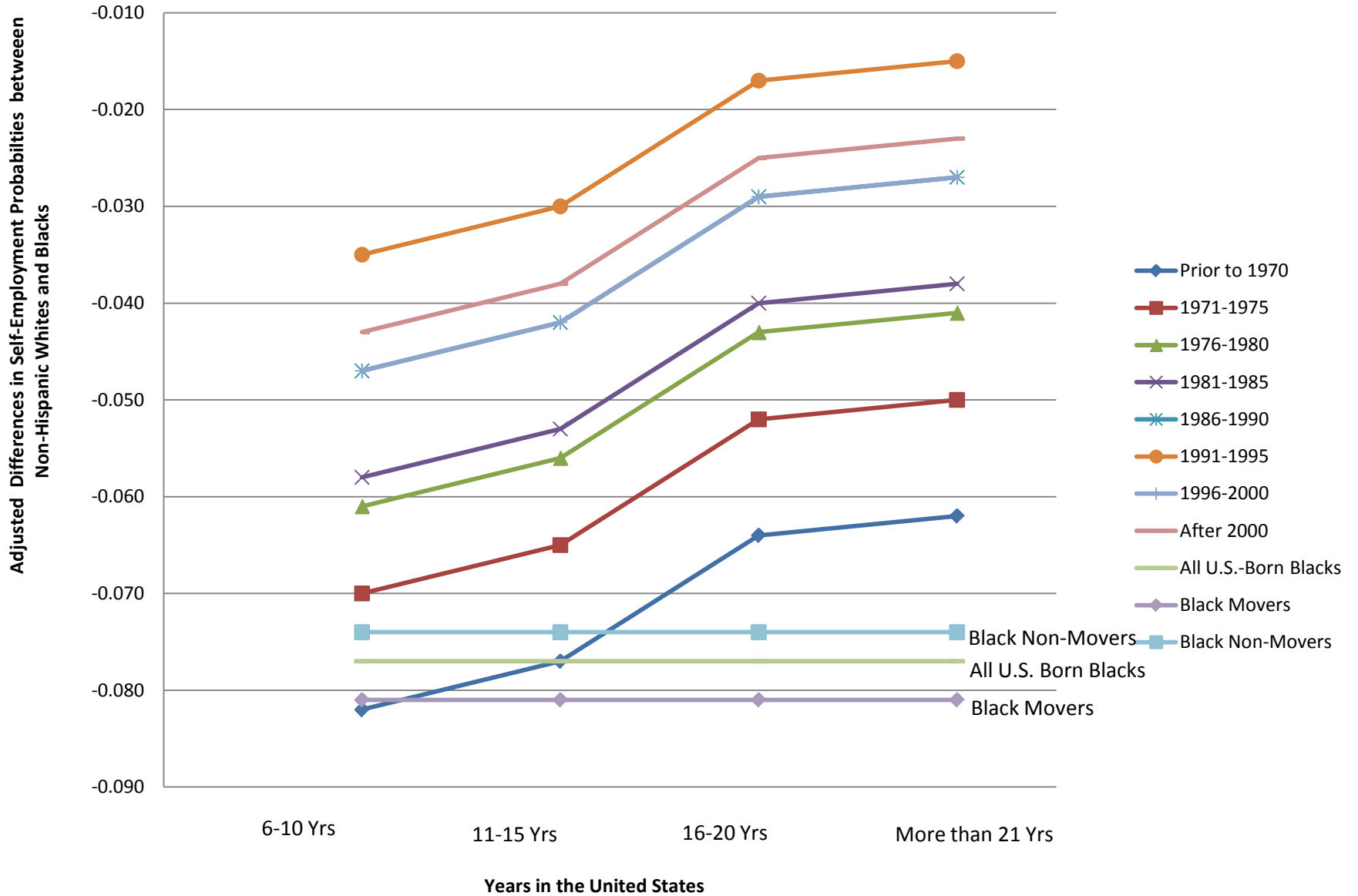


Figure 3.3 Adjusted Differences in the Probability of Being Self-Employed between Black and Non-Hispanic White Men, Aged 25-62



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