

# Black Diaspora Consortium

U.S. Black Immigration, Race and Racialization

An Annotated Bibliography

By Marc Perry

Diasporic Racisms: Racial Processes in the  
Americas and the Transformation of U.S. Race Relations

The Black Diaspora Consortium (BDC) Project  
Center for African and African-American Studies  
University of Texas at Austin  
20002

## *Introduction*

The following is an annotated bibliographic survey of scholarly literature pertaining to the experience of recently arrived foreign-born black immigrants in the U.S. Rather than a sweeping review of all works relating to black immigration, this collection focuses primarily on literature examining the ways black immigrant populations negotiate the social dynamics of race (and by extension ethnicity) in the U.S. The term black here is used to refer to African-descendent immigrant groups from the Caribbean, Latin America and Africa. As such, black is employed in a broad, diasporic sense to be incorporative of the wide spectrum of population groups that comprise the modern-day African Diaspora. The centering of blackness as a racial marker simultaneously underscores this survey's thematic emphasis on the racialized experience of immigrants of African descent as they navigate the sociohistorical particularities of race in the U.S. African descendent immigrants, more often than not, find themselves confronted by a racial system in the U.S. that configures them one-dimensionally as "black" within the cultural logic of its binary black/white racial structure (see for instance Bashi and McDaniel 1997). Even among those who may not have self-identified or been classified as black within their native contexts, most darker-skinned immigrants of African descent experience, along with their newly ascribed blackness, new forms of racism and racial discrimination. Such racialization forces not only impact the daily experience of these immigrants, but may in turn inform immigrants' own self-definitions and identity as they are reshaped within the particular socio-racial framework of U.S. society (see, for instance, Omi and Winant 1996). The racial self-conceptions that these immigrants bring to the U.S. from their home countries, moreover, may simultaneously be impacting contemporary social dynamics of race and ethnicity in the U.S. as well.

The citations compiled in this bibliography concentrate primarily on materials published after 1985. The rationale for this focus hinges on the 1985 publication of *Black Immigration and Ethnicity in the United States: An Annotated Bibliography*, by the Center for Afro-American and African Studies at the University of Michigan, which presents a comprehensive review of scholarly literature on black immigration up through

1985 (see annotated citation). While the citations presented in this current bibliography are complementary to the previously published collection, it differs in that it represents a more narrowed attention to the themes of race and racialization. As such, this bibliographic compilation does not incorporate recent research in the field of black immigration studies that focus on the theme of transnationalism. These works, a significant number of which examine Haitian and Dominican experiences, tend to concentrate on circular immigration practices, transnational cultural and social linkages, and related forms of emergent politics and identity rather than a focus on the local experiential dynamics in the hosting U.S.

The works annotated in this collection are broken down onto ten different sections. With the exception of the final section, titled “Racial Dynamics in the African Diaspora”, which presents a selected listing of literature pertaining to country-specific relevant racial constructions and processes outside the U.S., the great majority of citations are annotated. Individual exceptions are mostly sources that were unavailable for review at the time of compilation. The first section, “General Black Immigration and Racialization”, as the title suggests, presents a selective review of general literature on black immigration experiences and analyses of racialization processes in the U.S. The subsequent eight sections are organized topically into headings related to individual black immigrant population groups: Africans (with a sub-section on Cape-Verdeans), Afro-Caribbean, Afro-Latinos, Cubans, Dominicans, Garifuna, Haitians, and Puerto Ricans. In keeping with individual authors’ design, annotated summaries tend to use the author’s prescribed terminology for black immigrant groups. For example, summaries using the term “West Indian” reflect an individual author’s use of the term to refer to Anglophone Afro-Caribbean. Similar terminological treatments apply to the use of Hispanic vs. Latino.

## *Immigration: New Trends and Debates*

Since the mid 1960s immigration flows to the U.S. have shifted radically from a previously European-based focus to “Third World”, non-white population sources. Many authors cite reforms in U.S. immigration policy as a major factor initiating this shift (Pedraza 1996; Rumbaut 1996; Djamba 1999; Foner 2001). Of particular importance was the passage of the 1965 Family Reunification and Refugee Law, which abolished national quotas and prioritized family reunification as a key immigration guideline. A number of authors note that socioeconomic changes brought on by the emergence of newly independent states in the Caribbean and Africa as well as more recent shifts in the global economy have further contributed to the rise of non-white immigration from the “Third World” during this period (see Kasinitz 1992; Stoller 2000). Such transitions have ushered in record-breaking waves of immigration where, presently, some 85% of those immigrating to the U.S. stem from Asia and Latin America while European immigration has declined proportionally to 12% (Rumbaut 1996). By 1990, immigrants from Latin America and the Caribbean alone far outnumbered immigrants from Europe.

Many authors argue that this massive post-1965 influx of non-European immigration to the U.S. is markedly altering the social make-up and dynamics of race and ethnicity in American society (see Rodriguez 1992; Rumbaut 1994, 1996; Portes 1994; Pedraza 1996, 2000; Vickerman 1999). Bailey (2001) asserts for instance that, “Post-1965 immigrants and their children are increasingly challenging the assumptions underlying United States racial categories through their everyday assertion and enactment of identities that do not fit neatly into historically dominant United States racial and ethnic categories.” Jaynes (2000) asserts moreover that the demographic effects of current non-white immigration foreshadow the demise of the black/white bimodal conceptualization of racial identity and race relations in the U.S. (also see Rodriguez 1992; Vickerman in Foner 2001). Within the realm of formal politics, Kasinitz (1992) suggests that, in the case of New York City, where Caribbean origin people currently comprise almost one-half of all its black people, Afro-Caribbean growing participation in

local politics is having a transformative effect on the traditional character of racial and ethnic-based politics in that city.

While the above authors underscore the varying social impacts black immigrants are having on American society, others have drawn attention to how immigrants' individual and collective lives are shaped by the quotidian experience of race in the U.S. In highlighting the challenges recently arrived black immigrants face in adjusting to U.S. racial constructions, which often differ from those "back home," a significant body of literature examines the ways black immigrants negotiate their new racialized experience, often strategically through realms of culture and politics. Here the discourse of ethnicity is key. Much of the literature on Afro-Caribbean immigrants centers upon the ways these communities organize around culturally-based notions of ethnicity as a means of shielding themselves from racism and race-based discrimination in the U.S. One important social manifestation of these efforts often cited by researchers is the formation of what some have termed "ethnic enclaves", referring to the localization of black immigrant group settlements, social networks, and small-scale entrepreneurship (see Duany 1994; Pedraza and Rumbaut 1996; Crowder 1999; Kasinitz and Vickerman 2001; and Skop 2001). Some of these and other authors use the term 'ethnic' unqualifiedly to describe these immigrant communities and related forms of social organization. Others critically examine the ways discourses and identities of "ethnic difference" are strategically employed by black immigrant groups as a way of transversing the affects of anti-black racism and racial discrimination (see Padilla 1984, 1985; Macklin in O'Connor 1998; Bailey 1999; Sanchez 1999; Vickerman 1999, 2001; Itzigsohn and Dore-Cabral 2000; Gracia and de Greiff 2002; Hintzen 2002). Here, "I'm black but..." becomes a common refrain as cultural difference formulated within a framework of ethnicity serves as a way for black immigrants to distance themselves from racial stereotypes and negative associations frequently ascribed to native-born African Americans.

In practice, however, assertions of this kind of black ethnic (i.e., cultural) difference tend to reproduce dominant discourses of African American cultural inferiority upon which

such culturally configured stereotypes and associations are commonly based. The claim “I’m black but…” often implicitly reifies the idea that African Americans are somehow culturally dysfunctional or deficient in comparison to foreign-born black groups. Such positions both articulate with and are supported by a tradition of conservative scholarship that has posited the notion of an African American sociocultural pathology to explain the historical persistence of black poverty and poor economic performance. Glazer and Moynihan’s classic 1963 work, *Beyond the Melting Pot*, was one of the first works to articulate this sociocultural pathology thesis in suggesting that black America’s socioeconomic marginality is largely a result of African American’s inability to assimilate into and advance within (white) mainstream U.S. culture. It was black’s own sociocultural dysfunctionality, it followed, that both disabled them from participating and benefiting from American society and contributed to perpetuate further cycles of sociocultural dysfunctionality.<sup>1</sup> The authors cited the gains of latter arriving white “ethnic” minority groups in the U.S. as comparative examples of successful assimilation.

A successive application of this classic assimilationist/sociocultural pathology model, relating specifically to comparisons between West Indians (English-speaking Afro-Caribbean) and native-born blacks, can be found in the work of conservative sociologist Thomas Sowell. Sowell (1978, 1981) cites earning gaps and other socioeconomic indicators between West Indians and African Americans as evidence that race and racial discrimination are insufficient factors to explain lower levels of African American economic performance in relation to both foreign-born blacks and native whites. For Sowell, “cultural traditions” largely accounted for these divergences in black socioeconomic performance. West Indians are held to have a superior cultural ethos that emphasizes economic advancement through hard work and education, while

---

<sup>1</sup> Also see Gordon, M. (1964), Glazer (1971) for ethnic assimilationist models, and Patrick Moynihan’s “The Negro Family: The Case for National Action” (U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Policy Planning and Research, Washington, D.C. 1965) for a further development of a black sociocultural pathology hypothesis. A more recent articulation of this African American culture of poverty model can be found in Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray’s “The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life” (New York: Free Press, 1994).

African Americans “cultural traditions”, by contrast, are said to actually impede their advancement.

Although most subsequent scholarship on U.S. black immigration has moved away from the explicitness and underlying political nature of Sowell’s collusions, there continues to be a tendency within some literature employing the paradigm of ethnicity to use the language of culture difference to subtly, if at times ambiguously, imply hierarchical differences between foreign and native-born blacks with regard to apparent differences in socioeconomic performance (see Waters 1994, 1999; Vickerman 2000; Kasinitz and Vickerman 2001). In addressing these same discrepancies, others underscore the role of selectivity in out-migration, where privileged class and educational backgrounds often contribute to who immigrates to the U.S. – factors which, in turn, position these immigrants more favorably to compete in the U.S. economy (Sullivan and Gilbertson 1990; Butcher 1994; Model 1995; Pedraza 1996; Grasmuck and Grosfoguel 1997). A number of authors have additionally drawn attention to the widespread practice of employer preferences for black immigrants over native-born African Americans (Sullivan and Gilbertson.1990; Lee 1998; Waters in Foner 200). While some have complicated the very assumption of a monolithic black immigrant success story by examining the affects of various social variables on the socioeconomic outcomes of different black immigrant populations (Model 1991, 1995; Kalmijn 1996), others have critiqued black ethnicity paradigms and related assimilationist models as inadequate to account for the salience of race as a critical social factor in the lives of black immigrants (McCoy and Gonzalez 1985; Montalvo 1987; Rodriguez 1990, 1991; Halter 1993; Grasmuck and Pessar 1996; Pedraza 1996; Urciuoli 1996; Bashi and McDaniel 1997; Gomez 2000; Grosfoguel and Georas 2000; Jaynes 2000; Skop 2001). Of these, there are those that have highlighted, for instance, the social impacts of race-based residential segregation on the lives and opportunities of black immigrant groups (Massey and Denton 1989; Waters 1997; Crowder 1999; Crower and Tedrow in Foner 2001; Kasinitz and Vickerman 2001; Zephir 2001).

While much of the previously cited work focuses on the lives of adult, first-generation immigrants, there is an important and growing body of research examining the experience of second-generation youth, especially as they relate to questions of identity. The majority of literature on second-generation black immigrants finds that those socialized in the U.S. tend to exhibit a relatively strong level of affinity with their African American peers, while often articulating their own self-identity as black within the racial context of the U.S. (see Woldemikael 1989a; Waters 1994, 1997; Grasmuck and Pessar 1996; Perry 1999; Fournon and Glick Sckiller 2001; Zephir, 2001; Rong and Brown 2002).<sup>2</sup> Such identifications commonly stand in contrast to their parents' efforts to retain/construct ethnic identities of black cultural difference which operate again as a means of distancing themselves from racialized negative associations ascribed to African Americans – associations which they themselves frequently hold. The literature suggests that the differences in identity positions of these two generational groups commonly reflects their differing experiences and levels of racialization in American society (see for instance Grasmuck and Pessar 1996). Here the formative social contexts of racially-segregated schooling and residential neighborhoods acutely impact the lives of the second generation, shaping the development of their individual subjectivity from the onset.

Where some of these authors diverge, however, concerns the social consequences of these newly articulated black identities. Some have argued that such processes serve to assimilate ethnic/cultural difference within a dominant, homogenizing African American identity and culture. This contention often follows by suggesting that second-generation's identification with African Americans and the subsequent acquisition of African American cultural practices has detrimental affects on educational performance and future socioeconomic achievement (Waters 1994, 1997; Kasinitz and Vickerman 2001). Kalmijn's (1996) findings indicate, however, that second-generation black immigrants – with their frequently stronger identifications with African American culture and identity – in fact tend to attain higher levels of socioeconomic status than their

---

<sup>2</sup> The work of Bailey (1999, 2001) on Dominican immigrant youth represents a notable exception to this tendency. Bailey suggests that high school age second-generation Dominican youth actively use Spanish as an assertion of their non-black cultural difference as Dominicans.

parents, problematizing the idea that greater African American acculturation contributes to poor levels of economic performance. In the case of Haitians, Zephir (2001) maintains that second-generation youth exercise a greater range of strategic mobility with regard to identity construction and positioning. Regarding the performative use of expressive culture among Garifuna youth in New York City, Perry (1999) suggests that second-generation Garifuna youth utilized the cultural and paradigmatic framework of the African Diaspora in articulating identities of cultural difference within a non-exclusionary notion of black racial sameness.

Further complicating the experiential dynamics of race, a number of authors highlight the important ways class position impacts the politics of race and racial identity among, between, and within black immigrant groups in the U.S. (McCoy and Gonzalez 1985; Meléndez 1993; Urciuoli 1996; Duany 1998; Grillo 2000; Skop 2001; Forner 2001). Moreover, there are those who underscore the particularly critical role that gender – in its intersection with both race and class – plays in the daily lives and possibilities of black immigrants and their communities (Grasmuck and Pessar 1991; Ho 1993; Miller 1993; Diaz-Cotto 1996; Grasmuck and Grosfoguel 1997; Gomez 2000; Conway et al. 2001). Many of these authors point out that the social significance of gender and its demographic particularities are all too often overlooked or excluded in analyses of black immigrant experience in the U.S.

## **General Black Immigration and Racialization**

***Black Immigration and Ethnicity in the United States: An Annotated Bibliography.***  
Center for Afro-American and African Studies, The University of Michigan.

Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

1985

*This annotated bibliography presents a thorough listing of scholarly literature published up through 1985 pertaining to black immigration, race, and ethnicity in the U.S. A total of 1,049 citations are listed, the majority of which are followed by brief two-to-four sentence summaries. Citations are organized into six different general sections. The first four are arranged along the following themes: 1) general bibliographies and literature surveys on black immigration and ethnicity; 2) post-1965 U.S. immigration legislation and policies related to immigration from the Caribbean and Africa; 3) U.S. Immigration legislation and policies, official documents, congressional hearings and governmental publications; 4) literature on black and other recent immigrants to the U.S. relating to demography settlement patterns, employment and economies, education, health and social services, language and bilingualism, and political behavior and organization. The fifth and largest section pertains to literature corresponding to specific black immigrant groups and is broken down into the following headings: Africans, Caribbeans General, West Indians, Cubans, Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, and Haitians. The final section focuses on black immigration to other countries.*

**Alex-Assensoh, Yvette and Lawrence J. Hanks, eds.**

***Black and multiracial politics in America.*** New York: New York University Press.

2000

**Bashi, Vilna and Antonio McDaniel**

**"A Theory of Immigration and Racial Stratification." *Journal of Black Studie*,  
27(5):668-82.**

1997

*Opening with a critique of the Gunnar Myrdal's 1962 seminal work "American Dilemma", which evokes the "failures" of African American assimilation into mainstream U.S. society, Bashi and McDaniel challenge fundamental assumptions of ethnicity paradigms citing their incapacity to account for the specificity of race in the U.S. They confront classic assimilationist arguments that imply that problems facing African Americans are due to their own inability to emulate the behavior of their "fellow citizens", as have past (white) ethnic immigrant groups who, it holds, have been successful in assimilating into U.S. society (e.g., Glazer and Moynihan 1963; Sowell 1978, 1981). Bashi and McDaniel argue, in fact, that assimilation into the dominant social organization in the U.S. always involves assimilation into a system of social stratification. With this central premise in mind, they present a brief outline of the origins of the U.S. racial system, followed by suggestions on how contemporary literature on U.S. race can be broadened, and conclude by presenting a model for analyzing the relationship between immigration and racial stratification. This last component of their article introduces the*

*situation of African and Caribbean immigrants into the equation of race and social assimilation. Here, they suggest, along the lines of others, that although black immigrants' ethnic difference may initially distinguish them from native African Americans, eventually – often within a generation – the system of racial stratification in the U.S. imposes racial identity in accordance to its own cultural logic. The end result, according to Bashi and McDaniel, is that recent African and Caribbean immigrants are in the final instant configured as African Americans. In addressing the often-made comparison between socioeconomic “performance” of different black communities, Bashi and McDaniel write “[d]ifferential success among groups racially identified as black is wrongly taken to imply that race is not very important in shaping the African American experience in the United States.” On the contrary, they argue, racial stratification remains a very important factor in shaping the lives of all persons deemed black in the U.S. – immigrants from Africa and the Caribbean are no exception.*

**Butcher, Kristin F.**

**“Black Immigrants In The United States: A Comparison With Native Blacks and Other Immigrants.” *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 47:265-84. 1994**

*Analyzing 1980 Census data, Butcher finds that, in 1979, immigrant black men (in particular those from the Caribbean) had slightly higher employment rates than native-born African American men, while wage levels for employed individuals of the two groups were generally on par. Moreover, the author argues that the wage differences that did exist between these two groups appear to be a result of selection dynamics with regard to migration processes rather than different “cultural” characteristics between immigrant and native-born blacks. Butcher concludes that the performance of Jamaican and other Afro-Caribbean immigrant men in a variety of employment and wage measures were remarkably similar to that of native-born African American “movers” – that is, those men who have moved from their original state to live and work in another. The implication here is that individuals who elect to migrate – be it internationally or domestically – for socioeconomic reasons tend to fair better in the labor market. The author presents these findings as a counterargument to previous studies (e.g., Sowell 1978) that have suggested that “culture” rather than “race” operate as the key factor in affecting differing employment patterns among native and foreign-born black people in the U.S.*

**Dodoo, Nii-Amoo F.**

**“Assimilation Differences Among Africans in America.” *Social Forces*, 76 (2): 527-546. 1997**

*Dodoo draws upon 1990 U.S. Census data to comparatively assess the earnings attainment of male African immigrants, their Caribbean-born counterparts, and native-born African Americans. Although Africans generally earn more than both Caribbean immigrants and native-born blacks, controlling for relevant earnings-related skills and background (e.g. education, professional training, and class) reduces African advantages, elevating Caribbean earnings above those of the other two groups. His*

*findings also suggest significant African (but not Caribbean) disadvantage with regard to university holders, particularly those with degrees earned abroad which often receive little if any employment-related rewards. This pattern is particularly significant given the fact that Census data indicates that (documented) African immigrants generally have higher educational levels than both Caribbean immigrants and native-born African Americans. An important point to stress concerning this study is that, in relying on U.S. Census data, Doodoo's analysis excludes large numbers of undocumented or otherwise non-participant African and Caribbean immigrants whose socioeconomic status may significantly alter the outcomes of such a study (see for example Stoller 2001).*

**Glazer, Nathan**

**"Blacks and Ethnic Groups: The Difference and The Political Difference It Makes."**  
***Social Problems*, 18: 444–61.**

**1971**

**Glazer, Nathan and Daniel Moynihan**

***Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City.* Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press**

**1963**

**Gordon, Milton M.**

***Assimilation in American Life.* New York: Oxford University Press.**

**1964**

**Jaynes, Gerald D., ed.**

***Immigration and Race: New Challenges for American Democracy.* New Haven: Yale University Press.**

**2000**

*Jaynes presents a collection of essays pertaining to recent immigration and their varying social impacts on the politics of race and ethnicity in the U.S. In the introductory chapter of the collection, Jaynes advises that the demographic effects of contemporary immigration suggest the eventual demise of the bimodal black/white model of racial identity and race relations. Citing 1990 Census data, the author points out that "Hispanic" and Asian Americans currently account for nine and three percent of the U.S. population, respectively, while African Americans now compose less than half of racial minorities. (This collection was published before the release of 2000 Census data which found that Hispanics now outnumber African Americans as the largest U.S. racial minority group – a finding that further buttresses the author's argument). Jaynes suggests that this shift increasingly presents challenges to traditional race-based constituencies (e.g., African Americans) and their political organizations grounded in such bimodal racial constructions. He cautions, however, that what he terms the dominant "black-white paradigm" of racial politics in the U.S. is far from dismantled, and continues to have a powerful influence on the dynamics of race and ethnicity in the country. Following this, Jaynes critiques classic "ethnicity theories" as they have been applied to African Americans (and later to other black immigrant groups and related "model minority" myths), advancing the idea of race as a non-factor affecting*

*assimilation experiences. Here, the author underscores selection processes in migration which, he states, are often ignored in most discussions of immigration. Notwithstanding, he argues, Afro-Caribbean immigrants tend to have a much more difficult time achieving socioeconomic incorporation than do white immigrants. The author concludes his summarizing introductory chapter by referencing the example of racism within the (white) Cuban immigrant community in Miami as an illustration of how dominant U.S. racial constructions may be sharpening divisions among Latinos of color and their “white” counterparts.*

**Lee, Jennifer**

**“Cultural Brokers: Race-Based Hiring in Inner-City Neighborhoods.” *American Behavioral Scientist*, 41 (7): 927-937.**

**1998**

*Lee provides an alternative analysis of the continued significance of race as a factor affecting hiring practices by non-black employers in predominantly black inner-city neighborhoods. The author’s findings are based on interviews with merchants in five predominantly black neighborhoods in New York City and Philadelphia. She argues that small business owners in majority black inner-city settings prefer to hire black employees for reasons independent of government pressures for affirmative action. Alternatively, the author suggests that these employers hire blacks as “cultural brokers” in dealing with their majority black clientele. Significantly, the author finds that such race-based hiring does not translate into increased African American employment levels. Rather, Lee found that small business owners generally prefer hiring immigrant over native-born blacks due in large part to the pervasive stereotypes of black immigrants as harder and more reliable workers than African Americans. Though these race-based practices may appear in outcome to be in keeping with affirmative action efforts, Lee concludes that, in reality, African Americans are commonly excluded from these local labor markets.*

**Omi, Michael and Howard Winant**

***Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960’s to the 1980’s.* New York: Routledge.**

**1986**

*In their influential 1986 work, Omi and Winant present an analysis of U.S. racial dynamics in a post-Civil Rights era. At center of the analysis is the authors’ “racial formation” model in which race and racial categorizations are understood as fluid and unstable complexes of social meanings constantly contested and transformed through political struggle in the form of competing “racial projects.” These contending racial projects seek to interpret, explain, and represent racial dynamics while simultaneously making an effort to reorganize and redistribute social, economic, and political resources along prescribed racial lines. As such, these projects operate at both the discursive and institutional levels through the ways in which individual bodies and social structures are racially organized and represented based on corresponding constructions of racial meaning. Here, Omi and Winant underscore the critical relationship between processes of racialization and the politics of racial identity production. The authors’ emphasis on*

*the politically contested nature of race – at both the structural and everyday experiential level – proves helpful when examining the experience of “black” immigrants as they negotiate and position themselves within the racially-inscribed social structures of the U.S.*

**“Contesting the Meaning of Race in the Post-Civil Rights Movement Era.” *In Origins and Destinies: Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in America.* Silvia Pedraza and Ruben G. Rumbaut, eds. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth. pp. 470-478. 1996**

*In this essay Omi and Winant apply their racial formation model of analysis more directly to the experience of recent non-white immigrants to the U.S. The authors open by arguing that race and racial meaning have undergone a transformation in wake of the 1960s Civil Rights movement. These transformations, the authors suggest, are characterized by the emergence and consolidation of new racial categories, increasing presence of differences and divisions within previously well-defined racial groups, and the growing experiences of racialized groups confronting previously unexamined questions regarding their racial identity and status. Here Omi and Winant draw attention to the ways new immigrant groups of color are racialized within the U.S., as well as the ways that these groups simultaneously attempt to contest these racial (and ethnic) classifications and structures. The implication is that such efforts represents alternative “racial projects” that endeavor to alter dominant racial paradigms through political (including cultural and economic-based) struggles. The authors’ conclude by suggesting that recent immigrants are often configured – through the play of racialization processes and their own attempts to politically negotiate these processes and corresponding structures – as “new racial subjects” whose efforts ultimately contribute to the transformation of racial formation in the U.S.*

**Pedraza, Silvia and Ruben G. Rumbaut, eds.  
*Origins and Destinies: Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in America.* Wadsworth:  
Belmont, CA.  
1996**

*As its title suggests, Pedraza and Rumbaut’s edited volume presents a collection of writings on historical and contemporary immigration as they relate to the social dynamics of race and ethnicity in the U.S. Ranging broadly in topic from Native and African American histories of involuntary migration, to historical examinations of the Irish, German, and Italian cases, to the more contemporary explorations of Puerto Rican, Mexican, and Filipino experiences, the collection illustrate the critical ways immigration has affected racial and ethnic constructions in the U.S. In her introductory chapter, Pedraza provides an historical outline of U.S. immigration as a constitutive facet of U.S. history while drawing attention to the ways contemporary non-European immigration patterns are currently transforming American society. Both she and Rumbaut, in his following chapter, underscore the impacts of 1965 immigration policy reform – in particular the abolition of national origins quotas and the prioritization of family reunification as a key immigration guideline – which have contributed to a radical shift in immigration patterns from Europe to the “Third World.” As a result of this shift,*

*Rumbaut points out, some 85% of current immigration stems from Asia and Latin American while European immigration has declined proportionally to 12%. The authors argue that this massive influx of non-white immigrants significantly complicates in varying kinds of ways traditional U.S. paradigms of race and ethnicity, one of which is the role of selectivity in the immigration process and the development of social networks utilized to construct 'ethnic' enclaves that significantly benefit these communities in their economic (if not social) assimilation into U.S. society.*

**Rumbaut, Rubén G.**

**“The Crucible Within: Ethnic Identity, Self-Esteem, and Segmented Assimilation Among Children of Immigrants.” *International Migration Review*, 28(Winter):748-94.**

**1994**

*Focusing on the construction of ethnic self-identities during adolescence, Rumbaut examines the psychosocial adaptation of children of immigrants from Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean. Data is drawn from a survey carried out in local schools in the San Diego and Miami metropolitan areas of over 5,000 children of immigrant families attending eighth and ninth grades. The sample is evenly split by gender and nativity – half are U.S. born, half foreign-born. The survey’s results suggest major differences in patterns of ethnic self-identification, both between and within groups from diverse national origins. Instead of a uniform, assimilative path amongst these immigrant or immigrant-descendant youth, the author finds various kinds and routes of identity formation. Emphasizing ethnic or racial identity in his study, Rumbaut presents social portraits for each emergent “ethnic” identity type. The author then analyzes what he cites as social factors contributing to “assimilative” and “dissimilative” ethnic self-identities as well as other aspects of psychosocial adaptation, such as self-esteem, depressive affect, and parent-child conflict. The theoretical and practical implications of these results – especially regarding the effects of acculturation, discrimination, location and ethnic density of schools, parental socialization and family context upon the psychosocial experience of children of recent immigrants – are discussed.*

**Rong, Xue Lan and Frank Brown**

**“Socialization, Culture, and Identities of Black Immigrant Children: What Educators Need to Know and Do”. *Education and Urban Society*, 34 (2): 247-273.**

**2002**

*Focusing on Afro-Caribbean and African immigrant communities, Rong and Brown present an analysis of the social, cultural, and economic factors affecting variation in black immigrant children’s identity formation (i.e. “deconstruction and reconstruction of self-identity”). The authors begin with a review of the last two decades of research literature dealing with life experiences of Caribbean and black African immigrants and their children, and the processes by which they have been incorporated into U.S. society and the U.S. educational system. Their survey centers on exploring black immigrant youth’s attitudes towards (and experiences of) racism and racial discrimination, their educational aspirations and performance, and related social and cultural resources present within corresponding “ethnic” communities. The three key*

*issues examined are the competing analytical models of “triple disadvantage” vs. “model blacks”; processes relating to identities, differentiation and destination; and “diversity and solidarity”: intra-racial/inter-ethnic relations between black immigrants and native-born African Americans. The authors conclude by providing recommendations relating to the transformation of educators’ perceptions and practices pertaining to black immigrant experiences. These include suggested adjustments and innovations in educational policymaking, changes and reforms in teaching practices, additional school outreach efforts, and the development of new culturally-sensitive teaching environments.*

## **Africans**

**Adeniji, P Bodunrin**

***Observing & Diagnosing America: An African Immigrant's Insight.* San Diego, CA:**

**Le Gesse Stevens.**

**2000**

**Adeshina, R Fola**

***My Survival as an African in America: A Story of My Struggle.* Baltimore, MD: R.**

**Fola Adeshina.**

**1995**

**Arthur, John A.**

***Invisible Sojourners: African Immigrant Diaspora in the United States.* Westport, Conn.:**

**Praeger.**

**2000**

*Arthur's work explores migration, settlement, and everyday life experiences of recently arrived African immigrants in the U.S. The author situates Africa migration within a broader framework of contemporary globalization in examining the causes of African migration to the U.S. Along with reflections on post-arrival adjustment processes, he follows with a demographic outline of recent African immigrants while focusing further on the specific experiences of refugees. Arthur then considers immigrant social networks, social integration, family household structure, education attainment, and entrepreneurial efforts. The particular experiences of women and children (second-generation) are also addressed. Attention is also given to the dynamics of race in the lives of immigrants that, he argues, significantly shapes their individual and collective social trajectories in the U.S. The author asserts that Africans – coming from contexts where ethnic (cultural) differences are the primary bases for social divisions – approach the U.S. black/white racial divide cautiously, sometimes in a distant and disengaged manner. Confronted with racial categorization and accompanying racialization in the U.S., many immigrants initially respond to it by asserting their status as "foreign" over that of being black. Arthur points out, however, that most African immigrants come to realize that they cannot escape anti-black racism and corresponding discrimination that affects all people of African descent in the U.S. As a partial result, many come to identify more broadly with a diasporically-informed notion of collective blackness.*

**Cruz, Jose**

**"Conflict of Corporation? African and African Americans in Multiracial America."**

***In Black and Multiracial Politics in America.* Yvette Alex-Assensoh and Lawrence J. Hanks, eds. New York: New York University Press.**

**2000**

**Djamba, Yanyi K.**

**“African Immigrants in The United States: A Socio-Demographic Profile in Comparison to Native Blacks.” *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 34(2): 210-15.**

**1999**

*Using data from the 1980 and 1990 U.S. Censuses, this brief paper provides a socio-demographic profile of African immigrants in the U.S in comparison to native-born African Americans. Djamba’s study finds that the number of continent-born Africans living in the U.S. has increased an average of 6% a year between 1980 and 1990, with the growth being significantly greater for black, at 11%, than for “white” Africans, at 4%. This shift in immigration patterns has altered the composition of the African immigrant population in the U.S. from predominantly “white” (60%) in 1980, to predominantly black (47%) in 1990.*

*The author suggests that this increase in the number of African immigrants in the U.S. is tied to the implementation of more restrictive immigration policies and economic recession in Western Europe, significantly shifting African migration flows from former colonial metropolises to the U.S. This increase may also be partly due to introduction of the 1965 family reunification and refugee law. The study finds that, compared to native-born blacks, African immigrants have generally higher educational levels, are less likely to be involved in state assistance (possibly in part because they do not necessarily have access to federal and state services), tend to be more heavily concentrated in particular states, more likely to marry, and have higher employment levels. Little analysis of the social factors that may contribute to these trends is offered.*

**Gordon, April**

**“The New Diaspora: African Immigration to the United States.” *Journal of Third World Studies*, 15(1): 79-104.**

**1998**

*Gordon’s article addresses the recent shift in African migration patterns from Western Europe to the U.S. fed by new stringent immigration practices in England and other former European colonial metropolises, changing regional, political, and economic situations in Africa, and broader processes of globalization within the world economy. In analyzing new trends in African immigration to the U.S., Gordon concludes that two variables will determine the scale of future movements: 1) what ensues in terms of economic and political development in African countries; and 2) changes or not in U.S. immigration and refugee policies.*

**Kamya, Hugo A.**

**“African Immigrants in the United States: The Challenge for Research and Practice.” *Social Work*, 42(2): 154-165.**

**1997**

*Kamya argues that African immigrants have been largely excluded from research pertaining to the experience and hardships faced by new immigrants to the U.S. His*

article presents the findings of a 1993 study of African immigrants pertaining to questions of emotional and psychological well-being. Data collected from a survey of 52 African immigrants showed substantial relationship between stress, self-esteem, spiritual well-being, and coping resources. "Spiritual" well-being was found to be considerably tied to lower stress levels and to greater self-esteem. Overall, results suggest that psycho-social practitioners need to pay more attention to this population, and, while doing so, focus more attention on examining the interactive social processes experienced by this population in the U.S. Further implications for future research and practice are presented.

**Mathabane, Mark**

***Kaffir Boy in America: An Encounter With Apartheid.* New York: Scribner's.**

*Following his autobiographic account of growing up in Apartheid South Africa as a poor black, Mathabane's second book chronicles his experience as a black African student in the U.S. His account of life in the U.S. underscores the racial hardships – if not paradigmatic parallels to the South African context – negotiating race, racial politics, and racism in a racially-polarized American society.*

**Nii-Amoo Dodoo, F.**

**"Assimilation Differences Among Africans in America." *Social Forces*, 76(2): 527-547  
1997**

*Dodoo draws upon 1990 U.S. Census data to comparatively assess the earnings attainment of male African immigrants, their Caribbean-born counterparts, and native-born African Americans. Although Africans generally earn more than both Caribbean immigrants and native-born blacks, controlling for relevant earnings-related skills and background (e.g., education, professional training, and class) reduces African advantages, elevating Caribbean earnings above those of the other two groups. His findings also suggest significant African (but not Caribbean) disadvantage with regard to university holders, particularly those with degrees earned abroad which often receive little, if any, employment-related rewards. This pattern is particularly significant given the fact that Census data indicates that (documented) African immigrants generally have higher educational levels than both Caribbean immigrants and native-born African Americans. An important point to underscore in this study is that Dodoo's reliance on Census data most likely excludes large numbers of undocumented or otherwise non-participant African and Caribbean immigrants whose socioeconomic status may significantly alter the outcomes of such a study (e.g. see Stoller 2001).*

**Obiakor, Festus E and Patrick A. Grant, eds.**

***Foreign-Born African Americans: Silenced Voices in the Discourse on Race.* Huntington, NY: Nova Science Publishers.  
2000**

*Obiakor and Grant present a collection of personal narratives from African and Afro-Caribbean immigrants concerning their experiences living in the U.S. The authors*

*outline their contributors' stories by presenting three questions they maintain are central to black immigrants experience in the U.S.: 1) "how black are they?"; 2) "how much racism do they endure?"; and 3) "how do they survive in spite of the odds?" The authors underscore the contributors' experiences of racism and racialization, though they argue that black immigrants struggle 'against the odds' to succeed in American society. Correspondingly, the individual narratives compiled in this volume are drawn from immigrants of professional class status – i.e. scholars, educators, community leaders, and politicians – who often give "boot-strap" testimonies of endurance, survival, and triumph over an otherwise hostile social environment. Such examples stand in juxtaposition to the large number of marginal working-class African immigrants, like those represented in other scholarly work on recent African immigrants (Stoller 1999, 2001; Stoller and McConatha 2001).*

**Owolabi, Robert**

***An African's View of the American Society: An Eyewitness Account of over 15 Years of Living, Studying and Working in the United States of America.* Chapel Hill, NC: Professional Press.**

**1996**

**Stoller, Paul**

***Jaguar: A Story of Africans in America.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.**

**1999**

*This work of Stoller's is a fictional account of the experience of a young Nigerian man who immigrates to the U.S. taking up the life of a "jaguar" – the term used in West Africa for an independent migrant entrepreneur, in this case a street merchant in Harlem, New York. As the fictional character hustles in the streets of New York to send money back home to Niger, the author tells the parallel life of his young wife who struggles to realize herself within the "confines" of her in-laws traditional rural West African household. Stoller's narrative provides an insightful portrayal of the life of African street merchants in the urban U.S. Little attention, however, is given to the experiences of race.*

**"West Africans: Trading Places in New York." *In New Immigrants in New York - Revised and Updated Edition.* Nancy Foner, ed. New York: Columbia University Press. pp. 229-251.**

**2001**

*Stoller's essay provides an account of the lives of recent, predominately male West African immigrant street traders in New York City. His examination is drawn from ethnographic research among this community in Manhattan between 1992 and 1998. In opening with an account of the 1999 police killing of twenty-two year old African immigrant Amadu Diallo in New York, Stoller consciously moves away from any discussion of the racial dimensions seemingly inherent – and evidently significant – in the lives of African immigrants in the U.S. Rather, he uses Diallo as an entry to the community and experience of the thousands of new African immigrants in New York City who make their livelihood through informal street vending. In following, Stoller offers a brief history of recent West African immigration to the U.S. Here, he cites*

*global economic restructuring as a major contributing force behind recent surges in West African immigration to North America – in particular those of francophone African nations who make up the majority of street traders in New York. One acutely salient event cited is the World Bank-inspired 1994 devaluation of the West African franc, which ultimately resulted in a 50% general reduction of francophone Africa's standard of living. In discussing how West African immigrant street traders cope with the daily realities of life in New York, Stoller refers to economic, cultural, and linguistic limitations and problems. Race, however, is not mentioned. He points out that many, if not the majority, of West Africans involved in informal street vending are undocumented residents making immigration concerns key. As such, this African immigrant group stands in juxtaposition to DoDoo's 1997 conclusions drawn from U.S. Census data in which he presents a generally higher-skilled, upwardly-mobile picture of the African immigrant population. Stoller's final section highlights the development of national organizations and support structures as well as the role of Islam in the building of community and fellowship among African immigrant street traders.*

**Stoller Paul and J. McConatha**

**“City Life: West African Communities in New York.” *Journal Of Contemporary Ethnography*, (6): 651-677.**

**2001**

## **Cape Verdeans**

**Halter, Marilyn**

***Between Race and Ethnicity: Cape Verdean American immigrants.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.**

**1993**

*Halter presents a general historical treatment of Cape Verdean immigration to the U.S. Arguing that Cape Verdean Americans have been ignored by African historical research as well as scholarship on race and immigration in the U.S., the author proceeds to document Cape Verdean immigration and settlement in southeastern Massachusetts beginning in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. While Halter refers to Cape Verdeans as “Afro-Portuguese” to underscore their roots as descendants of enslaved Africans and Portuguese settlers/slave owners, the author also uses the term “racial-ethnic” in arguing that their “cultural” identity represents a mix of both racial and ethnic elements. Attempts to conflate race and ethnicity here, he holds, are inadequate to accounting for the particularities of the Cape Verdean experience in the U.S. Following, the author speaks of a Cape Verdean “ethnic difference” within a broader racial framework of blackness – a distinction that, he states, is largely overlooked by literature on race in the U.S. Halter, however, does not minimize the historical significance of race in the history and daily lives of Cape Verdean Americans. He critiques classic ethnicity-based, assimilationist models as ineffective in evaluating the specific dynamics and consequences of race as experienced by Cape Verdeans, historically classified as “black” within the U.S. racial system. The author’s account is one of a continual negotiation – if not struggle – for identity between often competing racial and ethnic meanings in the U.S.*

**Sanchez, Gina Elizabeth**

***Diasporic (trans)formations: Race, Culture and the Politics of Cape Verdean Identity.* Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas, Austin**

**1999**

*Sanchez’s dissertation explores the politics of identity production among persons of Cape Verdean descent in Boston, Massachusetts. Focusing on the impacts of racial ascription (racialization) on the construction of individual and collective identities, her ethnographic investigation centers on the extent to which Cape Verdeans in Boston position themselves multiply as members of both a Cape Verdean and an African (i.e. Black) diaspora. Following, Sanchez suggests that Boston’s Cape Verdean community is fragmented into two distinct identity subgroups: Cape Verdean Americans and Cape Verdean immigrants. A significant difference between these two groups, the author argues, relates to the manner and extent to which individuals identify as Cape Verdeans and/or black. Those self-identified as Cape Verdean Americans tend to underscore their blackness as members of an African diaspora, while those self-identified as Cape Verdean immigrants correspondingly emphasize their (ethnic) immigrant status over that of their (racial) blackness. In negotiating such identities, Sanchez finds that members of both subgroups are highly cognizant of the often competing dynamics of race and*

*ethnicity in the U.S., as well the effects of these dynamics in their daily lives. The author suggests that her research provides an important case study of racialization processes and the sociocultural adjustment experiences by immigrant communities in the U.S., in particular those of African descent.*

## Afro-Caribbean

**Bashi Bobb, Vilna**

**“Neither Ignorance nor Bliss: Race, Racism, and West Indian Migrant Experience.” *In Migration, Transnationalization, and Race in a Changing New York*. Héctor Cordero-Guzmán, et al. eds. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. pp. 212-238. 2000**

*Based on ethnographic work among West Indian (English-speaking) immigrants in New York City, Bashi Bobb examines factors affecting how these communities negotiate the “racial structure” and related manifestations of racism in the U.S. Her analysis focuses on two social variables that she argues affect how individual immigrants deal with racial constructions in the U.S., as well as how these new constructions, in turn, impact immigrants’ lives and racial (self-)perceptions. The first variable examined concerns the racial composition of immigrants’ country of origin. Bashi Bobb argues, as others have, that West Indian immigrants’ historically-specific experience of race in their home countries tends to differ significantly from the racial realities of the U.S. A primary issues here being that most West Indians in the U.S. immigrated from majority black nations where, it is argued, class and color operate more centrally than race as key factors affecting socioeconomic status and mobility. Additionally, it is implied that immigrants from these majority black national backgrounds do not construct their identity and self-positioning as black people from the disempowering location as racial minorities, as is the case for native-born African Americans. These two elements, Bashi Bobb asserts, contribute to West Indian’s differing experience of and self-relationship to race and blackness. While such orientations are challenged by the realities of race in the U.S., they may simultaneously provide alternatives to these same racial constructions and experiences. A second factor examined is the transnational “social networks” that West Indian immigrants use in building immigrant communities in the U.S. and their ongoing linkages with home countries. As important frameworks “through which immigrant social acculturation and economic integration generally occurs,” Bashi Bodd argues that these social networks offer immigrants a level of insulation from racial constraints and racism that permeates U.S. society. The greater level of integration within these immigrant social networks, she maintains, the greater capacity individual immigrants have to resist the disempowering effects of U.S. racism and racial stratification. Those immigrants outside these networks – including often those of the second-generation – do not benefit from their insulating-effects and support structures, hence rendering them more vulnerable to racism and its debilitating effects. These ‘outsiders’, therefore, it follows, adopt similar historically-conditioned coping strategies and responses to U.S. racial power – including corresponding forms of identity – developed by native-born African Americans. The subtle implication here is that these African American-situated responses, cultural repertoires, and related identity are socially undesirable if not culturally deficient. What is not completely clear, however, is whether this proposition is drawn from the perspective of West Indian immigrants, that of the researcher, or both.*

**Bryce-Laporte, Roy S.**

***Caribbean Immigrations and their Implications for the United States.* Washington, D.C.: Latin-American Program, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.**

*Bryce-Laporte provides a brief historical outline of U.S. immigration laws and related statistics while exploring immigration and emigration as factors in the history of the Caribbean region. Following, the author discusses the classification of immigrant status, outlines demographic patterns through time and regions within the Caribbean, and examines “illegal” immigration as a political issue. Bryce-Laporte then considers the social and economic implications of urban-focused Caribbean immigration, and concludes with an analysis of the impacts of that immigration on labor opportunities and racial and ethnic make-up of the U.S.*

**Bryce-Laporte, Roy S. and Delores M. Mortimer, eds.**

***Caribbean Immigration to the United States.* Washington, D.C.: Research Institute on Immigration and Ethnic Studies, Smithsonian Institution.  
1976**

**Bush, B.**

**“Caribbean Migration: Globalised Identities”. *Immigrants & Minorities*. 19, Part 1, 105-106  
2000**

**Clarke, Velta J. and Emmanuel Riviere, eds.**

***Establishing New Lives: Selected Readings on Caribbean Immigrants in New York City.* Brooklyn, NY: Caribbean Diaspora Press.  
1989**

**Crowder, Kyle**

**“Residential Segregation of West Indians in the New York New Jersey Metropolitan Area: The Roles of Race and Ethnicity.” *International Migration Review*, 33 (1): 79-113 (Spring 2000).  
1999**

*Crowder examines the extent to which race and ethnicity shape residential settlement patterns among West Indian immigrants in the greater New York City area. His analysis considers the socioeconomic condition of West Indian-concentrated neighborhoods in comparison with adjacent areas occupied by African Americans. The author finds that West Indians are largely segregated along race and class lines within largely black working-class and poor neighborhoods. Within these racially-conscripted spaces, however, Crowder argues that West Indians establish distinct residential enclaves formed through the construction and maintenance of ethnic-based group identity. Crowder additionally suggests that these ‘ethnic enclaves’ tend to operate at a somewhat higher socioeconomic level than areas occupied by similar concentrations of African Americans. The author briefly reviews literature pertaining to such apparent disparities in arguing that West Indian immigrants’ ability to organize socially and*

*economically around a shared notion of ethnic identity affords West Indians an advantage over corresponding African American communities. While Crowder suggests that this kind of ethnic mobilization may extend in limited ways into formally predominantly white areas, he finds that West Indians remain systematically denied access to white neighborhoods based on the blackness of their skin.*

**Foerster, Robert F.**

***The Racial Problems Involved in Immigration from Latin America and the West Indies to the United States; A Report Submitted to the Secretary of Labor.***

**Washington, Government Print Office.**

**1925**

**Foner, Nancy, ed.**

***New Immigrants in New York.* New York: Columbia University Press.**

**1987**

***Islands in the City: West Indian Migration to New York.* Berkeley: UC Press.**

**2001**

*This edited volume grew out of a two-day conference held in 1999 titled “West Indians Migration to New York: Historical, Contemporary, and Transnational Perspectives.” Broken down into three general headings of “Gender, Work, and Residence,” “Transnational Perspectives,” and “Race, Ethnicity, and the Second Generation,” the collection centers on the experience of Afro-Caribbean immigrants in New York City. By examining the distinctive experience of Afro-Caribbean immigrants, Foner’s underscores the critical role of race and transnationalism within contemporary processes of immigrant incorporation. The racial nature of such processes reflects new U.S. immigration patterns over the last few decades in which the vast majority of those entering the U.S. are of non-European background. Beyond their internal dynamics, such immigration shifts are also affecting broader U.S. society in a number of interesting ways. Regarding Afro-Caribbeans, the book illustrates the ways in which the renegotiation of blackness within these black immigrant communities are contributing to a broadening of an increasingly multiethnic black America. Vickerman’s essay in this collection, for instance, suggests that black immigrants are increasingly engaged in “tweeking” monolithic conceptions of U.S. blackness – a dynamics most apparent in New York City, where almost one-half of blacks are foreign-born, first or second-generation. These new identities of blackness, as Rodgers argues in his contribution, are often fluid and overlapping, playing between notions of race and ethnicity depending on particular contexts and circumstances. Waters’ contribution looks more specifically at how second-generation Afro-Caribbean immigrants negotiate their identities through differently situated strategies. The experience of race, however, remains central as Crowder and Tedrow’s chapter illustrates. They examine patterns of residential segregation in which race operates as a primary factor determining where black Caribbeans live. Kasintz concludes the volume suggesting that black immigrants are becoming more “visible” in the U.S. as their presence and activity impact the social, cultural, and increasingly political landscape of the country.*

**Grasmuck, Sherri and Ramon Grosfoguel**  
**“Geopolitics, Economic Niches, and Gendered Social Capital among Recent Caribbean Immigrants in New York City.” *Sociological Perspectives*. 40, no. 3: 339-365.**  
**1997**

*Grasmuck and Grosfoguel examine the socioeconomic conditions and related experiences of Afro-Caribbean immigrants in New York City. Focusing principally on the social dynamics of gender, class, and the household among Dominican, Haitian, Cuban, Jamaican, and Puerto Rican immigrant populations, the study underscores the socioeconomic differences between and within these individual communities. The authors pay attention to the role of geopolitics in influencing timing and class structure (e.g., class selectivity) of Caribbean immigration, as well as the nature of governmental support (or lack thereof) and sites of settlement as factors affecting local immigrant groups. The formation of ethnic niches, processes of ethnic succession, household structure, and gender strategies are also discussed within the historical experience of individual group labor participation in the U.S. In addition to finding that educational background and employment greatly affect the socioeconomic “success” of individual immigrant groups, the authors conclude that women play a particularly vital role in the stability and general well-being of families in immigrant communities.*

**Hintzen, Percy C.**  
***West Indian in the West: Self Representations in an Immigrant Community.***  
**New York: New York University Press.**  
**2002**

*Positioning himself along the lines of a “native ethnographer,” Hintzen examines identity construction among West Indian immigrants in the San Francisco Bay Area. He is particularly interested in the ways West Indian immigrants strategically construct their identity in relation to African Americans and corresponding representations of blackness in the U.S. The author argues that West Indians draw upon “distinctive cultural baggage and resources” along with symbols, images, and discourse in fashioning black identities of “difference” as a means of maximizing individual and collective positions within the racial and social structures the U.S. The particularities of such processes and their resulting black difference, he emphasizes, depends on the specific social, cultural, and political contexts of their making. Hence, the politics and production of West Indian identity in the Bay Area, it is argued, varies from those in New York City. Marking a break from the empirically-weighted, and at times culturally-static, approaches used by much of the literature on Afro-Caribbean migrants, Hintzen pays particular attention to the ways West Indian identity is collectively performed through ritualized forms of public display. Examining the social spaces of carnivals, sports events, social/music clubs, restaurants, and associations, Hintzen underscores the social and political significance of ritualized public expressions of West Indianness. In highlighting the critical relationships between identity and self-representational practice here, he underscores how West Indian identity is actively negotiated between the self and dominant prescriptions and discourses of blackness, Caribbean-ness, and immigrant status. Hintzen concludes that negotiations of this kind result in the production of a West Indian*

*black difference based on self-conceptions as “permanent foreigners.” Little attention, however, is given to the specific experience of second-generation West Indians, and how their experiences might complicate a possibly atemporal understanding of contemporary West Indian identity processes and politics.*

**Ho, Christine G. T.**

**“The Internationalization of Kinship and the Feminization of Caribbean Migration: The Case of Afro-Trinidadian Immigrants in Los Angeles.” *Human Organization*. 52(1):32-40. 1993**

**Kasinitz, Philip**

**Caribbean New York: Black Immigrants and the Politics of Race. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.**

*Kasinitz examines the emergence of what he terms “ethnic identity” politics among black immigrants of the English-speaking Caribbean in New York City. With a focus on the formal politics rather than individual identity formation, Kasinitz argues that there has been a historical shift within this Afro-Caribbean community from race-based forms of political activity to those mobilized more through a publicly-situated discourse of ethnicity. He points to three primary factors for this shift: 1) the rapid increase of Afro-Caribbean immigration from recently independent or soon-to-be independent nations to the U.S. after 1965; 2) changing U.S. social dynamics where race no longer operated as the “monolithic force” that it once was for previous generations of Afro-Caribbean immigrants; and 3) changes in political climate involving a new generation of Afro-Caribbean political leadership, the white political establishment’s encouragement of a Caribbean ethnic assertiveness, and corresponding structural accommodations of new “ethnic” constituencies that all contributed to the development of new political strategies organized around the discourse of ethnicity rather than race.*

**Kasinitz, Philip. “Community Dramatized, Community Contested: The Politics of Celebration in the Brooklyn Carnival.” In Ray Allen and Lois Wilcken, eds. *Island Sounds in the Global City: Caribbean Popular Music and Identity in New York*. New York: New York Folklore Society: Institute for Studies in American Music, Brooklyn College. pp. 93-113. 1998**

**Kasinitz, Philip and Milton Vickerman**

**“Ethnic Niches and Racial Traps: Jamaicans in the New York Regional Economy.” In *Migration, Transnationalization, and Race in a Changing New York*. Héctor Cordero-Guzmán, et al. eds. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. pp. 191-211. 2001**

*Kasinitz and Vickman examine the socioeconomic status of Jamaican immigrants in New York City with regards to their high participation levels in not-for-profit and service sector economies. Referencing criteria such as household income and employment*

levels, Kasinitz and Vickerman make the case that Jamaican immigrants have been relatively successful – when compared to African Americans, Puerto Ricans, Dominican, and Haitians immigrants – in integrating themselves within local economies. The authors point out, however, that even though Jamaican immigrants have developed distinct “ethnic niches” within regional low-wage not-for-profit and service sector economies (particularly among women), they have been unable to establish self-sustaining economic enclaves or “ethnic economies” (e.g., Chinatown-like). The lack of autonomous economic networks, Kasinitz and Vickerman suggest, expose Jamaican immigrants to race-based limitations and discrimination in the workforce that negatively impact the development of these niches and the positive effects of previously-acquired “social capital.” The authors underscore, moreover, that race-based residential segregation further affects Jamaican immigrants’ access to more desirable and a broader range of employment opportunities. Kasinitz and Vickerman argue that such residential segregation additionally affects second-generation Jamaicans’ educational experiences and socialization experiences as they are relegated to schools in impoverished majority-black communities. They conclude that the lack of a Jamaican “ethnic enclave” may promote assimilation in the traditional sense, but an assimilation that is consigned to that of “black America.” Concerning the future of second-generation Jamaicans, the authors’ closing sentence reads: “[s]econd-generation Jamaican Americans, living in largely African Americans communities without protection of an ethnic enclave, are likely to share much of the fate of those communities.” Such disparaging prognoses appear to resonate with dominant discourses and representations of an African American sociocultural pathology. Although the U.S. racial system is viewed as the historical source of such sociocultural impoverishment, African American culture – and by extension identity – are implicitly undesirable, if not detrimental to the socioeconomic well-being of West Indian immigrants.

**Kalmijn, Matthijs**

**“The Socioeconomic Assimilation of Caribbean American Blacks.” *Social Forces*. 74 (March):911-30. 1996**

*Building critically on earlier studies that examined whether Afro-Caribbean immigrants perform better in the U.S. economy than native-born African Americans, Kalmijn analyzes 1990 Census data on the earnings and occupations of Caribbean American men. Expanding on previous studies, Kalmijn focuses on generational and language-based differences among Afro-Caribbean immigrants. The author’s findings suggest that there continues to be significant socioeconomic differences between Afro-Caribbean and African Americans. These differences, however, vary considerably depending on native language and generational positioning. Challenging the blanket notion of a “black success story” among Caribbean immigrants, Kalmijn’s data suggest that black immigrants from the English-speaking Caribbean are generally more successful in the labor market than those from the French and Spanish-speaking Caribbean, who tend to perform below those levels of African Americans. The author’s study additionally finds that second and later generations of Afro-Caribbean immigrants generally have higher socioeconomic status than their corresponding first-generation. This second finding challenges frequent arguments and supporting studies which state*

*that second-generation Afro-Caribbean immigrants – due to their assimilation into dominant African American culture – tend to fair more poorly socioeconomically than their parents' generation (i.e., Walters 1994, Kasinitz and Vickerman 2000).*

**Model, Suzanne.**

**“Caribbean Immigrants: A Black Success Story?” *International Migration Review*. 25(Summer): 248-76  
1991**

*Sociologist Model examines the 1980 earnings and earnings attainment process of Afro-Caribbean immigrants in the U.S. relative to African Americans, native-born whites, and foreign-born whites. Controlling for gender, her analysis compares both Caribbean immigrants as a whole and separately by country of origin with African Americans. Her results run counter to the common supposition that all West Indian immigrant subgroups possessed higher earnings than native-born African Americans. Rather, Model finds that non-English speaking Caribbean immigrants fared worse than all other groups including African Americans. Regardless of national background, moreover, Caribbean-born men experienced considerable earnings disparities relative to white men. By contrast, Caribbean-born women tended to earn at a more equivalent, if not higher, level as similarly positioned white women. Model's concluding analysis suggests that for most Afro-Caribbean immigrant groups, Caribbean backgrounds add little to an understanding of relative earnings attainments that cannot be accounted for by other measures.*

**“West Indian Prosperity: Fact or Fiction?” *Social Problems*. 42:535-53.  
1995**

*Model opens here with the widely held supposition among both scholars and the public that West Indian immigrants in the U.S. tend to be more economically successful – and hard-working – than native-born African Americans. Her article examines two central components of this hypothesis: labor force participation and income earnings. Model begins with a discussion of the conflicting and, in her analysis, incomplete studies conducted since the 1970s comparing West Indian immigrants and African American's earning levels. Based on Census data from 1970, 1980, and 1990, Model presents her study as a corrective in that it examines labor participation in addition to earnings among West Indian immigrants and native-born African Americans. Her findings suggest that West Indians generally have a higher labor force participation. Her results concerning earnings, however, presented a more complex pattern. Controlling for other factors, the author found that earnings among foreign-born West Indians exceed those of African-American only after immigrants have spent some years in the U.S. Rather than suggesting some culturally or otherwise “innately” present factor among Caribbean black immigrants, Model argues that these outcomes were consistent with the idea that the immigration process positively selects individuals from home populations.*

**Palmer, Ransford W.**  
***In Search of a Better Life: Perspectives on Migration from the Caribbean.*** New York: Praeger.  
1990

**Rahier, Jean and Percy C. Hintzen.**  
***Invisible Others: Active Presences in the US Black Community.*** New York: Routledge.  
2002

**Rumbaut, Ruben G.**  
***Immigrants from Latin America and the Caribbean.*** East Lansing, MI: Julian Samora Research Institute, Michigan State University.  
1995

**Safa, Helen**  
**“Caribbean Migration to the United States.”** *In Different People: Studies in Ethnicity and Education.* Edgar B. Gumbert, ed. Atlanta: Center for Cross-Cultural Education, College of Education, Georgia State University.  
1983

**Sowell, Thomas**  
**“Three Black Histories.”** *In Essays and Data on American Ethnic Groups.* Thomas Sowell, Ed. Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute. pp. 7-64.  
1978

***Ethnic America.*** New York: Basic Books.  
1981

*Drawing upon classic assimilationist discourses first proposed by Milton Gordon (1964) and Nathan Glazer (1971), sociologist Sowell cites earnings gaps and other socioeconomic indicators between West Indian immigrants and native-born African Americans in arguing that race and race-based discrimination are “clearly not a sufficient explanation[s] of the disparities within the black population or between the black and white populations” (Sowell 1978). In these two often cited works, the author proceeds to suggest that differing “cultural traditions” largely explain these differences in socioeconomic performance. Such prescriptions reproduce the “culture of poverty” thesis first articulated by Glazer and Moynihan (1963) which posited the notion of an African American cultural sociocultural pathology as the root of large-scale impoverishment among the U.S. black “underclass.”*

**Sullivan, Teresa and Greta Gilbertson.**

**“Caribbean Immigrants in the U.S.: The Effects of Race and Language on Earnings.” *Austin: Population Research Center, University of Texas at Austin.* 1990**

*Sullivan and Gilbertson situate their paper as a response to new policy efforts of the late 1980s designed to restrict U.S. immigration of several kinds of immigrant groups. These racial and class-coded proposals effort to stem the flow of immigrants for certain countries by increasing the importance of English and occupational job skills for entry – the stated assumption being that some immigrant groups are less easily assimilated within U.S. society. Within this context, Sullivan and Gilbertson present a socioeconomic comparison of black immigrants from the Caribbean and native-born blacks in order to assess the impacts of race and language on earnings. A central concern for these researchers was the wide-held perception (previously mentioned) that foreign-born blacks outperformed native-born blacks in a number of socioeconomic criteria, employment and earnings being key. Rational for such assumptions were codified in Glazer and Moynihan’s *Beyond the Melting Pot* (1963) in which they argued within a classic “culture of poverty” thesis that proposed that “the ethos of the West Indians, in contrast to the Southern Negro, emphasizes saving, hard work, investment and education.” (1963:35). Their findings, not unsurprisingly, suggest that non-English-speaking black immigrants experience lower earnings than their English-speaking counterparts. These experiences correspond with those of previous immigrant groups and often shifted as individuals eventually learn English. More significantly, however, Sullivan and Gilbertson’s data indicates that the earning penalty for being black is considerably greater than that for not speaking English. While these results suggest that black immigrants experience race-based labor market discrimination, as do native-born blacks, black immigrants do nonetheless generally perform better in the labor market. One possible factor cited for this discrepancy concerned the selectivity of migration (i.e. class, education, other social criteria) from the Caribbean. Sullivan and Gilbertson also raise the possibility of employer preferences for foreign-born blacks (see Waters in Foner 2001) – an area which, along with the interplay of gender and race in black immigrant earning power, is suggested, needs further scholarly attention.*

**Sunshine, Catherine and Keith Warner, eds.**

***Caribbean Connection: Moving North.* Washington, D.C.: Network of Educators on the Americas. 1998**

**Sutton, Constance R. and Elsa M. Chaney, eds.**

***Caribbean Life in New York City: Sociocultural Dimensions.* New York: Center for Migration Studies of New York. 1987**

**Vickerman, Milton**

***Crosscurrents: West Indians Immigrants and Race.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1999**

*Vickerman presents a sociological analysis of the experience of Jamaican immigrants in the greater New York City area as they negotiate their identity at the intersection of racial and ethnic constructions in the contemporary U.S. He suggests that Jamaicans and other Afro-Caribbean immigrants from the English-speaking Caribbean attempt to resolve their seemingly contradictory position as “black” and “immigrant” within the U.S. racial hierarchy by resituating their blackness within an ethnically-configured conception of a collective West Indian identity. Vickerman makes the case that race is “downplayed” as a significant social factor in most English-speaking Caribbean societies – societies with a greater emphasis on “merit as the basis for social mobility.” Upon arriving to the U.S., Jamaican and other English-speaking Afro-Caribbean immigrants are faced with a competing reality where race occupies a centrally-defining position within social relations – a reality which cannot be eluded given the darkness of their skin. In response, Vickerman argues, these Afro-Caribbean immigrants mark their distance from racially-ascribed negative associations of blackness in the U.S. by asserting a separate black “ethnic” identity as West Indians – but one which, at the same time, affirms a level of identification with African Americans. These identities, however, often are not static, but rather fluid in that they may shift and be multi-positioned depending on context. Vickerman concludes by suggesting that new immigrants from non-Western nations are increasingly problematizing, if not altering, traditional conceptions and dynamics of race and ethnicity in the U.S.*

**“Jamaicans: Balancing Race and Ethnicity.” *In New Immigrants in New York - Revised and Updated Edition.* Nancy Foner, ed. New York: Columbia University Press. pp. 201-228. 2001**

*Vickerman’s essay focuses on what he terms the contradictory “cross-pressures” within the Jamaican immigrant community in New York, resulting from the conflicting demands of constructing identity along both racial and cultural – i.e., ethnic – lines. These cross-pressures, he suggests, are instrumental in shaping Jamaican immigrants’ economic, social, and political position within the social landscape of New York City. Regarding Jamaican immigrants’ racial experience, Vickerman (himself a New York City Jamaican immigrant) echoes arguments that class and “color” rather than race operate as the primary social determinants in Jamaican society. Within a racially deemphasized Jamaica, he continues, “achievement as a cultural ideal, especially through education” serves as a centrally defining principle shaping the aspirations of Jamaican immigrants in the U.S. The process of immigration, moreover, tends to reinforce this idealization of achievement by selecting-out highly motivated Jamaicans. Vickerman suggests that, once in the U.S., Jamaican immigrants’ experience of racism fosters an understanding that social advancement cannot be separated from the broader struggle for social justice for all black people. At the same time, however, tensions between “home” and “adopted” social contexts contributes to opposing pulls – “cross pressures” – between a*

*racialized identity and efforts to maintain/construct an ethnic identity. Here, Vickerman at one time seems to imply that a culturally-based Jamaican ethnicity operates as a pre-existing condition. Later, however, he states that “to a large extent” Jamaican immigrants’ ethnic identity develops in response to U.S. racialization processes as attempts at distancing themselves from negative representations of and assumptions about black people – i.e., African Americans. Vickerman suggests that Jamaican (and other West Indian) immigrants’ historically conditioned, culturally-based “idealization of achievement”, along with an asserted Jamaican ethnic difference, contributes to their differentiated participation and relative success in the economic and political spheres of New York City. His repeated emphasis on the Jamaican ideal of achievement, and its grounding in discourses of “culture,” however, seems to be implicitly, if not explicitly, juxtaposed to that of an African American cultural/behavioral stereotype – a tendency that again raises problematic questions concerning racialized “culture of poverty thesis” that seem to be subtly at play within much of the literature.*

**Waters, Mary C.**

**“Ethnic and Racial Identities of Second-Generation Black Immigrants in New York City.” *International Migration Review*, 28(4):795-820. 1994**

*Dividing her sample of 83 adolescent second-generation West Indian and Haitians in New York City into three racially self-identified groups correspondingly labeled “black American,” “ethnic or hyphenated national origin,” and “immigrant identity,” Waters’ general premise is that the greater the level of African American identification among these Afro-Caribbean youth, the greater the likelihood of poor educational performance and future labor prospects. At center is Waters suggestion that second-generation West Indian youth who adopt an “American black” identity are more likely to exhibit an oppositional stance towards educational performance, which undermines their academic potential and, ultimately, hinders their chances of acquiring the skills necessary to get “good” jobs in the American economy. The author argues that these youth who identify as African Americans tend to see more racial discrimination and limits to opportunities for blacks in the U.S. Those who identify as ethnic West Indians, by contrast, she maintains, “tend to see more opportunity and rewards for individual effort and initiative.” Though Waters attempts to illustrate the ways in which second-generation immigrants endeavor to choose between different forms of racial identification in relationship to their perceived levels of opportunities in American society, she appears to understate the significance of the fact that these “choices” are directly informed by the experiential and structural realities of race in the U.S. Moreover, the author’s equation of poor educational and employment-related performance with African American identity (and culture) seems to resonate with racialized culture of poverty theses. It does appear, however, that in her later work Waters attempts to distance herself from this problematic supposition as well as the rigorous critiques similar analysis garner.*

***The Impact of Racial Segregation on the Education and Work Outcomes of Second-Generation West Indians in New York City.*** Working Paper, The Jerome Levy Economics Institute, Bard College.  
1997

*Waters examines the impacts of race in the experience of second-generation West Indian youth in New York City as they make their transition from secondary schooling to the labor market. She argues that these second-generation youth develop a different “cultural response” to race than their immigrant parents have which, in turn, influences their perspectives and practices with regard to employment. Waters suggests that through their racialized experiences in segregated poor black neighborhoods and schools, many second-generation youth develop (black) racial identities that include an “adversarial” or oppositional stance reinforced by their (mainly African American) peer groups. These youth, she follows, “expect and experience” a far greater level of interpersonal racism and discrimination than their parents and thus are “less likely than their parents to believe that they can overcome racism through individual initiative and educational credentials.” As such, these youth refuse to take many of the service sector jobs their parents hold, which require a level of deference or obedience to white employers, managers, or patrons. The suggestion here is that this second-generation West Indian’s “adversarial stance” – though experientially conditioned – serves as an impediment to productive labor participation. Waters adds, however, that these identity-based “behavioral” limitations on second-generation labor participation are compounded by racially discriminatory hiring practices, as well as poor educational training and the limited acquisition of job-related skills resulting from the effects of racial segregation and concentrated poverty in black neighborhoods. She concludes that while identity/cultural responses of second-generation West Indian youth are significant in affecting their labor market outcomes, race and class-based “structural constraints” experienced by these youth have larger independent effects on such outcomes.*

***Black Identities: West Indian Immigrant Dreams and American Realities.***  
Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.  
1999

*Walters presents a generational study of self-identity among West Indians immigrants in New York City. Waters argues that West Indian immigrants from the English-speaking Caribbean – upon whom her study is focused – come to the United States with historically-conditioned identities and cultural frameworks that are then challenged by the centrality of race and specificity of black racial constructions in the U.S. Like others, Waters suggests that West Indian immigrants attempt to fashion ethnic-based identities as a means of maintaining a distinct Caribbean identity and culture. Where her analysis differs from most is that, in addition to adult respondents, Waters also examines self-identity and perceptions among adolescents and young-adult children of immigrants. She finds that this generation tends to identify more strongly along lines of race than their parents, and generally exhibit a significantly higher level of identification with African Americans – often in contrast to their parents’ attempts to distance themselves from this group. Noteworthy, Waters claims that those youth who adopt African American identity and culture tend to perform more poorly in school and are generally*

*less upwardly mobile than those youth who maintain their parents "ethnic" identity and cultural values. Waters' conclusion here is that over the course of a generation the structural realities of race and class in the U.S. "undermine the cultures of West Indian immigrants and create responses among the immigrants, and especially their children that resemble the cultural responses of African Americans to long histories of exclusion and discrimination." In suggesting a correspondence between African American culture and low success rates, Waters attempts to distance her work from analogous "culture of poverty" theses by underscoring that her study illustrates that addressing problems of racial disadvantage in the U.S. must involve "changing the racist structures and behaviors that deny equal opportunities to people identified in our society as black." Her work, however, continued to reflect a level of ambivalence in this regard. Water's concluding chapter reflects on the possible impact of current immigration on the future of U.S. race relations.*

**Watkins-Owens, Irma**

***Blood Relations: Caribbean Immigrants and the Harlem Community, 1900-1930.***

**Bloomington: Indiana University Press.**

**1996**

*Watkins-Owens examines the experience of Afro-Caribbean immigrants in Harlem between 1900 and 1930, emphasizing the role of black ethnic heterogeneity in the making of the quintessential "black metropolis" of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Marked by the expansion of international shipping between the U.S. and the Caribbean initiated by the U.S. take-over of the Panama Canal in 1904, Watkins-Owens maps the social and political impact of Afro-Caribbean immigration on a nascent black Harlem – a history, she contends, largely ignored by African American history and migration studies of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Attention is paid to intraracial "ethnic" and class-based tensions, the evolution of Afro-Caribbean political organization from volunteer associations such as churches, fraternal and benevolent associations to advancement within local mainstream democratic partisan politics. The final chapter deals with the Afro-Caribbean immigrants' involvement in spheres of black cultural production and their contributions to the expansion of the African American press.*

**The NACLA Report.**

**Coming North: Latino & Caribbean Immigration. Report on the Americas. XXVI, no. 1, (July 1992): 13**

**1992**

## Afro-Latinos

**Diaz-Cotto, Juanita**

***Gender, Ethnicity, and the State: Latina and Latino Prison Politics.* Albany: State University of New York Press.**

**1996**

**Forster, Robert F.**

**“The Racial Problems Involved in Immigration from Latin America and The West Indies to the United States; A Report Submitted to the Secretary of Labor.”**

**Washington, Government Print Office.**

**1925**

**Grosfoguel, Ramón and Chloe S. Georas**

**“Coloniality of Power’ and Racial Dynamics: Notes Toward a Reinterpretation of Latino Caribbeans in New York City.” *Identities* 7 (1):85-125.**

**2000**

*Grosfoguel and Georas open with a critique of the U.S. category “Latino” in arguing that the term collapses the differences among populations of diverse historical experiences of oppression. Focusing on Spanish-speaking Caribbean immigrants, the authors make a distinction between three historically-situated categories as they relate to U.S. imperialist history: “immigrants,” “colonial immigrants,” and “colonial/racial subjects.” Employing an analytical model of “colonial power” developed by Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano, the authors argue that the social position and racialization of different contemporary immigrant populations in the U.S. is rooted in the racial hierarchies produced by centuries of European colonial expansion and more recent U.S. imperialism. Such colonially-configured racialization, the authors follow, continues to define the experiences of these immigrant groups as racialized subjects in the U.S. More specifically, the authors use this colonial power model to reconceptualize three related sociohistorical processes: 1) the construction of Puerto Ricans as “colonial racialized subjects” within the Euro-American imaginary; 2) the transformation of Dominicans into “colonial immigrants” in New York City – or they way Dominicans became “Puerto Ricanized”; and 3) the disassociation of pre-1980s Cuban immigrants (i.e. majority “white” and relatively class-privileged) from the racialized “Puerto Ricanization” experienced by Dominicans.*

**Gracia, Jorge and Pablo de Greiff, eds.**

***Hispanics/Latinos in the United States: Ethnicity, Race, and Rights.* New York: Routledge.**

**2002**

*Gracia and de Greiff present an edited collection of recent essays on the politics of Hispanic/Latino identity in the U.S. As the title suggests, the collection focuses on questions of ethnicity, race, and political rights as they pertain to Hispanics/Latinos. The authors use the term Hispanic/Latino(a) to accommodate the contributing authors*

who aggregately use both terms. The volume is divided into two parts. The first, titled “Hispanic/Latino Identity, Ethnicity, and Race”, is comprised of five essays examining the politics of Hispanic/Latino identity formation and related meaning in the U.S. These essays underscore the negotiated, and often strategic character of Hispanic/Latino identity as they manifest within the ideological frameworks and everyday social realities of race and ethnicity in the U.S. The second section of the collection, titled “Hispanic/Latino Identity, Politics, and Rights”, is comprised of six essays focusing more upon how Hispanic/Latino identity plays out within the terrain of U.S. public policy and struggles for political rights.

**Massey, Douglas S. and Nancy A. Denton**

**“Hypersegregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas: Black and Hispanic Segregation Along Five Dimensions.” *Demography*, 26:373–91.**

**1989**

*Massey and Denton’s comparative examination of residential segregation patterns among African Americans and Latino groups in large U.S. urban areas identifies five major variables affecting the nature and extent of race/ethnic-based segregation among Latino immigrants: level of acculturation, socioeconomic status in the community, region of the country, rate of immigration, and skin color or phenotype. They argue that even though rates of residential segregation among Latino groups vary significantly, Latinos on a whole do not experience the level and consistency of racial segregation African Americans experience, or what they call “hypersegregation.” Massey and Denton point out, however, that Puerto Ricans experience a significantly higher level of residential segregation in comparison to most other Latino groups. The authors find that Puerto Rican segregation patterns resemble more closely those of African Americans. They conclude that heightened levels of Puerto Rican segregation suggest that race plays a much greater role in informing where Puerto Ricans live and work than it does among more “lighter skinned” populations of Latinos.*

**Padilla, Felix**

**“On the Nature of Latino Ethnicity.” *Social Science Quarterly*, 65:651–664.**

**1984**

***Latino Ethnic Consciousness.* Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame**

**1985**

*In these two works, Padilla examines the rise of a Latino “pan-ethnic” identity employing an understanding of ethnic-based identity as political constructions that emerge at junctures in which ethnicity is recognized as a basis for making political claims. Following, the author argues that a Latino ethnic consciousness – or what he calls “Latinismo” – arises out of the recognition of shared common interests between two or more Latino groups. In emphasizing the situational and strategic character of this identity, Padilla suggests that Latino consciousness does not replace national-based identifications, which continue to hold meaning while such pan-ethnic identities are emerging. Importantly, he underscores that, within this Latino pan-ethnic grouping, there are contradictory interests among differently positioned (i.e., race and class)*

*Latino groups. In particular, Padilla cites the historical oppression and racialized status of Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in the U.S.*

**Pedraza, Silvia**

**“Beyond Black and White: Latinos and Social Science Research on Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in America.” *Social Science History*, 24.4:697-726  
2000**

*Pedraza opens by arguing that U.S. Latinos have historically been ignored by social science research, in particular those relating to immigration studies. She points out that there has been an emergence of a new tradition of Latino studies by both Latino scholars and others that locates Latinos as subjects of critical social science research. Following, Pedraza presents a thorough review and assessment of the contributions Latino studies has made to immigration research and the social sciences in general. The author is particularly concerned with how Latino-related research has brought to light the significant and varying ways Latino immigration and experience in the U.S. is meaningfully impacting the social dynamics of race and ethnicity in the country.*

**Rodriguez, Clara E.**

**“Race, Culture, and Latino ‘Otherness’ in the 1980 Census.” *Social Science Quarterly*, 73:931–937.  
1992**

*Based on her analysis of 1980 U.S. Census data, Rodriguez argues that the large percentage of Latinos who chose “other” in the field of racial self-classification represented a rejection of U.S. black/white racial binarism. She contends that these trends contest traditional U.S. racial structures in their assertion of an ethnic (as opposed to racial) Latino ‘otherness’ (see Itzigsohn and Dore-Cabral (2000) for alternative reading). She concludes that such developments may prove transformative to the future dynamics of race and ethnicity in the U.S.*

## **Cubans**

**Bach, R., J. B. Bach and T. Triplett**

**The Flotilla 'Entrants': Latest and Most Controversial. *Cuban Studies*, 11/12:29-48. 1981**

**Boswell, Thomas D.**

***A Demographic Profile of Cuban Americans. Miami, FL: Cuban American Policy Center, Cuban American National Council. 1994***

**Boon, Margaret S.**

***Capital Cubans: Refugee Adaptation in Washington, D.C. New York: AMS Press. 1989***

**Brock, Lisa and Digna Castaneda Fuentes, eds.**

***Between Race and Empire: African-Americans and Cubans Before the Cuban Revolution. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1998***

*Brock and Castaneda Fuentes present a collection of eleven essays written by both Cuban and U.S. scholars exploring the social, cultural, and political engagement between Afro-Cubans and (U.S.) African Americans prior to the 1959 Cuban Revolution. Of the eleven, two essays in particular examine the social dynamics of two different episodes of Afro-Cuban/African American interaction within the racially-prescriptive historical context U.S. racial segregation. "Not Just Black: African-Americans, Cubans, and Baseball", by Brock and Bijan, examines the experiences of Afro-Cubans playing in the segregated Negro Leagues of the 1920s, '30s and '40s. In "Telling Silences and the Making of Community: Afro-Cubans and African Americans in Ybor City and Tampa, 1899-1915," David Hellwig chronicles the experience of Afro-Cuban immigrant tobacco workers in Florida's segregated black Ybor City. Both essays underscore the challenges Afro-Cubans faced in a segregated U.S. where their blackness of skin dictated their social position within a strictly codified U.S. racial order. These essays simultaneously explore the extent of black diasporic affinities developed between Afro-Cubans and African Americans within these historical circumstances.*

**Fortney, Emily Ker**

**Cuban Immigration: Policies, Problems, and Politics. Report (M. of Public Affairs) – University of Texas at Austin, 2001  
2001**

**Greenbaum, Susan D.**

***More Than Black: Afro-Cubans in Tampa. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2002***

**Grillo, Evelio**

***Black Cuban, Black American: A Memoir.* Houston: Arte Público Press. 2000**

*Octogenarian Grillo presents a personal life history of his experience growing up as a young Afro-Cuban in Ybor City, Florida in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Ybor – now Tampa – was home in the 1920s and 30s to a large population of Cuban immigrant cigar-makers, many of them black. Exploring the interwoven experience of race and class in the Jim Crow south, Grillo’s memoir offers testimony to the lived everyday ambiguity and struggles of being both black and “ethnic” in the U.S. His classic coming-of-age story tells of a move from his Cuban barrio in Ybor to his increasing assimilation into the African American community – a move that simultaneously corresponded with upward class mobility. From all-black schooling and university experiences through his experience as a soldier in an all-black unit during WWII, Grillo’s story provides an intimate illustration of the ways the Jim Crowism shaped the social identity of black immigrants in the U.S. Although the bulk of his testimony takes place at a not-too-long-ago previous moment, it may shed important light on experiences of similar U.S. immigrant populations as they are negotiated contemporarily.*

**McCoy, C. and D. Gonzalez**

***Cuban Immigration and Immigrants in Florida and the United States: Implications for Immigration Policy.* Gainesville: Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Florida.**

**1985**

*In McCoy and Gonzalez’s demographic analysis of the 1980 Mariel boat exodus from Cuba, the authors draw attention to the flotilla’s large proportion of blacks and mulattos in comparison to the preexisting majority “white” Cuban American population. They argue that the racial composition of the flotilla, which more closely represented the racial make-up of Cuba as a whole, added a new racial dimension to the Cuban exel community in the U.S. significantly complicating its internal racial politics and dynamics. They point out that, prior to 1980, more than ninety-five percent of Cubans in the U.S. were (self-identified as) white. McCoy and Gonzalez suggest that this racial and class-based demographic shift may have important consequences for future social dynamics within an once racially homogenous Cuban exel community. The authors further underscore the role of race in federal Cuban resettlement policies and programs in suggesting that racial classification was a significant factor affecting where and how Mariel refugees were resettled in the U.S.*

**Ojito, Mirta**

**“Best of Friends, Worlds Apart.” *The New York Times.* June 5, 2000.**

**2000**

*As the second article in *The New York Times* series “How Race is Lived in America,” Ojito’s piece examines the experience of two Cubans – one black, one white – as they negotiate their new lives as recent immigrants in the Miami area. The story provides a snapshot of how these childhood friends in Cuba now live radically different lives in the*

*U.S. due to their difference of skin color. Ojito illustrates how race has become a defining factor affecting the divergent character of where these Cubans now live, what kinds of communities they become part of, how they use language, and even kinds of foods they eat and how they dress. The author underscores how these once-close friends find themselves more estranged from one another in their now discrete worlds separated by the black/white U.S. color line. Joel Ruiz, who is black, still identifies as Cuban, although his experience living in a predominantly-black neighborhood and his daily negotiations of American society have contributed to a heightened consciousness of his blackness and the significance of race in his life. His friend, Achmed Valdes, who is white, lives in an all-white neighborhood and socializes mostly with his white Cuban friends who have helped shape his attitudes on race. He visits black neighborhoods only when he is obligated by his job, and holds the belief that African Americans are generally delinquent and dangerous, trusting only those blacks that he knows from Cuba. Hence, these are the new lives these two Cuban immigrants lead in a highly racially polarized U.S.*

**Pasquali, Elaine Anne**

**Assimilation and Acculturation of Cubans on Long Island. Ph.D. Dissertation. State University of New York at Stony Brook. 1982**

**Skop, Emily H.**

**“Race and Place in the Adaptation of Mariel Exiles.” *International Migration Review*, 35(2): 449-71  
2001**

*Analyzing 1990 U.S. Census data, Skop’s study examines the socioeconomic status of Cuban marielita refugees – those who came to the U.S. through the 1980 Mariel Boatlift. She illustrates how this influx of predominately lower-class migrants has significantly altered the racial and class demographics within the Cuban American community, as well as complicated the “success story” image of earlier waves of Cuban “exiles” to the U.S. At the center of Skop’s analysis is a comparative examination of settlement patterns and geographic mobility among white and non-white Mariel refugees, which she attributes to these subgroups’ differentiated experiences in the U.S. Census data suggest that there is little socioeconomic disparity between white and nonwhite marielitos upon arrival. Skop finds, however, that race is a significant factor in determining – either through individual choice or federal resettlement programs – where these refugees eventually settle in the U.S. Importantly, Skop finds, differing settlement patterns in turn contribute to divergent levels of economic opportunity and integration between white and nonwhite émigrés. In the case of white marielitos, data shows that many were readily incorporated within the long-standing social and economic networks of Miami’s predominantly white Cuban American community. Nonwhite marielitos, on the other hand, tended to be far less concentrated with only 39% living in Florida, compared to 81% of corresponding whites. Outside Florida, more than 20% of nonwhite marielitos settled in New York City and adjacent New Jersey areas, with California accounting for an additional 12%. The widely dispersed pattern of nonwhite settlement Skop sees as largely a result of federal resettlement programs which sought*

*to limit the concentration of Cubans in Florida as well as black immigrants own decisions not to live in Miami with its predominantly white Cuban American population. Skop argues that, without the support of established Cuban (ethnic) enclaves – most notably that of Miami, nonwhite marielitos were at a significant economic disadvantage in comparison to their white counterparts. Following, her study finds that: 1) nonwhites lag behind white marielitos in the percentage in high-paying executive, professional, administrative and managerial occupations; 2) white marielitos have generally achieved higher per capita household incomes than nonwhites; and 3) significantly more nonwhite than white marielitos live below the poverty level. Skop concludes that race and “place” are critical factors affecting significantly disparate socioeconomic and life experiences of Cuban Mariel refugees.*

## **Dominicans**

**Bailey, Benjamin H.**

**Language and Ethnic/Racial Identity of Dominican American High School Students in Providence, Rhode Island. Doctoral dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California-Los Angeles. 1999**

In examining identity construction among second-generation Dominican immigrants, the author suggests that the practice of Spanish language plays a crucial role in constructing an “ethnic” black difference vis-à-vis African Americans. The author maintains that many second-generation Dominicans who are “phenotypically indistinguishable” from African Americans often show that they can “speak Spanish” – in both intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic contexts – in order to counter others’ assumptions that they are African Americans. He finds, moreover, that many of the peers of these second-generation Dominicans, including non-Hispanics, accept this evidence of a Spanish, non-black identity. Unlike non-Hispanic African-descendent Caribbean immigrant groups, Bailey contends that Dominicans are “successful” in maintaining a distinct “non-black ethnolinguistic identity” among the second-generation.

**“Dominican-American Ethnic/Racial Identities and United States Social Categories.” *International Migration Review*, 35(3): 677-708. 2001**

Bailey presents an ethnographic study of racial identity construction among second-generation Dominican-American high school students in Providence, Rhode Island. He argues that these youth fashion self-identity and corresponding notions of race at the intersection of their Dominican-migrant communities and the lower-income, multiethnic environments within which they are more broadly socialized. Bailey’s central contention is that (these) second-generation Dominicans constitutive “hybrid” identities diverge from the ways these youth are most often categorized/racialized within dominant ethnic/racial classifications in the U.S. Specifically, Bailey found that, unlike other Afro-Caribbean second-generation (i.e. those originating from the non-Spanish speaking Caribbean), these Dominican-American students tended to identify as “Dominican,” “Spanish” or “Hispanic” rather than “black”, despite their darker skin and related phenotypic characteristics. In many cases, Spanish was used as an “ethnolinguistic” marker of difference – in relation to native-born African Americans – geared towards maintaining a distinct sense of Dominican origin and identity. Such efforts, the author suggests, serve as resistance practices in that they are placed oppositionally to that of dominant racializing forces in the U.S. At the same time, however, Bailey asserts that second-generation Dominican youth have a keen understanding of the ways race shapes their and others’ experience in the U.S. Unlike their parents’ generation, these youth more readily acknowledge their African ancestry while often expressing solidarity with African Americans based on their common experiences of racism and racial discrimination. Bailey key concluding theme is the suggestion that “resistance” to dominant structures and processes of racialization practiced by these and other second-

generation post-1965 immigrant groups are ultimately having a transformative effect on U.S. ethnic and racial categories and structures.

***Language, Race and Negotiation of Identity: A Study of Dominican Americans.***  
New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC.  
2002

**Duany, Jorge**

***Quisqueya on the Hudson: The Transnational Identity of Dominicans in Washington Heights.*** New York: CUNY Dominican Studies Institute.  
1994

*Examining the experience of Dominican immigrants in New York City, Duany argues that this population of Dominicans, to a degree, resisted assimilation within mainstream U.S. society by constructing and maintaining strong transnational connections and identification with the Dominican Republic. Duany points out that most studies tend to focus on the socioeconomic aspects of Dominican immigrants and migration at the expense of analyzing the important cultural dimensions that impact significantly their lives, practices, and collective identity as a transnational community. Language, foodways, and music, along with the continual movement of people between New York and the Dominican Republic, serve as active frameworks through which an “ethnic enclave” based on transnationally-constituted forms of Dominican identity is constructed in Northern Manhattan. Duany does, however, insist that racism and racial discrimination have also contributed to the marginalization of primarily darker-skinned Dominicans from mainstream (white) U.S. society. Here, the “ghettoization” of large numbers of Dominican immigrants has “deprived them of the opportunity to interact with other ethnic groups, learn English, and acquire the necessary skills to incorporate into the U.S. mainstream.” Moreover, he contends that Dominicans have been especially stigmatized by their racial stereotypic profiling based on violence and drug dealing within the popular U.S. imagination (e.g. see the 2000 re-make of Shaft with Samuel L. Jackson).*

**“Reconstructing Racial Identity: Ethnicity, Color, and Class Among Dominicans in The United States and Puerto Rico.”** *Latin American Perspectives*, 25(3):147-72.  
1998

*Duany provides a comparative examination of racial identity formation among Dominican immigrants in New York City and Puerto Rico with an emphasis the social dynamics of skin color, ethnicity, and social class position. Duany opens with a literature review of comparative racial constructions in the Spanish Caribbean and the U.S. Duany argues that Dominican migrants bring their own cultural understandings of their identity, which often do not coincide with the ideological social constructions of their host societies. In particular, Dominicans of darker skin who do not self-identify themselves as black within Dominican society’s anti-black nationalist constructions are often racialized as black within U.S. and Puerto Rican racial/class hierarchies. In both contexts, immigrants draw upon a Dominican racial hegemony structured along lines of a color continuum where the only people labeled “black” – a severely pejorative marker*

– are marginalized Haitian migrant workers. In the case of the U.S., Duany argues, darker-skinned immigrants who might self-identify as mulatto, the more racially innocuous indio (a discursive reference to an indigenous Indian lineage), or even “white” are faced with the dominant racial binarism of the U.S., which marks them as black. This new racial reality is both reflected and lived through the fact that racism and race-based discrimination forces many Dominicans in New York to settle in neighborhoods adjacent to large concentrations of African Americans. Through such experiences, Duany argues, many Dominicans who once considered themselves indio, after a period of time in New York, come to identify themselves as black. In the context of Puerto Rico, where Dominicans often occupy the lowest rungs on the socioeconomic ladder as immigrant workers, their class position in combination with their generally – if at times ascribed – darker complexions and phenotypes tends to racialize them along the “darker”, more pejorative spectrum of Puerto Rico’s own racial/color continuum. In both cases, Duany concludes, the racialization of Dominican immigrants in the U.S. and Puerto Rico has pitted a preexisting “ethnic” identity against a prevailing racial order that has largely confined them to the secondary positions within labor and housing markets.

**Grasmuck, Sherri and Patricia Pessar**

**“Dominicans in the United States: First- and Second-Generation Settlement.” In *Origins and Destinies: Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in America*. S. Pedraza and R. Rumbaut. Belmont, eds. CA: Wadsworth. pp. 280-292.**

**1996**

*Examining 1990 Census data, Grasmuck and Pessar explores the socioeconomic impacts of race on the first and second-generation Dominican immigrants in New York City. The authors observe that, despite the reluctance within traditional sectors of the Dominican society in acknowledging the significance of the population’s African ancestry, a very low percentage of Dominicans immigrants describe themselves as “white” in comparison to other Spanish-speaking immigrants from Latin American and the Caribbean living in New York City. 1990 Census finds that 25.5% of Dominican New Yorkers self-report as “black,” while another 50.1% self-report as “other” – a response the authors equate with those who would be generally classified as mulatto within the Dominican Republic. (The equation of self-reporting of “other” with intermediary forms of racial self-classification/identification by Latinos in the U.S. Census is challenged by findings presented by Rodriguez and Cordero-Guzman’s related 1992 study [see citation] of Puerto Rican self-identity.) The authors suggest that the Census data illustrates that skin color is also a significant predictor of poverty among Dominican immigrants. Figures show that black and mulatto Dominicans have strikingly higher poverty levels than their “white” Dominican counterparts, 42.3%, 47.0%, and 26.6% respectively. Moreover, data demonstrates that second-generation Dominicans experience a greater level of socioeconomic disadvantages stemming from darker skin color than do first-generation immigrants. The authors conclude that second-generation Dominicans’ experience of new forms of racism and racialization, in addition to the heightened context of racial pride in the U.S., may significantly alter their (racial) self-identity.*

**Hernandez, Ramona**

***Dominican New Yorkers: A Socioeconomic Profile.* New York: CUNY Dominican Studies Institute.**

**1990**

**Itzigsohn, Jose and Carlos Dore-Cabral**

**“Competing Identities? Race, Ethnicity and Panethnicity among Dominicans in the United States.” *Sociological Forum*, 15 (2):225-247.**

**2000**

*Itzigsohn and Dore-Cabral examine racial and ethnic self-identification among Dominican immigrants in New York City and Providence, Rhode Island. Their central thesis is that Dominican immigrants’ adoption of an “Hispanic” or “Latino” identity operates as both an accommodation to U.S. racial categorization and accompanying racialization processes, while simultaneously serving as a politically assertive “pan-ethnic” identity (see Padilla 1984, 1985). This thesis contrasts with previous scholarship suggesting that Latin American and Hispano-Caribbean immigrants’ rejection of the black/white U.S. racial binary in adopting a Hispanic/Latino self-categorization is predicated on cultural (i.e., ethnic) rather than racial forms of self-identification (see Rodriguez 1992 discussion of “other” racial self-classification). Alternatively, Itzigsohn and Dore-Cabral argue that the use of Hispanic or Latino/a labels by Dominicans are both a response to as well as an embodiment of dominant racial meanings and structures in the U.S. The authors contend, moreover, that Dominican self-definitions as Hispanic/Latino simultaneously affords them the strategic advantage of membership to a larger collective pan-ethnic identity as Spanish-speaking immigrants in the U.S. Itzigsohn and Dore-Cabral point out, however, that such pan-ethnicity does not supersede national identification, which remains at the core of Dominican self-definition in the U.S.*

**Pessar, Patricia R.**

***A Visa for a Dream: Dominicans in The United States.* Boston, Mass.: Allyn and Bacon.**

**[Series Addition in the New Immigrant Series, Allyn and Bacon. Nancy Foner, series editor]**

**1995**

**Torres-Saillant, Silvio**

**“Introduction to Dominican Blackness.” New York: Dominican Studies Working Papers Series, CUNY Dominican Studies Institute, City Collage of New York.**

**1999**

*Torres-Saillant provides an outline of the historical centrality of race in the national formation of the Dominican Republic in an attempt to encourage the development of “indigenous paradigms” which explain the place of black consciousness – or the lack thereof – within Dominican society. He attempts to locate Afro-Dominican social action within an historical framework moving from the introduction of enslaved African labor, national unification under black Haitian rule, the establishment of an independent (“non-*

*black”) republic in 1844, to the development of 20<sup>th</sup> century anti-black national identity and related anti-black political repressions and violence. Attention is paid to the historical role and importance of Haiti as the racialized national antithesis to the construction of a non-black Dominican national imaginary. The author seems to suggest that 20<sup>th</sup> century race-based attitudes and discourse have tended to be the purview of elite intellectuals and the white ruling class, rather than a hegemonically-pervasive social reality within broader Dominican society. Within this context, he argues that black Dominicans generally do not view their blackness as a central component of their identity, tending rather to privilege their national identity instead. Here he points that Afro-Dominicans often embrace Eurocentric definitions of Domincanness while themselves actively participate in efforts to minimize the place of the African heritage in the national culture. With minimal critical reflection, Torres-Saillant maintains that such racial distancing is in part due to the absence of the social category of “black” within the racially-graduated continuum of Dominican society. Regarding the experience of Dominican immigrants in the U.S., the author finds that Afro-Dominicans often develop a stronger racial consciousness as a result of their negotiations of black/white bipolarity of the U.S. racial system. To this, Torres-Saillant responds, “[f]or Dominican to submit to the logic of North American racial polarities, to internalize extraneous paradigms of identity, would be disregard the complexity of their own national experience as regards interracial relations.” In concluding, Torres-Saillant appears ambivalent about the effects – if the desirability – of returning immigrants’ newly developed racial consciousness on contemporary racial politics and national identity in the Dominican Republic.*

***Diasporic Disquisitions: Dominicanists, Transnationalism, and The Community.***  
New York: CUNY Dominican Studies Institute.  
2000

**Torres-Saillant, Silvio and Ramona Hernandez.**  
***The Dominican Americans.*** Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.  
1998

## **Garifuna**

**England, Sarah**

**“Negotiating Race and Place in the Garifuna Diaspora: Identity Formation and Transnational Grassroots Politics in New York City and Honduras.” *Identities*, 6(1): 5-53.**

**1999**

*Utilizing ethnographic data from the transnational grassroots organizations of the Garifuna – an Afro-Amerindian population living in transnational communities between Central America and the U.S.–, England examines the multiple ways the Garifuna articulate their identity using the tropes of “autochthony,” “blackness,” “Hispanic,” “diaspora,” and “nation.” Such an approach situates the politics of identity in relationship to contemporary socioeconomic and political processes of transnationalism and globalization. The production and mobilization of such identities, England argues, are intimately tied to the negotiation of rights vis-à-vis nation-states and international political bodies, where ideological constructions of race, ethnicity, nation, and citizenship carry with them different implications for rights and belonging. The author concludes that the complexities of Garifuna identity illustrate the uneven processes of globalization, within which the power to define the ideological framework of economic and political struggles remains greatly unequal.*

**Gonzalez, Nancie**

**“Garifuna Settlement in New York.” *International Migration Review*, 12(2): 255-263.**

**1979**

*Gonzalez presents a demographic outline of the Garifuna immigrant community in New York City. She opens with an ethnohistorical description, including a review of her research among Garifunas in Central America in the late 1950s. Regarding Garifuna immigrants in New York, the author finds that they have established small community clusters in the Bronx, Spanish Harlem and Brooklyn. Gonzalez underscores that language differences among Garifuna of differing national origin – i.e. English-speaking from Belize versus Spanish-speaking from Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua – influence what neighborhoods they “choose” to settle in. Examining social and employment patterns, Gonzalez concludes that Garifuna households in the U.S. tend to be more nuclear-based (i.e. male/female headed) when compared to the more extended, women-headed/centered family structures in Central America. Gonzalez does not, however, provide any analysis or account of the role of race in the experience of these phenotypically black, African-decedent communities in the U.S.*

**Miller, Linda Ruth**

**Bridges: Garifuna Migration to Los Angeles. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of California, Irvine.**

**1993**

*Examining the experiences of Garifuna immigrants between their homeland Central America and the U.S., Miller focuses on three central themes: the historical-structural context of Garifuna migration, the role of transnational networks in migration decision-making, and the social and economic consequences of U.S. migration for Garifuna communities in Los Angeles and in Belize. Miller plays particular attention to women's participation in the migration process. The author begins with an examination of the role of European colonial expansion into the Caribbean in the emergence of the Garifuna as an "ethnic group" and links Belize's role in the international division of labor to Garifuna labor migration. She moves to locate strategies that Garifuna women have developed in relationship to labor participation and migration in arguing that Garifuna women – contrary to their representation in most scholarly work as secondary migrants – are important labor migrants in their own right. The author then examines the role women play in both household and the extra-domestic social networks that greatly inform migration, settlement, and immigrant experiences among the Garifuna community in Los Angeles. She finds that the socioeconomic status of migrant women in Los Angeles generally improve as they gain access to opportunities unavailable to them in Belize. She concludes, however, that Garifunas argue that the social costs of migration have also been high, citing in particular the increased social problems among Garifuna youth in both Los Angeles and Belize (see O'Conner 1998).*

**O'Connor, Anne-Marie**

**"American Threat to a Proud Heritage." Los Angeles Times, April 4, 1998, pp. A1, col. 1. 1998**

*This article establishes the scenario of the Garifuna as a hard-working immigrant community struggling to protect their children from the destructive culture of Los Angeles' poor and working-class African American neighborhoods. The article highlights, among others, the efforts of Clifford Palacio, a first-generation Garifuna immigrant from Belize, to raise his nine children safe from urban Los Angeles' (i.e. Black) "cult of drugs and guns." Mr. Palacio is quoted as saying: "There is so many negative forces pulling against the values and principles we try to instill... You keep reminding them there is a jungle out there. We trained them from the cradle, show them the evil they might meet." The article goes on to cite the work of UCLA anthropologist Catherin Macklin, who comments on attempts by first-generation Garifuna in LA to "insulate young people from these urban evils" by accentuating the ethnic particularity of Garifuna identity. The article illustrates the ways adult first-generation Garifuna emphasize their collective ethnic "difference" as a means of distancing themselves and their children from their African American counterparts. It is unquestionable that the daily realities of gangs, drugs, police violence, and HIV-inflicting poor African American communities in Los Angeles and other large (and not so large) U.S. urban areas – as well as the underlining socioeconomic conditions and structures that feed them – are clearly a threat to young phenotypically 'black' Garifuna youth raised and socialized in these same areas. The complicating factor, however, is when these social ills are often racially attributed to (African American) blackness itself. Such attitudes are at the core of racialized discourses of social and cultural pathologies ascribed to poor urban African American and Latino communities. In the case of Garifuna immigrants, by emphasizing their own*

*and their children's "ethnic" (i.e., cultural and historical) difference, these older Garifunas attempt to evade both the perceived negative cultural influences associated with black urban America, as well as the related racial stigma associated with being labeled black in the U.S.*

**Perry, Marc D.**

**Garifuna Youth in New York City: Race, Ethnicity, and the Performance of Diasporic Identities. M.A. Thesis. Department of Anthropology, University of Texas, Austin.**

**1999**

*Perry's Masters' thesis explores the ways in which second-generation Garifuna youth in New York City negotiate their identity as Garifuna through multiple articulations of diaspora, and how U.S. ascriptions of blackness and forms of black popular culture inform these processes. The author argues that expressive forms of Garifuna youth culture in the U.S., in particular music and dance, are used as sites in which these new identities of Garifunanness are fashioned and re-worked within the contemporary sociocultural context of race and class in late-1990s New York City. Through the performance of music and dance, he suggests, these youth assert their racial membership to a transnational African or Black Diaspora, while simultaneously constituting their "ethnic" belongingness to a diasporic Garifuna peoplehood.*

## Haitians

**Catanese, Anthony V.**

***Haitians: Migration and Diaspora.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.  
1999**

**Fouron, George and Nina Glick Schiller**

**“The Generation of Identity: Redefining the Second-generation within a Transnational Social Field.” *In Migration, Transnationalization, and Race in a Changing New York.* Héctor Cordero-Guzmán et al. eds. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. pp. 58-86.  
2001**

*Fouron and Glick Schiller examine the effects of transnational migration on identity production among young people born in the U.S. of Haitian parentage and corresponding youth living in Haiti. At the center of their analysis is the concept of “transnational social fields”, which they define as the sociocultural frameworks produced through the circulatory movement of people, culture, ideas, and identification between Haiti and Haitian immigrant communities in the U.S. With an emphasis on the experiences of second-generation Haitian youth in New York City, the authors suggest many of these youth produce identities and visions of the future that are negotiated between the social realities of being “black” in the U.S., and the continued influence of Haiti on their parents and their lives. The authors are particularly interested in the ways in which many of these youth have developed social and political organizational structures that promote transnational connections with people and places “black home,” as well as foster a collective Haitianness among this second-generation population. Fouron and Glick Schiller further propose that the daily experiences of racism and corresponding processes of racialization may contribute to these youth’s desire to construct alternative identities and places of belonging– i.e. Haitian and Haiti. The authors therefore hypothesize that second-generation youth move between differentiated identities not only in relation to their experiences of racialization in the U.S., but also to the extent to which their lives are shaped within larger transnational social frameworks.*

**Laguerre, Michel S.**

***American Odyssey: Haitians in New York City.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.  
1984**

***Diasporic Citizenship: Haitian Americans in Transnational America.* New York: St. Martin's Press.  
1998**

**Stepick, Alex.**

***Pride Against Prejudice: Haitians in the United States.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon.  
1998**

*As the title suggests, Stepick uses competing themes of pride and prejudice to outline the struggles Haitian immigrants encounter in the U.S. Here pride refers to the unique sense of cultural and historical self-worth and celebration shared by many Haitians immigrants, versus the multivalent prejudice – and racism – they experience in the U.S. as both “black” and “Haitian.” He underscores the particular and especially vehement character of racialized discourse and representations ascribed to Haitians in the U.S., the kinds of individual and collective struggles that ensue, and the social, cultural, and economic strategies Haitian immigrants mobilize in response. Here issues of human and social capital, family, and transnational networks are explored. Stepick devotes a later chapter to the specific challenges facing Haitian high school-age youth and the various ways they cope with anti-Haitian prejudice and racism. Themes of cultural ambivalence, assimilation strategies within African American cultural paradigms, Haitian and African American solidarity, and reassertions of Haitianness are examined. Stepick additionally addresses the social and political significance of Haitian cultural practice in the making of Haitian immigrant identity and community in the U.S., and concludes with a discussion of the competing experience and social consequences of Haitian “immigrant” versus “refugee” status.*

**Woldemikael, Tekle Mariam**

***Becoming Black American: Haitians and American Institutions in Evanston, Illinois.* New York: AMS Press.  
1989**

*Woldemikael examines how Haitian immigrants and their children in Evanston, Illinois negotiate tensions between self-definitions based on Haitian historical, cultural, and national identifications on one level, and racialized forms of identity imposed on them in the U.S. on the other. Rather than a focus on interracial/ethnic interaction, Woldemikael’s analysis centers on the relationships between Haitian immigrants and U.S. institutions such as churches, schools, and local government agencies. He argues that these institutions in varying degrees reject “cultural criteria” in their tendency to classify Haitian immigrants within dominant U.S. racial paradigms – i.e. black. In line with other studies, Woldemikael suggests that while first-generation Haitian immigrants effort to maintain a distinct Haitian identity in response to these institutional efforts, those of the second-generation tend to be more readily assimilated and are more active in adopting corresponding forms of African American identity. The stated implications of his study are: 1) tensions between subordinate black immigrant groups and dominant U.S. racial paradigms are ultimately resolved in favor of the later; and 2) the institutional positioning of black immigrants within narrow racial parameters, and the assignment of status on the base of race reproduces African American communities and structured racial inequality in the U.S.*

**“A Case Study of Race Consciousness among Haitian Immigrants.” *Journal of Black Studies.* 20(2):224-239.  
1989**

**Zephir, Flore**

***Haitian Immigrants in Black America: A Sociological and Sociolinguistic Portrait.***  
Westport, Conn.: Bergin & Garvey.

**1996**

***Trends in Ethnic Identification among Second-Generation Haitian Immigrants in New York City.*** Westport, Conn.: Bergin & Garvey.

**2001**

*Zephir's most recent work is a follow up to his 1996 book, Haitian Immigrants in Black America, where he explored the cultural politics of "ethnic" identity among Haitian immigrants in the U.S. In his previous study, Zephir argued that Haitian ethnicity emerged as situational response to negatively-positioned racial categorizations and associated forms of black self-identification in the U.S. In Zephir's current work, he presents a comparative intergenerational study of racial and ethnic identity and perceptions among first and second-generation Haitian immigrants. Exploring questions of language – e.g., use and significance of Haitian creole, bilingual education, schooling experience, residential segregation and generational conflict, Zephher suggests that second-generation Haitian immigrant youth tend to construct identity among a wider – and often multiply-situated – range of possibilities with regard to racial and ethnic positions when compared to their parents.*

## **Puerto Ricans**

**Bourgois, Philippe**

***In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.**

**1995**

**Cardona, Luis A.**

**A Directory of Doctoral Research on Puerto Ricans in the United States of America. Rockville: Carreta Press.**

**1990**

**Conway, Dennis, Adrian Bailey, and Mark Ellis**

**“Gendered and Racialized Circulation-Migration: Implications for the Poverty and Experience of New York’s Puerto Rican Women.” *In Migration, Transnationalization, and Race in a Changing New York.* Héctor Cordero-Guzmán, et al. eds. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. pp. 146-166.**

**2001**

*Conway et al set out to theorize how the gendered and racialized circulation migration – i.e. back and forth “transmigration” – among Puerto Rican women in New York City contributes to their poor socioeconomic status in the U.S. The authors note that Puerto Rican women in the U.S. mainland are among the most impoverished of Latina groups. Understanding circulation migration as strategic responses to a host of social factors, the authors critique standard models used to examine the relationship between circulation migration and poverty among immigrant communities for their inability to adequately account for the gendered and racial dimension that affect such decisions. They, therefore, call for an analytical focus on migration strategies and the ways these strategies are shaped by gendered and racial dynamics. Such approaches, the authors assert, provide more thorough and nuanced accounts of poverty in transnational settings. In developing their model, Conway et al examine the interrelated dynamics of migration and employment experience of Puerto Rican women using a pooled sample of both island and mainland-born Puerto Rican women. Following, they argue that migration as a process originates in households with distinctive gender roles and unequal gender relations that significantly affect decisions related to migration. Moreover, the authors point out that an examination of Puerto Rican women’s migration and poverty is incomplete without recognizing the additional disadvantages they experience as a result of racialized labor and housing markets. Beyond a call for the incorporation of gender and race, as well as the interwoven transnational contexts of mainland and island experiences within an analysis of poverty and migration among Puerto Ricans, the authors do not offer much further by way of theoretical or empirical insights.*

**de la Garza, Rodolfo, et al.**

**“Ethnicity and Attitudes Towards Immigration Policy: The Case of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans in the United States.” Austin: Texas Population Research Center, University of Texas at Austin.**

**1993**

**Flores, Juan**

***From Bomba to Hip-Hop: Puerto Rican Culture and Latino Identity.* New York: Columbia University Press.**

**2000**

**Fowlie-Flores, Fay**

***Annotated Bibliography of Puerto Rican Bibliographies.* New York: Greenwood Press.**

**1990**

**Gomez, Christina**

**“The Continual Significance of Skin Color: An Exploratory Study of Latinos in the Northeast.” *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 22 (1): 94-103.**

**2000**

*Analyzing 1994 Boston Social Survey data, Gomez examines the extent to which skin color among Latinos in the Boston area, specifically among Puerto Rican and Dominican men and women, impacts employment wages. Gomez points out that similar studies have been conducted among Mexican Americans in the Southwest, which found that those with darker skin and indigenous features generally had lower socioeconomic status than their lighter-skinned counterparts. Her study of Latinos in the Boston area suggested that lighter-skinned Latinos tended to have more education, owned their homes at higher rates, and were more likely to be married than corresponding Latinos of darker skin. These findings, Gomez concludes, illustrate that darker skin continues to have a negative impact on earnings when controlling for other “human capital variables.” When analyzing data along lines of gender, however, Gomez finds that wages among men, much more so than among women, are negatively affected by darker skin. One possible rationale given for this discrepancy is that Latinas are disproportionately concentrated in low-wage manufacturing and professional services like office cleaners, where employer discrimination may be less pervasive than in the more diversified and relatively higher-paying sectors within which Latinos are employed. Gomez concludes that differences in skin color may operate more significantly as a social variable in labor markets where there is a more racially diversified (and higher-paid) workforce.*

**Lee, Timothy Allen.**

***The Identity of the Afro-Puerto Rican.* M.A Thesis. Appalachian State University.**

**2000**

**Meléndez, Edwin**

**“Understanding Latino Poverty.” *Sage Race Relations Abstracts*, 18:3–42.  
1993**

*Within a broader analysis of poverty among U.S. Latinos, Meléndez argues that the socioeconomic condition of mainland Puerto Ricans resembles considerable that of post-industrial working-class black America. Meléndez suggest that, within the racial and class-based structure of the U.S. economy, Puerto Ricans, like African Americans, have experienced significant socioeconomic displacement resulting from the economic restructuring of U.S. industry. In particular, the author cites the steep decline in the garment industry in New York where Puerto Ricans – principally women – have traditionally represented a sizable percentage of the work force. Meléndez further points to the large concentrations of Puerto Ricans within impoverished deindustrialized urban centers who experience high levels of “welfare dependency” and families headed by single mothers as social consequences of their racialized class positioning in the U.S.*

**Montalvo, Frank F.**

**“Skin Color and Latinos: The Origins and Contemporary Patterns of Ethnoracial Ambiguity Among Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans.” San Antonio, Tex.: Institute for Intercultural Studies: Worden School of Social Service, Our Lady of the Lake University of San Antonio.  
1987**

*Montalvo examines the politics of skin color among Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans living in the U.S. as it relates to the production of “ethnoracial identity,” as well as the psychological and social impacts of skin color on individual and group acculturation. Montalvo’s focus on Mexican Americans in Texas and Puerto Ricans in the North East is predicated on the racialized character of their respective indigenous and African cultural and phenotypic backgrounds, as well as these groups’ individual histories of involuntary incorporation within American society. The author argues that skin color operates as a critical variable in the experience of these Latino groups (and U.S. Latinos in general), and has long been overlooked or ignored as such by U.S. social services and mental health practitioners. He contends, moreover, that the issue of skin color prejudice and its social effects are most often a taboo subject in the public discourse within racially heterogeneous Latino communities. Here, Latino communities attempt to maintain social cohesion by emphasizing culture as its sole source of group identity. Though Montalvo locates the origin for such practices within Latin American societies, he suggests they take on new kinds of social and political relevance within the context of the U.S. In particular, the ideological assumptions of American social equality, he points out, compel broader U.S. society to support Latino public dismissals of its own racial heterogeneity (if not internal racial hierarchy and racism). This, in turn, reinforces prevailing claims that the sole barrier to Latino assimilation is due to Latinos’ unwillingness or inability to acculturate into the (white) U.S. culture. Such propositions tend to negate the significance of race and racism as real factors contributing to Latino social marginalization. In concluding that Latinos are differently assimilated according to phenotype, Montalvo calls for greater attention to the social and physiological effects*

*of such practices, as well as the undertaking of more comprehensive studies of the racial dynamics affecting Latino communities.*

**Rodriguez, Clara E.**

**“Race Classification Among Puerto Rican Men and Women in New York. *New Directions for Latino Public Policy Research.*” Austin, TX: IUP/SSRC Committee for Public Policy Research on Contemporary Hispanic Issues, The Center for Mexican American Studies, University of Texas, Austin.**

**1990**

*Using statistical data from the 1980 U.S. Census, Rodriguez examine the socioeconomic significance of racial self-identification as a labor market variable among Puerto Ricans in New York City. Rodriguez recognizes race is an important social factor in the lives of Latinos, but maintains that race among Latino remains largely ignored in policy discussions and scholarly analysis. Her study focuses on two central questions: 1) whether race is a significant stratifying variable within the Puerto Rican community, and 2) whether race is a significant labor market variable affecting wage rates among Puerto Ricans in New York. Rodriguez finds that there is a high level of racial self-differentiation among Puerto Rican New Yorkers, with 44% self-identifying as “white,” only 4% as “black,” and the remaining claiming “Spanish” as a write-in self-classification under an open “other” category. She reads these finding as suggestive of diverging conceptions of race held by Puerto Ricans in relation to dominate binary black/white constructions in the U.S. The choice of “Spanish,” for Rodriguez, may reflect a tendency among Latinos to conflate race with culture, as well a “sense of alienation from U.S. society and a corresponding assertion of ethnic identity.” Regarding the relationship between race and labor market experience, Rodriguez’s data suggest that race does affect hourly wage rates for men more so than women. Those self-identifying as Spanish, however, tended to fair less favorably than either those who identified as either white or black.*

***Puerto Ricans: Born in the U.S.A.* Boston: Unwin Hyman.**

**1991**

**In this general survey of the Puerto Rican experience in the U.S., Rodriguez underscores the significance of phenotype in affecting the social outcomes of various Latino groups. She argues that, in the case of Puerto Ricans, their darker skin color within the racial hierarchy of the U.S. contributes to their historical configuring as a racialized minority.**

**Rodriguez, Clara E. and Hector Cordero-Guzman**

**“Placing Race in Context.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 15:523-42.**

**1992**

*Rodriguez and Cordero-Guzman open their article citing 1980 and 1990 Census data showing 40% of Hispanics racially self-reporting as “other.” Although the authors generally interpret these responses as a rejection of the dominant U.S. bimodal racial classifications of “black” and “white,” they question the specific meanings and racial self-*

identity most scholars have attributed to this self-reported 'otherness.' Given particular attention here is the tendency among many scholars to equate the choice of "other" with racially intermediary self-categorizations such as mulatto and mestizo (e.g. Grasmuck and Pessar 1996). In an effort to further investigate these dynamics, Rodriguez and Cordero-Guzman conducted a study of 240 Puerto Ricans in the New York City area comparing three dimensions of self-reported racial self-identity: a) how "race" is externally defined in the U.S.; b) how respondents themselves define their racial identity in both open-ended and closed question formats; and c) how respondents think they are racially classified by North Americans. The authors' findings suggest that Puerto Rican respondents generally hold a different conception of race than the bimodal construction commonly prescribed to in the U.S. In particular, the study indicates that, in addition to drawing upon the Hispanic Caribbean's "racial continuum" model, respondents tend to conflate notions of race and culture. Here race is seen as something beyond gene and phenotype, but one informed by other social factors such as class, education, language, and birthplace. Following, respondents tended to emphasize the validity of their ethnic or cultural identity over their racial identity. The authors additionally found that respondents' answers to identical worded questions concerning their racial identity tended to vary significantly depending on how questions were contextualized. Rodriguez and Cordero-Guzman conclude with the observation that race and racial identity among Puerto Rican respondents are substantially informed by contextual as well as historical factors.

**Thomas, Piri**

***Down These Mean Streets.* New York: Knopf.  
1967**

**Urciuoli, Bonnie**

***Exposing Prejudice: Puerto Rican Experiences of Language, Race, and Class.*  
Boulder, CO: Westview Press.  
1996**

*Based on ethnographic research conducted within working-class Puerto Rican communities in the New York's Lower East Side and the Bronx, linguistic anthropologist Urciuoli examines the ways racial exclusion and class location are inscribed through the everyday politics of language. Specifically, the author explores the intersection of race, class, and language within the communicative economy of Spanish/English bilingualism, and the ways these intersectional dynamics shape the lives of working-class Puerto Ricans. Urciuoli's central thesis concerns the ways Puerto Ricans are racialized through the varying degrees to which they use Spanish. She begins by investigating how race and ethnicity are deployed as competing categories of difference, particularly as they are articulated within the social field of language. In the case of working-class Puerto Ricans, however, Urciuoli illustrates how Spanish – which in a previous moment of European immigration would have configured within a notion of "ethnic" difference – is conflated with race, thus serving as a key modality through which Puerto Ricans are marked as racial subjects. Inherent in her analysis is a critique of classic U.S. assimilation theories predicated on (white) ethnicity models that, she*

*argues, are wholly inadequate in accounting for the specificity of racialized experience in the U.S.*

**Westfried, Alex Huxley**

**Transformations in Puerto Rican Identity: The Emergence of a New Generation.**

**Ph.D. Dissertation. Syracuse University.**

**1978**

## Racial Dynamics in the African Diaspora (selected listing)

Arocha, Jamie

“Inclusion of Afro-Colombians: Unreachable Goal?” *Latin American Perspectives*, issue 100, 25(3):70-89.

1998

Baud, Michiel

“Constitutionally White”: The forging of a National Identity in the Dominican Republic.” In *Ethnicity in the Caribbean: Essays in Honor of Harry Hoetink*. Gert Oostindie, ed. Warkwick University Caribbean Studies. London: Macmillan.

1996

Bennett, Herman

“Challenges to the Post-Colonial State: A Case Study of the February Revolution in Trinidad.” In *The Modern Caribbean*. Franklin Knight and Colin Palmer, eds.

Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. pp. 129-146.

1989

Browning, Barbara

*Infectious Rhythm: Metaphors of Contamination and the Spread of African Culture*. New York: Routledge.

1998

Burdick, John

*Blessed Anastácia: Women, Race, and Popular Christianity in Brazil*. New York: Routledge.

1998

Carrón, Juan Manuel

“The National Question in Puerto Rico.” *Radical America*, 23(1): 59-68.

1989

Casals, Lourdes

“Race Relations in Contemporary Cuba.” reprinted In *The Cuban Reader*. Philip Brender, et al, eds. New York: Globe Press. pp. 471-486.

1989 [1979]

da Silva, Denise Ferreira

“Facts of Blackness: Brazil is not (quite) the United States... and Racial Politics in Brazil?” *Social Identities*, 4(2): 201-234

1998

de la Fuente, Alejandro  
**A Nation For All: Race, Inequality, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Cuba.** Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.  
2001

Duany, Jorge  
“Imagining the Puerto Rican Nation: Recent Works in Cultural Identity.” *Latin American Research Review*, 31(3):248-267  
1996

Duany, Jorge ed.  
*Los dominicanos en Puerto Rico: migracion en la semi-periferia.* Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico: Ediciones Huracan.  
1990

Dupuy, Alex  
“Race and Class in the Postcolonial Caribbean: The Views of Walter Rodney.” In *Ethnicity, Race, and Nationality in the Caribbean.* Juan Manuel Carrión, ed. San Juan: Institute of Caribbean Studies, University of Puerto Rico. pp 311-336.

Fernandez, Nadine T.  
*Race, Romance, and Revolution: the Cultural Politics of Interracial Encounters in Cuba.* Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkley.  
1996

Fontaine, Pierre-Michel  
*Race, Class, and Power in Brazil.* Los Angeles: UCLA Center for Afro-American Studies.  
1985

Freyre, Gilberto  
*The Masters and the Slaves: A Study of the Development of Brazilian Civilization.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf.  
1946 [1933]

Fry, Peter  
“Politics, Nationality, and the Meanings of “Race.” *Daelalus* 129(2): 83-118.  
2000

Gomes da Cunha, Olivia Maria  
“Black Movements and the ‘Politics of Identity’ in Brazil.” In *Cultures of Politics, Politics of Culture: Re-visioning Latin American Social Movements.* Sonia Alvarez, Evelina Dagnino, and Arturo Escobar, eds. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. pp. 220-251.  
1998

Gordon, Edmund T.  
**Disparate Diasporas.** Austin: University of Texas Press.  
1998

Gordon, Edmund T. and Mark Anderson  
“The African Diaspora: Towards an Ethnography of Diasporic Identification.”  
*Journal of America Folklore*, 112(445): 282-296.  
1999

Gilroy, Paul  
*The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness.* Cambridge, Mass:  
Harvard University Press.  
1993

Hale, Charles  
“Mestizaje, Hybridity and the Cultural Politics of Difference in Post-Revolutionary  
Central America. *Journal of Latin American Anthropology*, 2(1): 35-61  
1996

“Cultural Politics of Identity in Latin America.” *Annual Review of Anthropology*,  
26:567-90.  
1997

Hanchard, Michael  
*Orpheus and Power: The Movimento Negro in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo,  
Brazil, 1945-1988.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.  
1994

“Afro-Modernity: Temporality, Politics, and the African Diaspora.” *Public Culture*,  
11(1): 245-268.  
1999

Harris, Marvin  
*Patterns of Race in the Americas.* New York: Walker.  
1964

Hintzen, Percy C.  
“Creole Construction and Nationalist Ideology: The English Speaking Caribbean.”  
Presented paper, Latin American Studies Association 2000 Conference, Miami,  
Florida.  
2000

Hoetink, Harry  
*Caribbean Race Relations: A Study of Two Variants.* translated by E. M.  
Hooykaas. New York: Oxford University Press.  
1971

Howard, David  
Coloring the Nation: Race & Ethnicity in the Dominican Republic. Boulder, Co.: L. Rienner Publishers.  
2001

Knight, Franklin  
"Ethnicity and Social Structure in Contemporary Cuba." *In Ethnicity in the Caribbean: Essays in Honor of Harry Hoetink*. Gert Oostindie, ed. Warkwick University Caribbean Studies. London: Macmillan. pp. 106-120.  
1996

Maingot, Anthony  
"Haiti and the Terrified Consciousness of the Caribbean." *In Ethnicity in the Caribbean: Essays in Honor of Harry Hoetink*. Warkwick University Caribbean Studies. London: Macmillan. pp. 53-80.  
1996

Martínez-Echazábal, Lourdes  
"Mestizaje and the Discourse of National/Cultural Identity in Latin America, 1845-1959" *Latin American Perspectives*, issue 100, 25(3):22-42.  
1998

Mintz, Sidney  
*Caribbean Transformations*. New York: Columbia University Press.  
1990 [1974]

"Ethnic Differences, Plantation Sameness" *In Ethnicity in the Caribbean: Essays in Honor of Harry Hoetink*. Gert Oostindie, ed. Warkwick University Caribbean Studies. London: Macmillan. pp. 39-52.  
1996

Moore, Carlos  
*Castro, the Blacks, and Africa*. Los Angeles: Center for Afro-American Studies, Center for Afro-American Studies, UCLA.  
1988

Morse, Richard M.  
"Race, Culture and Identity in the New World." *In Ethnicity in the Caribbean: Essays in Honor of Harry Hoetink*. Gert Oostindie, ed. Warkwick University Caribbean Studies. London: Macmillan. pp. 22-38.  
1996

Palmer, Colin  
"Identity, Race, and Black Power in Independent Jamaica." *In The Modern Caribbean*. Franklin Knight and Colin Palmer, eds. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. pp. 111-128.  
1989

Perez Sarduy, Pedro and Jean Stubbs, eds.  
*Afro-Cuban Voices: On Race and Identity in Contemporary Cuba*. Gainesville:  
University Press of Florida.  
2000

Premdas, Ralph  
“Ethnic Conflict and Levels of Identity in the Caribbean: Deconstructing a Myth.”  
*In Ethnicity, Race, and Nationality in the Caribbean*. Juan Manuel Carrión, ed. San  
Juan: Institute of Caribbean Studies, University of Puerto Rico. pp. 11-36.  
1997

Safa, Helen  
“Introduction.” *In Race and National Identity in the Americas, Latin American  
Perspectives*, issue 100, 25(3):33-20.  
1998

Sagás, Ernesto  
“The Development of Antihaitianismo into a Dominant Ideology During the Trujillo  
Era” *In Ethnicity, Race, and Nationality in the Caribbean*. Juan Manuel Carrión,  
ed. San Juan: Institute of Caribbean Studies, University of Puerto Rico.  
1997

*Race and the Politics in the Dominican Republic*. Gainesville, FL: University Press  
of Florida  
2000

Sagrera, Martin  
*Racismo y politica en Puerto Rico: la desintegracion interna y externa de un  
pueblo*. Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico: Editorial Edil.  
1973

Sarduy, Pedro Perez and Jean Stubbs, eds.  
*Afro-Cuban Voices: On Race & Identity in Contemporary Cuba*. Gainesville:  
University Press of Florida.  
2000

Smith, Carol  
“Myths, Intellectuals, and Race/Class/Gender Distinctions in the Formation of  
Latin American Nations.” *Journal of Latin American Anthropology*, 2(1): 148-169.  
1996

Torres, Arlene  
“La Grand Familia Puertorriqueña- ‘El Prieta de Beldá’.” *In Blackness in Latin  
America and the Caribbean. Social Dynamics and Cultural Transformations*. Vol.  
2. Norman Whitten and Arlene Torres, eds. Bloomington: Indiana University  
Press. pp. 285-306  
1998

**Torres-Saillant, Silvio**

**“The Tribulations of Blackness: Stages in Dominican Racial Identity.” *Latin American Perspectives*, 25(3): 126-147.**

**1998**

**Trouillot, Michel-Rolph**

***Haiti: State Against Nation*. New York: Monthly Review Press.**

**1990**

**Wade, Peter**

***Blackness and Race Mixture: The Dynamics of Racial Identity in Colombia*.**

**Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.**

**1993**

**“The Cultural Politics of Blackness in Columbia” *In Blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean: Social Dynamics and Cultural Transformations*. Vol. 1.**

**Norman Whitten and Arlene Torres, eds. Bloomington: Indiana of University**

**Press, pp. 311-334. [Originally published in *American Ethnologist* 22(2):341-357.]**

**1998 [1995]**

***Race and Ethnicity in Latin America*. London: Pluto Press.**

**1997**

**Whitten, Norman and Arlene Torres, eds.**

***Blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean. Social Dynamics and Cultural***

***Transformations*. Vol. 1 and II. Norman Whitten and Arlene Torres, eds.**

**Bloomington: Indiana University Press.**

**Winant, Howard**

***Racial Conditions*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.**

**Windance Twine, France**

***Racism in a Racial Democracy: the Maintenance of White Supremacy in Brazil*.**

**New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.**

**1998**