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Beyond Black: Exploring Racial Label Preferences of African Americans and Afro-Caribbeans in the United States

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Abstract

People of African descent living in the United States subscribe to a variety of racial self-identification labels. Given their historical and political meaning, 'Black' or 'African American' have been the two most common self-identification terms used by this population yet increasing immigration rates among people of African descent from the Caribbean have diversified the racial label preferences. Past research suggests age, gender, education, and region are factors that influence racial identification preferences for Black people in the United States. This study contributes by examining how experiences of discrimination and ethnicity/nativity impact racial self-labeling among people of African descent living in the United States. Analyzing the National Survey of American Life, I find that experiences with major forms of discrimination and nativity condition racial labeling preferences, and differently for those born in the US and those with ties to the Caribbean. Additionally, these findings indicate that age, household income, educational attainment and region significantly predict racial identification labels. This study encourages scholars to think critically about the racial labels they use to speak about African descendants living in the United States in order to more accurately disentangle intra-racial group differences relating to social mobility, racism, and racial inequality.

Introduction

African descendants who live in the United States are treated as a racial group under the racial label of Black and are often discussed as one monolithic and homogenous group assumed to have shared history and cultural values (Treitler 2013; Vickerman 2001). For instance, studies on Black populations in the United States rarely explore nativity or generational status differences for outcomes on topics such as educational disparities (Posey-Maddox 2014), wealth (Massey and Denton 1993), and identity formation (Kiecolt and Hughes 2017). Scholarship on particular Black immigrant ethnic groups, such as Afro-Caribbeans, might explore ethnicity, nativity, or generational differences (Rong and Brown 2001; Jones and Erving 2015) but analyses rarely jointly examine African Americans *and* Black ethnic groups in their analysis. Even though there are connections and similarities for African-descendants, variation within the group, across ethnicity and nativity, and with regard to perceptions of discrimination, likely shape differences in understandings of race and preferences for racial labels, given what we know from similar studies of 'pan-ethnicity' and ethnic projects among non-African-descendant populations[1] (Okamoto and Mora 2014; Treitler 2013).

Racial labels shed light on how people see themselves as individuals and recognize themselves as members of a group. Previous work on racial label preferences of African Americans has explored how structural (i.e., education, residential patterns, and region) and social psychological factors (i.e., perception of discriminatory intent from whites) influence identification preferences (Agyemang, Bhopal, and Bruijnzeels 2005; Benson 2006; Brown 1999; Sigelman, Tuch, and Martin 2005; Smith 1992; Thornton, Taylor, and Brown 2000). Although there is some research examining racial self-labeling among African Americans, research on the racial labels used by Black immigrants broadly, and in the United States especially, is underdeveloped. My project contributes by exploring racial label preferences within the US Black population. In this paper, I use the term African American to signify Americans of African descent, or those formerly enslaved Africans with ancestry connected to the United States, commonly referred to as 'Black' Americans. The term Afro-Caribbean is used to identify non-Hispanic African descendants with ancestry connected to Caribbean countries such as Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Haiti, Barbados, Grenada, Bahamas, and others, commonly referred to in literature as 'Black' immigrants.

The Black immigrant population has grown exponentially in the US over the last few decades. This drastic change is primarily a result of 1990 immigration policies, which established the immigration lottery system that allowed entry for underrepresented immigrant populations in the United States (Waters, Kasinitz, and Asad 2014). The Black population in the United States is diversifying with an influx of Black immigrants from the Caribbean and continental Africa (Greer 2013; Waters, Kasinitz, and Asad 2014). By 2016, 8% of the U.S Black population were second generation American, leaving 18% of the overall U.S Black population as immigrants and their children (Anderson and Lopez, 2018). Currently, the Black Caribbean population is the largest Black immigrant group in the United States (Anderson 2017). Like most immigrant groups, Afro-Caribbeans have

their own unique historical and cultural perspectives which are linked to their country of origin (nativity), which can shape their identity and racial self-labeling preferences, in ways that potentially diverge from that of African Americans. Given the increasing rates of Black migration to the US and the distinct cultural origins of this group vis a vis African Americans, it is vital to consider how Afro-Caribbean immigrant groups differ from African Americans with regard to racial identity and racial self-labeling in the United States.

For this project I extend previous research on racial label preference, which represents a public display of one's identity, to an analysis of African Americans as well as Afro-Caribbean (US born and foreign born) in the US, by providing an empirical examination of the independent and collective associations of ethnicity/nativity and experiences of discrimination on racial self-labeling in a representative sample. As scholars continue to theorize and study Blackness within the United States, it is important that they make necessary adjustments to broaden their scope of the 'Black' racial experience beyond the African American perspective. Studying racial self-labeling preferences of Black immigrants alongside African-Americans can lead to new understandings of identity among the US Black population, which can be useful to explore the varied processes of Black immigrant incorporation and identity formation of Black immigrants. I aim to advance the literature on racial labels by incorporating an Afro-Caribbean immigrant sample while testing how ethnicity/nativity and experiences of discrimination impact their racial self-labeling. Specifically, I ask, how do differences in ethnicity, nativity and experiences of discrimination among African descendants (i.e., African Americans and Afro-Caribbeans) living in the United States shape variation in racial identification? And, does nativity differences among Afro-Caribbeans additionally shape variation in racial identification?

Literature Review

Theorizing about Race, Ethnicity, and Identity of African-descendants Living in the United States

Scholars have suggested that race and ethnicity for African descendants in the United States is often presumed as synonymous given the treatment on the census and other official U.S documents (i.e., the option Black/African American) (Treitler 2013; Vickerman 2001). The assumption that Black can be used interchangeably with African American has led to a narrow analysis of Blackness that is rooted in a singular ethnic groups experience. One of the central contributions to this paper is the ability to look at ethnic variation within the Black racial group in the US. When controlling for factors associated with both race *and* ethnicity it allows an analysis for cultural difference. Race is a social construct used historically and in present day to create classifications and hierarchies of the human species. Cornell and Hartmann define race as, "a human group defined by itself or others as distinct by virtue of perceived common physical characteristics that are held to be inherent" (2000: pg. 21). Ethnicity, on the other hand, is often understood as a collective group of individuals who share common ancestry,

culture, historical past and symbolic elements (i.e. religious affiliation, language, physical characteristics, country of origin) (Cornell and Hartmann 2007). Ethnicity is often operationalized through nativity, country of origin, and ancestry when studying Afro-Caribbeans and African Americans (Jones and Erving 2015; Mouzon and McLean 2017).Afro-Caribbeans and African Americans have difference in culture, history, and language which impact their understanding of and reaction to discrimination (Water 1999, Vickerman 2001). Race and ethnicity are also different in the ways they are imposed onto individuals. Race is often externally imposed while ethnicity is internally imposed (Golash-Boza 2015). Given distinct differences between race and ethnicity it is necessary to explore how both may shape identity formation within the broad Black population in the US. This is especially so when considering that national identity is intertwined within conceptions of race and ethnicity and belonging.

Founder of American sociology, W.E.B DuBois, has long theorized about race, ethnicity, and nation for Black people in the US. In his canonical work, *Souls of The Black Folk,* DuBois (1903) highlighted a somewhat paradoxical relationship between being 'Black' and being 'American', specifically the role of double consciousness or dual identity between being 'Negro' and 'American':

"It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others. . . . One ever feels his twoness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body. . . . The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife, —this longing . . . to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world."
—W. E. B. DuBois

Over 100 years later African Americans continue to grapple with having to negotiate two identities that are often within conflict with one another. Being 'Negro' and being American means that even from a young age, one is conditioned to understand that your culture and ethnic identity conflict with your nationality. This passage lends itself as an example of the importance of self-identification for African Americans living in America. DuBois acknowledges that a history of 'strife' impacts how African descendants in the United States sees themselves. This passage also alludes to the importance of exploring how experiences of discrimination in this country impact racial or ethnic identification and identity broadly. If African Americans in the US experience tension among identifications given their outsider status, the same or even heighted warring might be experienced among African descendants who migrate to the US. Are they American, Black, or and ethnic immigrant?

Since DuBois' writings on double consciousness and identity, has expanded to focus on racial self-identification for African descendants in the United States in various ways. Scholars have examined the history of racial labels and how labels are associated

with social psychological concepts such as self-mastery, well-being, and group identity (Benson 2006;). Scholars have additionally explored what factors, such as region, education, and gender, predict racial labels and racial identity for adults of African decedent (Agyemang, Bhopal, and Bruijnzeels 2005; Boatswain and Lalonde 2000; Brown 1999; Sigelman, Tuch, and Martin 2005; Smith 1992; Thornton, Taylor, and Brown 2000). In this paper, I aim to contribute to the literature on identification and racial labels by exploring how experiences of discrimination plays a role in determining one's identification preference and thinking critically about the role of ethnicity and nativity shaping racial preferences for all African descendants living in the US. Before I further discuss the importance of racial preferences for identity, I will briefly overview the history of racial label use in the United States.

Overview of Racial Labels in the United States

The United States has officially categorized groups by their race since the first census in 1790. The Census is often used to examine racial classifications in the United States because of the perceived validity and authority of the survey, which then influences how larger society understands race (Lee 1993; Snipp 2003). In addition to classification purposes, the history of slavery and anti-blackness in the United States impacted racial labels used throughout various periods. An analysis of racial labels used in the United States Census between 1890-1990 shows that it has strongly relied on dichotomizing groups into white vs. non-white while constructing categories under the gaze of racial purity (Lee 1993). For instance, the 1890 Census had half of all racial categories essentially measure degrees of Blackness (i.e., Black, Mulatto, Quadroon, and Octoroon). As more groups began to migrate to the United States, other racial labels were added, whereas the racial labels used to capture the Black racial population narrowed.

For African descendants in the US, the construction of racial labels has been historically based on phenotypic traits and have been ascribed from outside members (i.e., slave owners/politicians, census enumerators). The political and social climate of a particular time period is reflected in the history of both self-identified and census labels used to identify those of African descendants living in the United States. "Negro," "Colored," "Black, Caribbean," "Afrocentric," or "African American" are some of the racial labels and label preferences used throughout North America to describe those of African descent (Thornton, Taylor, and Brown 2000; Boatswain and Lalonde 2000; Treitler 2013). In previous literature examining correlates of racial labels used among those of African descendant in the United States, Thornton and colleagues provide a timeline and definitions of the racial labels used throughout U.S society. When understanding the type of racial labels used by African descendants in the United States, it is important to note that due to the psychological impacts of slavery and white supremacy, most African descendants resisted endorsing racial labels that were given to them by whites (Thornton, Taylor, and Brown 2000).

'Colored', 'Negro', 'Black' and 'African American' are sociohistorical racial labels that were constructed in the United States to capture the racial identity of African

Americans (or those who were assigned as 'Black' by the government) and were adopted by group members. 'Colored' was the first term accepted by African descendants after Emancipation. At the time the terms 'Negro' and 'Black' were not fully accepted by the newly emancipated population due to their connections to slave masters and slavery power dynamics. The colored term grew in popularity and acceptance by both African descendants and whites because it was a term that included both 'pure' Blacks and mixed-race individuals (Smith 1992). 'Colored' was the preferred self-identification terms for most African decedents in the United States up until the mid- to late nineteenth century.

Furthermore, the term 'Negro' began to grow in populations due to the political and social climate during the decades from the Civil War to World War I. Prominent figures in the Black community during the time period such as W.E.B DuBois, Marcus Garvey, and Booker T. Washington used the term 'Negro' as opposed to 'Colored'. The effort to move from the commonly endorsed label of 'Negro' to the label of 'Black' began in the late 19th century as a byproduct of the Civil Rights Era (1954-1968) (Thornton, Taylor, and Brown 2000). With the rise of the political activism focused on Black liberation and the 'Black is Beautiful' movement, the label 'Black' grew in popularity in comparison to previous labels such as 'Colored' or 'Negro'. Research suggests the label 'Black' was accepted at a higher rate for the younger population in the 1970s, which suggests those socialized during an earlier era were reluctant to fully accept the term due to its connection to dynamics of racialized oppression (Smith 1992). Lastly, the label 'African American' grew popularity during the 1980s and has maintained popularity in contemporary society. The push to move from the label 'Black' to 'African American' was sparked by a desire to recognize the unique cultural experiences and ethnic history of African Americans (formerly enslaved Africans with ancestry connected to the US) in the United States. African American was used to cultivate a cultural identity, rather than a racial identity established by the term Black.

The historical and contemporary experiences of discrimination, state violence and anti-blackness in the United States have caused African descendants to go through a unique, lengthy, and cyclical processes of naming, negotiating and renaming their racial identification labels (Treitler 2013). This complex history of labels used to identify African Americans in the United States is connected to the marginalization that African Americans in the United States have dealt with across generations. In her work on ethnicity and ethnic labels, Vilna Bashi Treitler argues that the naming and renaming of African Americans labels in the United States is done in attempt to move upward on the socioracial hierarchy. In her book *The Ethnic Project* Treitler states, "No other ethnoracial group undertook this many iteration of concentrated national action in a renaming effort. Perhaps this is because no other group has been continually relegated to the bottom place in the racial hierarchy requiring a momentous public relations effort of this sort" (2013: pg.149). Understating the significance and effort placed in the formation and use of identification preferences for African Americans sheds light on why exploring labels and identification has the ability to expand on identity formation and racialization of African descendants in the United States.

To this point, there has not been widespread affinity for labels that capture ethnic categories within the Black racial population (e.g., just African, Afro-Caribbean). A reason for this is the legacy of the "one drop rule," or a legal distinction use to classify an individual with any degree of African ancestry as racially Black (Cornell and Hartmann 2007), which has left most Afro-Caribbean immigrants in the U.S to be identified by others as 'Black' without any consideration of how their ethnicity and nativity difference shape their racial identification preferences. In addition, given how identity formation is a two-way pathway, the way that Afro-Caribbeans are perceived by other Americans as Black has an impact on their identity (Tajfel and Turner 1997).

While few studies have explored the history of racial labels in the Caribbean, literature on African descendants in the United Kingdom (UK) can share insight on how the term Afro-Caribbean is understood and applied to populations in the US (Agyemang, Bhopal, and Bruijnzeels 2005). When used in the UK, the racial label Afro-Caribbean or African Caribbean usually refers to people with African ancestry who migrated from Caribbean islands (Agyemang, Bhopal, and Bruijnzeels 2005). The racial label Afro-Caribbean can signify geographic origin as well as signify cultural uniqueness (Agyemang, Bhopal, and Bruijnzeels 2005). More research is needed to understand racial labels within the changing demographics in the US, especially considering how racial labels shape social identities and identification processes.

Racial Labels as a Measure of Social Identity and Identification

As Du Bois (1903) suggested, racial labels reflect how an individual sees themselves. Labels signify membership in a particular group and are often understood as an expression of a larger group identity (Brown 1999). Scholars who study identity, in particular group identity, have noted the importance of labeling for cultivating a group identity. For African descendants that have been in the United States for multiple generations, the desire to cultivate a racial label that moves beyond negative stereotypes can be understood as social creativity. Social Identity theorists Tajfel and Turner (1997) describe social creativity as a strategy used by a stigmatized group in society to promote a positive social identity. As such, racial labels signify much more than just ascribed group membership for most African descendants living in the United States.

Previous research on factors associated with specific racial label preferences of Americans of African descent (African Americans) has shown that racial group consciousness, age, region, and education all are factors that impact how they prefer to self-identify (Sigelman, Tuch, and Martin 2005; Brown 1999; Thornton, Taylor, and Brown 2000). For instance, Brown (1999) analyzes quantitative data from the Detroit Area in 1971 and 1992 to explore the racial label preferences of African American adults. Racial label options for this study included 'Black', 'Negro', 'Colored', 'Afro-American', 'African American', or no preference. The findings showed that structural factors (institutional discrimination, residential racial segregation) and social psychological factors (racial socialization, racial consciousness) influence how African

Americans see themselves and the racial labels they choose to identify with (Brown 1999). Multivariate analysis of this study revealed that age, gender, and perception of discriminatory intent from whites are significant predictors of racial label preferences (i.e. Black, Negro, Colored, African American) for African Americans in the Detroit area. For example, those who perceived that whites wanted to keep Black people down were more likely to choose the label 'Black' than other labels compared with those who perceived that most whites want to see Black people get a better break (Brown 1999).In addition to Browns' study, Thornton and colleagues (2000) used the same data and found that no specific label was universally accepted by African American adults in the Detroit area which suggest that there is large variation in label preference used throughout 1971 to 1992.

Sigelman and colleagues used more recent data collected in 1998-2000 to investigate the preference of the label 'Black' and 'African American' for Americans of African descent in the US. Their findings suggest that results for label preferences were equal for the label 'African American' and the label 'Black'. In this nationally representative study, racial group consciousness, education, age, and region were all predictors of racial label preference. For example, African descendants living in the south were more likely to endorse the label 'Black' in comparison to African descendants in other regions. Additionally, older African descendants were less likely than their younger counterparts to select the label 'African American' (Sigelman et al 2005). There has not been a similar study that explores correlates of racial label preferences for Afro-Caribbeans in the US, but there has been work on exploring the racial label preferences of Afro-Caribbeans outside of the US.

In their 2000 article, Boatswain and Lalonde examine which label preferences were preferred by a sample of Black Canadians with Caribbean ethnicity. Additionally, they aimed to uncover personal meanings of the most preferred labels. Their findings suggest that 'Black', 'Black Caribbean', 'Caribbean Canadian', and 'Africentric' were the most preferred labels. This study did not explicitly explore what correlates predict a particular label preference, but their findings suggest that label preference do vary for Afro-Caribbeans, and that racial labels used by Afro-Caribbeans in Canada often represent blended heritage or racial/ethnic identity.

Nativity and Discrimination as Correlates for Racial Label Preference among African Descendants

Similar to the Boatswain and Lalonde article, recent research suggests nativity differences in an ethnic group results in variation of racial label preferences. For example, in their 2015 article, Jones and Erving use mixed methods data to explore the racial and ethnic identities of Afro-Caribbean immigrants (both foreign born and US born). Their findings suggest that foreign born Afro-Caribbeans adopt an ethnic identity once being introduced to US society. Additionally, they found that US born Afro-Caribbeans tend to identity with a racial identity rather than an ethnic identity or Black-

ethnic identity. These findings suggest that nativity and generational difference are important when studying the identity formation process of Afro-Caribbeans.

There are also cultural differences between African Americans and Afro-Caribbeans that might contribute to differences in racial label preferences. West Indians in Water's study resist the notion that being Black in the United States impacts social mobility and life overall. Waters' work suggests that Black immigrants living in the United States believe that American society, both Black and white, are obsessed with race (1992). When Black immigrants migrate to the United States, they bring their own cultural understandings of race. Pulling from the work of anthropologist Joe Obgu, Waters' identifies Black immigrants as 'voluntary immigrants', those who have chosen to move to a society in order to improve their well-being. Her in-depth interviews with West Indian immigrants revealed a common trend of Black immigrants relying on the cultural nuances of their home nation to mystify racial interaction in the United States (Waters 1999; Waters 1994); many claimed that Black Americans are too quick to 'cry' about race as a barrier to their individual success (Waters 1999).

Relatedly, previous literature also suggests that ethnic differences, are a driving force behind difference in perception of discrimination (Mouzon and McLean 2016; Sellers and Shelton 2003; Operario and Fiske 2001; Waters 1999). For instance, current literature on West Indians, an Afro Caribbean ethnic group, and their African American counterparts suggest that ethnic difference and experiences of racialism, or heightened sensitivity to race (Waters 2009), cause the two groups to internalize discrimination in different ways. Water's qualitative interviews found that West Indians are less likely than African Americans to recognize an act of discrimination. The vast differences in racial hierarchies outside of the US cause most immigrant groups, including West Indians, to be disillusioned or practice denial about rampant engrained racial discrimination within US institutions. Due to the prolonged legacy and consequences of systemic racism within the United States, African Americans have become primed to identify instances of racial discrimination and tend to attribute unfair treatment due to race (Waters 2009). Furthermore, due to the less rigid racial hierarchy in West Indian countries most West Indian immigrants feel as though discrimination and prejudice are more individual issues rather than systemic issues ingrained in American culture (Waters 2009; Greer 2013).

West Indian immigrants are aware of racism but feel as though they have the ability to challenge those who act in racist ways towards them (Waters 2009). The agency that Afro-Caribbean immigrants feel impacts their reactions to racial discrimination. Afro-Caribbeans feel that their attitudes are far less subservient than African Americans; in interviews they state that it is due to their attitude towards challenging prejudice and their hard-working attitude is why they obtain more opportunities than their Black American counterparts (Waters 2009; Mouzon and McLean 2016). The difference in perception and understanding of discrimination between Afro-Caribbeans and African Americans in the United States may result in variation in the self-identification preferences of African descendant adults living in the United States, although this has not yet been tested.

Waters works highlights how nativity, specifically being born in a Caribbean country, shapes an individuals' understanding or race, racism and perceptions of discrimination. West Indians to accept the fact that Black people are systemically oppressed in the United States is connected to the lack of racialism in West Indian nations. When Black immigrants migrate to the United States, particularly those who have migrated within the last 30 years, they believe that the opportunities that exist in the United States are not dictated by race; therefore, they do not see their black skin as a barrier to seeking opportunity (Waters and Jiménez 2005; Waters 2009; Waters; 1994). In sum, although prior studies found that discrimination matters for racial label preference, discrimination is not experienced in the same way by all people who identify with the Black racial group, even if the cause of the discrimination is racial prejudice. Experiences of discrimination and reactions to perceived discrimination vary across ethnic and nativity difference (Asante, Sekimoto, and Brown 2016; Benson 2006; Waters 2009).

There has also been research that investigates how discrimination impacts self-identification for Hispanic immigrants. In her 2006 article, Golash-Boza uses quantitative methods to explore the relationship between experiences of discrimination and identification patterns for Latinx immigrants in the United States. She argues that for Latinx immigrants, acknowledgment of discrimination plays a fundamental role in determining one's racial attitude and racial or ethnic identification. Her finding suggests that Latinx immigrants who experience discrimination are more likely to self-identify with ethnic or hyphenated American labels rather than identifying as American. This work suggests that it is important to include discrimination as a determinant of racial self-identification, especially when studying marginalized and immigrant populations.

Therefore, when analyzing the effects of nativity and experiences of discrimination in tandem, it is important to look at how immigrants view discriminatory practices differently than some African Americans. Although discrimination is felt by various racial and ethnic groups, a reaction to discrimination may differ across individuals (Sellers and Shelton 2003). Even though racial discrimination is prevalent across all those belonging to the Black racial group, the perception of discrimination may vary at the individual level due to differences in racial identity or ethnicity (Sellers and Shelton 2003; Operario and Fiske 2001). Empirical research suggests the more an individual closely identifies with their racial group, the more sensitive they become to racialized events. Due to a strengthened Black racial identity those who experience differential treatment are more likely to attribute that experience as discrimination compared to those who have a less strong/developed Black identity (Sellers and Shelton 2003; Operario and Fiske 2001; Purdie, Downey, & Davis, 2002). In the particular case of Afro-Caribbean immigrants, studies suggest that perception of discrimination and reactions to discriminatory acts differ widely by generational status (Waters 1999; Hall and Carter 2006). Given the current literature investigating how discrimination impacts identity formation it is essential to capture the effects of nativity and ethnicity in future scholarship.

Through this empirical study, I aim to advance the literature on Black racial identification in two ways – by analyzing the variation of self-identification labels of Black immigrants in the United States and by analyzing how nativity and discrimination impact self-identification preferences. Examining difference in ethnicity, as captured by nativity status, provides an analysis of contrast between African Americans and both Afro-Caribbean groups, which allows the research to isolate the effect of culture. Additionally, investigating nativity differences allows for an analysis of contrast between U.S born Afro-Caribbeans and foreign-born Afro-Caribbeans, to separate the process of Americanization and acculturation. This paper explores the relationship between nativity, discrimination, and self-identification through the following question, how do differences in ethnicity, nativity and experiences of discrimination among African descendants (i.e., African Americans and Afro-Caribbeans) living in the United States shape variation in racial identification? And, does nativity differences among Afro-Caribbeans additionally shape variation in racial identification?

Informed by existing literature I test the following hypotheses:

(H1) Experiences of discrimination are associated with increased usage of the racial label preference of 'Black' for all African descendants in the United States.

(H2) Nativity differences among Afro-Caribbeans will result in difference in predictors of racial label preferences compared to African Americans.

(H3) US born Afro-Caribbeans, compared to their foreign-born counterparts, will have similar racial identification preference to African Americans.

Methods

Data

The National Survey of American Life (NSAL) is the only comprehensive, nationally representative study that explores the identity and self-identification of both African Americans and Afro-Caribbean along with their experiences as living Black in America (Jackson et al. 2004). NSAL is a nationally representative cross-sectional study conducted by the Program for Research on Black Americans (PRBA) at the University of Michigan. The NSAL used an integrated national household probability sampling method. Data collection started in February 2001 and continued through March 2003. The study included African Americans (N=3,570) and the first study to conclude blacks of immediate Caribbean descent (Afro-Caribbeans) (N=1,623), all 18 years or older. The survey sample also includes a Non-Hispanic White sample (N=1,006). Most interviews were conducted through face-to-face interviews while 14% were conducted by phone interviews. The overall response rate for the NSAL was 72.3%, and respondents were compensated for their time. In order to increase the quality of the survey and removing and cultural barriers, both the respondents and interviewers were matched both by race and ethnicity (Jackson et al. 2004). The original dataset captured responses from (N= 5,936) non-institutionalized American adults. For this particular study, I exclude the Non-Hispanic White sample from my analysis. My final sample size is 4,405.

Dependent Variable

Racial label preference is my dependent variable. Respondents were asked, "People use different words to refer to people whose original ancestors came from Africa. What word best describes what you like to be called?". Originally the responses were collected and placed into 19 various categories, (1)Black (2) Black American (3) Negro (4) African American (5) Afro American (6) Colored (7) Nigga (8)West Indian (9) Haitian (10) Jamaican (11) R name (12) human, person (13) African, Black African (14) American (15) Hispanic (16) Puerto Rico (17) Other Caribbean country (18) Brother/Sister (19) Mixed. Informed by previous literature on racial self- identification, I recoded the variable into four categories - "American or Hyphenated American", "Black", and "National Origin." Figure 1 describes the three categories.

Figure 1: Definition of Labels in Dependent Variable

Black	Identified as 'Black'
American/Hyphenated	Identified as 'American, Afro-American, Black American, African American, Colored*, Negro*
Caribbean National Origin	Identified as 'West Indian, Haitian, Jamaican, African, Other Caribbean country'

The three categories and their corresponding labels have been created using literature on racial labels, both domestically and internationally (Agyemang, Bhopal, and Bruijnzeels 2005; Boatswain and Lalonde 2000; Waters 1994). I opted to place the labels 'Colored' and 'Negro' into the American/Hyphenated category because of their historical and political ties to the US. Additionally, I placed the label 'African' into the Caribbean National Origin category because it is closest in alignment with a national or pan-African identity – which suggest that the small number of respondents (N=44) who selected 'African' still reject labels connected to race or labels rooted in American culture.

Independent Variables

To measure nativity, I created a categorical variable using two survey questions. Respondents were asked their race/ethnicity and ancestry response categories were coded as (1) Hispanic (2) Afro-Caribbean (3) African American (4) Non-Hispanic White. Respondents were also asked if they were born in the United States or migrated to the country. I then took these two variables and coded them to create a nativity variable that captures both ancestry and nativity with the following categories (1) U.S Born African American (2) U.S Born Afro-Caribbean (3) Foreign Born Afro-Caribbean.

To measure major events of discrimination and everyday experiences of discrimination I used scales constructed by David Williams (Williams 2000). The everyday discrimination scale was measured by 10 questions; (1) [I] am treated with less courtesy than other people; (2) [I] am treated with less respect than other people; (3) [I] receive poorer service; (4) people act as if they think you are not smart; (5) people act as if they are afraid of you; (6) people act as if you are dishonest; (7) people act as if they're better than [me]; (8) [I] am called names or insulted; (9) [I] am threatened or harassed;

(10) [I] am followed around in stores. Respondents were allowed to give six potential responses 1) almost every day 2) at least once a week 3) a few times a month 4) a few times a year 5) less than once a year 6) less than once a day 0) never. The everyday discrimination variables were then coded into a scale from 0-40, higher scores indicate more frequent experiences with discrimination (Williams 2000).

Respondents were prompted with, "we are interested in the way other people have treated you or your *beliefs* about how other people have treated you. Can you tell me if *any* of the following has ever happened to you?" [1] At any time in your life, have you ever been unfairly fired?; [2] For unfair reasons, have you ever not been hired for a job?; [3] Have you ever been unfairly denied a promotion?; [4] Have you ever been unfairly stopped, searched, questioned, physically threatened or abused by the police?; [5] Have you ever been unfairly discouraged by a teacher or advisor from continuing your education?; [6] Have you ever been unfairly prevented from moving into a neighborhood because the landlord or a realtor refused to sell or rent you a house or apartment?; [7] Have you ever moved into a neighborhood where neighbors made life difficult for you or your family?; [8] Have you ever been unfairly denied a bank loan?; [9]Have you ever received service from someone such as a plumber or car mechanic that was worse than what other people get? Response categories were coded as [1] yes [0] no. These items were summed into a scale ranging from 0/no major life events to 10/10 major life events.

Control variables

Sociodemographic variables (sex, age, income, region, and education) were used as control variables. Gender is a binary variable (female=0). Educational attainment is captured with four categories less than a high school diploma, high school diploma, some college, and bachelor's degree or more. Region with four categories, Northeast, South, West, and Midwest. Household income was originally coded continuously. I then recoded it to a categorical variable with four categories less than 18,000, 18-32,000, 32-55,000, and above 55,000. Lastly, age is coded in four categories 18-24, 25-44, 45-64, and 65 or older.

Analysis

Using STATA analysis software, I conducted bivariate and multi-variate analysis examining the relationship between experiences of discrimination and racial label preferences. US born Afro-Caribbeans, foreign-born Afro-Caribbeans, and African Americans are the three main categories used throughout the analysis. To begin, I used a means of comparison test of scores on the everyday and major experience of discrimination scales. Next, I used an ANOVA test of variance to test racial label preference of US born Afro-Caribbeans, foreign-born Afro-Caribbeans, and African Americans. Lastly, I used chi-square test to examine possible association between all control variables and the ethnic/nativity groups.

After running bivariate analysis, I used multinomial logistics regressions to predict racial label preferences. I ran multinomial logistic regressions in three different

ways to explore my research questions. First, I ran a multinomial logistic regression with three models. Model 1 of the analysis consisted of all variables used as controls (gender, age, household income, marital status, and education) while Model 2 added the mean scores on discrimination measures (every day and major experiences). Model 3 is a full model which adds nativity to the model. Next, I ra multinomial logistic regression stratified by nativity for Afro-Caribbeans. Model 1 consisted of all variables used as controls (gender, age, household income, marital status, and education) while Model 2 added the mean scores on discrimination measures (every day and major experiences). In the end analysis resulted in three multinomial logistic regressions (Tables 2a/2b/3a/3b/4a/4b).

Results

Table 1 is a descriptive table of all variables by nativity status. When looking at the racial label preferences of African descendant adult respondents in the United States, there is a statistically significant relationship between nativity/ancestry and racial label preferences. As consistent with previous research on the racial label preferences, U.S born African Americans prefer to identify as 'Black' or some form of hyphenated America label at similar rates, 43.5% and 56% respectively. For Afro-Caribbean groups there was more variation in racial label preferences. For US born Afro-Caribbean respondents the two most preferred racial labels are 'Black' (46%) or American hyphenated (47%) in comparison to foreign born Afro-Caribbean respondents identified with 'national origin' (46%) and 'Black' (42%) labels.

There were statistically significant differences in mean scores on the discrimination scales across the three groups ($p>.000$). The average scores on the major experiences of discrimination scale was 1.30 for the full sample. The mean scores on the major experience of discrimination scale was highest for US Born Afro-Caribbeans (1.74), followed by African Americans (1.34) then foreign-born Afro-Caribbeans (1.00). US Born Afro-Caribbeans also had the highest mean score on the everyday discrimination scale (13.12), whereas US Born African Americans averaged 11.03 and foreign-born Afro-Caribbean respondents averaged 9.31. This means foreign born Afro-Caribbeans reported the lowest means scores on both discrimination scales.

[TABEL 1 ABOUT HERE]

The three groups also differed across household income, region, educational attainment and age. African Americans had the largest percentage of respondents report an income of less than 18,000, at 31% compared to 19% of US Born and only 2% of foreign-born Afro-Caribbeans. Roughly 35% of US born Afro-Caribbeans respondents reported an income at or above 55,000. The modal household income category for foreign born Afro-Caribbeans was also 55,000 or more (28%). Most Afro-Caribbeans, both foreign and US born, reside in the northeast while most African Americans live in the south. There are also educational attainment differences across respondents. Between African Americans and US born Afro-Caribbeans, 13% of African Americans have a

bachelor's degree compared to 22% of US born Afro-Caribbeans. Foreign born Afro-Caribbeans respondents have roughly equal distribution of less than high school education (21%) and a bachelor's degree or higher (20%). Overall there is evidence at the bivariate level of variation across ethnicity and nativity for African descendant respondents.

To predict racial label preference, I conducted a series of nested multinomial regression models to examine whether nativity and experiences of discrimination can significantly predict racial label preference (Table 2a/2b). Model 1 of the analysis consisted of all variables used as controls (gender, age, household income, marital status, and education) while Model 2 added the mean scores on discrimination measures (every day and major experiences). Model 3 is a full model which adds nativity to the model.

In model 1 there are no controls that predict the use of 'Black' relative to 'American hyphenated' labels, which suggests that respondents identify as 'Black' or 'American hyphenated' at equal rates independent of class, gender, age, or region. When examining the use of 'Caribbean national origin' labels relative to 'Black', educational attainment and region were shown to be statically significant predictors of label preference. Respondents with less than a high school degree compared to those with a college degree or higher have 2x higher odds of preferring 'Caribbean national origin labels' relative to 'Black' (RRR: 2.269, $p < 0.01$). Those who live in the northeast relative to other U.S regions have higher odds of preferring 'Caribbean national origin' labels relative to 'Black'.

[TABEL 2A ABOUT HERE]

In model 2 I added measures of everyday discrimination and major experiences of discrimination to the model. The coefficient for major experiences of discrimination is significant and positive. This means that increased experiences of discrimination are associated with higher odds of identifying as with 'American hyphenated labels', compared to 'Black', holding all else constant. Model 2 suggests that major experiences of discrimination is a statically significant factor of identifying with 'American hyphenated labels' relative to 'Black'. On the other hand, as the scores on the major discrimination scale increase the odds of identifying as Black relative to an 'American hyphenated' label increase by 5% (RRR: 1.058, $p < 0.05$).

Model 3 is the full model, in which nativity/ancestry is additionally included. Model 3 suggests that major experiences of discrimination and nativity are statically significant factors of predicting racial labels for adults of African descendants in the United States. For foreign-born Afro-Caribbeans compared to African Americans, the odds of identifying with an American-hyphenated label relative to 'Black' decreases by 79% (RRR: .203, $p < 0.001$). With nativity introduced to the model educational attainment and regions were no longer statically significant factors for predicting racial label preferences. For African descendants in the United States, as scores on the major experiences of discrimination scale increase the odds of identifying as 'Black' relative to national origin labels increases by a factor of 1.342 holding all other variables constant

(RRR: 1.342, p <.05). This model shows that both ethnicity/nativity and major experiences of discrimination are significantly associated with racial label preferences for African descendant adult respondents.

[TABEL 2B ABOUT HERE]

Furthermore, in terms of ethnicity and nativity foreign born Afro-Caribbeans were more likely to identify with Caribbean national origin labels rather than the label Black. US Born Afro-Caribbeans, when compared to African Americans, have 19x higher odds of identifying with Caribbean national origin labels (RRR: 19.3, p < 0.001). Overall the findings from Table 2 support my first hypothesis; experiences of discrimination are a significant predictor of racial label preferences for African descendants in the United States; as experiences of discrimination increase 'Black' is the preferred racial label for African descendants.

In addition, finding suggest differences by ancestry. Therefore, in order to explore within group differences additional regression models were run by sub-populations of Afro-Caribbeans and U.S Born Afro-Caribbeans (Table 3a/3b). Results of within group difference reveal how class and experiences of major discrimination impact Afro-Caribbeans differently than their African American counterparts. Table 3 is a series of nested multinomial regression models conducted to examine whether experiences of discrimination can significantly predict racial label preference of *only* foreign-born Afro-Caribbeans. Model 1 includes all variables used as controls (gender, age, household income, marital status, and education) while Model 2 added the mean scores on discrimination measures (every day and major experiences). Model 1 suggests that age, educational attainment, household income and region are all predictors of identification labels for foreign-born Afro-Caribbeans.

[TABEL 3A ABOUT HERE]

After adding major experiences of discrimination and everyday discrimination to the model, household income, education attainment and major experiences of discrimination are all statistically significant predictors of identification labels for Foreign-Born Afro-Caribbeans. The coefficient for a household income 55,000 income or more is statically significant in the positive direction. Foreign born Afro-Caribbeans with a household income of 56,000+ compared to foreign born Afro-Caribbeans with a household income of less than 18k or less have roughly 2x higher odds of identifying with 'American hyphenated' labels relative to using the label 'Black' (RRR: 2.34, p <.01). In contrast, Foreign born Afro-Caribbeans with a household income of 33-55,000 compared to foreign born Afro-Caribbeans with a household income of less than 18,000 have roughly 3x higher odds of identifying with national origin labels relative to the label 'Black' (RRR: 2.999, p < .001). The coefficient for educational attainment, respondents who attended some college, is also statically significant in the negative direction. Foreign born Afro-Caribbeans with some college education compared to foreign born Afro-Caribbeans with a high school degree have .72 lower odds of using American hyphenated

racial labels relative to the label 'Black', holding all other variables constant (RRR: .246, $p < .05$). Overall, the results of table 3 suggest that income is a strong predictor of racial label preference for foreign-born Afro-Caribbeans, though the relationships are mixed.

[TABEL 3B ABOUT HERE]

Table 4 is a series of nested multinomial regression models conducted to examine whether experiences of discrimination can significantly predict racial label preference of *only* U.S born Afro-Caribbeans. Model 1 includes all variables used as controls (gender, age, household income, marital status, and education) while Model 2 added the mean scores on discrimination measures (every day and major experiences). Model 1 suggests that age and household income are predictors of identification labels for US born Afro-Caribbeans. After adding the main predictor to model 2 the analysis suggests that age, educational attainment, household income, region, and everyday discrimination are predictors of racial labels for US born Afro-Caribbeans.

The coefficient for everyday discrimination is significant and positive in the final regression model. This means that as scores on the everyday discrimination scale increase, the odds of identifying with American hyphenated or national origin labels increases, relative to 'Black' for US born Afro-Caribbeans. For US born Afro-Caribbeans, as the scores on the everyday discrimination scale increase, the odds of identifying with 'American hyphenated' labels relative to 'Black' increases by a factor of 1.103 holding all other variables constant ($p < .001$). However, as the scores on the everyday discrimination scale increase the odds of identifying with national origin labels relative to 'Black' decreases by a factor of 1.119 for U.S born Afro-Caribbeans holding all other variables constant (RRR: 1.119, $p < .01$).

[TABEL 4A ABOUT HERE]

Furthermore, the coefficients for greater household income were statically significant and negative in reference to US born Afro-Caribbeans respondents with a household income of less than 18,000. US born Afro-Caribbeans with a household income of 56,000 or more compared to those with a household income of less than 18,000 are less likely to identify with American hyphenated racial labels relative to the label 'Black' (RRR: .131, $p <.01$). Similarly, US born Afro-Caribbeans with a household income of 18,000-32,000 compared to US born Afro-Caribbeans with a household income of less than 18,000 are less likely to identify with American hyphenated racial labels relative to the label 'Black' (RRR: .291, $p <.05$).

Education attainment was also a significant predictor in the negative direction. US born Afro-Caribbeans with less than a high school education compared to US born Afro-Caribbeans with a high school diploma are less likely to identify with American hyphenated racial labels relative to the label 'Black' (RRR: .168, $p <.05$). Likewise, US

born Afro-Caribbeans with less than a high school education compared to US born Afro-Caribbeans with a high school diploma are less likely to identify with National origin racial labels relative to the label 'Black' (RRR: .185, p <.05).

Moreover, the coefficients for age were statically significant and in the negative direction for respective age categories in reference to US born Afro-Caribbeans respondents age 65 or older. The odds of identifying with American hyphenated labels relative to the racial label 'Black' decrease by a factor of .186 for US born Afro-Caribbeans ages 18-24 compared to U.S born Afro-Caribbeans ages 65 or older (RRR:. 186, p < .01). Similarly, US born Afro-Caribbeans ages 45-64 compared to US born Afro-Caribbeans ages 65 or older are less likely to identify with American hyphenated labels relative to the racial label 'Black' (RRR:.399, p <.05). Also, US born Afro-Caribbeans ages 45-64 have lower odds of identifying with national origin labels relative to the racial label 'Black' compared to US born Afro-Caribbeans ages 65 or older (RRR: .123, p <.05).

Lastly, the coefficients to capture regional differences were also significant predictors of racial label preferences for US born Afro-Caribbeans in the negative direction. The odds of identifying with American hyphenated labels relative to the racial label 'Black' decrease by a factor of .082 for US born Afro-Caribbeans living in the West coast compared to US born Afro-Caribbeans living in the Northeast (RRR: .082, p < .01). Similarly, the odds of identifying with American hyphenated labels relative to the racial label 'Black' decrease by a factor of .169 for US born Afro-Caribbeans living in the Midwest compared to U.S born Afro-Caribbeans living in the Northeast (RRR: .169, p < .001). Table 4 explores the predictors of racial labels for US-born Afro-Caribbean respondents only. Overall, the results of table 4 suggest that everyday discrimination, age and income are the strongest predictors of racial label preference for foreign-born Afro-Caribbeans.

[TABEL 4B ABOUT HERE]

Overall, the results of various multinomial regression models used to predict racial label preferences of African descendants living in the US suggests that experiences of discrimination are a significant predictor or racial labels. Furthermore, results support previous literature which suggests that household income, age, and educational attainment are also significant predictors of racial label preferences. When exploring predictors of racial labels across nativity/ethnicity additionally, these results show that the magnitude and significance of predictors for racial label preferences very across nativity status for Afro-Caribbeans. The results of the statistical analysis suggest that H1 is supported, experiences of discrimination are associated with increased usage of the racial label preferences 'Black' for all African descendants in the United States. As scores on the major experiences of discrimination scale increased, respondents were more likely to select 'Black' over 'National Origin Labels'. Additionally, as scores on the everyday

discrimination scale increased, US Born AC were more likely to select 'Black' over 'American hyphenated' labels.

Furthermore, stratified models of US born and foreign-born Afro-Caribbeans supported H2, nativity differences among Afro-Caribbeans results in difference in predictors of racial label preferences compared to African Americans. For instance, significant predictors for racial label preferences for US born Afro-Caribbeans were household income, education, region and age. While significant predictors for racial label preferences for foreign born Afro-Caribbeans were household income, education, region, age and everyday discrimination. Everyday discrimination was only a significant predictor for racial label preferences for foreign born Afro-Caribbeans. Lastly, stratified models partially support H3, US born Afro-Caribbeans, compared to their foreign-born counterparts, have similar racial identification preference to African American. Preference of 'American hyphenated' in reference to the 'Black' label, being US born Afro-Caribbeans was not significant yet there was significance for foreign born Afro-Caribbeans.

Discussion

Du Bois analyzed the somewhat paradoxical relationship between being 'Black' and being 'American' through the lens of double consciousness. The 'American' identity, often connected to a desire for full social inclusion and a connection to American land, values, and symbolic history is often at odds with a 'Black' identity that is often aware of America's violence and historical discrimination of the Black population (Johnson 2018). In this paper, I aimed to continue in the Du Boisian tradition of interrogating race, ethnicity, and nation, but analyzing the variation of racial label preferences of African Americans, Afro-Caribbeans and US-born Afro-Caribbeans in the United States and explore how nativity and discrimination impact racial label preferences. It is essential to explore how variation in ethnicity and nativity of African descendants' impact racial label preferences, especially considering the growing numbers of Afro-Caribbeans in the US. Research in the areas of race and immigration that explores such nuances broadens the scope of the 'Black' racial experience beyond the African American perspective. Studying racial label preferences of Afro-Caribbeans alongside African-Americans can lead to new understandings of identity among the US Black population, which can be useful to explore the varied processes of Black immigrant incorporation and identity formation of other Black immigrant groups.

Previous literature has explored correlates of racial label preference of African Americans (Brown 1999; Thornton, Taylor, and Brown 2000) and Afro-Caribbean (Boatswain and Lalonde 2000; Jones and Erving 2015) but very few studies have jointly examined African Americans and Black immigrant groups. The findings of previous studies on racial label preference suggest that structural (i.e., education, residential patterns, and region) and social psychological (i.e., perception of discriminatory intent

from whites) factors influence identification preferences (Agyemang, Bhopal, and Bruijnzeels 2005; Benson 2006; Brown 1999; Sigelman, Tuch, and Martin 2005; Smith 1992; Thornton, Taylor, and Brown 2000). My goal was to extend past research by exploring additional factors of ethnicity and discrimination as predictors for racial preferences.

Through this empirical test, I analyzed NSAL data to explore correlates of racial label preferences for a diverse group of African descendants living in the US. When exploring the racial labels of African Americans, my findings are consistent with previous literature (Brown 1999; Sigelman, Tuch, and Martin 2005; Smith 1992; Thornton, Taylor, and Brown 2000). For African Americans, the equal preference of both "Black" and American-hyphenated labels suggest that these two labels attest to cultural and transnational history which allow African Americans to connect to their nationality as American and African diasporic connection.
Findings, however, are more varied among Afro-Caribbean immigrants. Foreign born Afro-Caribbeans and US born Afro-Caribbeans do not share similar correlates of racial label preferences, which suggest that they may have different factors that influence their identity and group identity formation (Wijeyesinghe and Jackson 2012; Waters 1999). US born Afro-Caribbeans have been known to have an array of unique traits and identity formation pathways in comparisons to their foreign-born and African American counterparts (Waters 1999; Waters 1994; Benson 2006). Exploring differences in nativity allows for an analysis of contrast between US born Afro-Caribbeans and foreign-born Afro-Caribbeans to separate the process of Americanization and acculturation. These findings support previous immigration literature on first and second-generation Black immigrants. In Waters' work, *Black Identities* she highlights how second-generation, which I refer to as US born Afro-Caribbeans, undergo a racialization and identity process that differs from their African American and foreign-born Afro-Caribbeans counterparts (1999).

Furthermore, I found that experiences of discrimination are a significant predictor of racial label preferences for African descendants in the United States. According to my findings, experiences of life-altering discrimination causes African descendants in the United States to use the racial label 'Black' relative to American hyphenated or national origin labels. This finding suggests that all African descendants in the US, regardless of ethnicity, use experiences of discrimination or perception of discrimination to shape their racial label identity. Given DuBois' analysis double consciousness, the experiences of discrimination may result in apprehension to use American hyphenated labels as racial label preferences.

The results of stratified analysis by ethnicity and nativity in this study importantly revealed that US Afro-Caribbeans experiences of discrimination and racial label preferences differ from African Americans and foreign-born Afro-Caribbeans. Literature on discrimination would suggest that African Americans would report higher rates of discrimination in comparison to their Afro-Caribbeans (Hall and Carter 2006; Waters 1999), but an analysis that explores both nativity and ethnicity shows that African

Americans have lowers scores on both discrimination scales in comparison to US Afro-Caribbeans. US born Afro Caribbeans reporting more experiences of everyday and life changing discrimination suggest that their experiences with racism and discrimination in the US may be heightened or intensified given their racialization into the US, which then impacts the perception of racial and group identity (Hall and Carter 2006). Literature that explore the socialization of Afro-Caribbeans suggest that their understanding of race and ethnic identity is often shaped by their parents, often newly arrived immigrants, and peers, often African-Americans (Waters 1999). The pressures to ascribe to a racial identity outside the home, while being encouraged to maintain an ethnic identity in the home causes US born Afro-Caribbeans to have a racialization process that differs from foreign-born Afro-Caribbeans and African Americans (Waters 1994; Waters 1999). The finding for US Afro-Caribbeans warrant more investigation of how racial and group identity form differently across generations and ethnic groups.

Literature on Afro-Caribbeans identity formation has also noted how class and educational attainment impact racial and group identity. Waters' works (1999 and 1994) suggest that low income Afro-Caribbeans, both foreign born and US born identify with African American identity and labels. In this study educational attainment and household income were both significant predictors of racial label preferences for both US born and foreign-born Afro-Caribbeans. Interestingly, the effects of class resulted in different direction of racial label preference between US born and foreign-born Afro-Caribbeans. Foreign born Afro-Caribbeans with higher income used 'national origin labels' or 'Black' as racial label preferences in comparison to those who have a household income lower than 18,000. US born Afro-Caribbeans who report having a higher income prefer American hyphenated racial labels while lower income US born Afro-Caribbeans prefer the label 'Black'. These findings suggest that class and education as predictors of racial label preferences may operate differently based on nativity and ethnicity. Given how these findings differ from literature on class and identity (Greer 2013; Waters 1999; Waters 1994) further research is warranted on the impact of class on racial label preferences across African descendants. Previous research has only compared Afro-Caribbeans to lower class African Americans which makes it difficult to understand how class differences impact racial label preferences across groups. The results of the study suggest that further research is needed to understand how class is connected to variation in the experiences of Afro-Caribbeans and how they make sense of their Black identity.

There are a few additional limitations to this study worth mentioning. Since this data was collected in 2004, there have been substantial changes within the Black immigrant populations, specifically a growing number of West African immigrants. This study only captured a fraction of the African descendants who live in the United States currently. Future research should explore the experiences of West African immigrants and their children, especially in regard to racial identity formation. Additionally, studying racial label preferences quantitatively allows for an analysis of a large population which is helpful when exploring predictors or correlates. Unfortunately, quantitative analysis does not allow for exploration of the meanings and reasoning attached to a particular label preference. There is a need for more qualitative research that explores the meaning

and decision making behind the racial labels used by African descendants in the US. Nonetheless, this analysis shows support for my argument that being mindful of the labels used to represent African descendants in the US. As Afro-Caribbeans and other Black immigrants from West Africa enter the Black population in the US it is important for both scholars and institutions (such as the government and education systems) to be intentional about their categorizing of African descendants in the US in order to note how ethnicity and nativity influence and create variation in the lived experiences of African descendants in the US.

Conclusion

Black is a word with multiple meanings. There is complexity to the term that stems far beyond an ascribed racial category. Despite its common usage, the term 'Black' may be misleading or inaccurate choice of label in some instances. As social scientists who study race and ethnicity have noted, paying attention to ethnic characteristics in research provides for a more robust analysis of race and social inequality (Valdez and Golash-Boza 2017).

Prioritizing of one status over the other impacts the conclusions we make about racial stratification and social mobility. For instance, scholars who study Black immigrants have noted how Afro-Caribbeans have better rates of home ownership, occupational status, and educational attainment (Greer 2013; Waters, Kasinitz, and Asad 2014). Scholars have suggested that Afro-Caribbeans status as 'immigrant' offers them networks and benefits that are not accessible for African Americans (Greer 2013; Treitler 2013; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Previous scholarship has used the 'ethnic success' of Afro-Caribbeans to suggest that racial discrimination is absent from US society (Sowell 1979; Treitler 2013). Difference in access to resources between African Americans and Afro-Caribbeans highlights the importance of scholars exploring ethnicity and nativity difference for theorizing and empirical studies of racial stratification, social inequality, and racialization in the US. Additionally, as politicians attempt to address the historical disenfranchisement of African Americans in the US, it is important that programs established to generate wealth or access to resources recognize that there is ethnic variation within the Black community in order to ensure that these recourses are reaching the groups they are intended to support. Not only has the lack of attention to Black ethnic groups caused a limited scope of exploring social mobility it also has led to a narrow analysis of Blackness that is rooted in a single ethnic groups experience.

Therefore, as Black immigrants continue to diversify the Black population in the US, the need to study race and ethnicity jointly becomes more pressing. The findings of this empirical study show that not all individuals in the Black racial population ascribe to the same racial labels. Scholars who studied Afro-Caribbean immigrants in the 90' sand early 2000's noted the need to move away from using Black and African American interchangeably, yet there has been very little effort by scholars and official government agencies to move away from their use of 'Black/African American'(Vickerman 2001; Bashi 1998). Ethnicity and nativity are factors that shape the experiences of African descendants in the US similar to the experiences of Asian and Latinx communities. Now

is the time to move away from approaching the Black experiences in the US as the experience of only African Americans in order to better theorize and empirically study race, racism, and anti-blackness in the US.

Table 1: Demographics by Nativity/Ancestry

	African Americans (N = 3,236)		U.S.-born Afro-Caribbean (N = 351)		Foreign-born Afro-Caribbean (N = 917)		TOTAL (N = 4,504)
	%	Mean (SD)	%	Mean (SD)	%	Mean (SD)	% (Mean, SD)
Racial Label							
Black	43.5		46.14		42.37		43.51***
American/Hyphenated	56.1		47.23		1.14		54.19 ***
National Origin	.40		6.63		46.23		2.3 ***
Major Experiences of Discrimination Scale [a]	---	1.34 (1.62)	---	1.74 (1.72)	---	1.00 (1.35)	1.30 (1.58)***
Everyday Discrimination Scale [b]	---	11.03 (8.14)	---	13.12 (8.05)	---	9.31(7.39)	10.80 (8.05)***
DEMOGRAPHICS							
Sex							
Male	43.15	---	44.47	---	52.21	---	43.52
Female	56.85	---	55.53	---	47.79	---	56.48
Age							
18-24	16.13	---	31.92	---	11.59	---	16.27***
25-44	43.73	---	43.52	---	46.01	---	43.82***
45-64	28.76	---	17.26	---	29.89	---	28.57***
65 or older	11.37	---	7.30	---	12.51	---	11.34***
Region							
South	57.44	---	20.57	---	36.38	---	55.89***
Northeast	14.94	---	53.64	---	56.71	---	17.33***
Midwest	18.69	---	10.11	---	11.7	---	17.84***
West	8.93	---	15.68	---	5.74	---	8.94***

Educational attainment							
Less than high school	24.34	---	19.42	---	21.38	---	24.13*
High school diploma	38.32	---	26.5	---	3.26	---	37.86*
Some college	2.38	---	31.73	---	25.89	---	24.04*
Bachelor's degree or more	13.54	---	22.35	---	20.13	---	13.97*
Household Income							
Less than 18K	30.86	---	19.44	---	2.18	---	30.28**
18-32K	25.18	---	2.66	---	26.59	---	25.26**
32-55K	23.67	---	19.24	---	23.54	---	23.57**
Above 55K	20.29	---	34.73	---	28.07	---	20.88**

[a] Range 0-10
[b] Range 0-45
+ $p < 0.10$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$.
NOTE: Data are weighted and adjusted for complex sampling design

Table 2a: Multinomial Regression of Racial Label Preference (American Hyphenated v. Black) by Everyday Discrimination, Major Discrimination and Ancestry

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Black = Reference			
American Hyphenated			
Household Income			
(<18k = Reference)			
18-32k	0.955 (.102)	0.949 (.102)	0.957 (.102)
32-55k	1.021(.102)	1.024 (.102)	1.023 (.104)
56k +	0.988 (.147)	0.983 (.146)	0.987 (.150)
Education			
High School = Reference			
Less than HS	1.056 (.117)	1.061 (.118)	1.062 (.120)
Some college	1.036 (.137)	1.014 (.134)	1.022 (.133)
College Edu +	1.007(.136)	0.980 (.128)	0.995 (.131)
Region			
North = Reference			
South	0.860 (.106)	0.878 (.109)	0.792 (.103)
Midwest	1.124 (.192)	1.111 (.184)	0.990 (.170)
West	0.660 (.176)	0.656 (.173)	0.605 (.160)
Female (Male=Reference)	1.095 (.100)	1.132 (.104)	1.120 (.104)
Age			
65+ = Reference			
18-24	1.090 (.161)	1.122 (.174)	1.115 (.172)
25-44	1.148 (.177)	1.157 (.189)	1.156 (.187)
45-64	0.962 (.147)	0.949 (.150)	0.948 (.150)
Major Experiences of Discrimination		1.058^{*} (.028)	1.052 (.028)
Everyday Discrimination		0.997 (.007)	0.996 (.007)
Ethnicity/Nativity			
African American = Ref			
U.S. Born Afro-Caribbeans			0.742 (.179)
Foreign-Born Afro-Caribbeans			$0.203\ (.047)^{***}$

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses

$^{+}p < .10$ $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$

Table 2b: Multinomial Regression of Identification Labels (National Origin v. Black) by Everyday Discrimination, Major Discrimination and Ethnicity

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Black = Ref			
National Origin			
Household Income			
<18k = Reference			
18-32k	1.465 (.341)	1.468 (.340)	1.414 (.511)
32-55k	1.509 (.413)	1.507 (.415)	1.445 (.395)
56k +	1.369 (.464)	1.368 (.458)	1.363 (.424)
Education			
High School = Reference			
Less than HS	1.461(.402)	1.481 (.414)	1.294 (.375)
Some college	1.563(.384)	1.550 (.383)	1.148 (.373)
College Edu +	2.269(.659)**	2.240 (.646)**	1.831 (.774)
Region			
North = Reference			
South	0.189 (.070)***	0.189 (.069)***	0.844 (.295)
Midwest	0.185 (.080)***	0.185 (.082)***	2.711 (.975)
West	0.00 (00)	0.00 (00)	0.00 (00)
Female (Male=Reference)	0.595 (.134)*	0.591(.140)*	0.688 (.208)
Age			
65+ = Reference			
18-24	1.389 (.951)	1.554 (1.134)	2.663 (1.312)
25-44	1.209 (.380)	1.310 (.452)	1.607 (.638)
45-64	1.071 (.554)	1.135 (.598)	1.518 (.499)
Major Experiences of Discrimination		1.034 (.069)	1.324 (.148)*
Everyday Discrimination		0.985(.013)	0.985(.015)
Ethnicity/Nativity			
African American = Ref			
U.S. Born Afro-Caribbeans			19.264 (10.635)***
Foreign-Born Afro-Caribbeans			188.371(86.146)***

Observations	4,504	4,504	4,504

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses

$^{+}p <.10$ $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$

Table 3a: Multinomial Regression of Identification Labels (American Hyphenated v. Black) by Everyday Discrimination, Major Discrimination and Ethnicity among Foreign Born Afro-Caribbean

	Model 1	Model 2
Black = Reference		
American Hyphenated		
Household Income		
<18k = Reference		
18-32k	1.676 (.515)	1.615(.508)
32-55k	1.843 (.902)	1.803(.880)
56k +	2.293 (.991)	2.344(.935)*
Education		
High School = Reference		
Less than HS	1.482 (.505)	1.500 (.503)
Some college	0.236 (.137)*	0.246 (.146)*
College Edu +	0.441(.225)	0.486 (.220)
Region		
North = Reference		
South	0.301 (.332)	0.304 (.334)
Midwest	1.436 (.436)	1.679 (.579)
West	0.593 (.896)	0.588 (.884)
Female (Male=Reference)	1.065 (.360)	1.013 (.325)
Age		
65+ = Reference		
18-24	4.166 (2.846)*	3.690(.2.528)
25-44	1.677 (.827)	1.492 (.748)
45-64	0.820 (.507)	0.808 (.541)
Major Experiences of Discrimination		0.840 (.118)
Everyday Discrimination		1.026 (.020)

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses
$^{+}p < .10$ $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$

Table 3b: Multinomial Regression of Identification Labels (National Origin v. Black) by Everyday Discrimination, Major Discrimination and Ethnicity among FB Afro-Caribbean

	Model 1	Model 2
Black = Reference		
National Origin		
Household Income		
<18k = Reference		
18-32k	1.271 (.379)	1.315 (.335)
32-55k	2.929 (.689)***	2.999 (.663)***
56k +	2.592 (.740)**	2.359 (.600)**
Education		
High School = Reference		
Less than HS	1.216 (.248)	1.232 (.296)
Some college	0.729 (.297)	0.771 (.332)
College Edu +	0.633 (.248)	0.648 (.252)
Region		
North = Reference		
South	1.299 (.244)	1.329 (.238)
Midwest	1.7e+10***	2.2e+10***
West	0.00 (00)	0.00 (00)
Female (Male=Reference)	1.187 (.348)	1.308 (.385)
Age		
65+ = Reference		
18-24	1.795 (.856)	1.661 (.760)
25-44	1.349 (.615)	1.192 (.540)
45-64	1.066 (.447)	0.913 (.341)
Major Experiences of Discrimination		1.165 (.089)+
Everyday Discrimination		1.009 (.011)
Observation	917	917

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < .10$ * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 4a: Multinomial Regression of Identification Labels (American Hyphenated v. Black) by Everyday Discrimination, Major Discrimination and Ethnicity among US born Afro-Caribbean

	Model 1	Model 2
Black = Reference		
American Hyphenated		
Household Income		
<18k = Reference		
18-32k	0.282 (.184)	0.291 (.162)*
32-55k	0.392 (.229)	0.379 (.232)
56k +	0.130 (.102)*	0.131 (.092)**
Education		
High School = Reference		
Less than HS	0.271 (.213)	0.168 (.107)*
Some college	0.819 (.367)	0.701 (.345)
College Edu +	0.808 (.374)	0.673 (.430)
Region		
North = Reference		
South	1.112 (.594)	1.081 (.547)
Midwest	0.285 (.194)	0.169 (.077)***
West	0.161 (.187)	0.082(.097)*
Female (Male=Reference)	0.712 (.153)	0.872 (.153)
Age		
65+ = Reference		
18-24	0.271 (.184)	0.186(.130)*
25-44	0.960 (.495)	0.527 (.271)
45-64	0.477 (.178)	0.399 (.145)*
Major Experiences of Discrimination		0.994 (.196)
Everyday Discrimination		1.103(.037)**

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses
$^{+}p < .10$ $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$

Table 4b: Multinomial Regression of Identification Labels (National Origin v. Black) by Everyday Discrimination, Major Discrimination and Ethnicity among US born Afro-Caribbean

	Model 1	Model 2
Black = Reference		
National Origin		
Household Income		
<18k = Reference		
18-32k	0.317 (.252)	0.265 (.210)
32-55k	0.782 (.570)	0.682 (.478)
56k +	0.202 (.191)	0.190 (.174)
Education		
High School = Reference		
Less than HS	0.323 (.227)	0.185 (.134)*
Some college	0.586 (.432)	0.500 (.422)
College Edu +	0.762 (.344)	0.615 (.381)
Region		
North = Reference		
South	0.887 (.514)	0.811 (.493)
Midwest	0.00 (00)	0.00 (00)
West	00.00 (00)	0.00 (00)
Female (Male=Reference)	0.773 (.361)	0.983 (.483)
Age		
65+ = Reference		
18-24	0.652 (.645)	0.457 (.450)
25-44	0.736 (.657)	0.428 (.378)
45-64	0.142 (.131)*	0.123 (.106)*
Major Experiences of Discrimination		1.014 (.199)
Everyday Discrimination		1.119 (.035)**
Observations	351	351

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses
$^{+}p < .10$ $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$

Notes

[1] For this particular study, I limit my analysis to those who are Afro-Caribbean and identify racially as non-Hispanic Black in order to be in conversation with literature (Brown 1999; Thornton, Taylor, and Brown 2000) that has predicted racial label preferences of non-Hispanic Black people in the United States.

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