

Changing Nature of America's Black Population -1981 to 2011: Social, Economic, and Political Implications



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Outline

- Research on Race in the United States
- Sources of Black Heterogeneity
- SES Among Blacks
- Ethnicity Among Blacks
- NSBA to NSAL – Increasing Heterogeneity
- Material Well-being and Life Experiences
- Conclusions

R.I.C.E.

- Race
- Immigration
- Culture
- Ethnicity



- Gender
- Age
- SES

Precursors of Our Work

- DuBois 1899
- Frazier 1932
- Drake & Clayton 1947
- Clark 1964
- Campbell, Schuman & Hatchett 1974
- Wilson 1978

Four Eras of Racial Subjugation in the United States

- **Slavery**

During this period total control over peoples from Africa were exercised by private industry abetted by the government for purposes of economic growth and development of the country. During this period theories of racial classification were developed to justify and rationalize the subjugation of an entire class of people in a general world-wide trend of enlightenment and democratic ideals.

- **De Jure Segregation**

During this period after slavery Blacks continued to be discriminated against based upon a set of legal tenants and national and state laws that were developed to maintain the relative social and economic position between blacks and all other peoples in the immigrant United States – I call this the beginning of the “at least you are not black” era

■ **De Facto Segregation**

This was a major period of continued maintenance of relative differences between blacks and others enforced by social convention, and when necessary vigilantism and violence, especially in the South. But in the north as well through a series of often unwritten but powerful set of beliefs and behaviors, e.g. geographical redlining, mortgage preferences, housing covenants, social and economic segregation, etc.

■ Status Quo Subjugation

This is the period in which we are today – a period when many can point to the legislation of the late 1960s as markers of black emancipation and as a signal that equality exists among the “races”. In this period many people are concerned about the ways in which the government oppresses blacks by forcing them to wear the label of black and the need to free people to be whatever they want to be. This is a period of “don’t know” -- don’t tell”.

Motivating Considerations

- Long history of inadequately conceptualized, conducted, and interpreted research on blacks
- Subjugation of much of what is unique to the black population to deficit and culture of poverty theorizing
- Lack of empirically trained social scientists sensitive to these issues

Expected Outcomes of these Studies on Blacks

- Inform public, policy makers, business leaders and academics about the continuing negative circumstances facing African Americans at the beginning of the 21st century.
- Develop concerted efforts to engage public, policy makers and private and government entities in taking steps to develop effective strategies and public policies that address the circumstances of the African American population in this new, greatly diversified nation.

Expected Outcomes of these Studies on Blacks

- Finally, to encourage the development of ongoing demographic, economic, social and policy relevant studies that address the nature of the African American population in this more ethnically and racially diversified nation.
- In many ways our studies on the African American population, have been motivated by these broad-based policy – especially the National Survey of Black Americans in 1980 and The National Survey of American Life in 2003.

National Survey of Black Americans

- Conducted over 7 months in 1979 and 1980.
- The face-to-face interviews were conducted by an all black professional interviewing staff.
- Interviewers trained and supervised by the the PRBA & Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research.
- Sample size of about 2000 permitted for the first time systematic investigation of differences within the adult black population.
- “We are not all alike”

Guiding Principles

- Culturally Sensitive Theories, Models, Measures, Assessment and Interpretations
- Life-Course Family, Individual and Group Development
- Importance of Political, Social, and Economic Structures and Processes, as well as Environmental Factors, in the Nature of Material and Social Life Among Blacks

Thinking About Race

Law of Small Effects in Race Outcomes

- There is no one single factor that produces observed disparities and differences among race/ethnic groups
- Group of small differences which may accumulate over the life-course to produce observed differences in living arrangements, morbidity and mortality across the life-course and in adulthood and older ages among different race/ethnic groups

Nature of Race in United States

- One Drop Rule
- Association with Intelligence and Character
- Real Discrimination in housing, schooling, occupation, and related areas of life

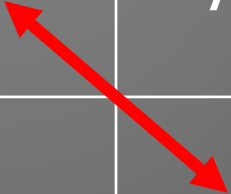
Biological and Social Perspectives on Race

- Self-reported (or other reported) race/ethnicity most often used categorization in both biological and social research
- Why should we observe such large and both consistent (African Americans), and inconsistent (Caribbeans, Latinos, Asians, etc), disparities among race/ethnic groups

- However we construe race (ethnicity, etc) there are two processes operative
- Biological
- Social – Self & Other
- Far-fetched to think that biological process alone could account for observed group differences in the U.S.
- Social processes must play a major role

Figure 2: Self and Other Race Perceptions

		Self	
		Yes Black	Not Black
Other	Yes Black	African American	Asian Hispanic Afro Caribbean
	Not Black	Asian Hispanic Afro Caribbean	Non-Hispanic White



Stress Process: One Possible
Pathway for Physical and Mental
Health Effects Among Racial and
Ethnic Minorities

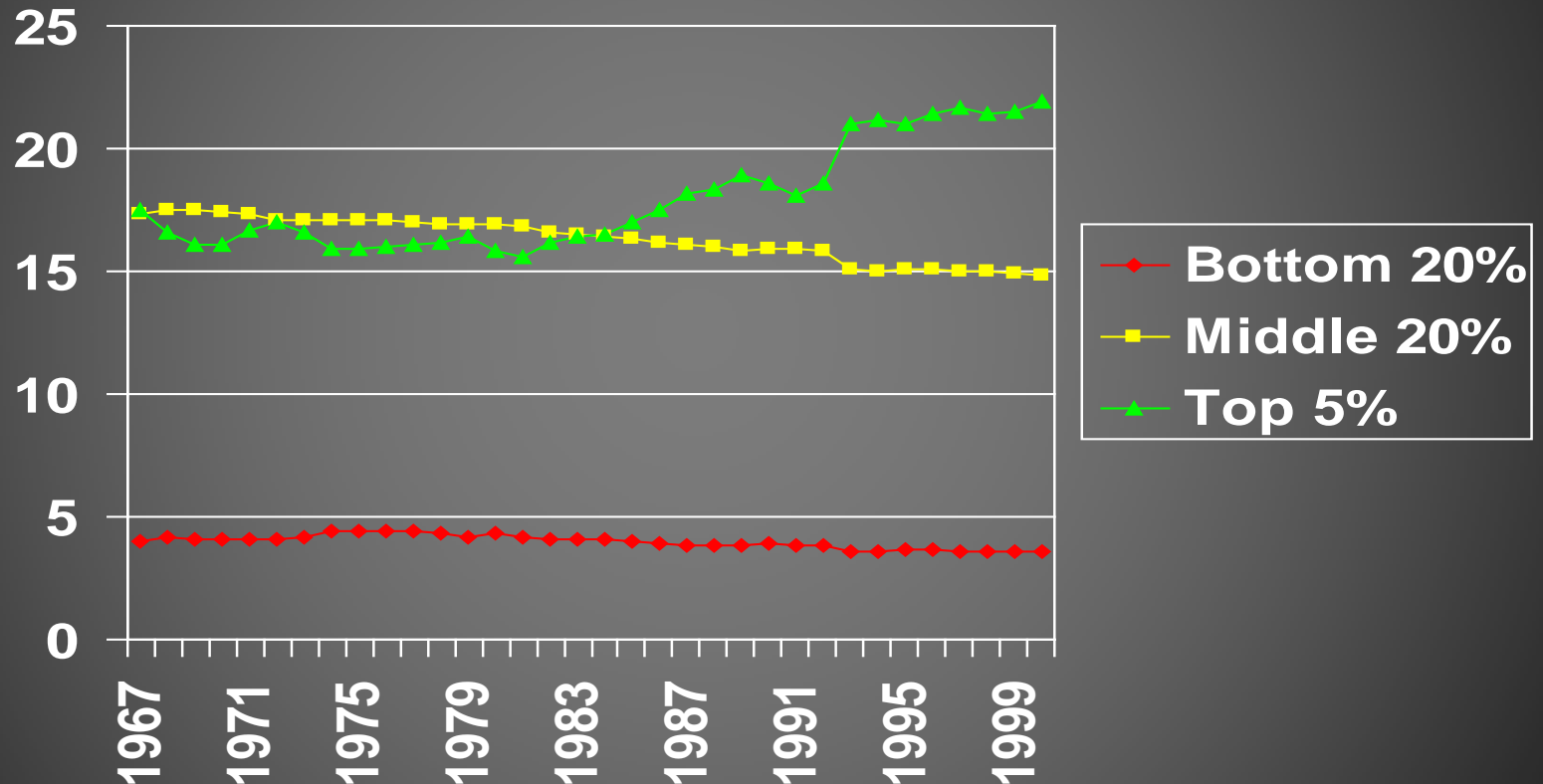
- Discrimination and other life stressors are not randomly distributed
- Discrimination and other life stressors are related to broader life contexts
- For example, stress of poverty
- Differences exist within and among ethnic groups for both classes of stressors, e.g. across living conditions

The Context of Race in the United States

Disparities in Demographic, Economic, and Social Resources: Structural Inequalities

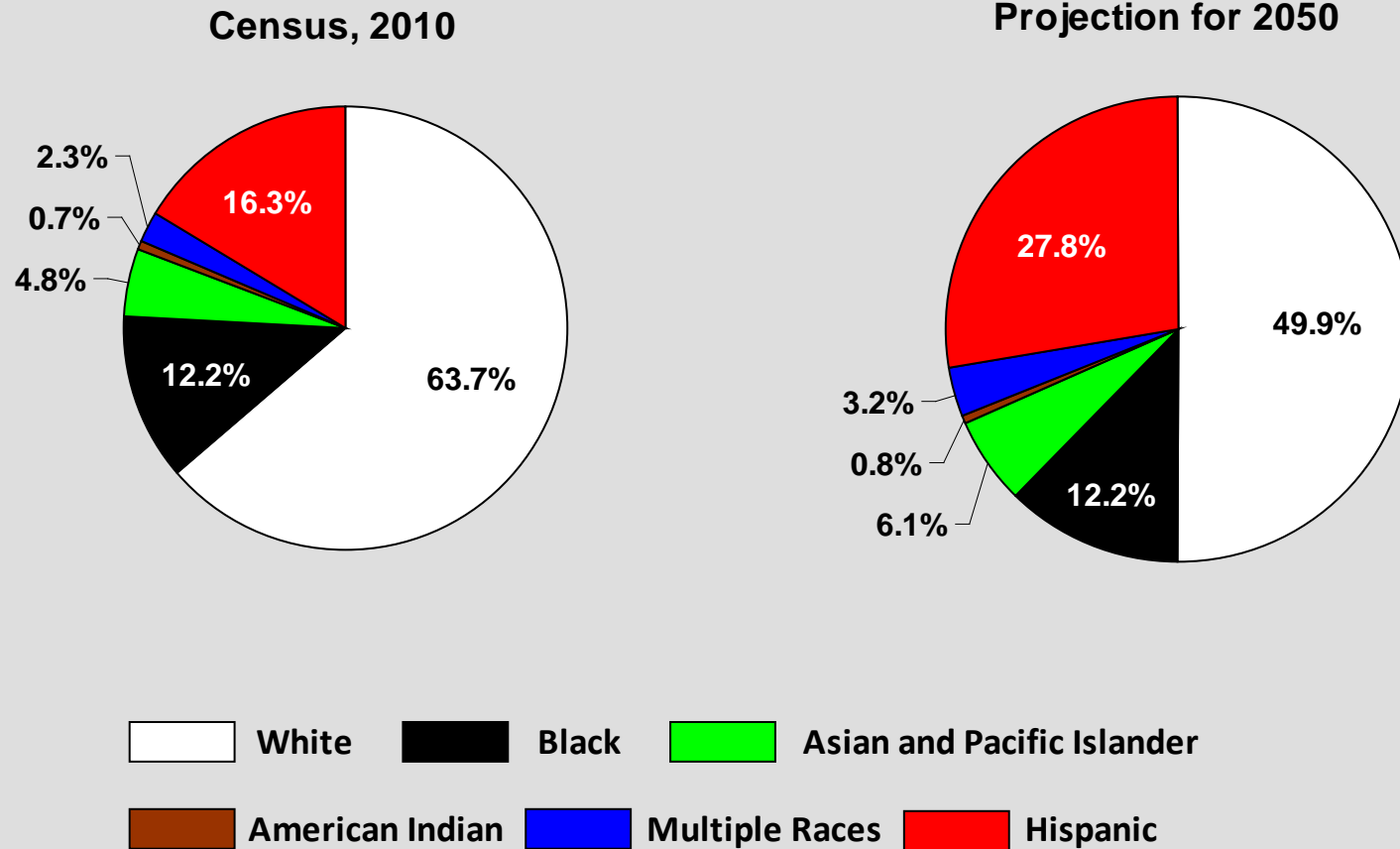
- The U.S. is becoming more unequal in the distribution of economic resources
- The U.S. is becoming more racially and ethnically diverse
- Blacks remain materially disadvantaged and geographically segregated

Income Shares at the Bottom, Middle, and Top Percents of Household Incomes



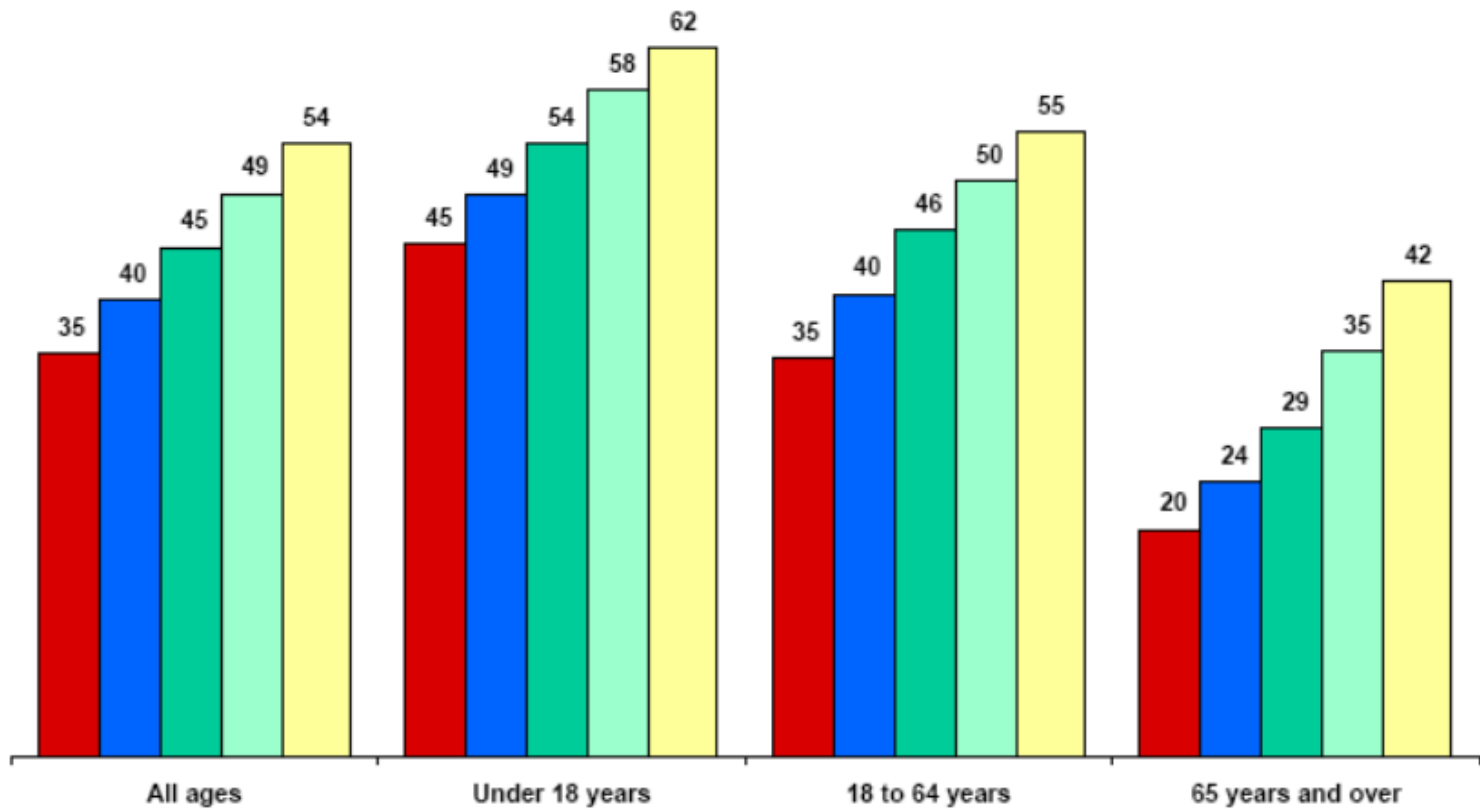
Source: US Bureau of the Census, March Current Population Survey
Based Upon Historical Income Tables, H-2. Share of Aggregate Income
Received by Each Fifth and Top 5 Percent of Households (All Races): 1967-2000

FIGURE P. Racial Composition of the United States: Census 2010 and Projection for 2050



Percent Minority of the U.S. Population by Selected Age Groups: 2010 to 2050

■ 2010 ■ 2020 ■ 2030 ■ 2040 ■ 2050



Source: Population Division, U.S. Census Bureau
Released: August 14, 2008

Trends in Black-White Disparities

The Civil Rights Revolution of the 1960s was primarily about Citizenship Rights for Blacks.

Have Black-White Gaps Narrowed in the Four Decades since the Civil Rights Revolution?

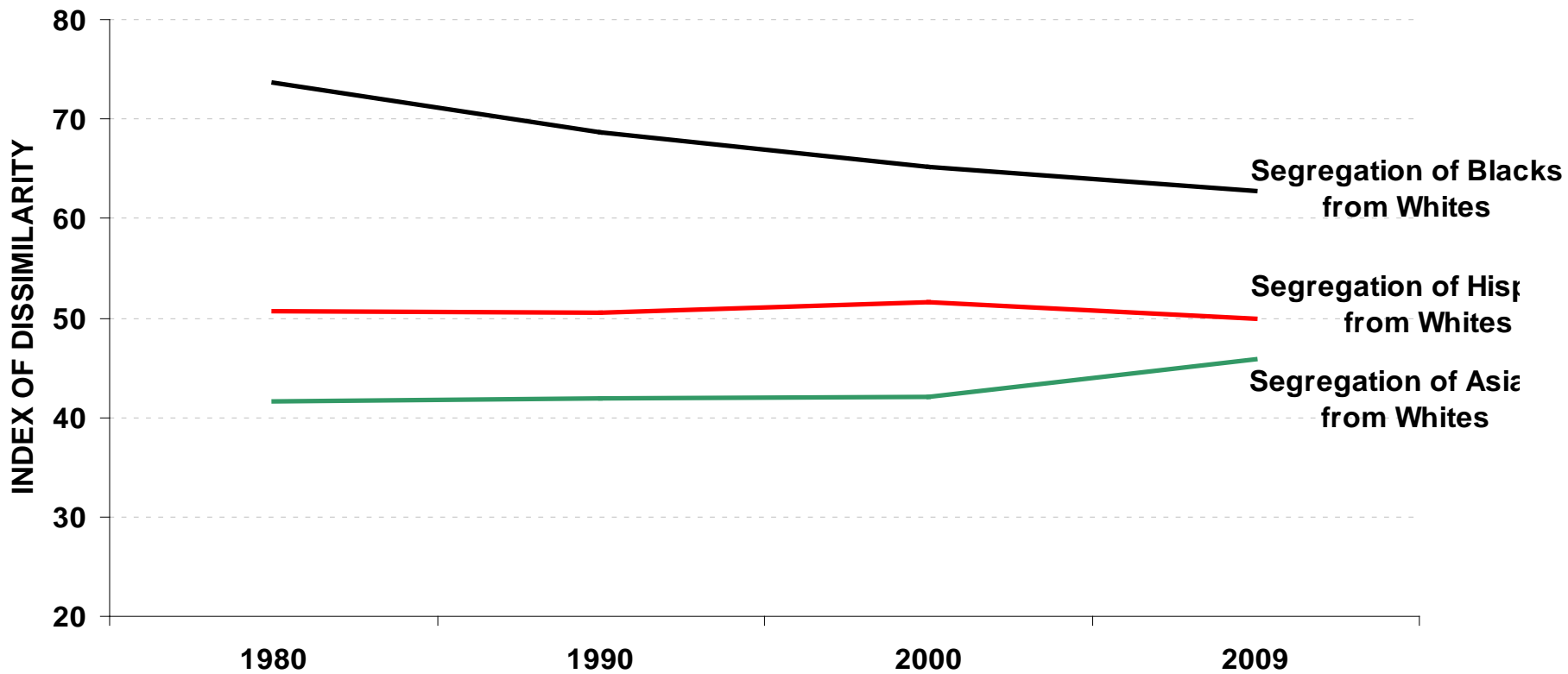
There has been a substantial social and political integration of blacks:

- A) More black-white intermarriage
- B) A suburbanization of blacks and declines in racial residential segregation
- C) Substantial increases in number of blacks elected to office

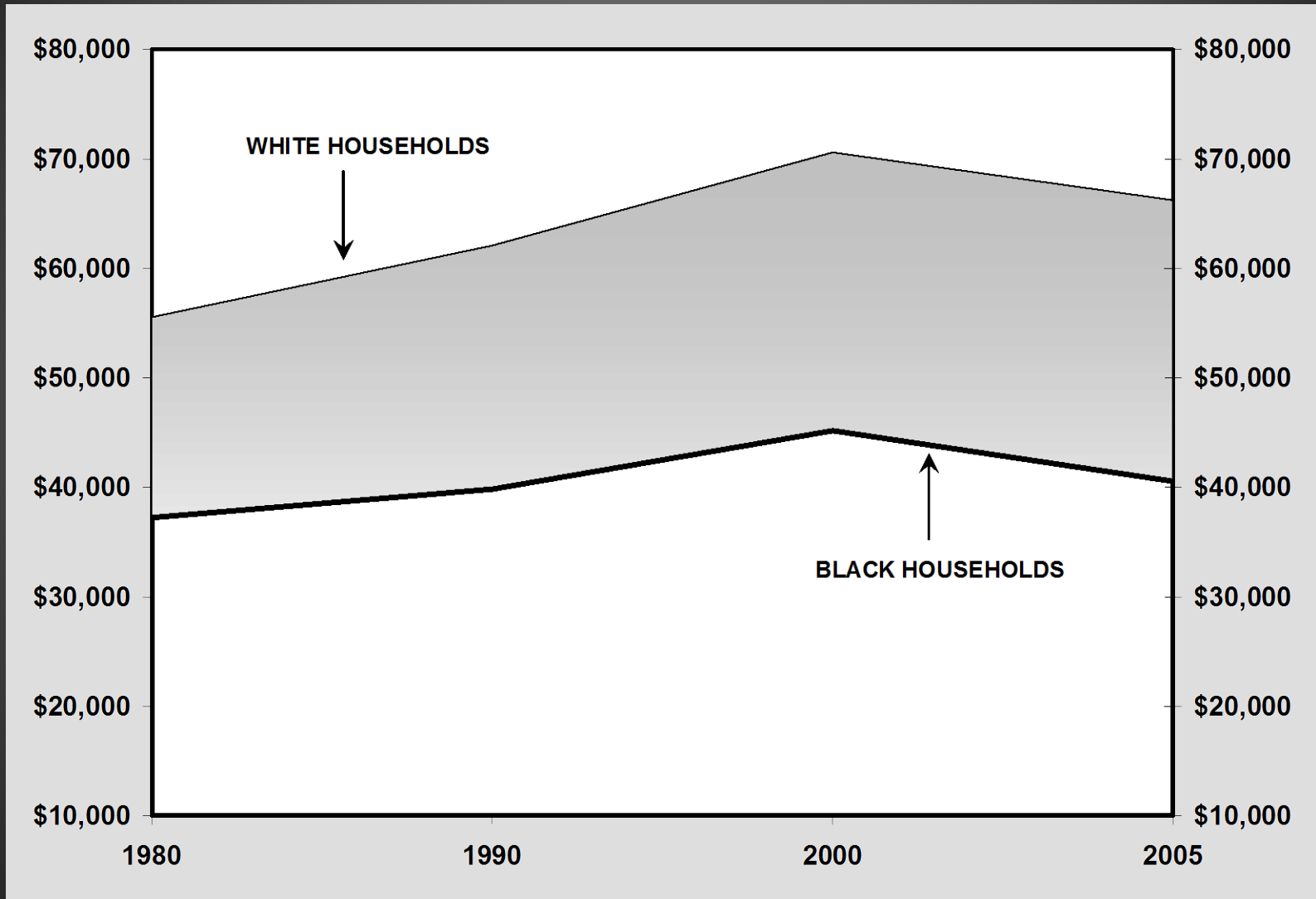
Very little narrowing in:

- A) Educational Attainment
- B) Earnings and Income
- C) Overall economic status: *Blacks overall remain almost as far behind whites as in the 1960s*

FIGURE H. Indexes of Dissimilarity Measuring the Residential Segregation of Non-Hispanic Blacks, Hispanics and Non-Hispanic Asians from Non-Hispanics Whites: 1980 to 2010; All Metropolises

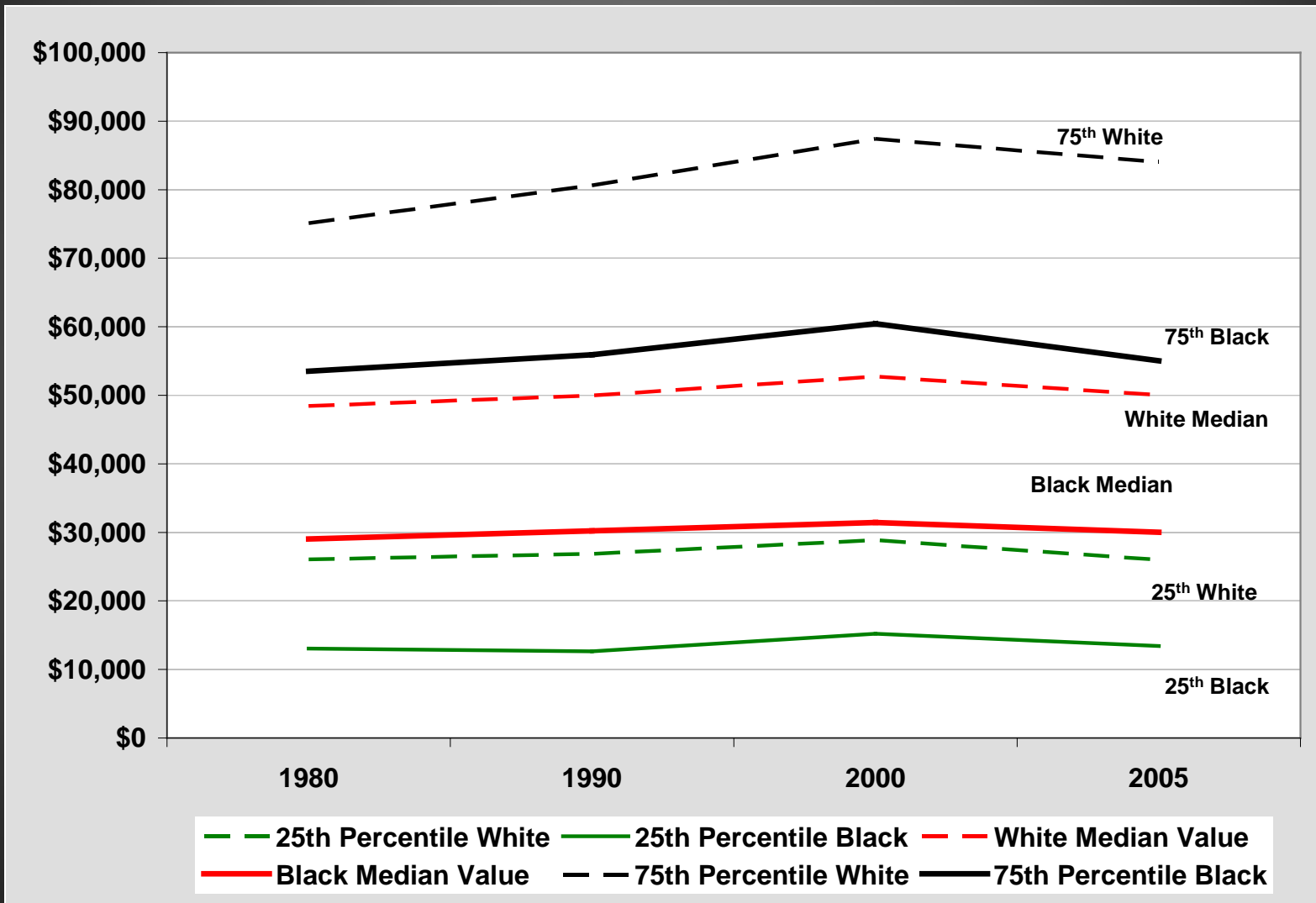


Mean Income of Households Headed by Native-Born, Non-Hispanic Blacks and Whites; 1980 to 2005



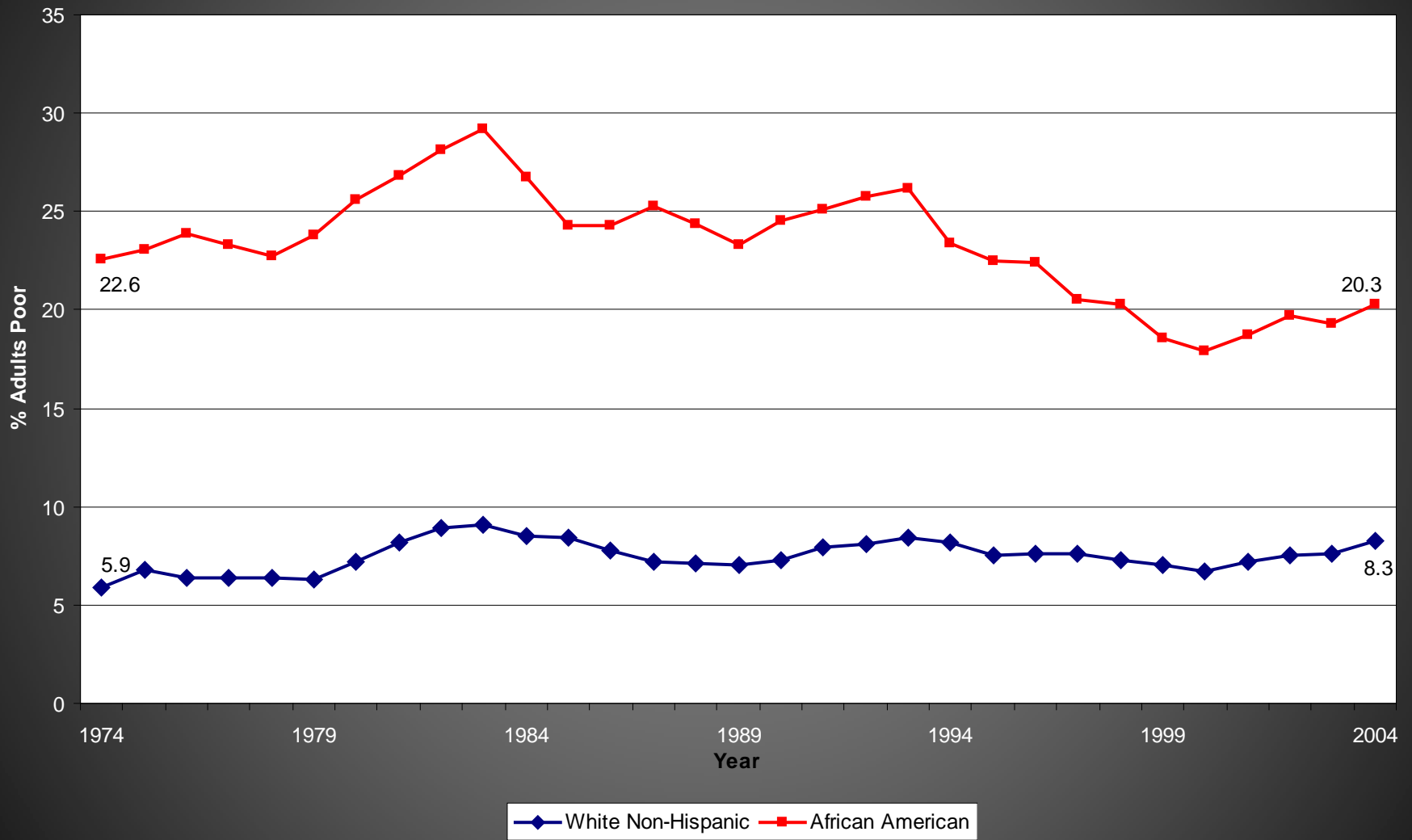
SOURCE: Public Use Microdata Samples from the 1980, 1990 and 2000 Censuses and from the Census Bureau's 2005 American Community Survey. *Amounts are shown in constant 2005 dollars.* Ren Farley, 2007.

Income of Households at the 25th Percentile Point, the 50th Percentile Point and the 75th Percentile Point for Native-Born, Non-Hispanic Whites and Blacks; 1980 to 2005



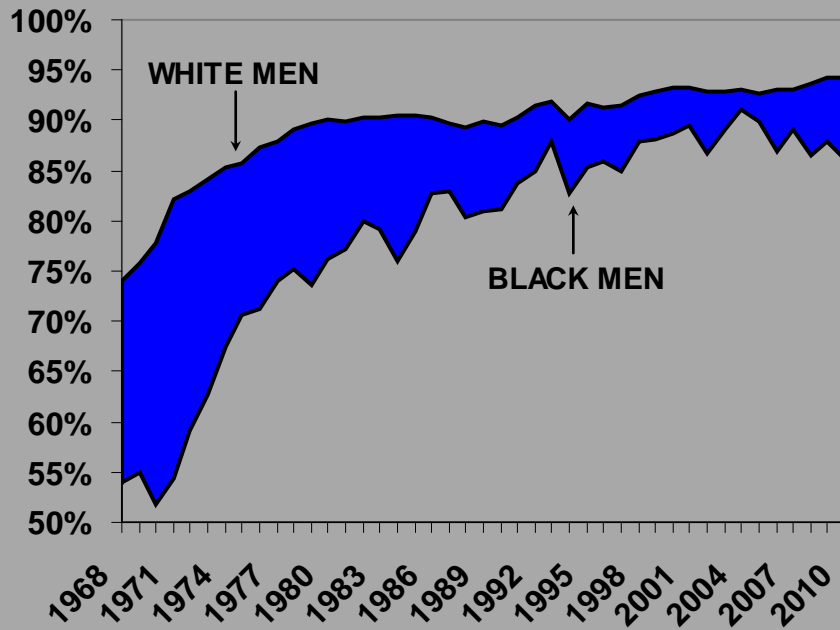
Amounts are shown in constant 2005 dollars. Ren Farley, 2007.

Figure 3. Official Poverty Rate, Persons Age 18-64, 1974-2004



*FIGURE J. Percent of Native-Born Non-Hispanic Men and Women
Ages 25 to 34 Reporting a High School Education,
March Current Population Survey*

MEN



WOMEN

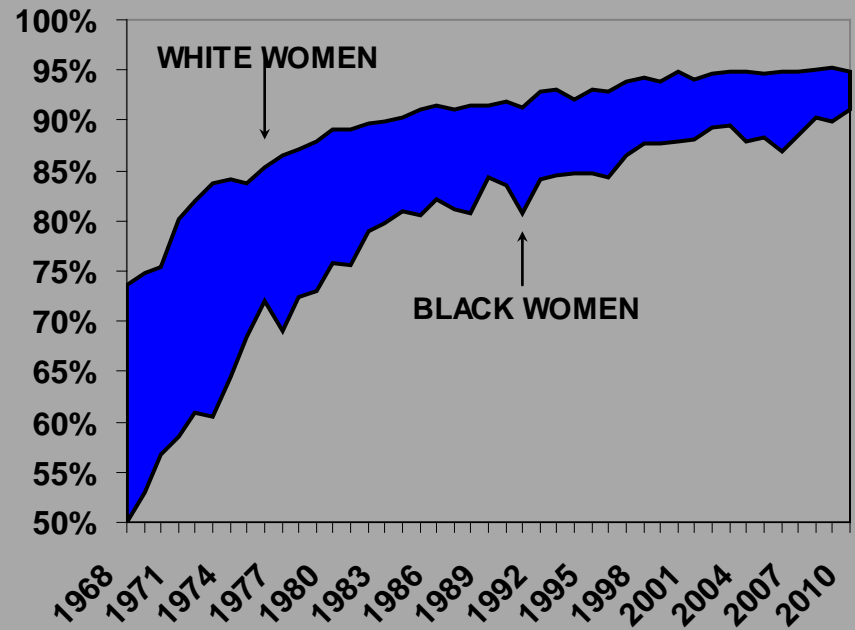
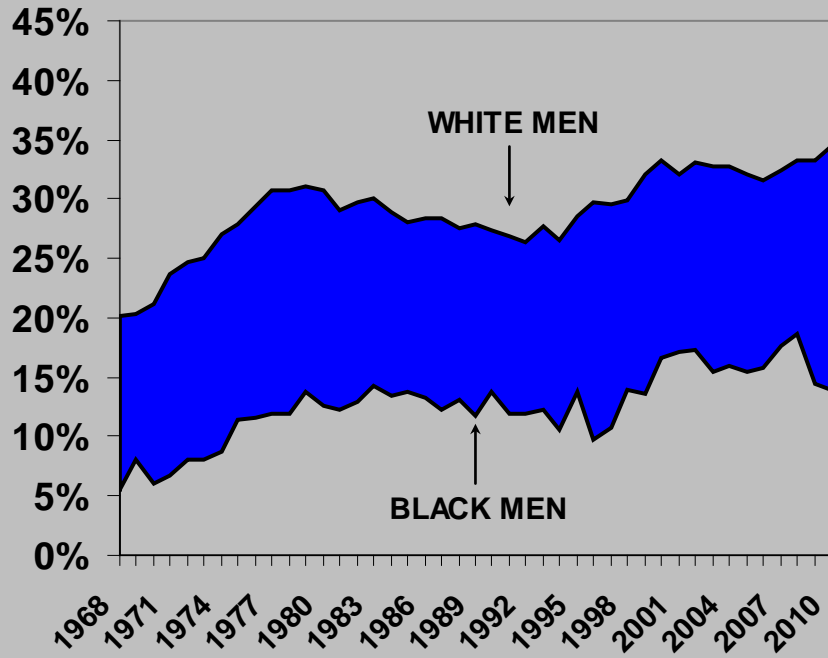


FIGURE K. Percent of Native Born Non-Hispanic Men and Women Ages 25 to 34 Reporting a Four-Year College Education, March Current Population Survey

MEN



WOMEN

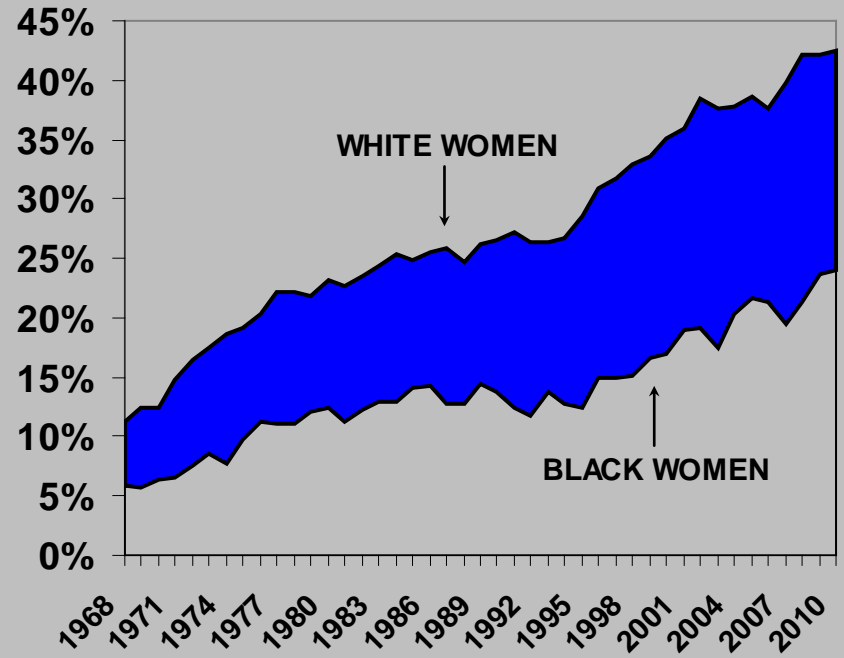
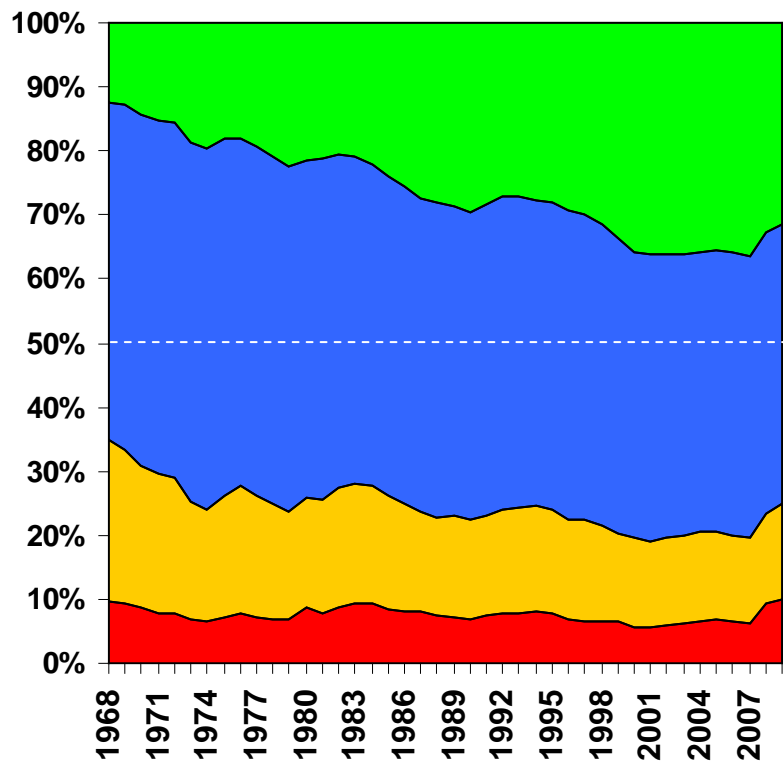
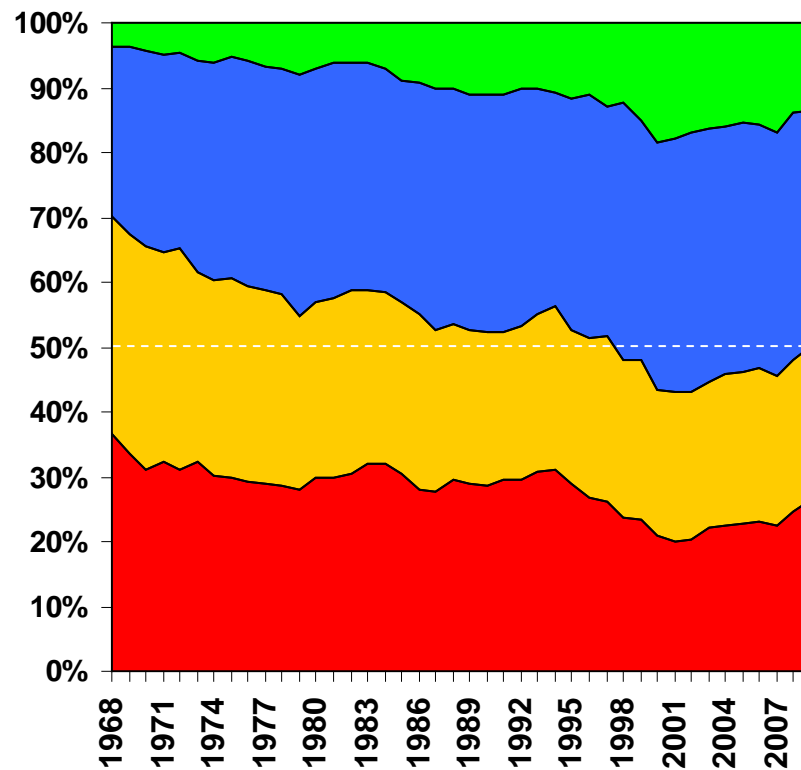


FIGURE L. Economic Status of Native-Born Non-Hispanic White and Black Populations, 1968 to 2009

WHITES



BLACKS



National Survey of American Life (NSAL)

- Funded by the NIMH, OBSSR, NIA, NIDA
- Based upon over 25 national and regional studies that followed the 1979-80 NSBA
- Involves collaboration with similar large national surveys by Ron Kessler on general, Margarita Alegria on Latino, & David Takeuchi, on Asian American, populations (CPES)

Increasing Heterogeneity

- Immigration (Africa, Caribbean, etc.)
- Self-Referents, e.g. Multi-Racial
- Socio-Economic Class Distinctions

- Decline of the Black Imagined Community

General Research Questions

- What is Nature and Distribution of Black Ethnicity in the U.S.?
- Why do Afro-Caribbeans Enjoy Better Structural Conditions of Life than African Americans?
- Are Afro-Caribbeans a “Model Minority”?
- What is Role of Generation Position and Immigration on Health and Mental Health Outcomes?

Sources of First Generation Protection

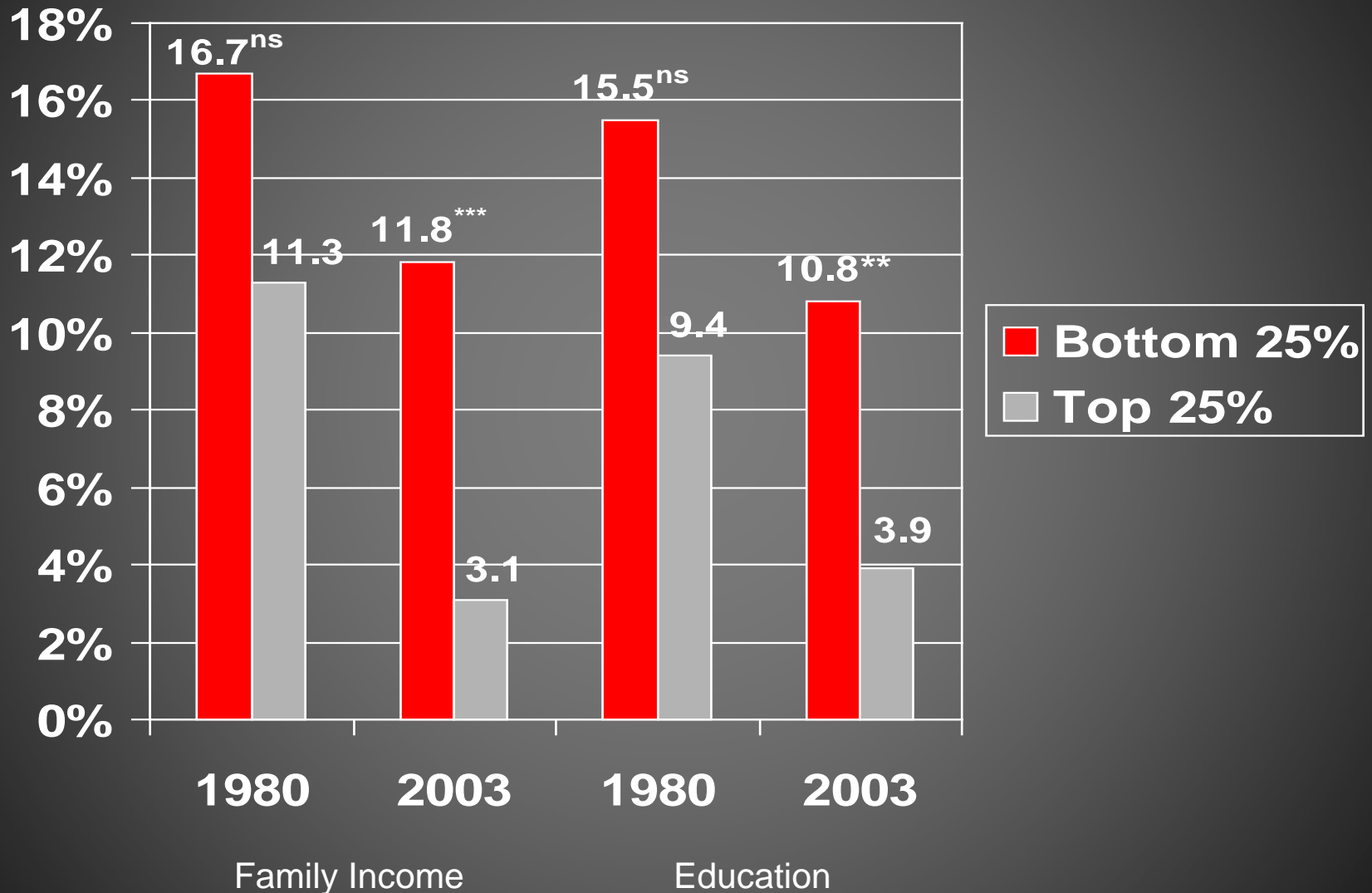
- Selection Effects
- Protective Early Socialization
- Family and Friend Networks
- Lack of Acculturation
- Etc.

Social and Demographic Characteristics of Samples

	African Americans	Black Caribbeans	Whites
Age	42.3	40.2	44.7
Education	12.4 yrs.	12.9 yrs.	13.3 yrs.
Family Income	\$37,597	\$47,099	\$46,998
Female	55.9%	49.0%	53.2%
Employed	66.8%	74.7%	72.3%
Home Owner	49.8%	45.1%	61.9%
Married	32.9%	37.3%	47.1%
U.S. Born	97.7%	35.1%	96.2%

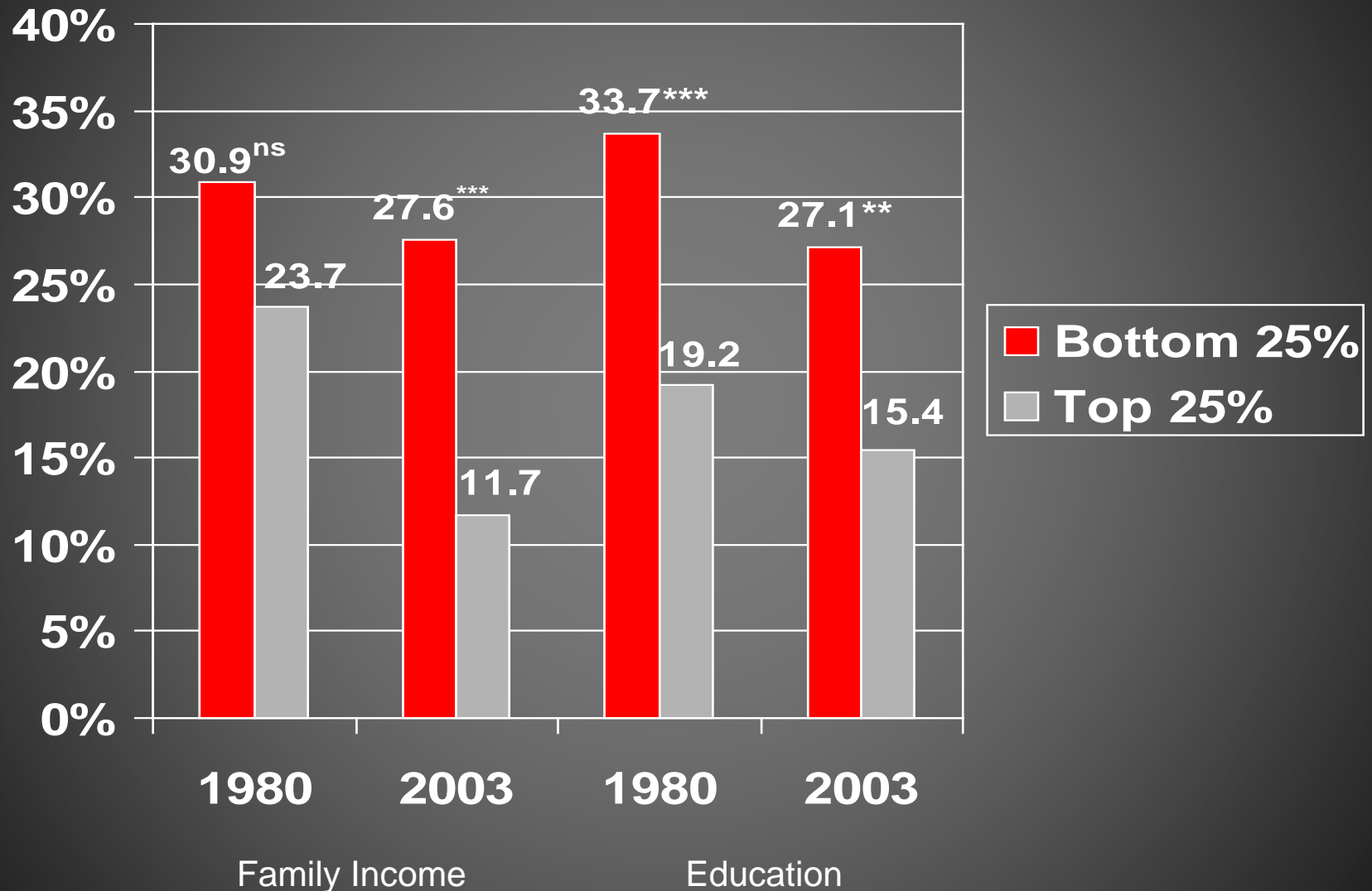
Increasing Class Heterogeneity
Among African Americans in the
United States?

Neighborhood Crime Occurs Very Often



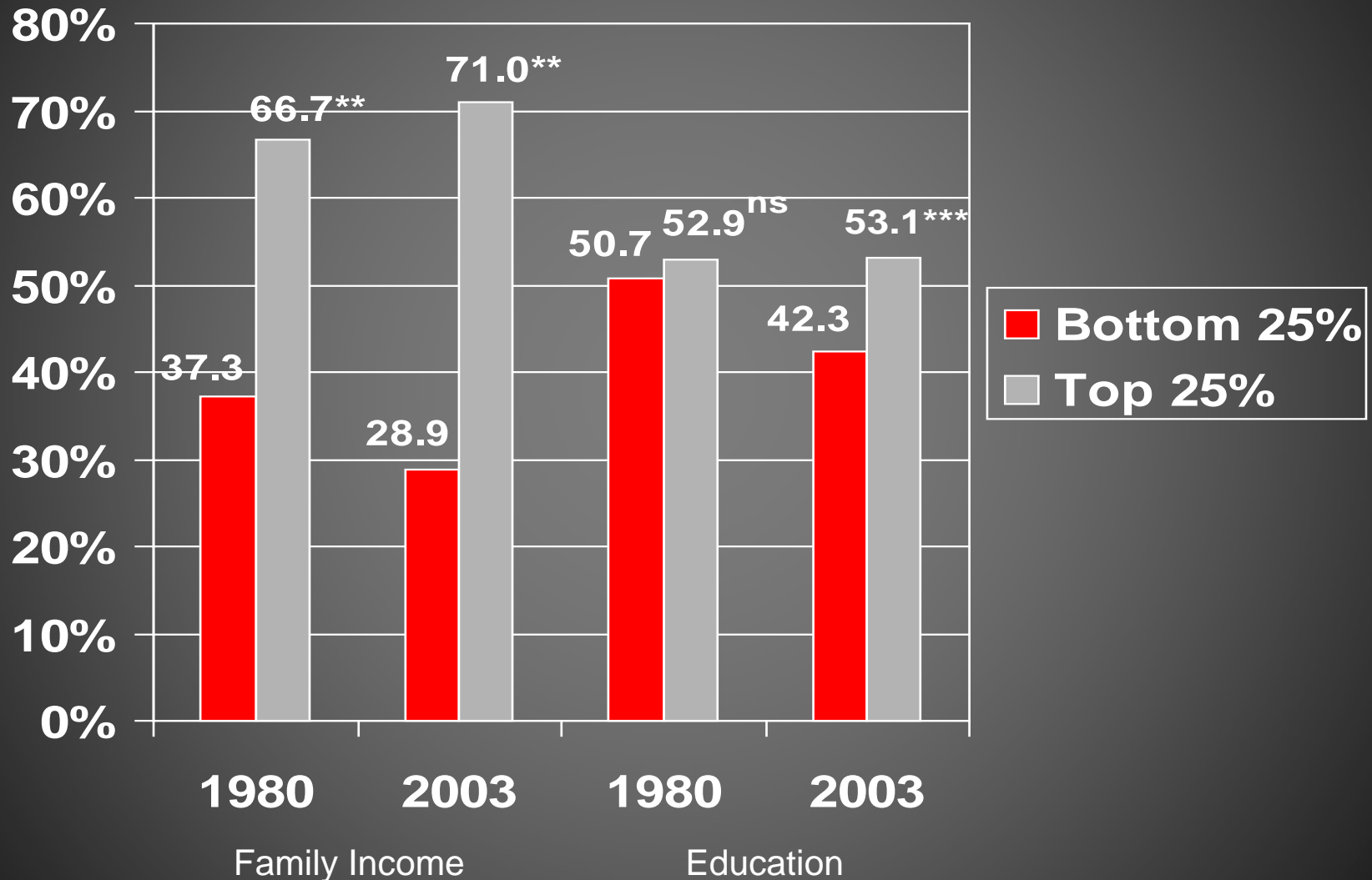
^{ns}non significant, ^{**}p<.01, ^{***}p<.001

Very Serious Neighborhood Drug Problems



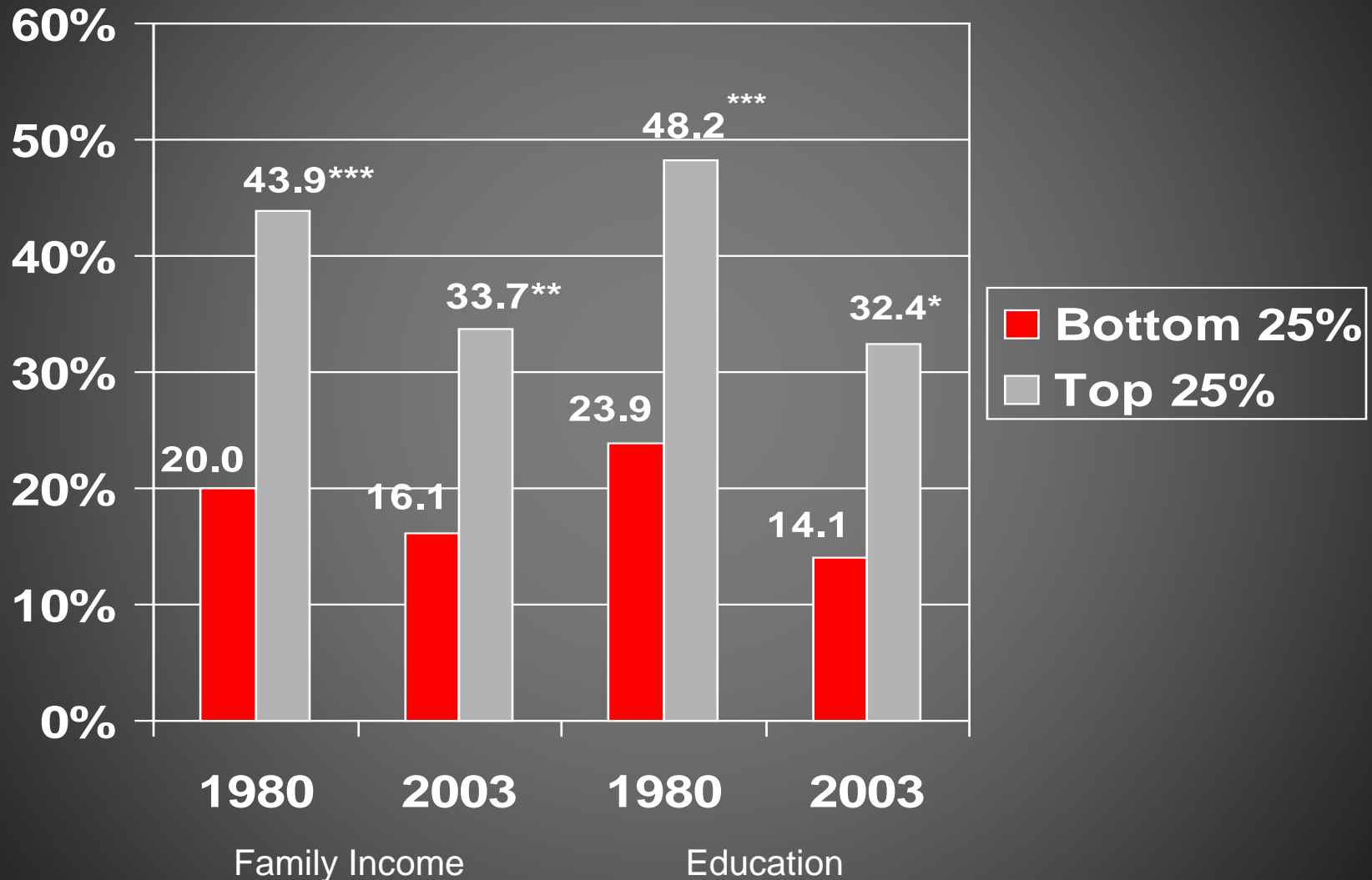
^{ns}non significant, ^{**}p<.01, ^{***}p<.001

Own or Plan to Buy Home



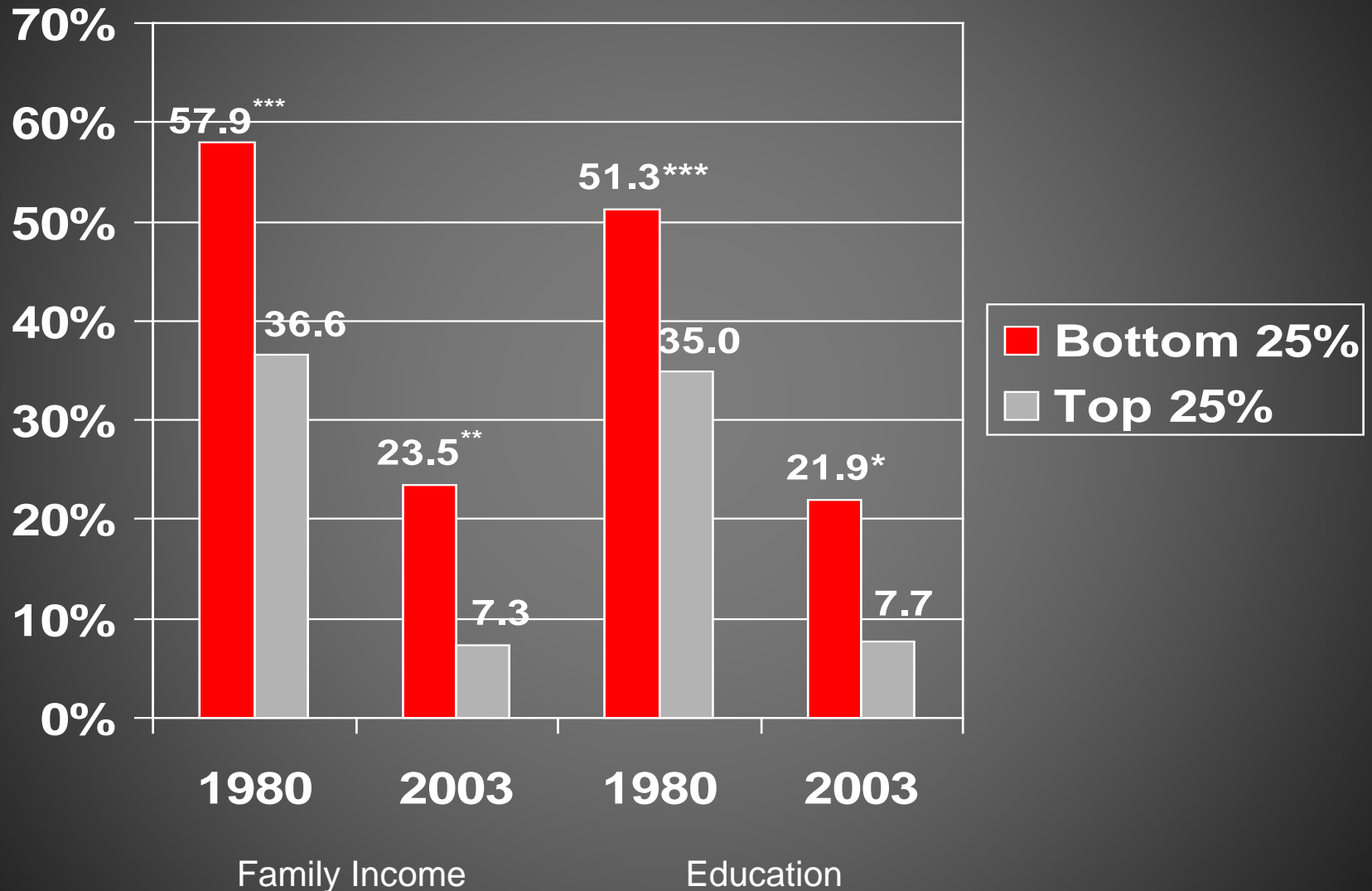
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Work in Mostly White Workplaces



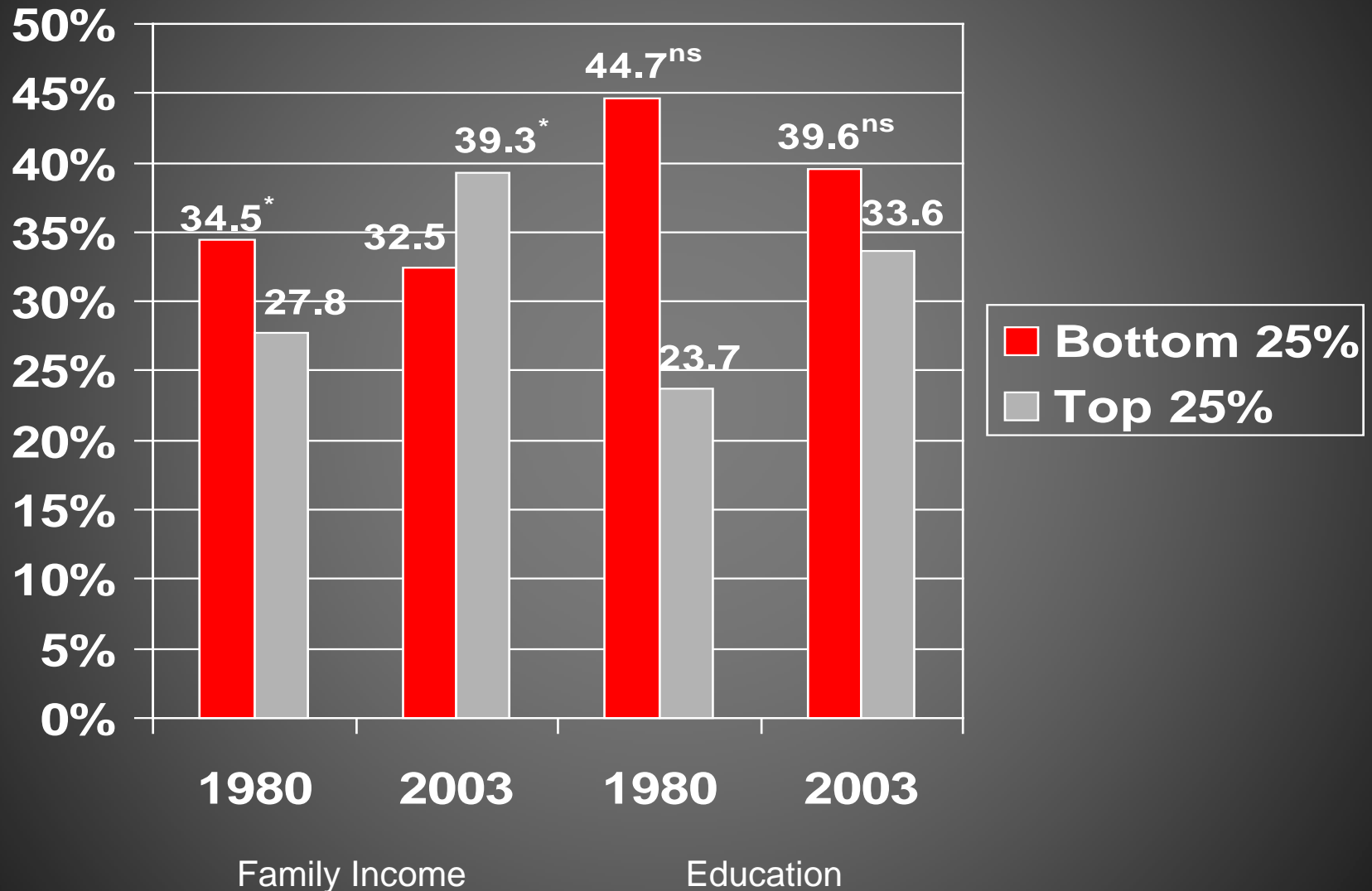
ns non significant, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Work in Mostly Black Workplaces



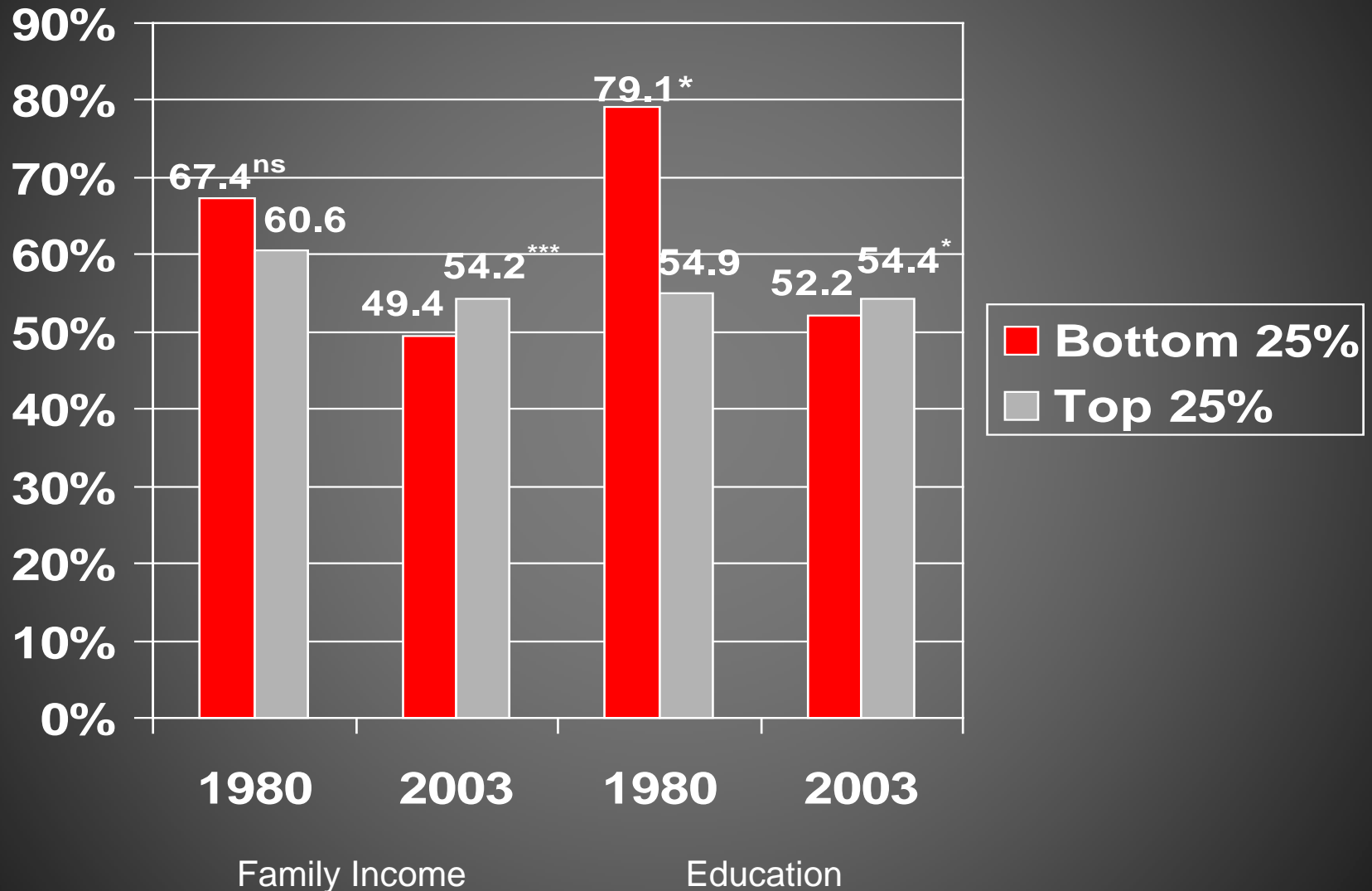
ns non significant, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Very Satisfied with Life



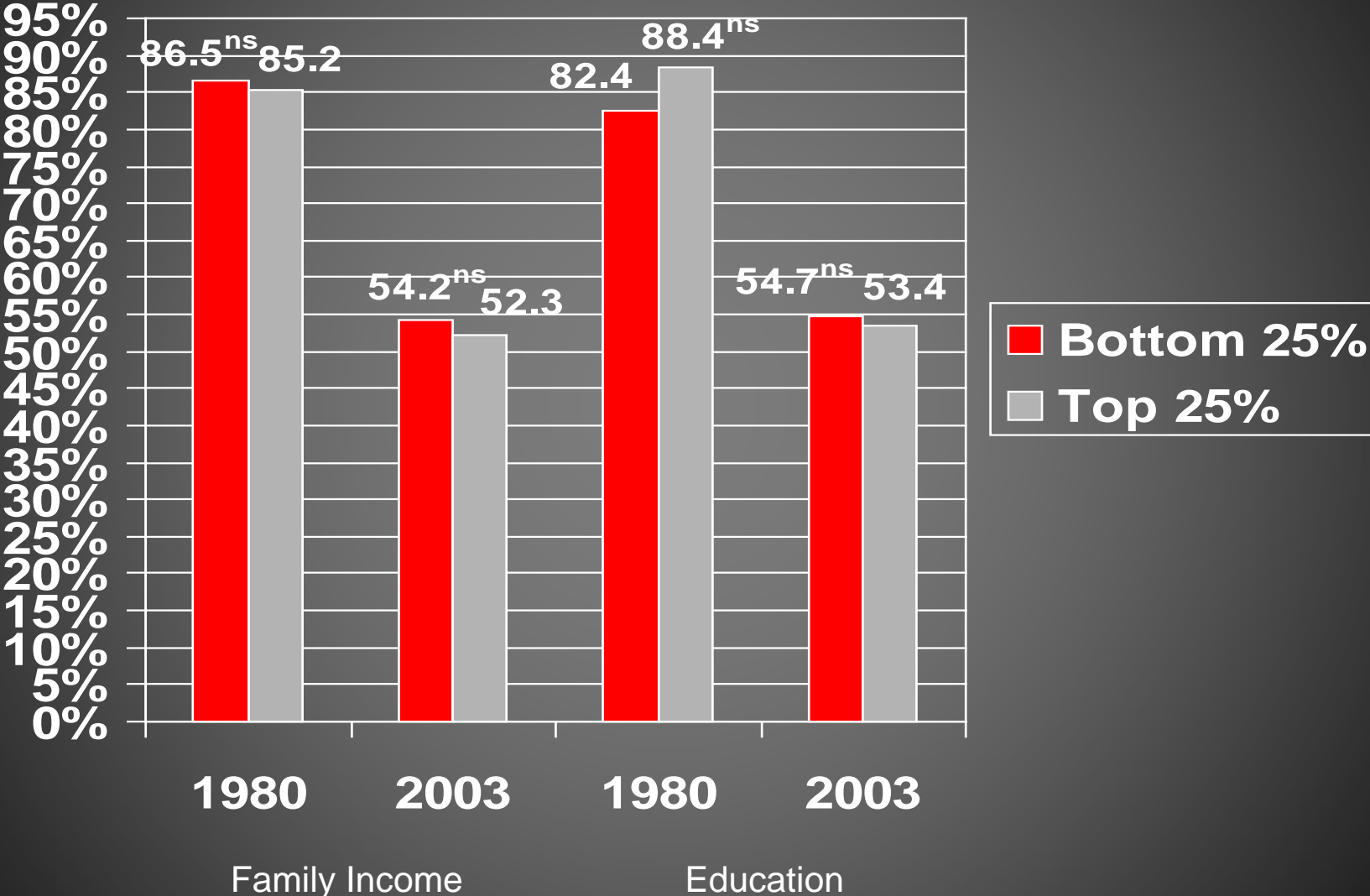
^{ns}non significant, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Feel Very Close to Working-Class Blacks



^{ns}non significant, ^{**}p<.01, ^{***}p<.001

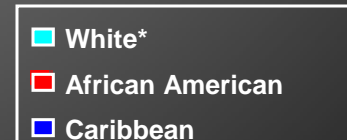
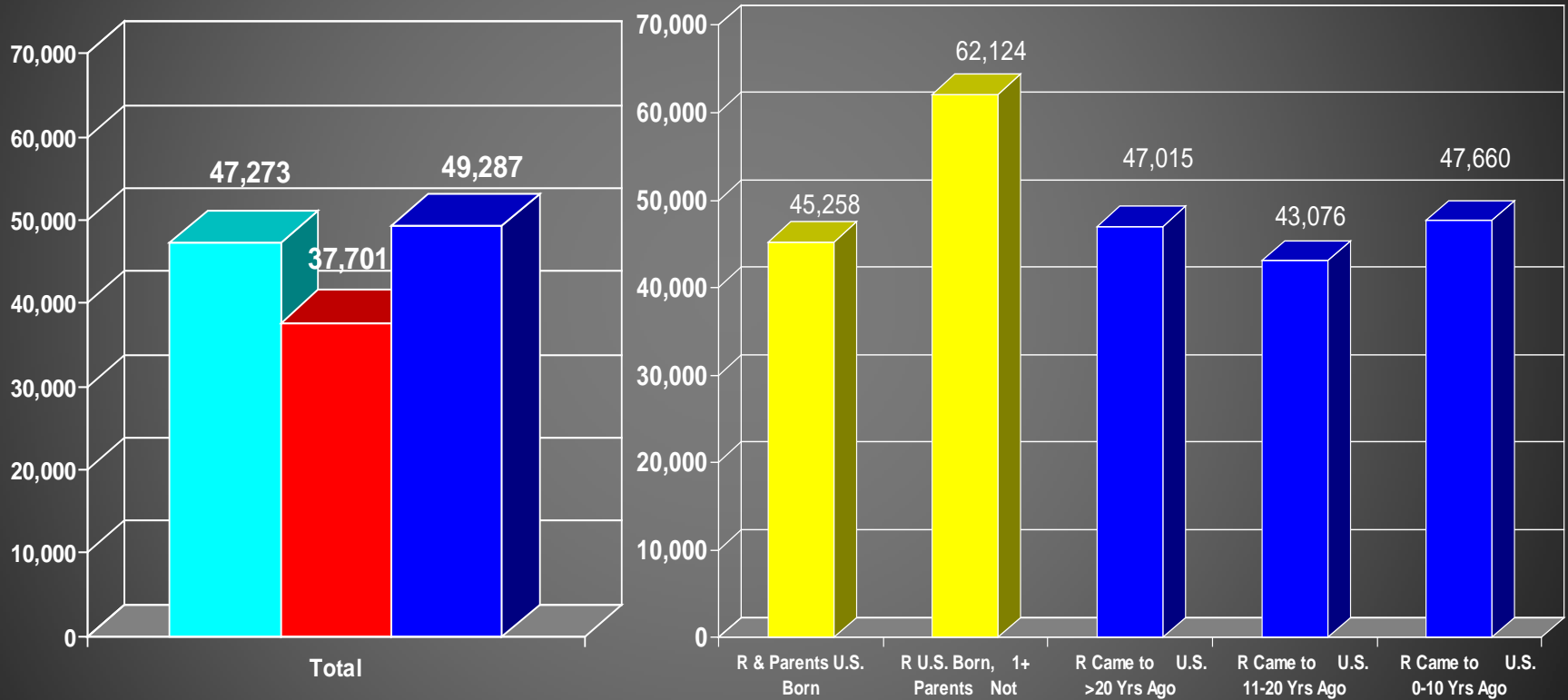
Percent Strong Democrat



^{ns}non significant, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Immigration Status and Ancestry Matter
for Afro-Caribbeans -- Materially,
Structurally, in Health and Mental Health,
and in Perceptions of Living

Family Income



Source: NSAL, National Survey of American Life, 2004.

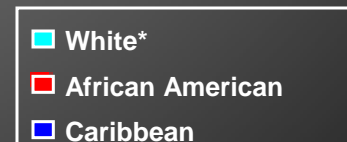
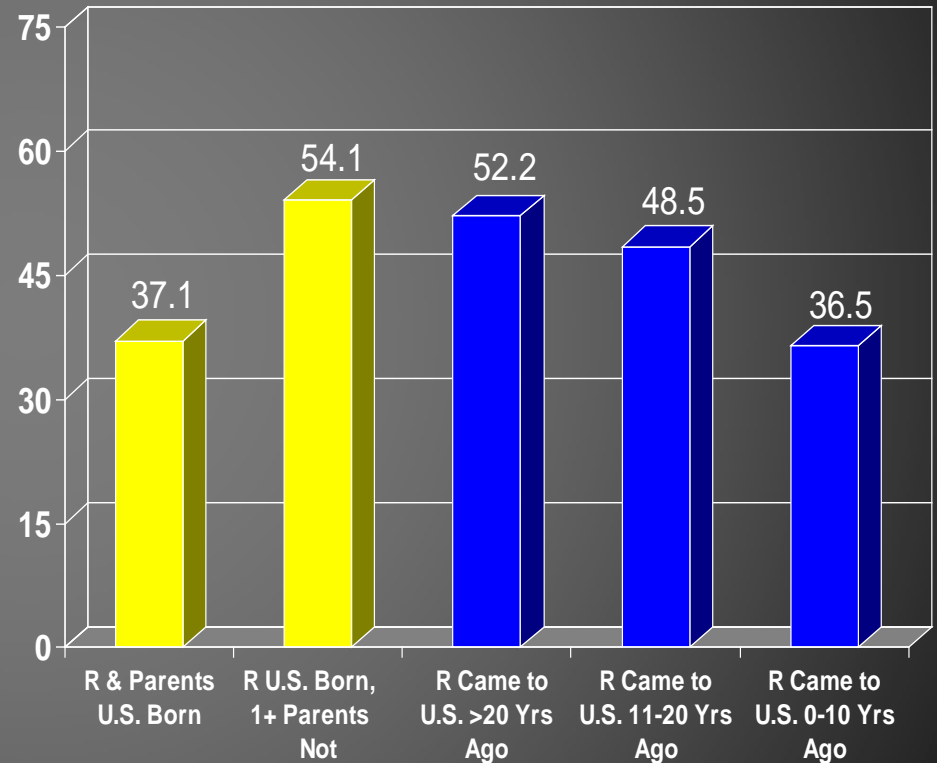
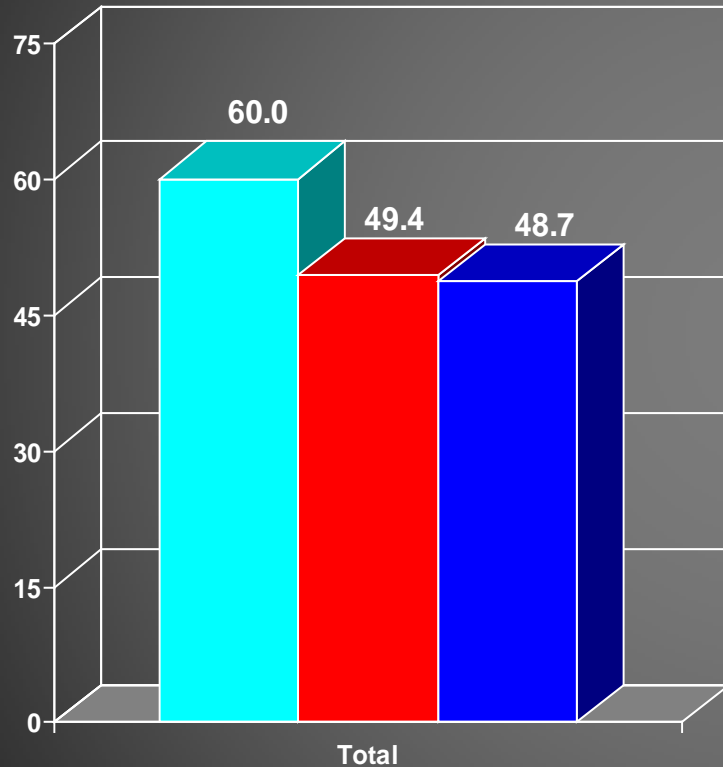
Note: Adjusted for age.

F-Statistics significant, $p < .001$

*NSAL Whites living in areas with Black population of 10% or more.

Home Ownership

(in percents)



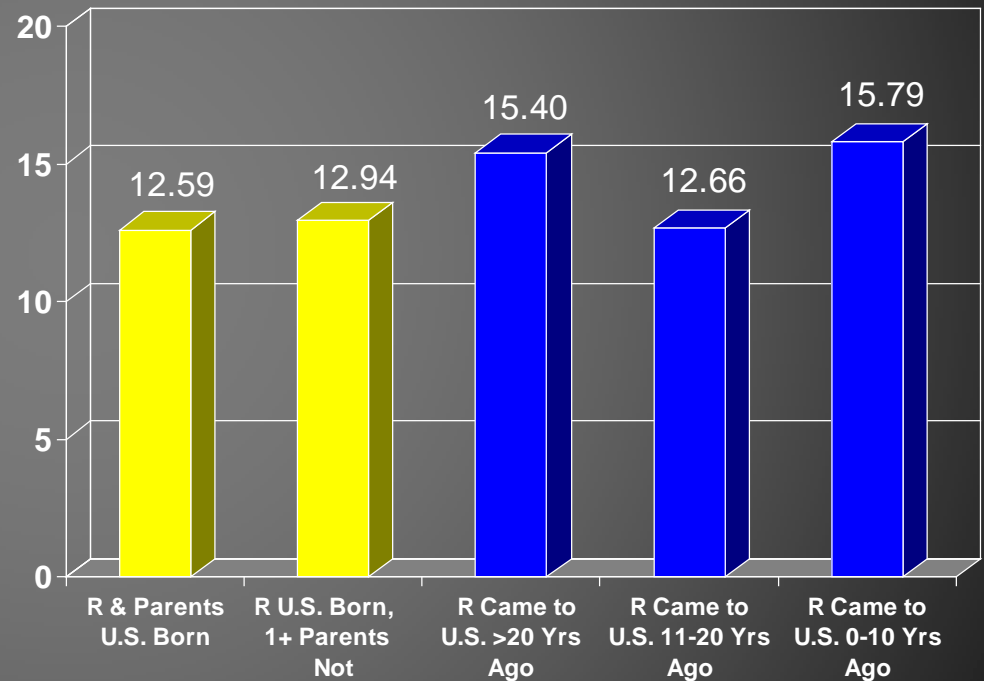
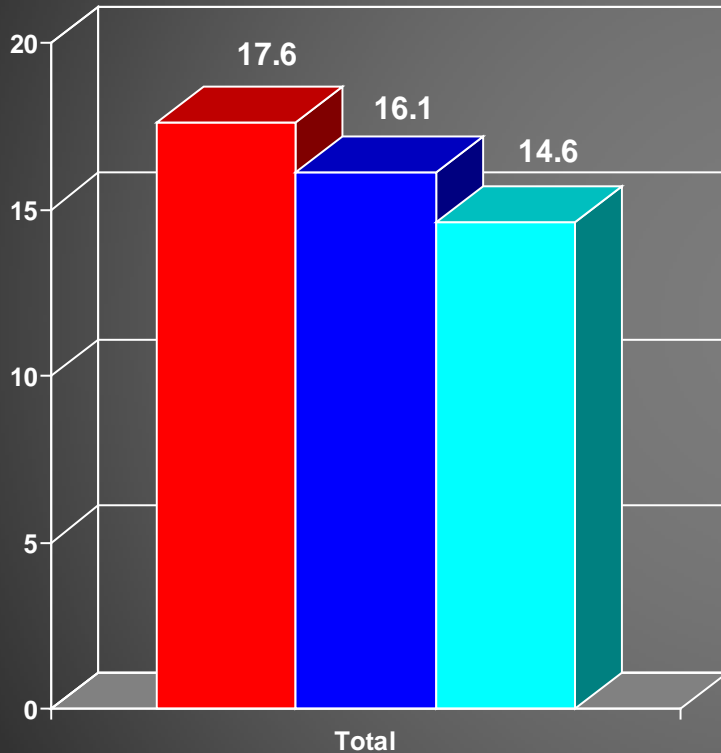
Source: NSAL, National Survey of American Life, 2004.

Note: Adjusted for age.

F-Statistics significant, $p < .001$

*NSAL Whites living in areas with Black population of 10% or more.

Years of Marriage

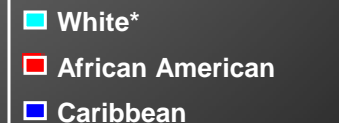


Source: NSAL, National Survey of American Life, 2004.

Note: Adjusted for age.

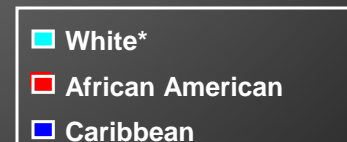
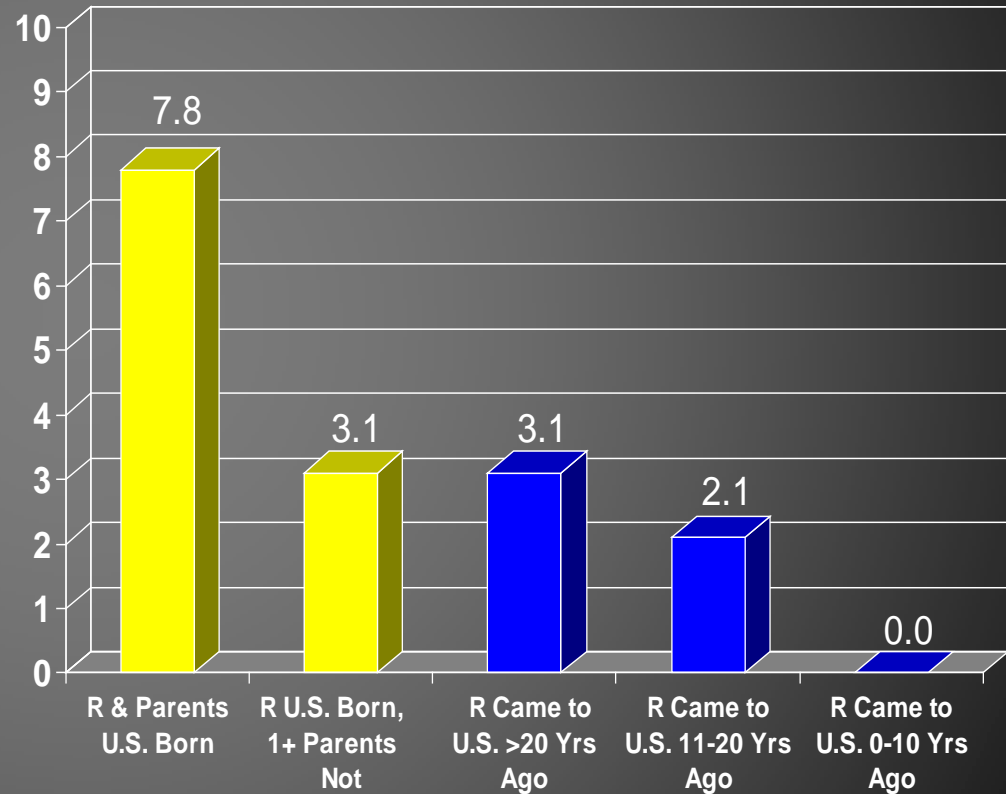
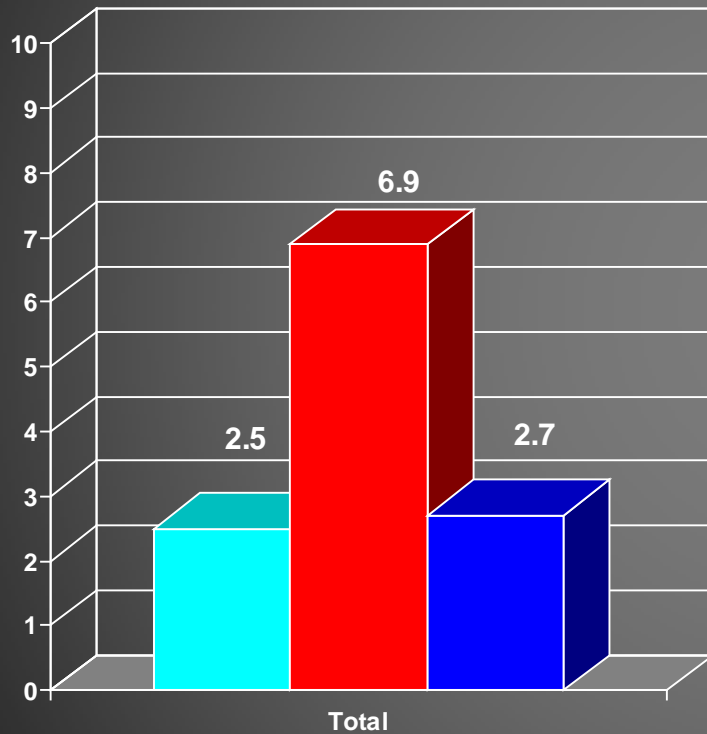
F-Statistics significant, $p < .001$

*NSAL Whites living in areas with Black population of 10% or more.



Currently Receiving Welfare

(in percents)



Source: NSAL, National Survey of American Life, 2004.

Note: Adjusted for age.

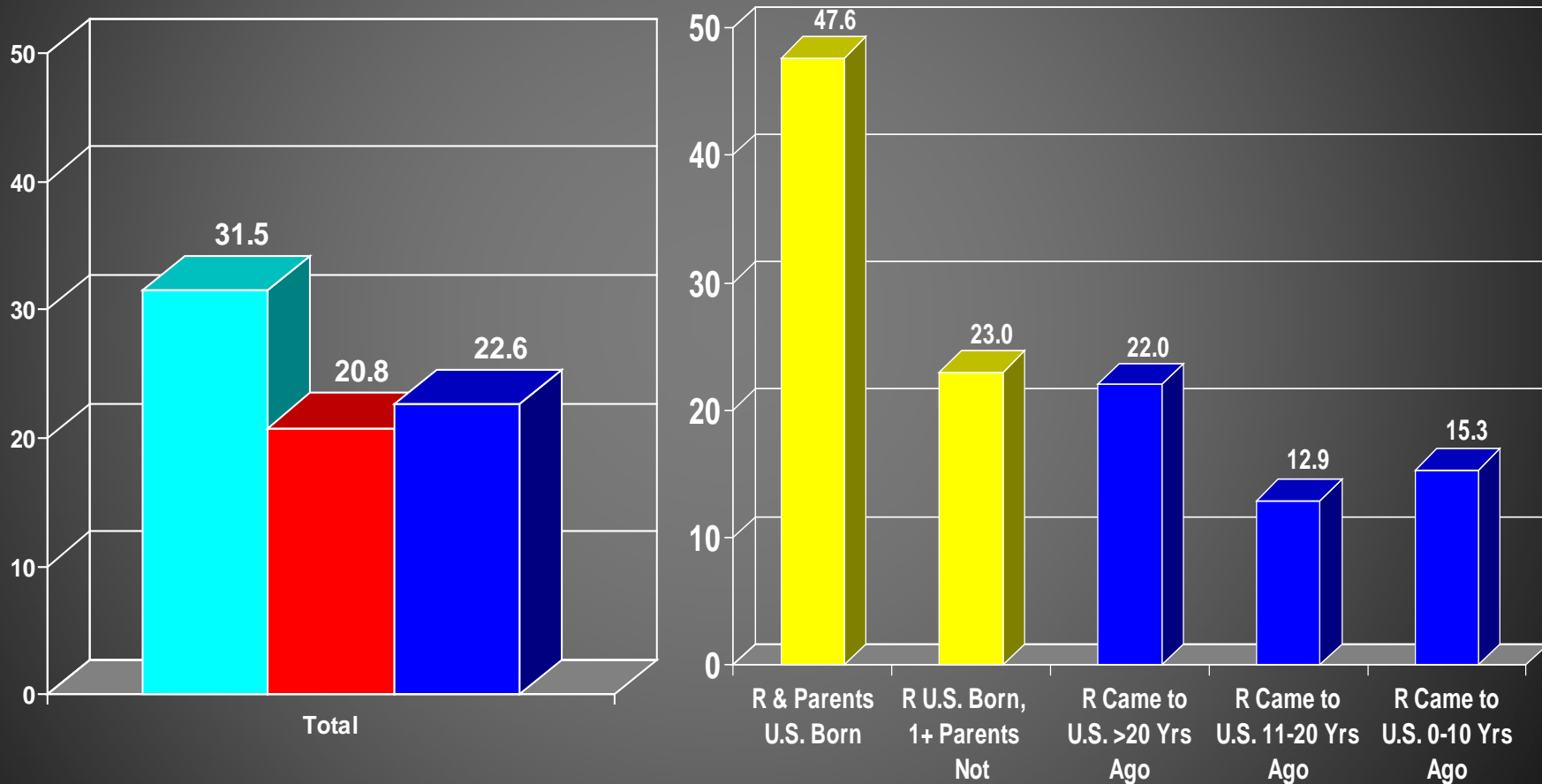
F-Statistics significant, $p < .001$

*NSAL Whites living in areas with Black population of 10% or more.

Ancestry, Timing and Age at
Immigration Matter for Black
Caribbean Health and Mental Health

Lifetime Any Disorder**

(in percentages)



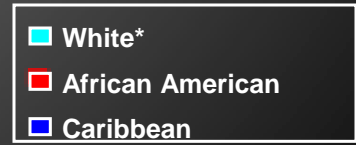
Source: NSAL, National Survey of American Life, 2004.

Note: Adjusted for age.

F-Statistics significant, $p < .001$

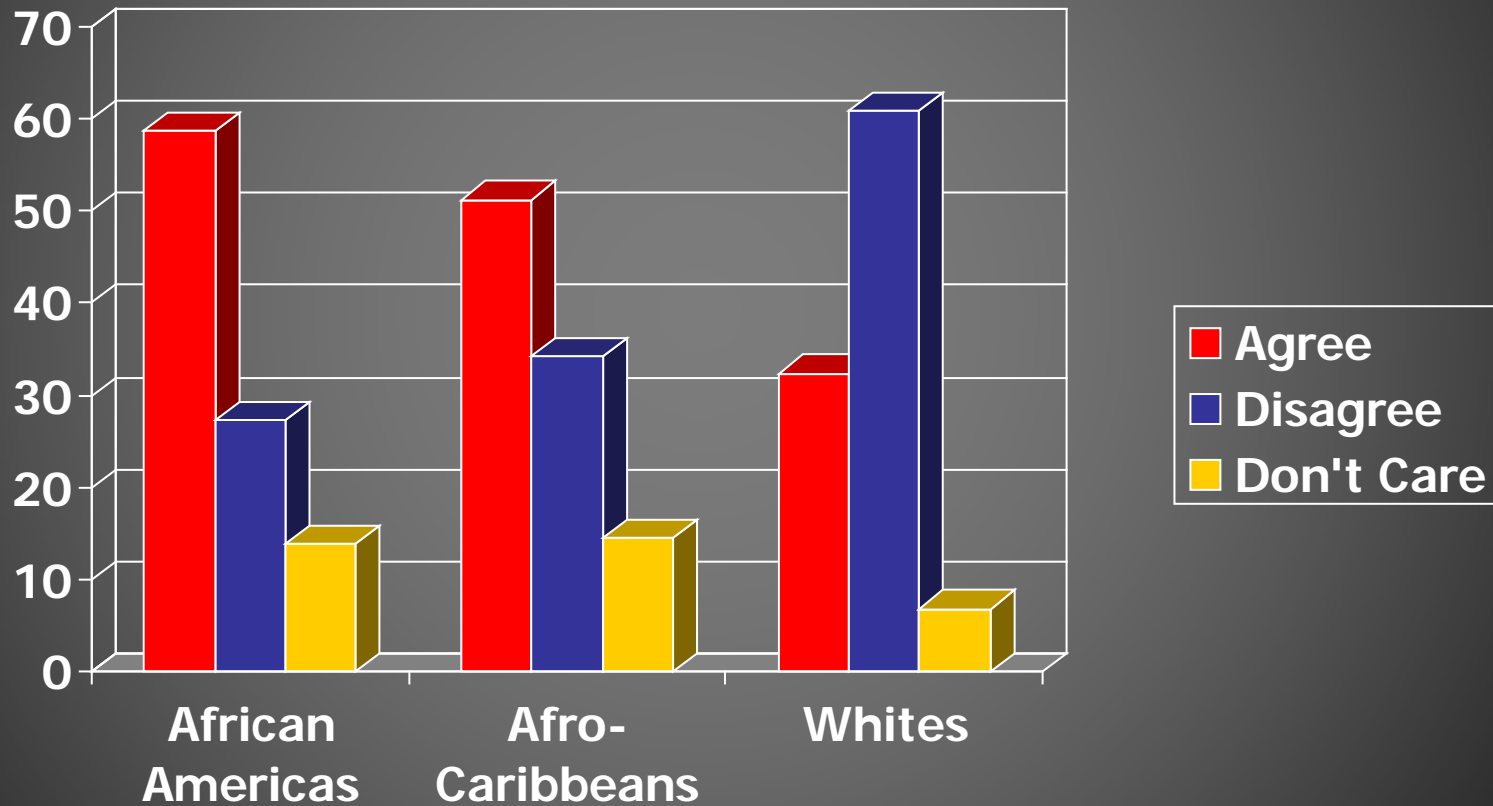
*NSAL Whites living in areas with Black population of 10% or more.

**Includes 7 disorders asked of all races: Major Depression, Dysthymia, Mania, Panic Disorder, Social Phobia, Generalized Anxiety Disorder, and Agoraphobia



The Substantial Inequalities of Life and
Living in this Country are Reflected in
Public Perceptions Among Different
Race/Ethnic Groups

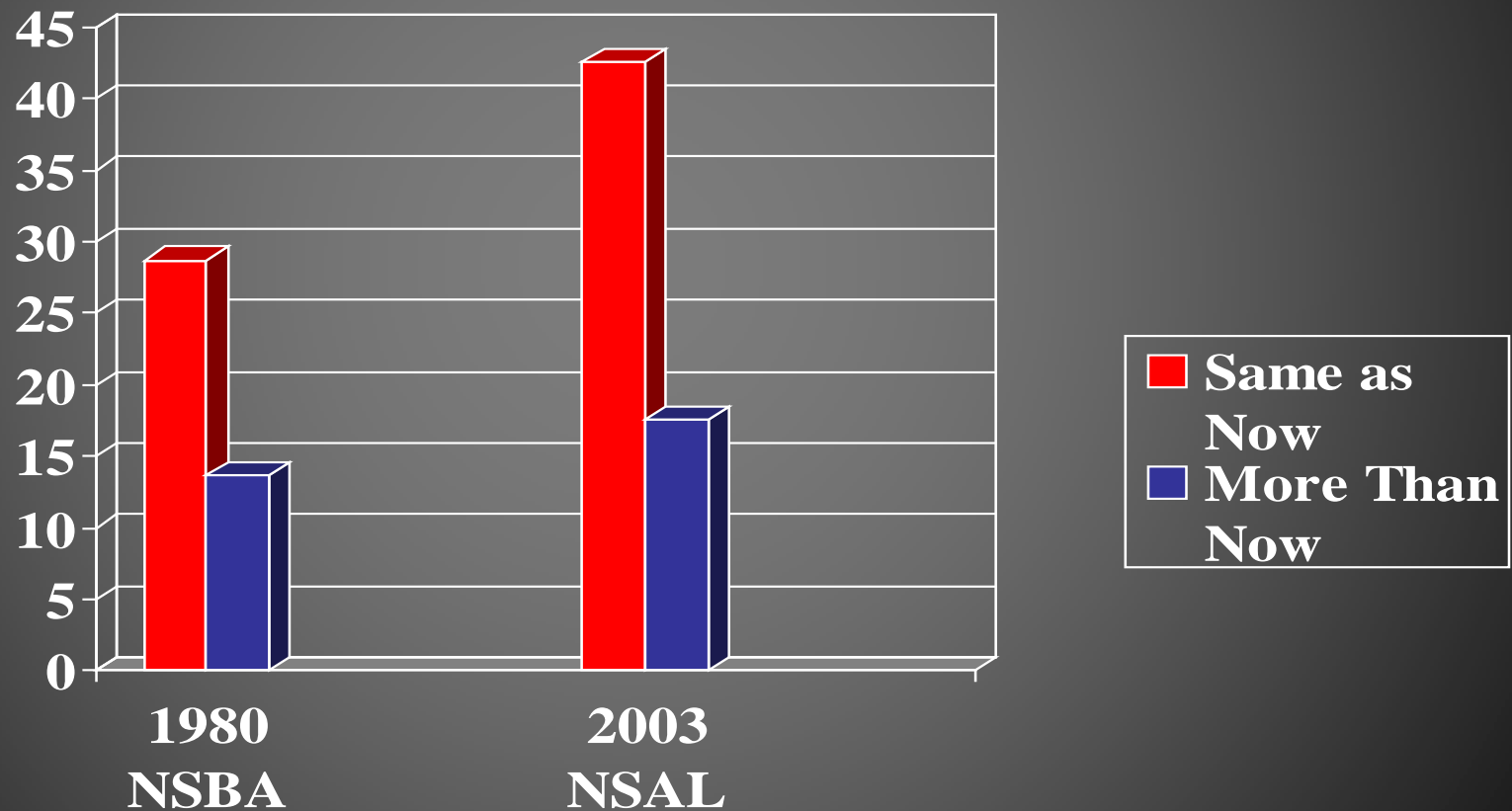
Attitudes Regarding Affirmative Action for Blacks by Race and Ethnicity NSAL 2003



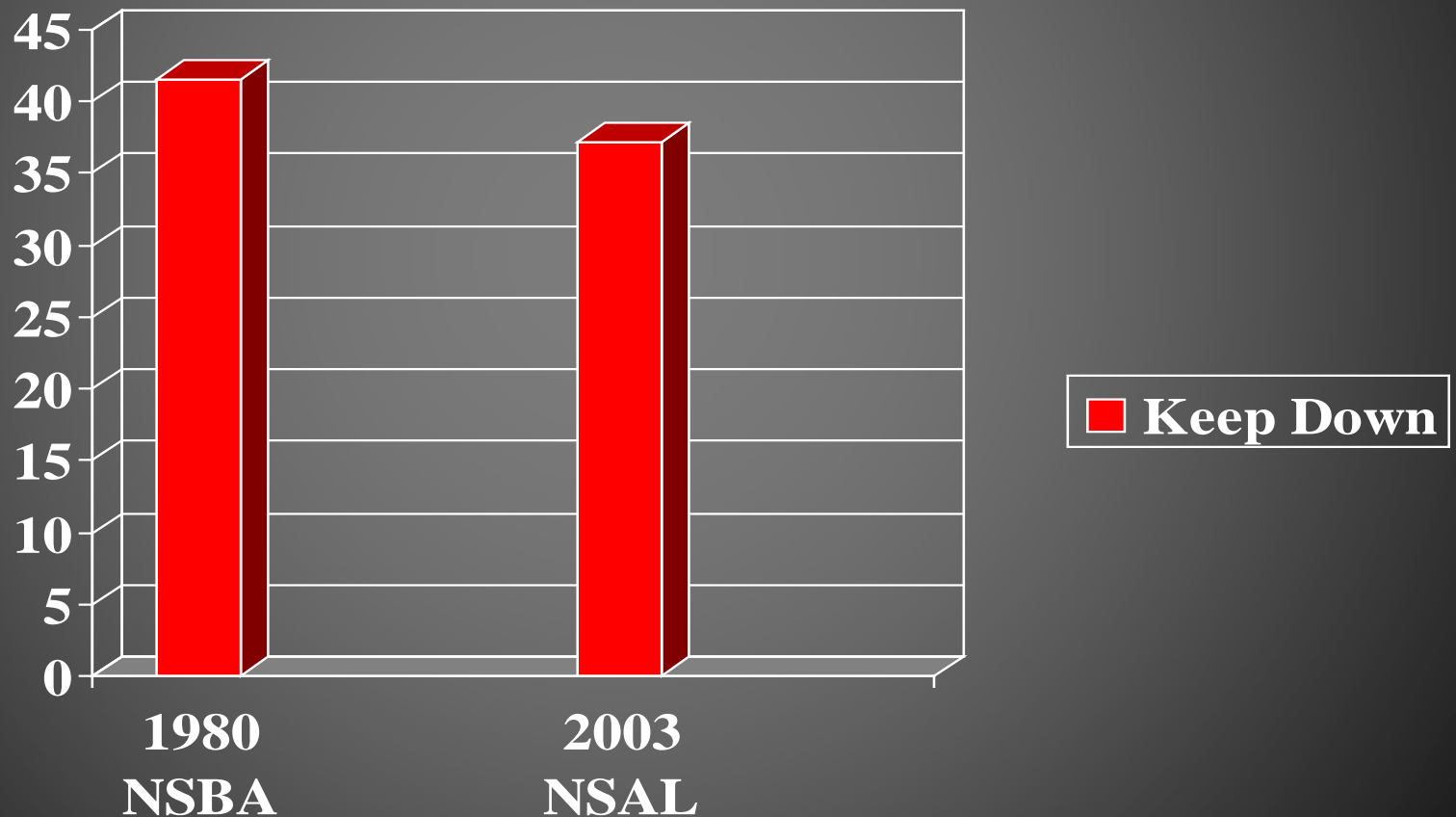
Perceptions of Discrimination Now Compared to 20 Years Ago Among African Americans



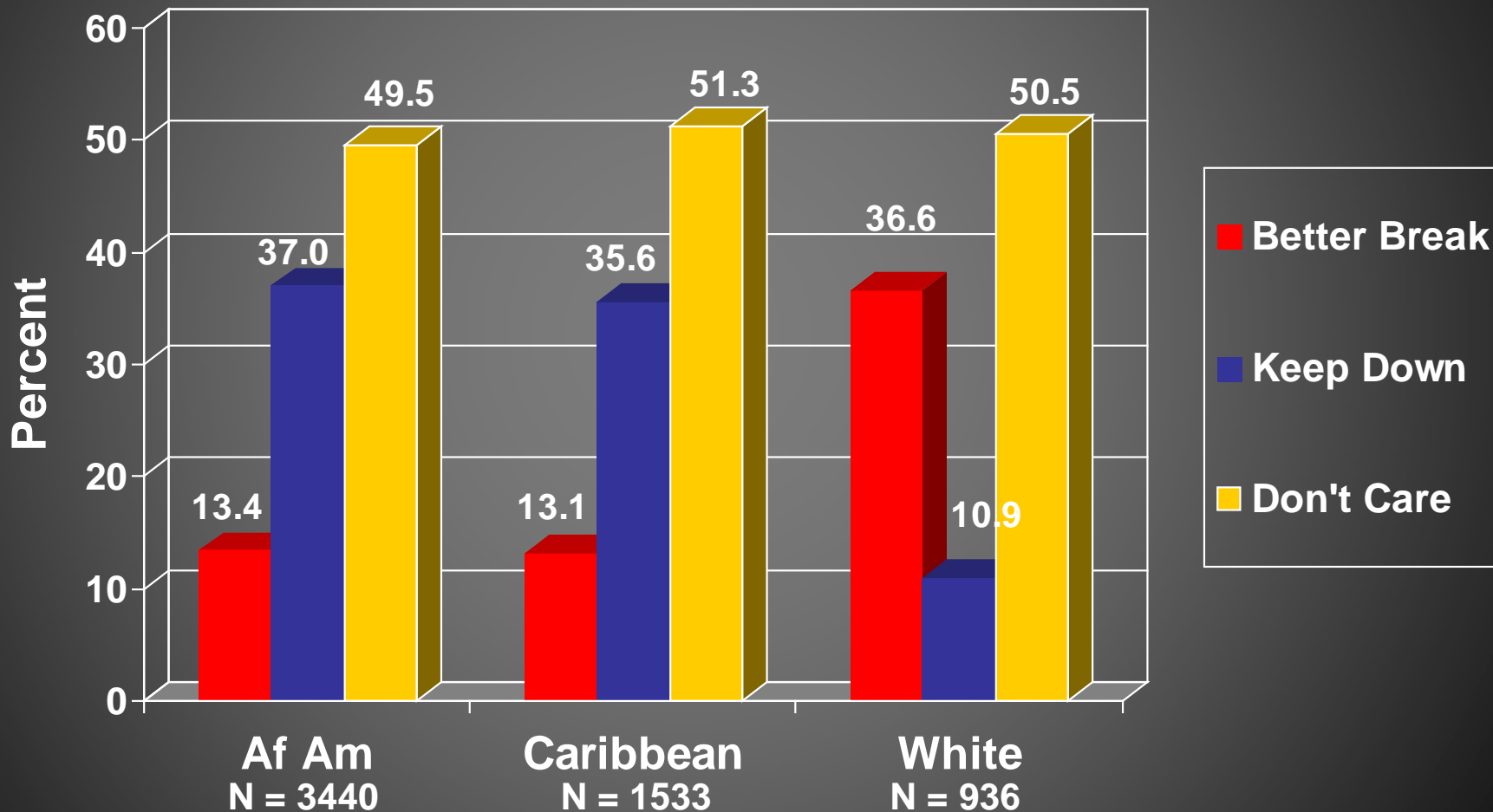
Perceptions of Discrimination in 20 Years From Now Compared to the Present Among African Americans



Perceptions of White's Intentions to Keep Blacks Down: 1980 and 2003 Among African Americans

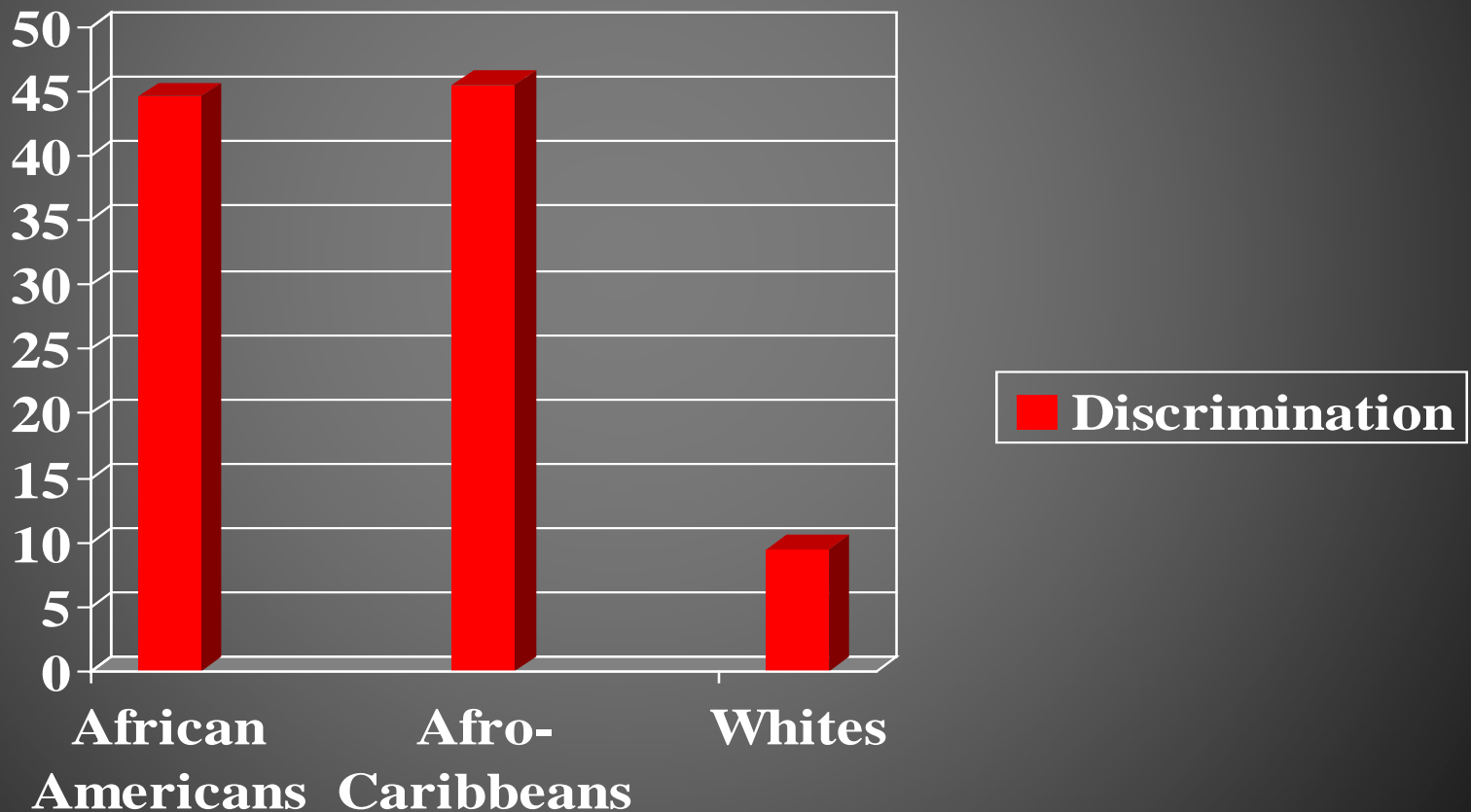


Perceptions of Whites' Racial Group Intentions Among African Americans, Afro-Caribbeans and Whites in 2003

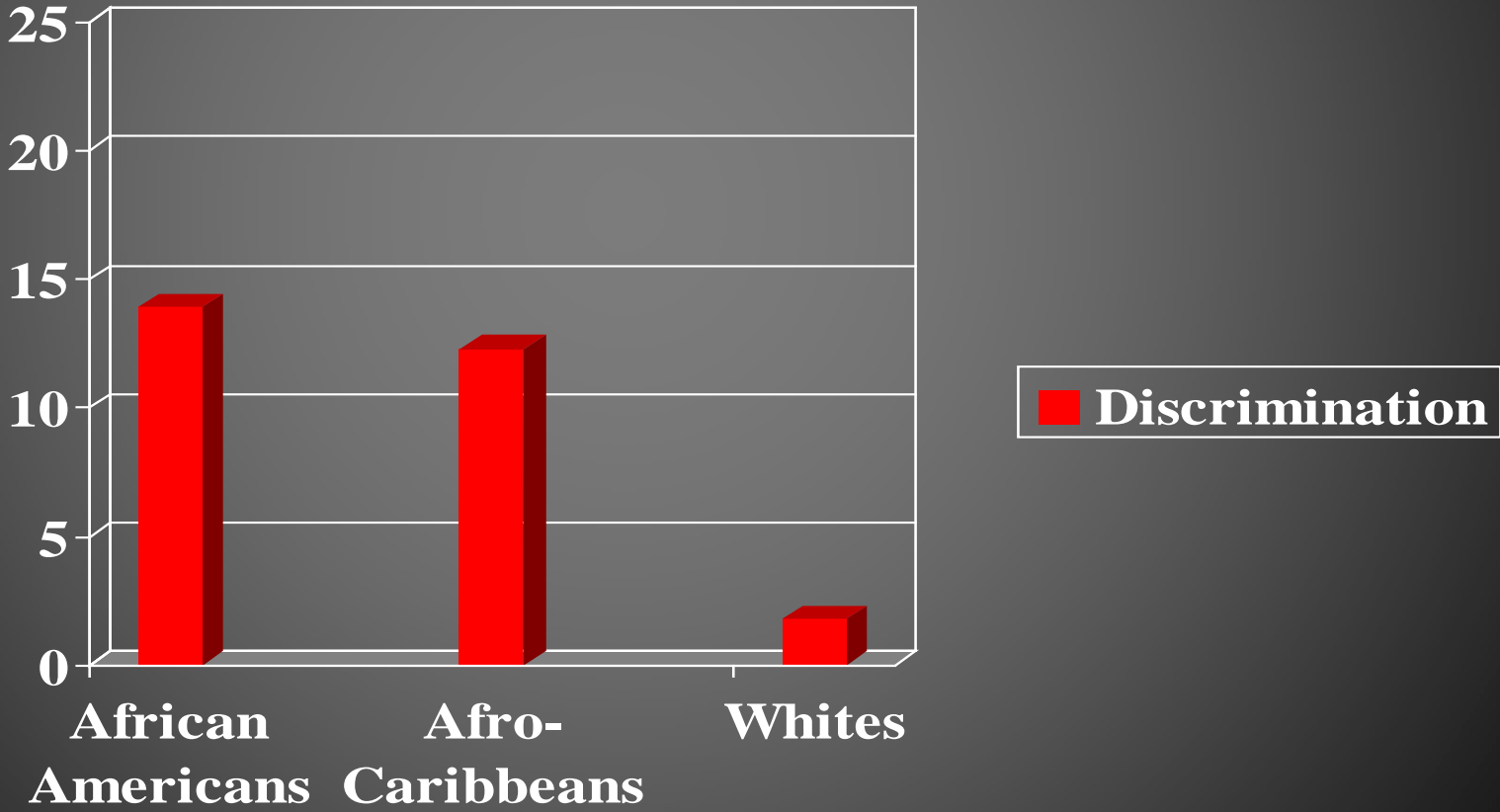


Chi-Square Statistic is significant $p < .001$

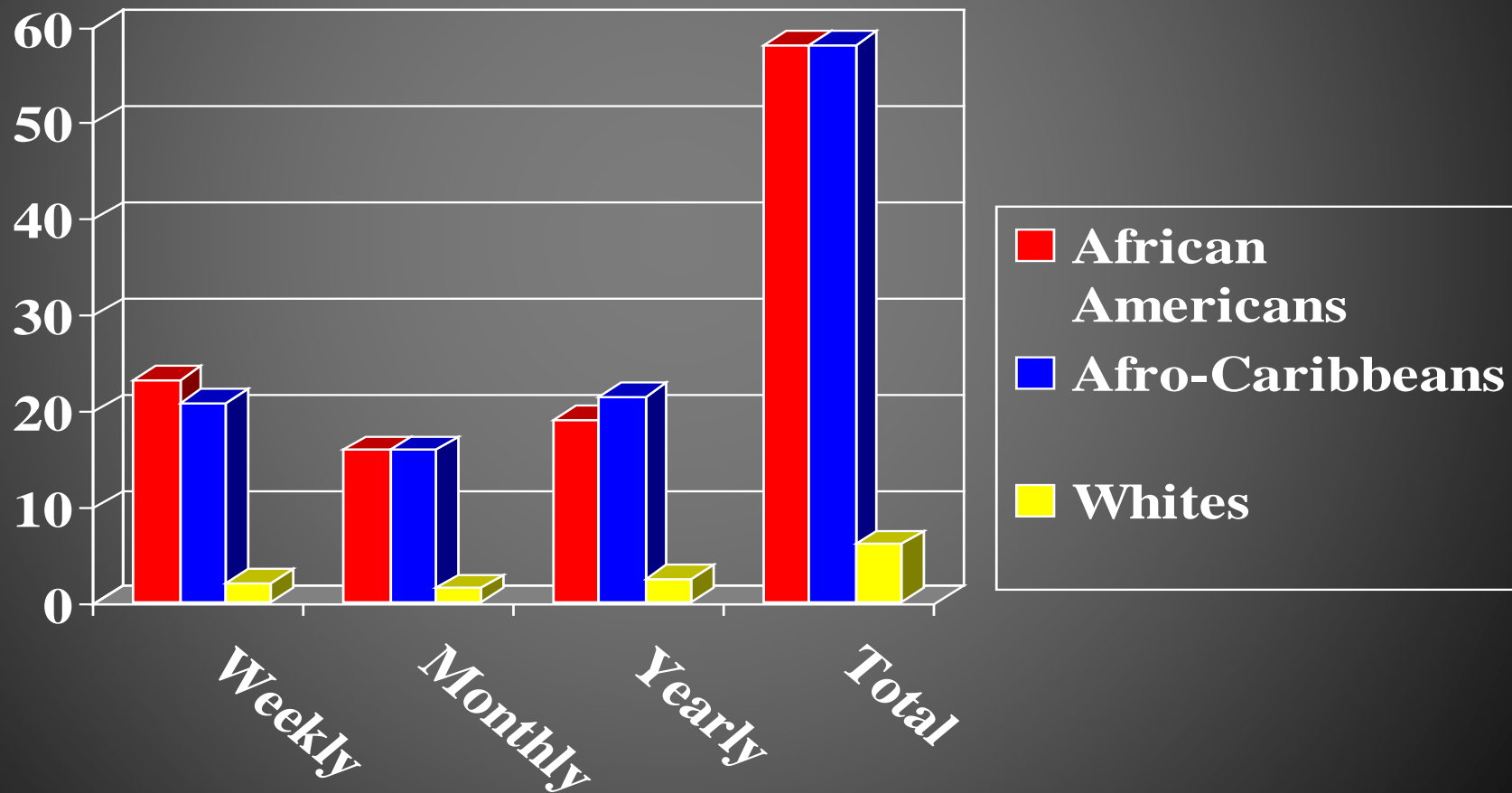
Perceived Major Discrimination Because of Race Over Life-Time Among African Americans, Afro-Caribbeans, and Whites in 2003



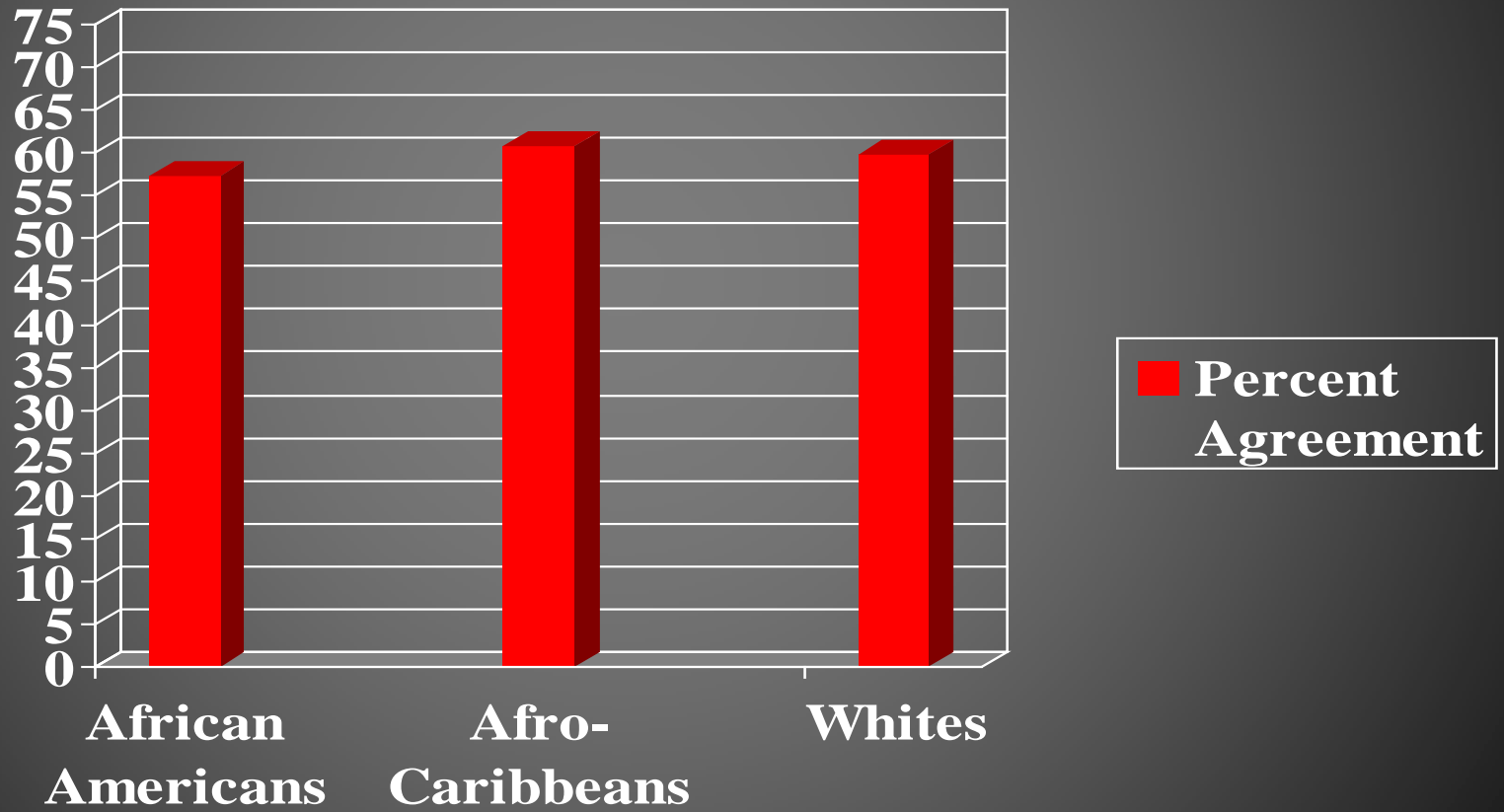
Perceived Major Discrimination Because of Race in the Last 12 Months Among Groups in 2003



Perceived Every-Day Racial Discrimination Among African Americans and Afro-Caribbeans in 2003



Belief that “Minorities Have No One to Blame But Themselves If They Fail”, Among Groups 2003 NSAL



Conclusions

- In the 21st century we need to focus our empirical studies on blacks more on the Heterogeneity Produced by Race, Ethnicity, Class, Gender, Immigration and other conditioners of life
- Explicit or Implicit assumptions of homogeneity in research on ethnic/racial populations is no loner tenable – if it ever was!

Conclusions

- We must develop effective strategies for this society to make social and political changes for this, and the next, generation of black Americans -- who after all comprise one of our oldest groups of American citizens
- This strategy will not only benefit black Americans but will be of benefit to the growing ethnic and racial populations in this country, and, in fact, our society as a whole.

Policy Implications

- Individual Interventions and Structural Interventions
- If I had to privilege one over the other it would be Structural

Summary of Major Policy Themes Emerging from our Studies

Policy Themes

- Sustained, broad-based focus by government and private organizations on providing a wide range of economic opportunities
- We need policies to improve family support systems, among other areas, to finance education reform, and to provide opportunities for intergenerational wealth accumulation

Policy Themes

- eliminate ongoing racial and ethnic discrimination through more vigorous monitoring and enforcement of antidiscrimination laws in housing, employment, schooling, and the criminal justice system

Policy Themes

- Find common objectives among racial and ethnic minority groups as a basis for building effective coalitions

Study Conclusions

- Vigorous enforcement of racial and ethnic antidiscrimination laws in education, employment, housing, politics, health services, and criminal justice
- Develop a comprehensive, sustainable government and private sector plan that addresses the long history of unequal racial treatment

Study Conclusions

- Comprehensive multi-tiered plan to rebuild neighborhoods and central cities.
- Create and coordinate programs that strengthen family formation and maintenance.
- Develop and implement effective educational and work opportunities for all.
- Provide transportation systems that permit access to good jobs and decent living conditions

Thank You

