RICHMOND
School of Arts & Sciences

University of Richmond
UR Scholarship Repository

Sociology and Anthropology Faculty Publications

Sociology and Anthropology

2008

Hybrid Identities in the Diaspora: Second Generation West Indians in Brooklyn

Bedelia N. Richards
University of Richmond, brichar2@richmond.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarship.richmond.edu/socanth-faculty-publications

Part of the Race and Ethnicity Commons

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Hybrid Identities in the Diaspora:
Second Generation West Indians in Brooklyn

By

Bedelia Nicola Richards

How does ethnic identity manifest among contemporary second-generation West Indian youth? In this essay I argue that the ethnic identities of post-1990s second-generation West Indian youth in Brooklyn are best characterized as "hybrid identities." Diaspora communities like the one created by West Indian immigrants in Brooklyn provide ideal conditions for the development of hybrid identities, the fusion of two or more cultures coexisting in a single individual (Smith and Leavy, 2008). In addition to the question already posed, this paper will explicate how second-generation West Indian youth experience, make sense of and express the inherent complexity of identities that emerge from living in a hybrid cultural space. My analyses are based on the premise that there is something new and different about the way in which second-generation West Indian youth today conceptualize their ethnic identities (Richards, 2007) as opposed to their representation in publications based on the Brooklyn West Indian experience in the 1980s and early1990s (Waters, 2001, Zephir, 2001). Most prominent among them is the work of Waters (2001) who described a cultural disconnect between most working class West Indian youth and their immigrant parents. Waters, (2001) and others predict that the greater salience of ethnicity among middle class youth would rapidly erode, much like their working class counterparts, as racial discrimination became a more prominent fixture in the lives of these young people (Waters, 2001; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Kasinitz, Battle and Miyares, 2001).

I am in agreement with Vickerman (2001) and Butterfield (2001) who point to more fluidity in the ethnic identities of West Indian adolescents, rejecting the notion that second-generation West Indian youth necessarily choose between a "racial" and an "ethnic" identity. Notwithstanding these objections, rarely has anyone challenged directly the idea of an inevitable and indisputable ethnic decline among second (and later) generation black West Indian youth. I too recognize that the ubiquitous nature of

black-white racial divisions in the United States poses a challenge to the persistence of ethnicity among children of black immigrants from Haiti and the English-speaking Caribbean islands (Vickerman, 2001). Yet, my data suggests that the social reality of 21st century Brooklyn West Indian youth is quite different from those who came of age in New York City in the 1980s and early 1990s. Specifically, contemporary second-generation West Indian youth in Brooklyn place a high social value on identifying as West Indian ethnics, and are likely to identify ethnically regardless of the social class backgrounds of their parents (Richards, 2007). I attribute this high social value to the objective reality of living within a predominantly West Indian environment. I elaborate on these issues in the current chapter using data collected primarily from interviews with twenty-four second-generation West Indian youth who were tenth graders when I interviewed them. My analyses are also informed by eight months of participant observation in two Brooklyn high Schools where I recruited these students for a research project with a more comprehensive agenda.

HYBRID IDENTITIES IN SOCIAL CONTEXT

William Yancey and his colleagues (1976) have influenced how I think about the survival of ethnicity among today's second-generation West Indian youth. In their essay "Emergent Ethnicity: a Review and Reformulation", Yancey and his colleagues (1976) challenge the assumption that ethnicity among American ethnic groups is rooted in these groups' cultures of origin rather than in the ethnic communities that they recreate in the United States. Instead, these scholars propose that ethnicity is an "emergent phenomenon" that changes and fluctuates depending on the structural conditions to which immigrant groups are exposed. Yet, they do agree that it is possible for immigrant culture to reconsolidate in the U.S. context under certain circumstances. They assert that ethnicity is likely to remain vibrant among immigrants who live in the same residential areas, and share common social institutions such as churches, schools and workplaces where kinship and friendship networks are strengthened and maintained.

Massey (1995) arrives at a similar set of conclusions about how social conditions within the United States ultimately shape manifestations of ethnicity among American ethnic groups. He asserts that the continuous influx of immigrants into the United States since 1965 and their geographical concentration in particular cities and neighborhoods is likely to retard the process of cultural assimilation so that "rather than a slow steady, and relatively coherent progression of ethnicity toward twilight, it will increasingly stretch from dawn to dusk"(p.645). Within this framework, the salience and persistence of ethnicity among second-generation children of West Indian immigrants is not unusual. Anglophone West Indians as a whole are the largest immigrant group in New York City, and are estimated to comprise close to one third of the city's black population (Foner, 2001). Therefore, I suggest in this chapter that patterns of ethnic self-identification that I have observed among West Indian youth are associated with what other scholars have labeled the "caribeanization" of New York City (Kasinitz, 1992; Waters, 2001; Zephir, 2001). In particular, because Brooklyn is the borough with the highest concentration of recent West Indian immigrants, it facilitates identification with West Indian culture (Kasinitz, 1992; Palmer, 1995).

Brooklyn: A Bona Fide Caribbean Island

Some scholars attribute the persistence of ethnicity among recent immigrants and their children to their transnational ties to extended families in the Caribbean and elsewhere (Waters, 2001; Rogers, 2001). It is likely that Transnationalism does play a role in shaping ethnic identity among children of immigrants who travel regularly to visit family in the Caribbean. However, many of the students whom I interviewed had never been to the Caribbean and did not have meaningful relationships with family members who lived abroad. While these students saw American culture as an omnipresent force that had some influence on them, they still identified ethnically, based on the nationalities of their parents or as hyphenated ethnic Americans. As a result, following Yancey and his colleagues (1976) I also find it useful to think about the ethnic identities of my respondents as an 'emergent phenomenon' cultivated from the unique social position of Brooklyn as the epicenter of West Indian culture in New York City and the United States as a whole. Consequently, I do not regard patterns of ethnic self-identification reported

here as mere artifacts of the successful intergenerational transmission of West Indian culture from immigrant parents to their second-generation offsprings.

Rooted as it is in the American context, Brooklyn itself is a fusion of West Indian and American cultural influences. Accordingly I consider the ethnic identities forged among my second-generation respondents as hybrid identities, reflecting these dual influences regardless of the ethnic labels that they use to identify themselves. These youngsters can be exposed to American culture even if they rarely socialize with individuals outside of the ethnic community. Still, I concur with Yancey and his colleagues (1976), as well as Massey (1995) that ethnicity can survive into the second-generation and beyond, but it does so in a form that is adaptive to the American context. As such, second-generation West Indian youth do not need to leave Brooklyn in order to become immersed in island ways and customs. In fact the economic situation in Haiti and most Anglophone Caribbean islands have made migration an economic imperative for many. As a result, Caribbean peoples have had a long history of migration to places like New York (Palmer, 1995: Kasinitz, 1992), Toronto and London (Henry, 1994), and have formed ethnic communities where they settle. Among these Diaspora communities, New York City stands out as the location where West Indian cultural influences remain the most visible and vibrant, especially in Brooklyn (Palmer, 1995).

My own experiences living in Brooklyn has provided me with additional insight into the peculiarity of the Brooklyn West Indian experience. It is treated by West Indians at home and abroad as if it were a sister "island" in the North American context. In addition, my interactions with West Indians who live in other areas of New York City with a strong West Indian presence lead me to believe that despite what these neighborhoods may have in common, the Brooklyn experience remains distinctive. You see, West Indians in New York are just as attached to their identities as New Yorkers as they are to their identities as West Indians, and West Indians from Brooklyn attach even further significance to being from Brooklyn. For example, on a trip to the Washington D.C. West Indian American carnival parade in June 2005, I wagered that the majority of the folks dancing in the street were Brooklyn West Indians who traveled to such events religiously wherever they were held in the United States. My unscientific

prediction was realized throughout the course of the carnival parade during the various call and response "roll calls". Roll calls are used by music selectors to energize the crowd in a party by appealing to the nationalistic sentiments of partygoers. The music selector usually asks the crowd "anybody from …" and proceeds to name as many of the Caribbean islands as he can. The crowd responds on cue by boisterously waving their island flags from left to right or in circles above their heads; flamboyantly competing to see who can best "represent" their island nations. Indeed, throughout the course of the parade, Brooklyn appeared to be the most popular island. The selectors inquired more about whether anyone in the crowd was from Brooklyn than they did any of the Caribbean islands, including Jamaica and Trinidad, the two most well known. I recognize therefore, that the ethnic identities of my respondents are embedded within a social context that is itself an amalgam of American and West Indian cultural influences. So I am not surprised that many of my second-generation respondents continue to see themselves as West Indian ethnics even when they acknowledge these dual cultural influences.

ETHNIC PERFORMANCES: LIGHTS, CAMERA, ACTION!

In his book the *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Erving Goffman (1959) approaches the study of human behavior using a conceptual framework that treats life as a stage where each person takes on a role and social interactions between individuals are characterized as performances. Goffman (1959) further distinguishes between the persons who give sincere performances and those who wish to mislead their audiences in some way. Although he concedes that there is more variation between these two extremes, he contends that the sincere individual is one who "can be fully taken in by his own act; he can be sincerely convinced that the impression of reality which he stages is the 'real reality'; in contrast, the individual at the opposite end of the sincerity continuum is one who "has no belief in his own act and no ultimate concern with the beliefs of his audience" (1959:18).

In addition to Goffman's (1959) conceptual framework, I make use of Zephir's (2001) distinction between monocultural and bicultural ethnics. In her work the monocultural and bicultural designations align respectively with those who identify with a single national origin group relative to those who

identify with hyphenated American ethnic labels.   In my sample, I have used the monocultural and bicultural designations to describe individuals who refer to themselves using single national origin or panethnic West Indian labels. However, I apply the term monocultural ethnics to students who assert that they are influenced primarily by the culture of a single West Indian nationality group and I use the term bicultural ethnics to describe individuals who think of themselves as influenced by both American and West Indian cultures. Ethnic Americans see themselves as a product of these same dual cultural influences, but their use of hyphenated ethnic labels signifies greater acceptance of this fact. At the end of this spectrum are students who identify as American because they see their American nationality or the African American community as a more significant influence on them than their parents' ethnic origins. Only one of my twenty-four interviewees fell into this category, a finding that is consistent with evidence from my eight months of observations in the two Brooklyn high schools where I conducted my research.

From a Goffmanian perspective, students whom I categorize in this document as monocultural ethnics gave the most sincere ethnic performances relative to students whom I categorized as bicultural ethnics or ethnic Americans. They "wore" their ethnic identities with the greatest level of comfort and ease. Monocultural ethnics were more deeply immersed and involved in their ethnic communities than other youth. As a result, they expressed the greatest level of confidence in their performances as West Indian ethnics. Their extensive involvement in their ethnic communities lead to what I refer to as a high level of "cultural competence," and this is why monoculturals perceived their own ethnic performances as natural. Conversely, biculturals and ethnic Americans provide a more visible presentation of the self-conscious ways in which ethnic identity is constructed because there is often a disjuncture between their levels of cultural competence and the image of themselves that they wish to convey in their performances as West Indian ethnics. The rest of this essay provides an in depth discussion of these three ethnic identity types, and how students who fall into these categories make sense of having both "West Indian roots" and "American Branches" (Richards, 2007).

Monocultural Ethnics

I began my student interviews with light conversation and pleasant banter to gain the confidence of my study participants and deflect attention away from the formality of the tape recorder. When my respondents were Jamaicans I emphasized our shared nationality. In an effort to bond, I would ask common questions such as "what part of Jamaica is your family from?" My strategy worked with Omar who was reserved, but not uncommunicative. In fact, I learned that his father still lived in the parish of St. Elizabeth, in Jamaica. Throughout the course of our conversation, I became impressed with Omar's knowledge of Jamaican geography and culture. I had encountered a number of second-generation West Indian youth for whom identifying as West Indian ethnics was important, but they knew little about their parents' countries of origin. Omar was different. He had been spending summers in Jamaica "ever since he was a baby." Over the years, Omar had the opportunity to visit his sister who lived in Mandeville. More often than not, however, his time was shared equally between St. Elizabeth, where his father lived, and Spanish Town, where his mother's family resided. I categorize students like Omar as monocultural ethnics because of his high level of involvement in the everyday life of ethnic communities in Brooklyn and the Caribbean.

As my conversation with Omar continued to unfold, I realized that storytelling is a powerful medium for creating and maintaining ethnic group consciousness. I began to see ethnic group consciousness as the stories we have in common about ourselves and about the community to which we belong. These stories, our shared interpretations and emotional responses to them, are the basis of a collective identity that links the historical past to the present. The story of Hurricane Gilbert links both Omar and me to Jamaica, though ironically, neither of us experienced it personally. As a category four hurricane Gilbert devastated Jamaica in September 1988. It was the same year that my mother, uncle and I migrated to the United States. When others recounted their stories of hurricane Gilbert, I had no memories to share. I did not remember zinc roofs flying, water up to my knees, or the painstaking recovery period that survivors of the hurricane describe in such vivid detail. But the story has been told

so many times by my Jamaican relatives and friends that I can give an account of this catastrophe from

multiple perspectives as if I had experienced the events personally.

I discovered during my interview with Omar that he too had a Hurricane Gilbert story. Omar's

mother was pregnant with him when she visited Jamaica in 1988. She almost gave birth to Omar in

Jamaica because Hurricane Gilbert forced her to extend her stay. When the hurricane came to an end she

returned to Brooklyn and gave birth to Omar one week later. The details of Omar's Hurricane Gilbert

story represents one dimension of cultural competence which serves as a metaphorical bridge across

generations whether this knowledge is acquired from direct experience or through the oral tradition of

storytelling. In this case the Hurricane Gilbert story links Omar to his mother and connects them both to

a specific event in Jamaican history. Omar now had ownership of a piece of Jamaican collective memory

that he was likely to pass on to his own children whether or not they become as personally involved in

Jamaican culture as he. Moreover, just as his personal experiences helped him to bond with me, it will

facilitate developing relationships with other co-ethnics whose personal experiences complement his own.

These relationships are the bridges that link one generation to the next, and a key mechanism for cultural

transmission and preservation.

Ethnic group consciousness develops in part from the telling and retelling of these stories. I was

not surprised, therefore, that despite his American nationality, Omar described himself as "Jamaican" and

asserted that he was influenced primarily by Jamaican culture. His explanation for this is represented in

the following excerpt from our conversation that day:

> **Interviewer**: So, um, you said that both of your parents are from Jamaica, right?
> **Omar**: Mm-hm.
> **Interviewer:** And you were born here. What does that make you?
> **Omar:** I say I'm still Jamaican, anyway.
> **Interviewer**: I still have to ask. [LAUGHS]. Um, okay, so one of the things I'm trying to
> get at is, that you know, there are other folks just like you, both their parents are from
> Jamaica or in the Caribbean, and they're born in the US, but they're like, I'm American.
> **Omar:** Yeah, I know,
> **Interviewer**: So I'm trying to figure out how these folks are different from you.
> **Omar:** Me, I just feel like, .. since I'm always around them, I feel like I'm one, too, I
> know all of the, like, they have sayings, and with food and everything, I am just used to
> it, so I just say I'm Jamaican. Also, cause American is like a whole different culture, you
> know. And you're not around that every day.

Omar achieved a deep immersion into Jamaican culture from his frequent trips to the island every year.

However, it is the existence of a strong Jamaican presence in Brooklyn that makes it possible for Omar to

dismiss American culture as something that he is "not around … everyday" and ultimately does not define

him as a person. He was unable to relate to stories about West Indians who grew up in Brooklyn fifteen

or twenty years ago who were afraid to publicly acknowledge their ethnic backgrounds. Omar was

certain that this was a relic of the past, he explained "I think that that time, that's a long time ago, but

now, New York, as you can tell, is full of Caribbean people, everywhere, so, it's like, it's different, 'cause

you're always around it [West Indian culture], especially if you live in Brooklyn, not like Manhattan or

something like that. Like, if you live in Brooklyn, Caribbean people are [always] around you... Actually,

we have a lot of Jamaicans. We have a lot of Jamaicans in Brooklyn, too." Other American-born

monocultural ethnics were more willing than Omar to concede being influenced to some extent by

American culture. Still, like Omar, they did not think of American culture as having a tangible impact on

them as individuals.

Bicultural Ethnics

The visibility of West Indian culture in Brooklyn and the frequency of interaction among

coethnics makes identification with West Indian culture an accepted norm among second-generation

youth. As a result, bicultural ethnics admit that they are influenced in a broad sense by American culture,

but because they feel a deeper connection to their Caribbean roots in their everyday life, they still do not

think of themselves as Americans.   In spite of this, biculturals were aware of their estrangement from

island based West Indian culture. From the perspective of Goffman's performance analogy, I think of the

ethnic performances of bicultural ethnics as less sincere because they intentionally de-emphasize their

partial alienation from West Indian culture. Bicultural ethnics realize that they lack a certain level of

cultural competence that is naturally enacted by recent or first generation immigrants. They are often

insecure in regards to the authenticity of their performances as West Indian ethnics in situations where

their ethnic identities are challenged. I illustrate the inner struggle that makes the bicultural ethnic

performance potentially insincere through the analyses below where I spotlight Wayne. He understood

intuitively that he represented a blending of two cultures, but he wrestled with how to best convey the

duality of his ethnic identity.

> **Interviewer:**   What do you think of yourself [culturally]?
> **Wayne**: Like um, I'm a Yankee. Um let's see I'm half Jamaican and half Grenadian.
> It's like everything put into one. That's me right there.
> **Interviewer:** Your half Jamaican.
> **Wayne**: Half Jamaican.
> **Interviewer:** Half Grenadian. You say you're a Yankee too?
> **Wayne**: Yeah, I'm a Yankee, but don't add that. [chuckle]
> **Interviewer**: Okay, when you're friends are talking to you and they're like what are you,
> what do you say?
> **Wayne**: I be like half Jamaican
> **Interviewer:** That's what you tell them?
> **Wayne**: [and] Half Grenadian. Yeah.
> **Interviewer:** Alright, alright cool.
> **Wayne:** Me personally, I be like I'm from Brooklyn.

In the beginning of our dialogue Wayne refers to himself first as a "Yankee" in part because he knew that

he was estranged from Jamaican culture as it was practiced on the island, and because he knew that his

Jamaican relatives thought of him as an American. As he explained it: "a yankee is just American. Like

Brooklyn, New York, that's a yankee. Somebody that's not from the Caribbean. That's what they call me

when I go to Jamaica". Wayne partially agreed with his Jamaican relatives that he was a yankee "that is

how they see me [but] that is also how I see myself because its true." However, because Wayne's frame

of reference is Brooklyn, he felt equally connected to his Jamaican and Grenadian ethnic backgrounds. In

fact, Wayne's hybrid identity is captured spectacularly in the very last line of our dialogue when he

suggests that the identity that is most meaningful to him "personally" is that he is "from Brooklyn".   Like

Brooklyn, Wayne saw himself as an amalgam of West Indian and American cultural influences so

identifying with his neighborhood was a simplistic way of recognizing that he is "everything put into

one," American and West Indian at the same time. Given that this is so, one would expect Wayne to

select a hyphenated ethnic label to describe himself. Yet, despite his internal struggle, Wayne ultimately

identifies with the national origins of his parents in part because, in Brooklyn, a higher social value is

attached to identifying as West Indian than American. For this reason, Wayne and others like him deliberately elevate their West Indian roots above their American nationality.

Eddie is a bicultural ethnic who represents a less problematic approach to constructing a West Indian ethnic identity that acknowledges American cultural influences. He migrated from Grenada to the United States as a child but refers to himself as a "Caribbean;" "I say I'm from the Caribbean," he told me, "but …I'm from Grenada".   My evidence suggests that Eddie refers to himself as a Caribbean because other second-generation youth serve as his primary frame of reference, not Grenadians back home or even first generation Grenadians like his mother and grandmother who live in Brooklyn. Note that all of Eddie's childhood friends have roots in the Caribbean: "Yeah. Everybody, all my friends are from the Caribbean. ..Like half of my friends are from Grenada, half of them are from Jamaica". Identifying as Caribbean signifies that Eddie attributes a common culture to individuals who originate from the various islands in the Caribbean and that he perceives these commonalities as more significant than the ways in which individuals from each island is different.

At the same time, identifying as Caribbean did not preclude Eddie from acknowledging that, unlike first generation immigrants like his mother, he was more comfortable and familiar with how life is structured in the United States than with the rhythm and flow of day-to-day life in Grenada.

> I don't know. It's like I was born up here, 'cause I been up here for so long. And I just went to Grenada in the eighth grade. I mean, ninth grade. That's the last time I went in nine years. .. 'Cause I've been up here, and I've adapted to this environment, and now, if I'm there [it is] for a little bit of time. So I don't really know that much about – I know where my family's from, I know from memory, but I don't really know that much about down there. Up here, I could tell you everything. But I don't know that much [about] down there.

Eddie also chooses to call himself a "Caribbean" instead of a "Grenadian" in order to distance himself from negative characteristics of Grenadians that embarrasses his American sensibilities.

> **Eddie:** I don't talk like a Grenadian. I mean, ..the way I dress, I don't dress like they do.
> **Interviewer:** How do they dress?
> **Eddie:**   They dress – tacky.
> **Interviewer**: Describe it to me. Describe what [is] tacky.
> **Eddie:** Like, they wear like old clothes and messed-up clothes and everything. I don't dress like that.

[Interim dialogue omitted here-skip several lines to below]
Interviewer: So, I'm, trying to figure out if you were just talking about people on the
island dressing tacky, or your [Grenadian] family here, too.
Eddie: No! People on the island.
Interviewer: Oh, okay. So not your family [in Brooklyn], then.
Eddie: No, my family don't dress tacky.

Eddie's estrangement from Grenada helps to explain why he would interpret manifestations of

relative economic disadvantage in his Grenadian relatives as attributes of Grenadian culture on the island.

 In reality then, Eddie identifies as Caribbean in part because of his desire to identify with a group that

embodies positive characteristics.   At the same time, although Eddie feels culturally disconnected from

Grenada, he is able to comfortably identify as "Caribbean" because of multi-layered opportunities to

interact with co-ethnics within the West Indian Diaspora community in Brooklyn. His Caribbean identity

has been nurtured from living in a predominantly West Indian neighborhood, from attending

neighborhood schools in his formative years where most of his teachers were West Indians, and because

all of his friends have roots in the Caribbean.

Eddie also constructs a Caribbean identity for himself by drawing rigid ethnic boundaries

between his Americanized Caribbean collective and his African American peers. He was one of the only

students who perceived cultural differences between African Americans and students with a West Indian

background as a source of tension and potential conflict between the two groups. Eddie explained that at

his school, "most of the people who are from the Caribbean are from East Flatbush", and that "most of the

Americans is from Coney Island…and sometimes they don't combine [get along]." Asked to elaborate he

explained that in the lunch room at his school "Caribbean kids" were more likely to amuse themselves by

"banging on the walls and … dancing [to reggae music]," but that the "Coney Island people"   did not

understand why they did this. Instead, Eddie explains that African American students "would take a

bottle, and they'd start playing basketball, [then] we're like, what are they doing..?"

 Eddie used a tripartite frame of reference to construct his identity as a Caribbean. When his

frame of reference was first generation parents or island based Grenadian culture, Eddie was aware of the

various ways in which he was more American than West Indian. In these cases he ascribed a positive

value to his "Americanness" because it was associated with first world consumption patterns and a

lifestyle of material comfort relative to the life of hardship that he associated with life in Grenada. In

contrast, when Eddie's frame of reference was his African American peers, he drew sharp ethnic

boundaries that emphasized the ways in which he was more Caribbean than American. In the narratives

above these boundaries are drawn based on Eddie's participation in West Indian social activities such as

his enjoyment of reggae music and dancing. These activities contributed to Eddie feeling more like a

"Caribbean" in comparison to African American peers whom he perceived as more interested in playing

basketball. Further, when African Americans were his frame of reference, Eddie was more likely to

emphasize the positive characteristics attributed to being West Indian such as a strong work ethic.

However, the third and most important prong in this tripartite comparison were other second-generation

peers, some of whom were born in the United States and others who migrated as young children like

Eddie.

Symbolic Ethnicity and Weak Social Ties

A number of scholars have used the term symbolic ethnicity to characterize European American

ethnicity in the third generation and beyond. This form of ethnicity emerged just as European ethnics

achieved middle class status and positions of power previously unattained by their parents and

grandparents (Gans, 1979). Yet Gans (1979) suggests that third generation European Americans

continued to think of themselves as ethnics even as their everyday lives increasingly became divorced

from the social practices that defined ethnic group membership among first and second-generation

immigrants. He describes symbolic ethnicity as a force that "takes on an expressive rather than an

instrumental function in people's lives, becoming more of a leisure time activity and losing its relevance,

say, to earning a living or regulating family life" (Gans, 1979:9). Taken as a whole, emergent forms of

ethnicity among today's second-generation West Indian youth do not conform to this notion of symbolic

ethnicity because of how easily social ties to the ethnic community can be maintained in Brooklyn.

Despite this overall picture, however, each individual has a different relationship to the social institutions

in the community that reinforce ethnic group membership and affiliation. Thus, there are second-

generation youth who live in Brooklyn, but their ties to the ethnic community are weak and their levels of cultural competence are low. For these individuals, ethnic identity is best expressed in symbolic form.

Ironically, a couple of the students placed in this category applied a single national origin label to describe themselves. Yet, if such a high social value were not attached to identifying as West Indian ethnics among Brooklyn's second generation West Indians, it is likely that these students would simply have identified as "American." For, as Gans (1979) suggests, symbolic ethnicity is likely to arise under conditions where there is no social cost to identifying ethnically. This explains why young people like Silvia and Christopher, who are marginally invested in being identified as West Indian ethnics, choose nonetheless to identify as "Jamaicans." For example, when I asked why he identified as Jamaican, Christopher's response was: "if you're Jamaican, you're Jamaican, you know. I like my parents' nation..God knows I love their food, you know, I really like West Indian culture." On the one hand, Christopher's flippant response to my question signifies detachment when he speaks of Jamaica as his "parent's nation", and Jamaican food as "their food." On the other hand, his symbolic attachment to Jamaican culture compels him to publicly associate himself with other Jamaicans and with aspects of Jamaican culture that he values. Yet, unlike Wayne, Christopher does not ponder whether the Jamaican label accurately reflects his involvement, knowledge or competence in Jamaican culture.

Silvia expressed a similar sentiment when she told me in our interview that she was "half Jamaican, half Indian and half Chinese", but that of the three she identified most with being Jamaican. She thought of herself as Jamaican: "because my whole family is Jamaican. Only like two people in my family are American. So I'm more Jamaican because my mother is Jamaican and she is half Chinese and my father is Jamaican and he's half Indian." Yet Silvia admitted that being Jamaican was really not that important to her, its "not a big deal", she told me, "Nobody [at school] ask, nobody know I am Jamaican…They don't ask and I don' t tell them nothing.'   For students like Silvia and Christopher, a single national origin label does not necessarily point to a more meaningful connection to Jamaican culture. They do so in part because identifying ethnically is about ancestry more so than it is about

cultural involvement, and because identifying as Jamaicans bestows a higher social status among their peers than identifying as American.

Ethnic Americans

Ethnic Americans are similar to bicultural ethnics in that both believe that they are influenced by American and West Indian cultures. However, choosing between their American nationalities and their West Indian roots was a more difficult task for ethnic Americans than their bicultural counterparts. I distinguish ethnic Americans from bicultural ethnics because they elect to use a hyphenated ethnic label to signal that they place equal importance on the culture associated with their parents' national origins as well as the culture associated with their American nationality. Applying Goffman's performance analogy here, ethnic Americans appear at first glance to give a more sincere ethnic performance than biculturals because the hyphenated ethnic label is a more accurate representation of how they view themselves. However, most ethnic Americans are Haitians who identify as hyphenated Americans in part to minimize the stigma attached to being Haitian. As a result, the ambivalent feelings they share in regards to identifying as Haitian also undermine the sincerity of their ethnic performances.

Although ethnic Americans use hyphenated ethnic labels as a way of acknowledging the hybridity of their ethnic identities, some of them still struggled with how to convey the complexity of their dual identities. For example, Naomi thought of herself as a fusion of Haitian and American cultural influences, which is why she calls herself a Haitian American. At the same time, because she felt a meaningful connection to both cultures she saw no contradiction when she described herself as Haitian-American in one instance and as Haitian in the same conversation.

> **Interviewer:** Where are your parents from?
> **Naomi:** They're from Haiti.
> **Interviewer**: Okay, and were you born in Haiti or were you born here?
> **Naomi**: No, I was born here.
> **Interviewer:** Okay, so what does that make you?
> **Naomi:** Um, a Haitian-American.
> **Interviewer:** Okay. When people ask you what you are, is that what you tell them?
> **Naomi:** Uhuh.
> **Interviewer**: Okay. What does that mean to you?

> **Naomi:** I am totally proud to be Haitian. I just tell them, like if somebody says, 'Um, where are you from?' I'm going to be like I'm Haitian. But sometimes I tell them I'm Haitian-American, I'm Haitian.

Previous research on ethnic identity among second-generation youth would suggest that immigrant youth who identify with a single or hyphenated national origin label such as Haitian or Haitian American respectively, as identifying to some degree with the immigrant experience (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Waters, 2001; Zephir, 2001). As a result, when Naomi used these two terms interchangeably it was not necessarily problematic because they indicate degrees of attachment to her Haitian background. However, the exchange that follows indicates a greater level of fluidity than previous research has accounted for when Naomi reported seeing no difference between these two "ethnic" labels and identifying as an unhyphenated American.

> **Interviewer:** So is that basically what you [told people] when you were younger? Or just now?
> **Naomi:** I told them that I was Haitian American and that my parents are Haitian. And then, you know I'm full Haitian but you know, I just told them that.
> **Interviewer**: Right.
> **Naomi:** Because at least I'm American but my parents are Haitian.
> **Interviewer:** Okay, so um I just heard two different things and I'm trying to make sure that I get to understand what you mean. You just said, well I'm American.
> **Naomi**: Uhuh.
> **Interviewer**: But before you said I'm Haitian-American.
> **Naomi:** Uhuh.
> **Interviewer:** Um, which one is it- do you use those interchangeably? I'm trying to figure out what you mean when you say that.
> **Naomi:** Sometimes like well most of the time I say I'm Haitian-American, most of the time. And to me it's like, I really don't know it's like the same thing to me. Like, American, Haitian-American. Because the fact that I was born here, that makes me American and the fact that my parents are Haitian that makes me Haitian-American. So it really, to me it really doesn't make a difference.
> **Interviewer**: So when people ask you what do you usually say?
> **Naomi:** Most of the time I say Haitian-American.

In the beginning of this second dialogue Naomi suggests that when she was younger she routinely described herself to others as Haitian American when in reality she thought of herself as "full Haitian". In the very next statement Naomi seemed to contradict herself when she suggests that she thinks of

herself as American, and it is really her parents who are Haitian. By the end of our conversation,

however, we see that Naomi has a clear preference for the term Haitian-American to describe herself

because she sees herself as a mixture of both cultures.

> **Naomi:** Um, actually like I consider myself Haitian but at the same time American
> because I was born here.
> Interviewer: okay so which one- if you had to choose would you gravitate more towards
> one of these labels than the other? Do you feel more strongly towards one of these labels
> or do you feel like they're-- like you are like both at the same time?
> **Naomi:** I feel like I'm both at the same time. Yeah.

 Ethnic Americans like Naomi see themselves as Americans in part because they recognize that,

while every-day life in the United States might be structured within a predominantly West Indian context,

they have no direct experience of life in the islands.

> Um, what makes me feel like I'm American? Hmm. I'm adapted to my environment.
> Because of the school that I go to, like in Haiti the schools are much different.   ..Well the
> [Haitian] church that I go to… most of us are born here so it's like we're starting the new
> thing. And um,… because I'm in America. And I was born here, like I never lived in
> Haiti before, so it's like I've been here for 16 almost 17 years so I feel like a part of me is
> American. I feel like a part of me is American from the fact that I was born here and I
> never lived in Haiti before, I don't have the accent you know.

Even so, despite the omnipresence of American culture Naomi feels a meaningful connection to Haitian

culture through her involvement in the American-based Haitian community in Brooklyn and this prevents

her from seeing herself only as American. She explained it to me this way: " I speak Creole very well,

um my parents are Haitian. I eat the Haitian food. I know how to make the Haitian food. Well, I don't

know how to make it but I know the recipes. Um, I'm in a Haitian church. I've been in a Haitian church

all my life. My family is Haitian so that makes me -my family makes me kind of Haitian." Similar to

bicultural ethnics Naomi used other second-generation Haitians in her peer group as her primary frame of

reference for constructing an identity as Haitian American. For example, Naomi identified her Haitian

church both as an institution that fostered an attachment to Haitian culture and simultaneously as an

institution that was Americanizing her. Attending a Haitian church provided Naomi with the opportunity

to practice Creole and to interact with other Haitians over a prolonged period of time. However, most of

her peers at this church were American-born Haitians like herself and together she saw them as "starting the new [American] thing".

Establishing the Case for Anti-Haitian Prejudice

All except one of the students whom I categorized as ethnic Americans were Haitians, and all of these Haitian students were ambivalent about identifying as Haitian. Similar to Naomi, these students described a meaningful connection with and pride in their Haitian ethnic origins because of relationships with their families as well as their involvement in the Haitian diaspora community in Brooklyn. In fact, ethnic Americans with a Haitian background were more involved in the Haitian community than students like Christopher and Silvia who identified using a single national origin label. So, we can no longer assume that an unhyphenated national origin label signifies a greater connection to the immigrant experience or that a hyphenated label necessarily signifies less active involvement in the culture. Rather, I suspect that students who identified as Haitian American did so in part to distance themselves from the stigma associated with identifying as Haitian relative to other Caribbean nationalities. For example, my respondents agreed with Terry Ann, the only student who identified as American, that Jamaicans were the most popular Caribbean nationality group: "Yeah, like especially if you're Jamaican. To be Jamaican or something like that, its like if somebody..says yeah I'm Jamaican, [then another person will say] yeah I'm Jamaican too and then everybody wants to be Jamaican. Everybody wants to be from the Caribbean, but especially from Jamaica".

The popularity of Jamaicans is a stark contrast to the stigma attached to being Haitian. As a result, Henri, who identified as Haitian-American asserted that he felt more marginalized as a result of his Haitian ethnic background than for being black.

> So like I was mostly made fun of for being Haitian than for being a black man. I never heard somebody say like 'hey, look at that black kid over there. Get out of here black kid.' I've never heard that before. I was surrounded by black people all the time. I was just swimming in black people, you know, practically. And if I were to hear that, you know, it would sound weird. You know, like there's different types of black people. There's a lot- there's a vast majority of black [people] like, it could be like black A, black B, black C, you know? So it wouldn't really be like that [would] affect .. me. I'm like yeah, I'm black. What do you wanna do?

In the United States where racial divisions between blacks and whites are sharp and unrelenting, Henri's assertion that prejudice against Haitians is more problematic for him than being a black male must seem incredulous. For, scholars do not often address cultural differences among blacks, but when they do, the trend is to highlight tensions between American blacks and those who are foreign-born (Waters, 2001; Rogers, 2001). Among my Afro-Caribbean study participants, however, I found anti-Haitian sentiments to be strong, and anti-African American sentiments to be virtually nonexistent. Henri's dialogue above is representative of the prevalence and potency of xenophobic attitudes against Haitians that I encountered during the course of my research. At the same time, racial residential segregation contributes to the fact that Henri's immediate social reality is predominantly black, making ethnic divisions between Haitians and other Afro-Caribbean nationality groups a more salient concern than black/white racial differences.

Naomi provided a similar perspective in our interview when she explained that: "Jamaicans, Trinidadians, Guyanese, and people who are Grenadian or all of them other Caribbean countries don't really get pressured like Haitians… even if they do make fun of like other Caribbean countries Haiti gets the most.. Haitians get the most pressure." Femi, who was born in Haiti, believed that this stigma emerged from the way in which Haitians are misrepresented in the media. She explained that "TV portrays Haitians as like they [are] bad people, like they're dirty --and [it is also because] they'll never show a good part of Haiti on TV. Like you always see the dirty part where like people are on the street dying and, you know, the kids are naked. So when people see that they think that's where you're from, they think that's how you are and so they put you in that position where like this is you." Haitian students were aware of these negative portrayals and so they were ambivalent about identifying as Haitian. As a result, they emphasized their partial American identity in order to soften the impact of identifying only as Haitian.

Deflecting Anti- Haitian Prejudice

Haitian students were caught in a double bind. On the one hand, they lived in an environment where identifying as a West Indian ethnic was valued and encouraged. On the other hand, their particular

nationality occupied the lowest status in relation to other Caribbean nationality groups. As a result, during our conversations, ethnic American Haitian students employed strategies for deflecting anti-Haitian bias without appearing as if they were ashamed of their Haitian background. In some cases Haitian students diffused this bias by emphasizing the ways in which their Haitianness did not define them as individuals. For example, Naomi who told us earlier that she was proud to be Haitian had this to say later in our interview "Like me being Haitian, that doesn't make me who I am. That has nothing to do with my personality. That's what people need to realize, like a lot of kids are ignorant. They don't want to be friends with you because of the fact that you're Haitian or whatever." Naomi's perception came from experiences she had as a little girl as well as experiences of her friends. For example, a male friend from her church shared an incident that happened between him and a female friend from Trinidad when they were in junior high school: " The girl [told him]I'm sorry I can't be your friend because my mom doesn't like Haitians. She said I can't talk to you no more and I have to wash myself because I touched you and I don't know—they think that Haitians have AIDS, or whatever it is. I really don't know."

I observed a similar strategy with Maxwell who identified as Haitian American. Similar to bicultural ethnics and fellow ethnic Americans, Maxwell thought of himself as a combination of American and Haitian characteristics: "the way I dress makes me American. The way I think makes me a little Haitian, a little American. And the way I talk makes me Haitian, or, yeah, makes me Haitian because a lot of people be asking me every time I talk to them if I'm Haitian or not". In fact, although Maxwell is born in the United States he speaks Creole fluently. He told me: "when I was little a lot of people I know was speaking a lot of Creole and that's how I got used to the language and everything. But being American and being Haitian, I don't see the difference." To a certain extent, Maxwell suggests that there is no difference between being Haitian and being American because as we see from his first set of comments, he thinks of himself as both at the same time. Similar to his contemporaries such as Naomi above, Maxwell experiences the boundary between Haitian and American culture as a continuum with fluid and permeable cultural markers. Yet, as our conversation proceeds it becomes clear that like Naomi, Maxwell wished to distance himself from the negative stereotypes associated with his Haitian

background. As a result, he emphasized that being Haitian did not define him as an individual; it merely

signified a category of people who happened to speak Creole as he did. As a result, when I pressed

Maxwell to say whether he felt more strongly about identifying as Haitian or as American, he explained:

"[I value them] equally, because even though I use one language mostly, I know I'm still an American. I

know I'm still Haitian. It doesn't matter what I am. What matters is who I am and what I become."

Ironically, Barrington is a bicultural ethnic with a strong attachment to his Haitian origin.

Barrington diverges from fellow Haitians who are ethnic Americans because of his unabashed pride in his

Haitianess. Yet, even Barrington attempts to minimize the uniqueness of Haitians relative to other Afro-

Caribbean ethnic groups:

> It's very important to me. I really like being Haitian. It just shows that I am independent
> because Haitians got independence first. And you know many people say Haiti is the poorest
> country. That is a true account. But being Haitian does not prove that you are poor or anything.
> Being Haitian just means that you are from the Caribbean. I don't really think that being Haitian
> makes you different from anybody else because all of us from the Caribbean are black. Even
> though we don't speak the same languages we came from the same motherland. So being Haitian
> means something to me, I love being Haitian. But it doesn't differentiate me from any other
> human being.

Some ethnic minorities respond to prejudice and discrimination by becoming even more nationalistic than

under normal circumstances (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). Barrington's strong identification with his

Haitian ethnic origins helps to explain why he diverges from other American born Haitians. Yet, he was

as defensive as his ethnic American counterparts about the distorted images of Haitians, and like them, he

employed certain rhetorical strategies for deflecting anti-Haitian biases. Barrington's attempt to prove

how similar Haitians are to other Caribbean ethnic groups is indicative of such a strategy.

> Oh. You see Jamaicans and Haitians always get confused. I don't know, I think it's the
> complexion and we act similarly. We do similar things like the ladies wear the
> headbands, I mean the head cloth and stuff like that. And they are really dark skinned …
> like the first generation … like the grandmothers… they are really dark skinned and the
> fathers they are really dark skinned too. In order to really see who is a Haitian or who is
> Jamaican, is the dark skin. Once you see dark skin you really know that he is Haitian or
> he is Jamaican.

Intent on convincing me, Barrington elaborates further:

> And the practices too, the religious practices are basically the same. But food and language, if you take away the language and the food, Haitians are just like Jamaicans. . If Haitians spoke English with a little accent they would be considered Jamaicans, I think so. It is a language barrier. I think that's what caused the whole stereotype, it is the language barrier…. If Haitians could speak English everybody would get along perfectly. There would be no stereotypes, no dividing boundaries, or whatever it would just be a big Caribbean family, no difference.

The similarities between Barrington's strategy for deflecting anti-Haitian bias and those of his ethnic American counterparts solidifies my claim that many ethnic Americans construct an identity as Haitian American in order to distance themselves from the stigma associated with being Haitian. Thus, I do not consider it a coincidence that Barrington speaks at length during our interview about the similarities between Haitians and Jamaicans to further establish that the division between Haitians and other Caribbean nations was artificial. If Barrington can show that Haitians and Jamaicans are virtually indistinguishable from each other; it strengthens his case that Haitians should not be marginalized from other Afro-Caribbean ethnic groups.

The Haitian case also serves to highlight a recurrent theme of this chapter. First, the Haitian case suggests that all of my second-generation respondents construct their identities based on the social value that they attach either to the culture of their parents' national origin group or to a more generalized "West Indian" or "Caribbean" culture. This social value reflects the objective reality of living within a predominantly West Indian community. In this social context, young people like Barrington use second-generation Afro-Caribbean peers to construct their racial and ethnic identities respectively. For example Barrington emphasizes the African origin of people from the Caribbean as a unifying trait, but in the end he suggests that if stereotypes against Haitians were not so prevalent, people of African descent from the Caribbean would be one "big Caribbean family." Where does that leave African Americans? My research suggests an expanding definition of blackness that includes African Americans as part of the larger black collective. However, my respondents live in a world where ethnicity among blacks is a social norm. In contrast to what exist in mainstream American society, here blackness is not defined in relation to African Americans because it recognizes that a Caribbean cultural identity can coexist with a

racial identity as "black". Also in contradiction to the mainstream view is the fact that within this cultural

milieu African Americans are used as the standard for measuring one's "Americaness," not European

Americans.

The Future of Blackness

Consistent with Kasinitz's (2001) assertions in the concluding chapter of *Islands in the City*, this

essay confirms that "at least in New York, "blackness" no longer simply means African Americans."   In

the same edited volume, Crowder and Tedrow (2001) track the impact of West Indian immigrants in

transforming the residential landscape of New York City. Based on data from the 1980 and 1990

censuses, they conclude that "by 1980 West Indians had carved out a set of distinct enclaves within larger

black sections of …[New York City] and these enclaves have only solidified over time…[They] view the

formation of these distinct neighborhoods as important means through which West Indians maintain and

cultivate their ethnic distinctiveness"(p.82).   This essay has focused on how this growing concentration

of West Indian immigrants has affected the identities of the children of black immigrants from Haiti and

the Anglophone Caribbean islands. In doing so, I am contributing to our knowledge about an issue that is

among "the least researched, but potentially most important aspects of contemporary black immigration to

New York" (p.270). Through the analyses presented thus far, I have identified what I consider to be a

new era in the evolution and expansion of ethnic identity within the West Indian Diaspora community in

Brooklyn, presenting new ethnic options for Afro-Caribbean youth inside and outside of the ethnic

enclave.

Thus far, I have argued that the growth and concentration of West Indian immigrants in certain boroughs

and neighborhoods in New York City has facilitated the hybridization of the various Caribbean island

cultures represented among second generation youth. The young people whom I interviewed and

observed are like their American (African American) counterparts in many ways. Most of them do not

have accents, many of them like Hip hop and rap, dress like African Americans, celebrate Kwanzaa in

school, join their school's step team and discuss issues of race and racism in their Black Heritage Society

meetings. None of these young people had a problem interacting with their African American peers in school or identifying with African Americans as fellow "blacks." Even so, the majority of students were clear on the fact that they are also culturally Haitian, or Jamaican or Trinidadian. They certainly would admit that they express a different kind of ethnic identity from their parents. Nonetheless, because the most of these students interacted primarily with other second generation West Indians in their neighborhoods, schools and churches, this reinforced a shared feeling of being ethnically distinct. In fact, having foreign-born parents and relatives from the Caribbean was a source of pride and status within these predominantly West Indian peer groups.   I would argue that the social value of the West Indian ethnic identity is likely to spread beyond New York's borders. Based on this premise, this essay challenges the dominant view that racial discrimination will necessarily erode ethnic affiliation among second and later generation West Indian youth. Instead, my research findings suggest that a process of cultural hybridization is already underway among my second generation respondents, and so, a West Indian ethnic identity is likely to remain salient among future generations of West Indian youth. For example, while this chapter reveals that Haitian identity remains stigmatized among second generation youth, in the larger study upon which this chapter is based, there is also compelling evidence that this stigma is growing increasingly weaker. Consistent with Vickerman (2006), I observed what I would characterize as the nascent formation of pan-Caribbean   identities. The Pan-Caribbean identity allows second generation youth to identify with their ethnic origins in a way that recognizes that they are different from their parents and co-ethnics in the islands, but that they are also culturally distinct from African Americans. So while I agree that future generations of these West Indian ethnics will eventually "fade" into "black America," they will likely do so as "Caribbeans" or "Caribbean Americans," changing what it means to be black in the United States.

Some scholars have pointed to the ways in which African American youth are being influenced by Caribbean culture in New York City (Butterfield, 2004), and so it is just as likely that cultural hybridization will take place among West Indian and African American groups. Regardless of the scenario, our present definitions of blackness will certainly be challenged and reconfigured in the process.

In this regard, my argument might diverge in important ways from current predictions about the nature of black identity among future generations of Caribbean descended youth. Yet I consider my story to be an extension rather than a refutation of previous research. My story is different, simply put, because the social reality of West Indian immigrants in Brooklyn has changed, and so my findings do not comport with conclusions made on the basis of   research conducted from the 1980s up through the mid-1990s. West Indian immigrants have evolved from being characterized as "invisible immigrants" (Bryce-laporte, 1972) to being "invisible no more," (Kasinitz, 2001), now they are well on their way towards getting noticed.

REFERENCES

Butterfield, Sherri Ann. 2001. Big Tings A Gwaan: Constructions of Racial and Ethnic Identity Among Second Generation West Indian Immigrants. Sociology. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan.

Gans, Herbert. J. 1979. Symbolic Ethnicity: The Future of Ethnic Groups and Cultures in America. Ethnic and Racial Studies, 2(1), 1-20.

Goffman, Erving. 1959. The presentation of self in everyday life. New York: Doubleday Anchor Original

Henry, Frances. 1994. *The Caribbean diaspora in Toronto: learning to live with racism.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press

Iyall Smith, Keri E. and Leavy Patricia. 2008. Hybrid Identities: Theoretical and Empirical Examinations. Brill Publishers, Boston, MA

Kasinitz, Phillip. 1992. *Caribbean New York: Black immigrants and the politics of race.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Kasinitz, Philip, Juan Battle and Ines Miyares. 2001. Fade to black: children of West Indian immigrants in Southern Florida. In R Rumbaut & A. Portes (Eds.), *Ethnicities: children of immigrants in America* (Pp.267-300). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Foner, Nancy. 2001. *Islands in the City: West Indian Migration to New York*. Berkley, CA: University of California Press.

Massey, Douglas S. 1995. The new immigration and ethnicity in the United States. *Population and Development Review, 21* (3), 631-652.

Portes, Alejandro., & Rumbaut, Ruben. G. 2001. *Legacies: the story of the immigrant second generation*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Palmer, Ransford W. 1995. *Pilgrims from the Sun: West Indian Migration to America*. New York: Twayne Publishers.

Richards, Bedelia Nicola. 2007. West Indian Roots and American Branches: Ethnicity, School Context and Academic Engagement Among Afro-Caribbean Students. Unpublished Dissertation. Sociology. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University.

Rogers, Reuel. 2001. Black Like Who?: Afro-Caribbean Immigrants, African Americans, and the Politics of Group Identity. In N. Foner (Ed.), Islands in the City: West Indian Migration to New York. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Vickerman, Milton. 2001.   Tweaking a Monolith: the West Indian Immigrant Encounter with "Blackness" In Nancy Foner (Ed). *Islands in the City: West Indian Migration to New York*. (pp.237-256). Berkley, CA: University of California Press.

Vickerman, Milton. 2006. Non-Hispanic West Indians in New York City In Chrisopher Airriess and Ines Mirayes. *Contemporary Ethnic Geographies in America*. Rowan and Littlefield Publishers Inc.

Waters, Mary. C. 2001. *Black identities: West Indian immigrant dreams and American realities,* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

William L. Yancey, Eugene P. Ericksen, Richard N. Juliani. 1976. Emergent Ethnicity: A Review and Reformulation, *American Sociological Review*, 41 (3), 391-403

Zephir, Flore. 2001. *Trends in ethnic identification among second generation Haitian immigrants in New York City.* Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.