INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

ProQuest Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

UMI®

NOTE TO USERS

This reproduction is the best copy available.

UMI®

Transnational Organizations and Citizen Participation: A Study of Haitian Immigrants in New York City

Francois Pierre-Louis Jr.

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Political Science in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the City University of New York

2001

UMI Number: 3008861

Bell & Howell Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Political Science in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

April 23, 2001
Date

Chair of Examining Committee

April 24, 2001
Date

Executive Officer

Philip Kasinitz

John Mollenkopf

Frances Fox Piven

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

Transnational Organizations and Citizen Participation: A Study of Haitian Immigrants in New York City

By

Francois Pierre-Louis Jr.

Adviser: Professor Marilyn Gittell

This is a study about Haitian immigrants in New York City and the hometown associations that they have created to facilitate their assimilation into the United States. A major finding of the study is that the assimilation pattern of Haitians in New York City is different from other Caribbean immigrants. This is due to the conditions that contributed to their migration to the United States and the role that activist and community organizations played in helping first-generation middle-class Haitians maintain a separate identity from African-Americans.

Over the past two decades, members of these organizations have demonstrated their desire to maintain ties with Haiti by sending goods and materials to their hometowns, raising money for projects, and helping hometown officials create voluntary organizations to increase local capacity and to act at the local level. While actively pursuing these goals, they have also engaged in actions in New York City that have contributed to an increase in the number of immigrants who are motivated to participate

in civic activities. Although scholars have addressed the role that transnational organizations play in creating the conditions that facilitate immigrants to conduct a transnational life, they have not studied these organizations in detail to determine the processes they engage in to help their members maintain a transnational life, their impact on immigrants in the United States, and their limitations as assimilating institutions.

In this study, I examine the Haitian transnational organizations, also known as hometown associations, their impact on Haitians in New York City, and the processes that their members use to resist a downward assimilation into mainstream US society. I argue that these organizations have a direct influence on the growth and development of the immigrant community in New York City by helping Haitians resist assimilation into the African-American community, encouraging them to reinforce their self-identity, and promoting greater citizen participation in the community.

Acknowledgements

I would not have been able to complete this study without the support of my professors, family, friends and colleagues. I would like to thank Professor Irving Leonard Markovitz, who not only encouraged me to attend graduate school, but has also been a source of intellectual support during those years. Many thanks to Dr. Marilyn Gittell, Director of the Howard Samuels State Management and Policy Center, who tucked me under her wings and taught me, among other things, how to do research. I also owe a great debt of gratitude to the other members of my dissertation committee including Professors John Mollenkopf, Philip Kasinitz and Francis Fox Piven. They all have been and continued to be a great source of inspiration.

I also wish to thank Dr. Chevy Alford of John Jay College for spending so many summer days working with me when at times she could have said no. The members of the Mellon and Humana-Magnet scholarship programs including Professors Barbara Bowen and Gail Smith who made sure that I received the financial support to complete the course work and to write the dissertation. As for Professor Wentworth Ofuatey-Kodjoe, Executive Officer of the Political Science Program, I thank you for your support and advice. Without all of you, the completion of my doctoral education would have been much more difficult if not impossible.

As for my family members, there are no adequate words that I can use to thank them, especially my mother Maria Lina, my father Francois, my brothers including Ivan,

my sisters, my wife and children. To Georgina, my wife, Patrick and Charles, my sons, and Antora the latest addition, I would like to say thank you for being so understanding at times when the rigor of the work demanded that I devoted all my attention to it. Thank you for being part of my life and for helping me to achieve my dream.

Finally, to friends and colleagues who graciously allowed me to interview them, who put at my disposal documents, their home and books for this research, I would like to thank all of you, especially Senator Renaud Bernardin for allowing me to use his home and library in Haiti to conduct my research, Jocelyn McCalla , Director of the National Coalition for Haitian Refugees, Paul Corbanes and Donald Guercin for lending me their archives. My heartfelt appreciation also goes to the members of the Federation des Associations Regionales d'Haiti a l'Etranger (FARHE) primarily its Chairman Athanase Chavannes and to all my friends including Yvon Proux, Dr. Joanel Mondestin, Ronel Ceran, Wesley Woo, Herbert and Jessica White, for their support and encouragement. Special thanks also to Leslie Jean Jacques for taking the time to read and edit the manuscript.

I would also like to thank my colleagues at the Community Action Project and members of the Pacific Institute for Community Organizations for their blessing and encouragement. Finally my appreciation to Jean Bertrand Aristide "Titid", President of Haiti who graciously sat down with me for more than one hour to talk about the dissertation and who kept asking me all the time how my study was going. His interest in

including Haitians abroad in the reconstruction of Haiti is a testimony to his fundamental desire to create a democratic society in the country.

This dissertation thesis is dedicated to all those Haitians in Haiti and the Diaspora who have sacrificed their lives, ambitions and dreams for a better Haiti. May you live in our memories forever!

List of Tables

Table of Contents

Transnational Organizations and Citizen Participation: A Study of Haitian Immigrants in New York City

Chapter I

Introduction

This is a study about Haitian immigrants in New York City and the institutions they have created to facilitate their assimilation into the United States. A major finding of this study is that the assimilation pattern of Haitians in New York City[1] is different from that of other Caribbean immigrants. This is due to the conditions that contributed to their migration to the United States and the role that activist and community organizations play in helping first-generation middle-class Haitians maintain a separate identity from African-Americans.

Haitian immigrants have been settling in New York City since the 1960s. The first major group that came to the United States was the political activists who were exiled by the Duvalier government. Professionals and businessmen followed this group when the political conditions in the country began to deteriorate under the regime. When the US changed its immigration laws in the late 1960s, other Haitians followed to escape the poverty and political turmoil that the country was experiencing. Like most immigrants who either came voluntarily or were forced to immigrate to the United States, Haitians were expected to sever ties with their old society as they assimilated. However, what has been observed in the case of the Haitian immigrants in New York City is that they have maintained contact with their counterparts in Haiti by creating hometown organizations to conduct transnational activities,

---

[1] - As used in this dissertation, New York and New York City mean the same, unless specified to mean otherwise.

and by taking a segmented path to assimilating in the United States.

Over the past two decades, members of these organizations have demonstrated their desire to maintain ties with Haiti by sending goods and materials to their hometowns, raising money for projects, and helping hometown officials create voluntary organizations to increase local capacity and to act at the local level (Laguerre 1997). While actively pursuing these goals, they have also engaged in actions in New York City that have contributed to an increase in the number of immigrants who are motivated to participate in civic activities.

Although Schiller (1992), Harney (1998) and Laguerre (1997) have addressed the role of transnationalism in creating the conditions that facilitate immigrants to maintain a dual life in the United States and their country of origin, they have not studied in detail the processes that the hometown organizations are engaged in to help their members maintain a transnational life and the limitations of these associations as assimilating institutions.

In this study, I examine the Haitian hometown associations (also known as transnational organizations), their impact on Haitians in New York City, and the processes that their members use to resist a downward assimilation into mainstream US society. I argue that these organizations have a direct influence on the growth and development of the immigrant community in New York City by helping Haitians resist assimilation into the African-American community, encouraging them to reinforce their self-identity, and promoting greater citizen participation in the community.

Significance of the Study

This study is significant in many ways: 1) it contributes to new research and

knowledge about the Haitian community in New York City. 2) It explains how first-generation Haitian immigrants have used their ethnicity to maintain a separate identity from African-Americans and other immigrants from the Caribbean. The study also analyzes the processes through which Haitian immigrants are creating organizations that are contributing to their assimilation in the United States, while they maintain a relationship with Haiti. 3) It provides a historiography of the efforts of Haitian men and women to forge an identity in a new land and to engage in politics. These are important stories to tell because of the role that Haitians who belong to these organizations play in the community as leaders and role models for the new generation.

Moreover, this study is significant because it attempts to explain why immigrants who have lived in the United States for more than thirty years and who have adopted US citizenship still feel that they are more Haitian than American. This has serious implications for the future of the community and how it deals with issues related to ethnicity, nationalism, and political participation.

Overview of the Haitian Community in New York City

Compared to other established immigrant groups in New York City, such as the Italians, the Irish, and the Jews, the presence of a Haitian community in New York has only become apparent in the past three decades. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the number of Haitians immigrating to the United States was negligible. Clarke (1994) notes that there were only 6,380 Haitians living in New York City in 1965. However, after 1965 when the US Congress passed the Hart-Cellar Immigration Act that removed the

national origin clause from the immigration law, the numbers grew exponentially. Philip Q. Yang (1995) notes that 102,595 Haitians were admitted into the United States between 1971 and 1985. As the number of immigrants increased in the late 1970s and early 1980s, a Haitian community began to develop on the upper West Side of Manhattan in New York City.

The influx of Haitian immigrants into the U.S. in the past three decades is linked to several events that took place in Haiti, as well as the aforementioned changes that were made in US immigration laws, allowing a greater number of non-Europeans to emigrate. The first event was the election of François "Papa Doc" Duvalier to the presidency of Haiti. After he became president in 1957, he instituted a reign of terror that forced those who opposed his policies to flee the country. Joel Dreyfuss (1993), former editor of PC Magazine and a Haitian-American remarks in an article that: "Some of our neighbors came from other highly respected Haitian families... One frequent Sunday guest was a former senator who had been forced to flee after running afoul of the regime." Diederich (1991) notes that soon after Duvalier became president, "the homes of prominent opponents were fired upon by his agents. During the curfew under the state of siege, Duvalierists appeared on the streets, armed with submachine guns, checking all who traveled after dark" (Diederich: 112). Abbot (1991) summarized Duvalier's personality and tactics in the following terms: "The country doctor who for decades traipsed the length and breadth of Haiti curing his people, the friend who wept at others' grief, the man who could not bear suffering, now ruthlessly disposed thousands, tortured and destroyed..." (Abbott 1991: 114).

The second event was an economic depression in the 1970s that contributed to a

decline in agricultural production and investments. As a result of that economic depression, several people in the northwest of Haiti died of starvation and disease. In 1977, seventy-five people in that region died in two days. While in Cap Haitien, the country's second major city, a number of students fell ill with tuberculosis (Le Patriote Haitien No.109, 6eme Annee, 14 avril-6 Mai 1977). As a result of that economic depression and the famine in the northwest, thousands of Haitians took to the sea to settle in the United States and the other islands of the Caribbean.

The third event was the systematic repression of the peasant population by Jean-Claude Duvalier (Baby Doc) during the 1980s and the changes that took place in the agricultural sector around the same period. International donors were encouraging the government to shift its agriculture to export crops instead of subsistence farming. Dupuy notes that: "As far back as 1982, the USAID recommended that 30 percent of land being cultivated for domestic food production and consumption be shifted to the production of export crops (Dupuy 1997: 39). Many peasants at that time were encouraged to abandon their land to move to the capital to work into the assembly industries (Dewind and Kinley III 1988). However, the new assembly industries were unable to absorb the massive number of peasants who were pouring into the capital every year. In 1990 only 46,000 people found jobs in the assembly sector (Lundahl 1997: 81). This number was to be reduced further after the coup d'etat that overthrew the constitutionally elected government of President Aristide in 1991. As a consequence of these policies, the only alternative left for Haitians was to exit. The number of immigrants in New York City, which was estimated by various sources to be around 40,000 between 1965 and 1970, increased considerably during the 1980s and 90s. In

1998 the number of Haitian immigrants living in the New York metropolitan area was estimated to be in the range of 600,000[2].

Since these immigrants had few marketable skills, New York City's factories became their source of employment. In search of better housing, Haitians who were living mostly on the upper West Side of Manhattan began to move to the predominantly working-class neighborhoods of Brooklyn, including Flatbush, Crown Heights, and East New York (Kasinitz 1992). Haitians were able to move to these neighborhoods because of "white flight" which opened up many of the houses in Central Brooklyn and Southeastern Queens to African-Americans and West Indian immigrants.

The first wave of Haitian immigrants who came to the city before the 1980s was generally successful in finding employment in non-traditional immigrant sectors such as banking, insurance, and education. Their ability to find employment in these fields reflected the marketable skills they came with when they arrived in the United States, and the existence of social capital and networks of individuals and agencies in the private and public sectors of the United States. A large number of the first wave of immigrants consisted primarily of businessmen, political and union leaders who had already developed their own networks in the US prior to their exile. As a result, it was easier for them to integrate into professional occupations. Roger Waldinger (1996) notes that some immigrant groups may be predisposed to certain types of work based on their prior experience, language, and mobility. Grasmuck and Grosfoguel (1997) note that Jamaicans and Haitians were the two immigrant groups that were doing better economically in New York City among the five largest Caribbean ethnic

---

[2]- Data from the US census, Haitian community Centers and other studies estimate the number of Haitians in the

groups because they had higher educational and occupational levels and language skills.

The Haitian Neighborhood of Flatbush, NY

Ogelman (2000) argues that various institutions and ethno-cultural factors from the homeland cannot be understated in understanding immigrant politics and the ability of the host country to foster community cohesion among the newcomers. The identity of the Haitian neighborhood in New York City has been shaped by factors that include their status as exile immigrants, class, ideology, and homeland politics. Haitian exiles who first came to New York City played a major role in structuring the community to address their own political and social agenda, which included the overthrow of the Duvalier regime and their return back to Haiti. Yossi Shain (1989) defines political exiles as those who "engage in political activity directed against the policies of the home regime, against the home regime itself, or against the political system as a whole, so as to create circumstances favorable to their return" (Shain 1989: 15). From the early 1960s to the fall of Jean-Claude Duvalier in 1986, Haitian exiles in New York spent their time working toward the downfall of the Duvalier dynasty.[3] As a result, little attention was paid to creating institutions that would facilitate the assimilation of immigrants into mainstream society. Even when these institutions were created, such as the community centers, homeland politics influenced their policies and the people they hired to work in these agencies.

The first group of immigrants, who were primarily exiles from the Duvalier regime, succeeded in establishing a thriving community in Flatbush, Brooklyn in the early 1970s by

---

[3]-New York Metropolitan area between 500,000 and 1 million.

[3-] When Francois Duvalier died in 1971, his 18-year-old son replaced him as President of Haiti.

maintaining a Haitian ethnic identity. These immigrants opened their own businesses and encouraged their fellow Haitian brothers and sisters to speak Creole and to express their religious beliefs including Vodou. The Haitian Fathers, a group of Holy Ghost priests who were exiled by Duvalier and who had settled in Brooklyn in the early 1960s, began to offer Haitian immigrants courses in Creole. They also published a magazine that was written entirely in Creole.

By the late 1980s, there were more Haitians living in Flatbush than anywhere else in the city according to the PUMS data. The community had developed a solid ethnic enclave in Brooklyn, one of the city's five boroughs.

Table 1. **Presence of Haitian Immigrants in New York City by Borough**

	Number	Percentage
Bronx	19	1.5
New York	69	5.4
Staten Island	4	.3
Brooklyn	797	62.1
Queens	394	30.7
Total	1283	100

Sources: 1990 PUMS data

Portes and Manning (1986) define an enclave as a "dense network of diversified enterprises that provide goods and services both for the ethnic community and for the general market" (Portes and Manning 1986: 326). The authors further note that there are three prerequisites for the emergence of an ethnic enclave economy: first, the presence of a

substantial number of immigrants with business experience acquired in the sending country; second, the availability of sources of capital; and third, the availability of sources of labor. All three factors were present in the Haitian community.

According to the New York City Department of Planning: "In Flatbush, Haitians were the largest immigrant group accounting for 34 percent of the 24,000 immigrants who were initially there" (Salvo 1992: 102). On Nostrand, Church, and Flatbush Avenues in Brooklyn, Haitian grocery stores, restaurants, dry cleaners, taxi stations, and churches stand next to Dominican, Guyanese, and African American businesses. Moreover, there are ten Haitian radio programs and four radio stations that cover the whole NY metropolitan area. There are three major Haitian weekly newspapers that are published in Creole and French and one in English, aimed primarily at the children of the first-generation immigrants. A few other smaller publications have appeared from time to time in the community. In terms of religious institutions, there are thirteen Catholic parishes that have either a Haitian pastor or a full-time Haitian priest servicing the needs of the community. The Association of Haitian Clergy, a Protestant organization, has estimated that more than 250 Haitian Protestant churches are in Brooklyn alone, some with as many as 1,500 families while others have as few as twenty members.

The establishment of an enclave has helped Haitians maintain many of their cultural, economic, and social structures. It has also helped generate essential aspects of social capital that are important to their survival in New York. Haitian immigrants in the city tend to live in an extended family structure similar to the one that exists in Haiti. According to Laguerre (1984), "The extended family in New York serves as a base of support for family members

who are migrating from Haiti" (1984: 78). The extended family structure provides new immigrants with access to loans to start small businesses or to provide medical care in case of sickness. This structure also recreates the housing arrangements that exist in Haiti. Stafford notes that: "One finds many pockets of residents from the same Haitian town, such as Hinche or Jacmel, in the same neighborhood" (1987: 140). Michel Laguerre remarks that some buildings in Brooklyn are totally occupied by Haitian immigrants and function as total institutions. He says, "Among one's fellow tenants one can find a tailor, a carpool driver, a mason, a bartender, a hairdresser, a folk healer, a dressmaker, an electrician and more" (Laguerre 1984: 96).

As the number of Haitian immigrants in New York City reached a critical mass in the 1970s, several leaders in the community took the initiative to create organizations that could address the needs of the newcomers. Many of these organizations were created along ideological lines and mobilized the immigrant community around homeland politics. These organizations included the community service providers, the activist groups, and the hometown associations, which are also known as transnational organizations.

Profile of Haitian Community Organizations

The Catholic Church originally created the community centers at the start of the mass migration in the late 1960s to help the newly-arrived Haitian immigrants cope with the realities of their new society. These centers helped Haitian immigrants address their immediate needs by offering employment, immigration counseling, housing, literacy, and "English as a second language" classes. The leaders of these centers are generally well

educated and assimilated into the mainstream. A majority of them had a prominent role in Haiti before they were forced out by the Duvalier regime. The first secular center was founded in 1967 by Lyderick Bonaventure, a union leader and political activist in Haiti, according to Henry Franck, Director of the Haitian Centers Council. That center became a meeting place for immigrants who wanted to meet other Haitians or obtain information from home. With the arrival of a massive number of Haitian refugees in the 1980s, the federal government provided funding for the establishment of additional centers to address the needs of the refugees. Individuals who received funding from these centers were either connected to the Catholic Church or the Community Service Society, an umbrella organization of social service providers in New York City (Interview with Jocelyn McCalla 1999). An important aspect of these centers was that they were technically apolitical, and their role was to provide services to Haitian immigrants regardless of their socio-economic background or their political affiliation. Currently, fifteen centers, primarily located in Brooklyn, Queens, and Manhattan provide direct services to the residents of the community. In 1982, six of them created an umbrella organization called the Haitian Centers Council (HCC), which acts as a clearinghouse on behalf of the other centers. HCC has been successful in raising funds from private and public agencies for the services that the other community centers provide in the community. HCC offers a variety of services including immigration/refugee assistance, health education, AIDS education and prevention, domestic violence prevention, youth and family services. In addition to direct services, HCC has been moving into advocacy issues. In 1990, it was one of the principal organizers of the largest demonstration ever held by Haitians in New York to protest the Center for Disease Control's policy of banning Haitians from

donating blood. The organization was also very active in the mobilization of Haitians to protest the beating and sodomizing of Abner Louima, a Haitian immigrant, by the New York City Police Department in August 1997 (New York Times August 17, 1997). In 1996, HCC brought a lawsuit against the Board of Education on behalf of Haitian students whose bilingual programs had not been adequately funded by the city. The organization has been very active in lobbying Congress to provide asylum to the 49,000 Haitian refugees who came to the United States after the overthrow of Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in 1991.

The creation of HCC in 1982 was considered a milestone for the community. It was the first attempt by community leaders to bring together similar organizations that were addressing issues that affected Haitian immigrants in New York City. HCC was presented to the American public as a Black ethnic organization whose purpose was to incorporate Haitian immigrants into the United States (Basch, Schiller et al. 1994: 204).

An important characteristic of HCC was that its leaders took a strong stand against those who advocated for a return to Haiti. According to Basch, Schiller et al., the director of HCC at that time repudiated the politics of return because he believed that: "building organizations and identities that linked them to the Haitian political process was antithetical to focusing their political energies on participation in US politics" (Basch and Schiller 1992: 205). HCC leaders were not alone in espousing this view. In fact, most of the conservative leaders in the community also shared the same opinion. The difference between them and HCC was that the latter depended on foundation money to survive, and one of the stipulation of these foundations was that their grants could only be used for activities that addressed the needs of the community in New York City.

Although HCC, through the direct services that it provided to immigrants in the community, abided by the regulation of these foundations and promoted the incorporation of Haitians into mainstream American society, the organization had a difficult time maintaining a strict separation between local and homeland politics. In addition to employees, whose role was to provide services to the refugees and immigrants, HCC also employed political exiles whose focus was mainly on homeland politics. One of their employees who was exiled by the Duvalier regime in 1980 spent most of his time organizing against the government while working for HCC. In 1986, when Jean-Claude Duvalier was ousted from office, this same employee went back to Haiti and in 1992, after the coup which overthrew the Aristide presidency, he became a de facto prime minister under the auspices of the military. The director of HCC in 1982, who advocated the incorporation of Haitians into US society, became an ambassador in the government of President Aristide in 1991. The current HCC director was Haiti's general consul in 1990 under the government of Ertha Trouillot, who was Haiti's provisional president. Therefore, it has been very difficult for Haitian organizations to separate homeland from local politics. This can be explained by the fact that the Haitian community was heavily influenced by opposition leaders at its infancy, and also the early leaders were political exiles who expected to return home once the regime was overthrown. Ogelman (2000) argues that immigrant organizations that are engaged in exile politics pursue a different policy than those whose focus is toward integrating into the mainstream. In the case of the Haitian service organizations, it was very difficult for the leaders to practice an integrationist policy since one of their objectives was to use these organizations as platforms to recruit individuals for their cause in Haiti.

The policy of the Haitian political exiles, which consisted of encouraging immigrants to look toward returning home once the Duvalier regime was ousted, seriously delayed the incorporation of Haitians into mainstream US society. As a leader of a political organization of that period mentioned:

> We were not interested in US local politics. We had one thing in mind—to return home once Duvalier was ousted. So all of us symbolically had a packed suitcase in the house ready to leave at a moment's notice (interview September 2000).

A newspaper published by a political party of that period stated the following:

> From abroad, we have to organize ourselves not to become a reserve work force for American imperialism. But a work force to support the struggle inside Haiti. This is the reason that today we have to pursue with determination the campaign to free the political prisoners, to restore democratic rights and the right of every Haitian to return to his homeland (Le Patriote Haitien no. 42, 2eme annee).

In addition to delaying the incorporation of Haitian immigrants into the mainstream, the politics of focusing primarily toward the homeland created ideological as well as practical tension among the various organizations in the community. Progressive and leftist exiles wanted these centers to become training grounds to pursue activities against the Duvalier regime, while conservative elements in the community wanted these organizations to pursue an integrationist policy. For most of the 1960s until the fall of Duvalier in 1986, the ideological difference between the left and the right was the issue that defined the community. Since the service centers depended for the most part on government and private funding to operate, it was very difficult for the left to pursue their anti-integrationist policy within these institutions. Many decided to abandon these centers and to create their own political organizations, where they could have more freedom to pursue their objectives.

Haitian Activist Organizations

In the early 1960s, a large number of Haitian immigrants in New York were political exiles who had fled the repressive forces of the Duvalier regime. These immigrants were mostly students, union members, and leaders of political parties. In 1961, Duvalier broke the resistance of the students against his government by introducing a series of draconian measures against the organization. Several members of the movement had to flee the country to escape the repression of the regime after he ruled that: "each student would need a police certificate attesting that he does not belong to any Communist group or association suspected by the state" (Diederich 1991: 162). This certificate of good conduct had to be issued by the civil court that was packed with his supporters. In addition to restricting the activities of the students, Duvalier also declared that parents of the students would be held responsible for their children if they were absent from school without a doctor's note.

Throughout the 1960s until the fall of Jean-Claude Duvalier in 1986, it was the leaders of the student movement in Haiti and militants of the political parties who created the activist organizations in New York City. These groups dominated the political landscape in the city. Their policy toward the US government and their views toward the Duvalier regime in Haiti created conflict between them and the conservative exiles who also wanted to overthrow Duvalier. Both conservative and revolutionary leaders thought that they would be here only for a short period of time and that Duvalier would be soon overthrown. Therefore, at that level both groups wanted Duvalier to leave the country. However, leaders of the conservative sector believed that the American government would help them overthrow the Duvalier regime; while the left argued that only a revolution in Haiti could overthrow the

government. Those who opted for a revolution organized activist groups to recruit members and to isolate the regime internationally by denouncing its human rights abuses. This campaign consisted of lobbying US officials to cut off aid to the regime, denouncing US government support of the regime, and exposing the collaboration of US companies with the dictator in Haiti. Since a majority of these exiles came from left-leaning organizations in Haiti, the campaign against the Duvalier regime in New York took an anti-imperialist character and a revolutionary tone. In 1975 following an economic crisis in Haiti, which caused several thousand Haitians to seek emigration abroad, the opposition newspaper Le Patriote, published in New York City by a political organization named Mouvement Haitien D'Action Patriotique, [4] claimed that the American government offered these Haitians visas in order to: "prevent and disarm any revolt against the Duvalier government since the US always supported the immigration of Haitians as a way to alleviate pressure on the regime" (Le Patriote Haitien 22 aout-11 Septembre 75).

Since both the left and the right were against the regime, the Duvalier government never succeeded in establishing a foothold in New York City despite several attempts by his agents to do so. The activist organizations that the leaders created included Mouvement Haitien D'Action Patriotique, Organization Revolutionnaire 18 Mai, En Avant, and mass-based organizations, like the Association des Travailleurs Haitiens (ATH), Comite pour la Defense des Refugies Haitiens and others[5]. These groups organized protest marches against the regime, created cultural associations such as musical and theater groups to raise the

---

[4]- Haitian Movement for Patriotic Action

[5]- Haitian Movement for Patriotic Action, May 18 Revolutionary Organization, Forward, Association of Haitian Workers, and Committee to Defend the Haitian Refugees.

political consciousness of the immigrants, and held educational forums on political and social issues that concerned Haiti. One former leader of these organizations described that period in the following terms:

> We held public meetings even though there was some fear among Haitians to participate in public activities. We also spent our time creating mass-based organizations and cultural activities. A lot of the people who were active in these groups were exiles from Haiti who participated in these forms of activities in the 60s when they were living in Haiti. They were denouncing the interference of the US government in the internal affairs of the country, and they were encouraging Haitians to rise up against the regime in Haiti. They also encouraged women to get involved in these activities. They worked closely with UFAP (Union Fanm Patriotique Ayisyen)[6] to encourage women to participate (interview September 2000).

Leaders of the conservative sector who thought that the American government would help them overthrow the regime took a different path to isolate the Duvalier government. Their organizations, including Exodus, Haiti-Observateur, and Ralliement des Forces de l'Opposition[7] relied mostly on their relations with the American government and their networking with corporations that did business with Haiti to pressure the regime. Their main activity consisted of lobbying members of Congress to isolate the regime. That sector consistently exposed the atrocities that the government committed against political prisoners. The highlight of the conservative sector came during the era of the Carter administration when the US government adopted the concept of human rights as a cornerstone of its foreign policy. While the right supported Carter's humans rights policy, the left criticized it and claimed that it was another attempt by "US imperialism" to camouflage its support for the Haitian dictator in Haiti (Democratie Nouvelle, Mars 1977). The conservative sector not

---

[6]- Haitian Women Patriot Union

[7]- Haiti-Observateur is a Haitian newspaper published in French, Creole and English in New York City. It was the first major opposition newspaper in the community. Rally of the Opposition Forces was a political group whose objective was the overthrow of the Duvalier regime.

only supported the Carter administration's policy, but it had great hope that this new initiative would help it overthrow the Duvalier regime. When Andrew Young, the US ambassador to the UN met with the conservative sector in New York, Haiti Observateur heralded that meeting and showered him with praise. In an editorial, the paper stated that: "Ambassador Young deserves our respect because he went beyond our expectations on the human rights issues and we have no doubt that he will raise these issues when he travels to Port-au-Prince to meet with the authorities in private" (Haiti Observateur, August 19-26, 1977). On April 4, 1977 several groups organized a march in Washington DC to support President Carter's human rights policy and to ask for the isolation of the Duvalier regime. Two thousand people took part in the march (Haiti Observateur April 8-15, 1977).

Even though the Carter administration did not isolate Duvalier, it did succeed in forcing the regime to liberalize the political process. It was under the Carter administration that Haitian activists, artists, and journalists in Haiti began to criticize the Duvalier regime openly. This liberalization process energized the exile community and encouraged it to demand more concessions from the regime. Unfortunately, this movement came to a complete stop soon after Carter lost the election. On November 28, 1980, a few days after the presidential election in the United States, the Duvalier regime arrested several opposition leaders and sent them into exile. Although this dampened the community's aspiration for a while, it did not stop the organizations in New York from their effort to isolate the regime.

The crackdown on the opposition in 1980 created a mass exodus of Haitians who wanted to seek refuge in the Bahamas and the United States. Another Haitian refugee crisis was born out of this incident. This crisis, which began with the departing Carter

administration, became an embarrassing issue for the Reagan government. The administration was caught in a dilemma: returning the Haitians to Haiti while it was accepting the Cuban refugees who were fleeing the Castro regime would be seen as racist, since technically these two groups were fleeing dictatorial regimes. Moreover the conditions of the Haitian refugees were exacerbated by TV images that showed bodies of black people washing on the beaches of Florida. In 1981, thirty-three bodies of Haitian refugees washed ashore on Hallendale Beach in Florida (Haiti-Progres Vol. 3 #25). Instead of addressing the root cause of the refugee crisis by denouncing the human rights abuses of the Duvalier dictatorship, the Reagan administration decided to incarcerate the Haitians.

Haitian political and civic organizations from the left and the right took advantage of this policy to expose the inconsistency of the US government on this issue and to expose the politics of the Duvalier regime. They criticized the fact that the Reagan administration was granting political asylum to Cuban refugees who were coming at that time, while incarcerating the Haitian refugees. The refugee crisis became a galvanizing issue for the activist organizations. The left used it to show the hypocrisy of the US government toward Haitians while the right used it to show the contradictions that existed within US society, which is a country of immigrants (Haiti Liberation Decembre 1980, no. 5).

The activism of the Haitian organizations on behalf of the refugees led them to develop a series of networking relationships with prominent Americans from labor and civic groups who shared their position on this issue. The refugee crisis was linked with the human rights abuses of the Duvalier regime (Jocelyn McCalla 1999). The exile leaders argued that Haitians were fleeing Haiti because of the repressive nature of the government and only the

overthrow of the regime would put an end to the crisis. Haitian activist organizations, through the Committee for the Defense of Haitian Refugees and the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights, played an important role in that issue by organizing marches, sit-ins, and other political activities. Newspapers and literature of that period reported several marches organized against the Duvalier regime in New York and Washington D.C. to protest the treatment of the Haitian refugees. Through these activities, immigrants in the community succeeded in publicizing the plight of the refugees while they also acquired organizational and political skills.

Although the two main sectors in the community had separate strategies to overthrow the regime in Haiti, none of them succeeded in overthrowing the Duvalier government. But even though they failed to topple the regime, they did leave a legacy of activism and mobilization in the community. They also created institutions and provided members of the immigrant community organizational skills that they could use to establish their own organizations.

When Haitians in Haiti overthrew Duvalier in 1986, most of the organizations that were led by the exile community folded. The center of political resistance moved from New York to Haiti. Organizations that were created to pursue other objectives began to appear and thrive in the community. The focus of the immigrant community changed from overthrowing the government in Haiti to creating institutions that could help them assimilate in the United States while maintaining a link with Haiti.

Transnational Organizations

The hometown associations, also known as transnational organizations, are a synthesis of the efforts of the exile leaders in the 1980s to establish institutions in the community and an alternative form of organizing by immigrants who did not want to engage in open political activity against the Duvalier regime. Charles (1992) notes that: "for many membership in these associations was their way of responding to pressures created by political groups whose strategies focused almost exclusively around Haiti" (Charles 1992: 112). Although the exile leaders were more concerned in isolating the Duvalier government than incorporating immigrants in the United States, by creating organizations in the community, they provided a structure to train immigrants on organizational issues. They also set the precedent for immigrants to participate in organizations that were not directly addressing exile issues.

Haitians who did not want to engage in political activities against the regime, for fear of reprisal against their families in Haiti, created the transnational groups. Leaders of these organizations were more interested in addressing the economic development of their town in Haiti by providing technical and material resources to the residents. These resources included money to build schools, potable water fountains, books for schools, and technical assistance (doctors, agronomists, etc). Although these organizations began to appear in the 1980s, they had kept a low profile in the community. But the fall of Duvalier in 1986 created an opportunity for them to fill the vacuum that was left when several of the activist groups folded. Since communication between Haiti and New York was easier to maintain after 1986, these organizations became the natural link between immigrants in the diaspora and

homeland Haitians.

Compared to the community centers and the activists groups, the transnational organizations had fewer leaders who were exiled by the Duvalier regime. Their members tended to be less militant and more conservative. They did not offer direct services to their members and their connection with Haiti placed them in a position where they could play an active role in the politics of the country. Their connection with the United States placed them in a position where they could share American cultural ideas with Haitians in Haiti. Laguerre (1997) and Schiller (1994) have labeled these organizations "transnational" because of the dual role that they play in the sending and receiving countries. Since the 1980s these organizations have attempted to play an important role in New York City's immigrant community by maintaining ties with Haiti, helping immigrants assimilate, building leadership, and networking with US and national organizations.

More than forty of these associations are organized into a network known as Federation des Associations Regionales Haitiennes a L'Etranger (FARHE)[8]. These organizations have raised money to support local initiatives in Haiti and encouraged immigrants to participate in political as well as neighborhood activities. The Haitian government has accorded them an important place in its policy to lure the immigrant community back to Haiti. In 1991, when President Jean-Bertrand Aristide was elected, his very first act was to create a cabinet position called the "Tenth Department"[9] to address the needs of these organizations.

---

[8] -Federation of Haitian Regional Associations Abroad

[9]- Haiti has 9 administrative departments. The Tenth Department is named for those who live outside of Haiti.

Although members of these organizations are very much involved with people and organizations in Haiti, this has not prevented them from assimilating in US society. In fact those that seem to be more active in the regional organizations tend to have lived longer in the United States, are more aware of the US political system and have used it on occasion to advance their transnational agenda. Due to the dominant role they are playing in helping Haitian immigrants maintain a dual identity and in redefining the concept of assimilation in the United States, they have become an ideal institution for research on the incorporation of Haitian immigrants in the United States.

Hypothesis

This study analyzes the impact of the transnational organizations on the Haitian community in New York City and tests the following hypotheses:

1) The hometown associations, also known as transnational organizations, have become the major institutions through which middle-class Haitian immigrants assume their identity in New York City by attempting to reconcile their aspiration to assimilate into mainstream US society with their desire to keep ties with Haiti.

2) Membership in the hometown organizations increases political participation and encourages Haitians to engage in civic actions in New York and Haiti.

Methodology

Setting for the Study

Although there are other organizations in the community that conduct transnational

activities, this study focuses primarily on the hometown organizations because of their participatory nature, their mission to create linkages between Haiti and the United States, and the unique opportunity that they offer to Haitian immigrants in New York to interact with local officials in the US and Haiti. These associations have permanent representatives in Haiti and have a history of working on projects that relate to the country. Therefore, in order to understand their impact on both societies (New York and Haiti), I examine the relationship that exists between their activities in New York and those in Haiti since one is funding the projects and the other is implementing them.

Haiti has a unitary system of government that divides the country into nine administrative regions known as departments. The forty regional organizations in New York come from every department in the country. There are some departments that have more transnational organizations in New York City than others. Although the country is only 27,000 square miles, there are great differences and similarities between the departments on a cultural, educational, and social level. However, what is common among all of them is that they claim to have the same mission, which is to help their hometowns in Haiti. What is different about them is their approach toward fulfilling that mission. There are organizations that have raised money for hospital, school, and library projects, while there are others that are not yet engaged in providing any concrete aid to their hometowns.

The organizations are different also in the types of constituencies that they serve. Some of them have an urban constituency, while others work with individuals who live in the rural areas. In these organizations, there are individuals who have a long history of activism, while there are others who are participating in associations for the first time. Since it would

have been too exhaustive for this research to study all the organizations that are in the nine administrative departments, I chose two departments and six organizations to study after I had obtained a general understanding of all of them through the survey questionnaires.

I chose these departments because they have some of the oldest hometown organizations, a history of activism, and a combination of urban and rural associations. I chose organizations that have had a proven track record of activism in those departments and which have initiated projects that can be verified and evaluated in the country. The six organizations that I chose to compare come from the Artibonite and the Southeast Departments of Haiti.

The Artibonite Department is one of Haiti's oldest administrative regions. Haiti's independence was declared in 1804 in Gonaives, the capital of the region, and it has been known historically as a "rebel" department for its opposition to the rule of the central government. The organizations that began initially to challenge the Duvalier dictatorship in 1984 came from this department. Since 1986, it has seen some of the worst class conflicts in Haiti between landless peasants and rich landlords. Known as the breadbasket of the country because of its rich valleys and slopes, there is constant struggle between peasants who are being removed on their property by rich landlords and business people who are interested in transforming the region from traditional to modern agribusiness. Compared to the Southeast which has only one major city, the Artibonite Department has two major cities with populations of over 100,000 people. As a result, one finds more associations and civic activities in that region.

The Southeast Department is far smaller than Artibonite. It makes up only 7.7

percent of Haiti's territory (White Paper 1995) and 68 percent of its land surface is mountainous. The department is the newest administrative region of Haiti since it was created in 1971. It has one major city and very few roads for people to travel. Due to the over-centralization of the state, the Southeast has become a quasi-commune of Port-au-Prince, the Haitian capital. Although there are several grassroots organizations in the urban centers, they have not had the same impact that the Artibonite groups have had on the politics of the country. There are fewer schools in the department compared to the Artibonite. The White Paper (1995) prepared by the Haitian government for the department mentioned that there exist only 101 primary schools for the whole area, as compared to 147 in the Artibonite Department.

The organizations in the Artibonite Department are Alliance Gonaivienne, Union des St. Marcois a l'Etranger and Association des Rivartibonitiens a l'Etranger. The Southeast organizations comprise of Solidarite Jacmelienne, Association des Amis de Belle Anse, Association des Fils et Amis de Lavoute, and Fraternite Valleene. Alliance Gonaivienne (ALGO), founded in 1979 by a group of immigrants from the Artibonite Department, was considered a pioneer group among the hometown associations. The organization was the first to develop concrete links between Haitians in New York with those in the department through fundraising activities and the shipping of materials such as clothing, shoes, fire trucks, and medical supplies to Gonaives. There was a lot of opposition from the exile community in New York City when the organization was created because Duvalier's opponents feared that the regime's agents would infiltrate it. ALGO became a model for other individuals who wanted to create their own hometown associations.

Union des St. Marcois a l'Etranger is one of the hometown groups that was created soon after Alliance Gonaivienne. The organization, which is located in the Department's second major city, played an important role in creating several development projects in St. Marc. Union des St. Marcois was founded in 1980. Association des Rivartibonitiens a l'Etranger created, in 1975, is one of the oldest regional organizations in New York City. Some of its leaders have been long-time activists who have spent most of their adult life organizing immigrants in New York against the Duvalier regime in Haiti. Compared to the two previous organizations, this organization relates mostly to a semi-urban population since the town is located in the heart of the Department's agricultural sector. Over the years, it has been involved in various quality-of-life projects in the town: from the establishment of a library to paying teachers' salaries at the vocational school.

In the Southeast Department, Fraternite Valleenne was founded in 1977 in New York City to help develop the region by building health clinics, schools, and agricultural projects. The Association of Sons and Friends of Lavoute, a rural area of the Department consists of immigrants from New York who have come together to improve road conditions and to build capacity among the groups that are in the area. Fraternite Valleenne and Association of Sons and Friends of Lavoute are two organizations whose primary constituencies come from the rural sector. These two organizations have raised money for health and school projects for their village. In addition to these two organizations, I also interviewed leaders of Solidarite Jacmelienne, which represents the interests of the provincial capital in the Southeast Department.

Method of Data Collection

Survey

I began the research with a survey of the forty hometown organizations in New York whose members belong to the Federation des Associations Regionales d'Haitiennes a L'Etranger (FARHE), an umbrella organization that regroups most of the organizations that operate in the New York metropolitan area. I sent survey questionnaires to members of the federation. The goal of the survey was to examine the assimilation process of the members in New York City and the reasons that they participated in FARHE. The survey research offered the opportunity to analyze the members' perceptions of their organization, their feelings toward the group, and their orientation on the issues that their groups are addressing.

Over a period of nine months, I distributed 125 questionnaires by mail and at meetings, to members of the forty organizations. Forty-five (36 percent) of the surveys were completed and returned. Based on the number of survey questionnaires that were distributed to the organizations, the number returned was adequate. According to Tuckman (1976) "the primary issue in choosing a sample size is that it be sufficient to assure the researcher that the sample will be representative of the population from which it is drawn" (Tuckman 1978: 238). In this case, the sample was representative of the population since it satisfied the sample requirement.

Furthermore the community does not have a tradition of responding to survey research because of the political history of Haitian immigrants and their immigration status in the United States. Although, since the fall of Jean-Claude Duvalier in 1986, Haitians have been more inclined to voice their political opinion, there is nonetheless a resistance by some

to discuss their political beliefs given the authoritarian legacy of the society where they came from. Historically, there have been immigrants whose relatives were punished by the Duvalier regime because the government could not directly arrest the person who was criticizing it. One activist that I interviewed made the following remarks about the Duvalier era:

> As you also know around that period there was a form of blackmail by the government. If you have family members in Haiti, you could not become active in Haitian politics abroad. Otherwise you would put your family and friends in danger. There was this famous law that Duvalier passed which is called the anti-Communist law. This law said that anyone who had contact with people outside of the country could be put to death. So this law scared people. A lot of people refrained from participating in community or political activities (interview September 9, 2000).

By far most of the respondents and participants in these organizations are legal residents, however, at times they may have undocumented family members living with them. This arrangement makes them reluctant to answer survey questions that they think could compromise their relatives.

Interviews

In addition to the survey research questionnaire, twenty-five in-depth, open-ended interviews were conducted with leaders of regional and community organizations. These interviews lasted from forty-five minutes to one hour. The field interviews in New York were followed by site visits to the departments of these organizations in Haiti. Three of those interviews were done with focus groups. I also interviewed members of youth organizations in New York, leaders of the community centers, advocacy groups, religious leaders of the community (two Catholic priests and a Protestant pastor), and Haitian governmental officials (a cabinet minister and a departmental director). Twenty of the interviews were taped,

transcribed and translated into English. The rest were handwritten and various passages were translated as needed. My goal with the interviews was to examine how the transnational organizations promoted citizen participation in New York, whether they reinforced Haitian immigrant identity, and what kind of relationship existed between the groups in New York and the organizations in Haiti. In that context, I attempted to learn about the participant's education, profession, the year of arrival, and their citizenship.

It was also important to learn whether the person was active with an organization in Haiti prior to arriving in the United States. Studies have shown that those who tend to participate in organizations usually have had prior experience of participation (Rosenstone, 1993; Verba 1995). Since social capital is very much connected to networking, it was important to find out how these participants had joined the different organizations and why they joined in the first place. It was important to find out how the respondents expressed their transnationalism by inquiring whether they traveled to Haiti and how often, since there may be several reasons why a Haitian immigrant might travel to the homeland. Without connections to organizations, many of them travel to visit friends, relatives, or for vacation. However, when they travel strictly to conduct organizational activities in their hometown, the transnational connection can be clearly identified. Since a lot of them have lived in the United States for more than fifteen years and had children who were born here, I wanted to know whether they had any intention of retiring in Haiti and if they have any family members who still lived there. There are certain transnational activities that many immigrants are engaged in, such as sending money and goods to family members, going back to Haiti to vote in national elections. I was curious to find out whether members were doing any of these

activities. Individual members were also asked to elaborate on their understanding of why they had joined the organization.

Non-participant Observation

Since this study is both theoretical and historical, I draw upon my experience as an organizer in the Haitian community and my fieldwork in Haiti and New York for the development of the hypotheses. Since 1979, I have worked as an organizer, a journalist, an activist, and a social worker in the Haitian community of Flatbush and with Haitians in Haiti. Throughout those twenty years, I have had the opportunity to witness the rise and fall of several community organizations, and I have participated in the creation of several of them. When I organized in Haiti between 1986 and 1992, I contributed to the creation of a national grassroots organization named the Assemblee Populaire Nationale, which means National People's Assembly. This organization was instrumental in the election of President Aristide. As a result of my work against the military dictatorship, I was arrested twice and released. Since I returned to New York City in 1992, after the military coup that overthrew the Aristide government, I have spent a lot of time organizing Haitian and English–speaking Caribbean immigrants in Flatbush on issues related to education, housing, quality of life, and police-community relations. The Community Action Project, which I am currently organizing with in Flatbush, is a member of the Pacific Institute for Community Organization, a network of grassroots organizations throughout the US that provides technical assistance to community-based groups.

When I worked in Haiti in 1987 as an organizer with grassroots organizations in the

city and the rural areas, as well as a journalist and a government official in the administration of President Aristide, I had the opportunity to visit and work with individuals and organizations in all the departments. Therefore, I started this research with a preliminary knowledge of the departments and the actors who shaped their politics. But since I had been out of the country for seven years, in the summer of 1999, I spent a month visiting the departments and interviewing leaders of the organizations in the Southeast and the Artibonite. I went to Jacmel, Lavoute, and La Vallee in the Southeast Department to observe and speak to government officials and leaders of the hometown associations. I also went to Gonaives, Petite Riviere de L'Artibonite, and St. Marc to observe and interview local leaders.

Dissertation Outline

As stated previously, the purpose of this study is to examine the role of the hometown associations in the assimilation process of Haitian immigrants in the United States. These organizations are having a direct influence on Haitian immigrants in New York City by encouraging them to participate in civic activities, reinforcing ties with the Haitian state and creating linkages with their hometowns in Haiti. In the chapters that follow, I elaborate further on the various theoretical concepts and their application to the assimilation process of Haitian immigrants in New York City.

The chapters of this dissertation have been organized to provide the reader with a clear understanding of the Haitian community in New York and the role of the transnational organizations in its transformation. The first chapter begins with an introduction to the Haitian community in New York City. Chapter 2 is the theoretical review of

transnationalism, social capital, and citizen participation. It analyzes the various theoretical issues that are linked to immigrant assimilation and transnationalism. It also addresses the relation between the transnational organizations, social capital, and citizen participation. In chapter 3, I analyze the results of the survey questionnaire that was sent to members of the regional organizations. In chapter 4, I present a profile of the transnational associations based on data from field interviews that were conducted in New York and Haiti with affiliates of the regional organizations in two administrative departments of Haiti. In chapter 5, I analyze the role of the Haitian government in encouraging the activities of the transnational organizations in New York City and in Haiti. Chapter 6 addresses the relationship of the transnational organizations with the English-speaking Caribbean groups and the African-American community in New York City. In Chapter 7, I present my conclusion and perspective for future research.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

The dominant theoretical approach to the understanding of immigrant assimilation in the United States is the "straight-line" assimilation theory of Warner and Srole (1945), which assumes that each native-born generation acculturates further and raises its status vis-a-vis the previous one. This approach, also known as the melting pot theory, was criticized by Glazer and Moynihan (1970) in their seminal work, Beyond the Melting Pot, in which they argue that there was never a melting pot, since certain groups in American society were never assimilated due to three main factors that they encounter once they have arrived in the United States: skin color, which sets them apart from the majority; economic opportunities, which are limited because they are denied access to certain job openings; and, their aspiration, which changes once they have experienced some form of racism in the US. Haitian immigrants are an illustration of Glazer and Moynihan's criticism of the assimilation theory, since their skin color and their status as refugees have made it impossible for them to be accepted into the mainstream. As other groups encountered barriers to their integration, the melting pot theory was replaced by a multicultural approach, which is defined as "a set of beliefs that stress the ethnic basis of American social relations and advocate policies that recognize, reward, and celebrate American's ethnic background" (Salins 1997: 228). The multicultural approach, which has been in vogue for much of the 1960s and 70s, is today being challenged by the concept of transnationalism.

Transnationalism

Schiller (1992), Smith (1998), Guarzino (1998) et al. introduced the concept of transnationalism as a new paradigm to explain the segmented assimilation pattern of current immigrants. Schiller uses the concept "to explain the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin with their country of settlement" (Glick Schiller et al. 1992: 1-2). Gold (1997) notes that: "a central point of transnationalism is its view of migration as a multi-level process (demographic, political, economic, cultural, familial) that involves various links between two or more settings rather than a discrete event constituted by a permanent move from one nation to another" (Gold 1997: 409-427). The concept has also been linked to an important debate taking place in the literature involving the assimilation of current immigrants in the United States.

Schiller (1994) argues that there is a need to revisit the established paradigm on immigrant assimilation since the new migrants continue to have an impact on their home countries while they have succeeded in using their previous activities, experiences, and networks to adjust in the United States. She defines transnationalism as the ability of new immigrants to maintain ties with their home country while living in their adopted country. Although certain immigrants at the turn of the century had maintained some form of relationship with their homeland, very few were able to live in the United States while they continued to have an impact in their home country because of poor communication, political persecution, and the lack of technology. Foner (1997) argues that although transnationalism was alive one hundred years ago since immigrants from Italy and other European countries used to travel back and forth to their homelands, the significance of today's transnationalism

is that current technological changes in communication and improvements in transportation have made it possible for immigrants to maintain closer contact with their home societies (Foner 1997).

The concept of transnationalism raises fundamental questions regarding immigrant assimilation and citizenship. Kelly and Schauffler (1996) note that the concept of assimilation points to the manner in which immigrants tend to blend into the host society. It is a convenient concept to: "enumerate the ways in which immigrants survive; it has also been a term disclosing hopes about how immigrants should behave" (Kelly and Schauffler 1996: 30). This is in direct contrast to the classical view of assimilation, which generally conveys the idea of a melting pot, a condition through which immigrants gradually blend in with the general population by severing ties with the old culture. Waters (1996) notes that this approach, which is defined as the "straight line" assimilation, assumes that the longer a person lives in the United States, the more likely that he would take on an American identity and sever his ties with the ethnic identity and culture of his parents. The essence of this theory is that each native-born generation acculturates further and raises its status vis-a-vis the previous one.

In addition to Glazer and Moynihan, Rumbaut (1996), Gans (1996), Portes and Zhou (1996) also criticize the "straight line" assimilation theory. Glazer and Moynihan (1970) in their case study of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish in New York City in the 1960s argue that the melting pot never happened and that each group developed its own economic, political, and cultural patterns according to their historical experiences and the period in which they arrived in the United States. Rumbaut et al. (1996) argue that there is a

difference between the European and the new Third World immigrants who are entering the United States today. Class, race, and socioeconomic differences have a bigger impact on these new immigrants than on Europeans who came earlier. Immigrants are being incorporated differently into American society. Ethnic enclaves, racism, and the decline of opportunities in the cities have made it harder for Third World immigrants to integrate successfully into mainstream society. Rumbaut (1996) further argues that the concept of assimilation is a deficit model since it assumes that for immigrants to get ahead, they have to learn to become American. Gans (1996) posits that the "straight line" assimilation theory was developed in connection with the southern and eastern European immigration to the United States between 1880 and 1925, a time of great economic expansion. Waters (1996) tends to support Gans' approach that the "straight line" theory is limited in explaining the current assimilation process of the second generation of Third World immigrants who are coming to the United States. She notes that Third World immigrants of the 1990s faced a different set of conditions than those encountered by Europeans during the 1930s. For example, Third World immigrants "do not enter a society that assumes an undifferentiated monolithic American culture but rather a consciously pluralist society in which a variety of subcultures and racial and ethnic identities coexist" (Waters 1996: 175). She further advances the view that economic opportunity structure is quite different today than it was at the twentieth century.

The reorganization of the US economy has eliminated most of the unskilled jobs that were once available to children of immigrants at the turn of the century. The skills that immigrants bring with them today vary considerably. Some are very well educated, while

others are unskilled and are probably experiencing urban life for the first time. The "straight line" assimilation theory is also being undermined as a result of globalization and progress that have been made in communication. Today, many immigrants are able to maintain ties with their home country through travel, e-mail, and telephone communication. New immigrants in the United States are remaining connected culturally and politically with their home country through organizations that can function simultaneously in the United States and in their place of origin. Foner (2000) notes that: "Transformations in the technologies of transportation and communication have increased the density, multiplicity, and importance of transnational interconnections and made it possible for the first time for immigrants to operate more or less simultaneously in a variety of places" (Foner 2000: 176).

As a result these changes, the pattern of immigrant incorporation into the mainstream and their expectation of the new society are being changed considerably. John Ogbu (1991) argues that voluntary immigrants, including Haitians, have a number of expectations about their new societies and will adjust correspondingly to meet them. The pattern of assimilation through transnationalism and the creation of hometown associations are other forms of adaptation that Haitian immigrants have initiated to meet their expectations in the United States.

Globalization and technological progress in communication have also facilitated these immigrants in their effort to maintain residences in the United States and in their home country. The New York Times (July 19, 1998) in a series on transnationalism noted that early in the century, it was not possible to lead a transnational life. A three-minute phone call to London in 1927 would have cost $200 in today's currency, while currently it costs less

than $3.66 for a three-minute call to India. Portes (1995) argues that contemporary transnational communities are distinguished from comparable activities of earlier immigrant waves by three features, "first, the instantaneous character of communication across vast geographic distances; second the large numbers involved in these activities, and, third, the tendency of these activities to become normative in the immigrant community driven by the numbers who take part and the dearth of alternative opportunities in the host society" (Portes 1996: 74-77).

Michel Laguerre (1997) notes that there is a need to differentiate between economic conditions that promote transnationalism and its political aspect, which he defines as the "transnational political field." He argues that the transnational political field is "an open arena in which elected and non-elected individuals with or without the explicit knowledge of the state, and sometimes acting against official state policies, engage in formal and informal practices for the purpose of influencing the everyday policies and politics of another state" (Laguerre 1997: 171).

There are several dimensions to transnational activities. For Portes: "transnational communities create a variety of new economic relationships across national borders" (Portes 1996: 74-77). Many times these relationships range from developing import-export businesses to the creation of manufacturing plants abroad. These relationships create employment in the immigrants' home country and help immigrant entrepreneurs exchange new technological innovations at a rapid rate. He notes that Dominican entrepreneurs who have spent time in the United States operate hundreds of small firms in the Dominican Republic and often travel to the United States to sell their wares and to fill their suitcases

with the latest technological supplies for their factories in the DR. Many times, these entrepreneurs are citizens or permanent residents of the United States, and they tend to lobby the US government actively for their home countries. Laguerre (1998) remarks that the transnational economic sphere is expressed in various ways. Some are transnational in production, while others are transnational in the distribution of the goods or the services that are rendered. He notes that: "some real estate agencies serve Haitian clients who are living in Haiti and want to purchase property in Miami. These businesses are involved in transnational advertising and communications to make themselves available to overseas clients" (Laguerre 1998: 125).

There is also a cultural and class component that affect transnational relations because not all of the actors experience this new phenomenon in the same way. Mitchell (1996) notes that the professional elite who practices transnationalism is able to negotiate the new spaces that are created to its supreme advantage, since the concept creates a new form of capitalism which "involves the intensification and acceleration of global linkages and local fragmentation" (Mitchell 1996: 219-254).

Transnationalism is a global phenomenon, which has affected all the continents in the world. Kastoryano (1998), in her study of immigrants in the European Union, has found that "transnational communities are one of the consequences of the increasing mobility of immigrants between their home and their host countries, and they have become a way of expressing political and economic participation in both spaces." Wahlbeck (1998), in his study of Kurdish refugees in Europe, notes that although transnationalism may be too restricted as a concept to explain the Kurdish refugee situation, it is, nonetheless, important in

their social networks and helps them reconstruct their collective memory of their homeland. Kaiser and Kaiser (1998) in their study of Ismailis in Tanzania and Burundians in the diaspora have found that national frontiers have overlapped since the Ismailis have negotiated "a hierarchy of identities that has enabled them to simultaneously exercise their legal status as citizens of Tanzania and to remain a part of the Ismaili community and exercise the rights and responsibilities inherent in being devotees of the Ismaili faith" (Kaiser and Kaiser 1998: 461).

Transnationalism has also encouraged immigrants of different backgrounds to play an active role in their home countries' politics. The characteristics of this involvement range from the creation of linkage organizations in the home countries to the development of non-profit voluntary organizations in the United States. These organizations perform several tasks including providing immigrants, whom Schiller (1994) defines as transmigrants, with legitimate institutions to pursue their own interests, mobilizing the community to raise money, lobby, and educate the population on political as well as social issues, and encouraging the maintenance of cultural ties with the home country. Through linkage associations that are established in their home country, immigrants can create platforms on which they can influence local politics and raise money for local projects. Schiller (1992) notes that: "the same individual may attend a meeting of US citizens in the same ethnic group, be called as a New Yorker to speak to the Mayor of New York about the development of our city, and the next week go back home to Haiti, St. Vincent, or the Philippines and speak as a committed nationalist about the development of our nation" (1992: 1). Smith (1995) notes that when a small farming community in Ticuani, Mexico wanted a clean water

supply, they turned to a private civic group in Brooklyn, New York to raise $100,000 to purchase and install a new tubing that could bring clean water to the town. Grassmuck and Pessar (1991) note in Between Two Islands that a characteristic of Dominican immigrants is their tendency to develop an ideology of return, which often makes their settlement in New York seems "permanently temporary."

Whereas Schiller (1992) and Portes (1996) approach transnationalism as a general concept devoid of class content, Mahler (1998) on the other hand distinguishes two kinds of transnationalism: transnationalism from above and transnationalism from below. The primary role of the transnationalism from above is to serve the interest of multinational corporations, the media, and the elites who seek to dominate the world. In contrast, "transnationalism from below" attempts to create counter-hegemonic powers among the non-elite and a new social space which is "grounded in the daily lives, activities, and social relationship of quotidian actors" (1998: 69). Mahler further notes that the vision of "transnationalism from below" is profoundly democratic and empowering since it gives hope to those who see the world moving toward homogeneity. Friedman (1999) has attempted to capture in his book The Lexus and the Olive Tree this movement toward a homogeneous world by noting that the most technologically advanced countries are reshaping the world to meet their economic and political agenda, which include free market, free flow of information, and the democratization of political systems.

Although transnationalism seems to present a more coherent theoretical approach to study migration and the assimilation of new immigrants in US society, there are a number of questions that it does not address. For example, why is there in the United States a

propensity for immigrants who come from Third World societies such as Haiti, El Salvador, Ecuador, and the Philippines to engage in transnational activities? Are Haitian immigrants engaged in regional organizations to maintain their ethnic distinction in the United States? How viable is the concept when it comes to analyzing the relationship between the first-generation immigrants and their children, who tend to be much more assimilated, and what role is the home state playing in this new relationship?

Robert Smith (1998) argues that Schiller, Kearny et al. fail to understand that, in this new paradigm, immigrants who are living in two social fields have become more dependent on the nation-state since their activities in their homeland have to be sanctioned by the state. Therefore, far from weakening the nation-state, transnationalism will reinforce it, since immigrants who want to maintain relations with their homeland through economic and social programs will have to obtain the support of the state. Instead of a dependent relationship, I believe transnationalism will create a symbiotic relationship in which the state will depend on the transmigrants for economic support, while the immigrants will have the opportunity to influence the policy of the home state through remittances and development projects. States that are open to transnational activities will enjoy good relationships with their expatriates, and their status will be enhanced abroad while those that neglect their nationals will find themselves isolated.

In support of this belief, the Haitian state has become quite dependent on its nationals abroad for political and economic support. The immigrant community transfers more than $500 million to Haiti annually in hard currency (API 2000). Laguerre (1998) notes that political candidates in Haiti find it mandatory to travel to New York and other cities in the

US where there is a large Haitian population to solicit money and support for their elections back home. Since the Aristide government enjoyed the support of the immigrant community in New York, leaders of the community have lobbied their elected representatives and held public demonstrations in the city to support the return of his government to Haiti in 1992 after the coup d'etat that overthrew him.

Transnational Organizations and Citizen Participation.

The hometown associations provide Haitian immigrants the opportunity to participate and build collective strength within their organizations. Since participation sometimes tends to create a level of tolerance and understanding among those who are active, the more immigrants participate, the more likely that they will act responsibly by engaging in politics and in associations that can promote trust, reciprocity, and norms, essential notions that Putnam (1993) identifies with the concept of social capital. Wolfe (1999) notes that citizen participation is valuable because "we have a direct interest in articulating thoughts, attitudes and feelings on matters of personal or broader human concern--or showing solidarity with others" (1999: 8). For Gittell (1980) "the concept of citizen participation is the assumption that value accrues to the system and the individual through the acts of participation and association" (1980: 21). When citizens are empowered, they gain the opportunity to deliberate extensively, and they are more likely to succeed in their endeavor. Verba, Schlozman and Brady (1995) have found that those who participate can send different policy messages since the act of participation in itself is beneficial to the participants. Other research also shows a positive correlation between participation and citizenship. Almond and

Verba (1963) in their seminal work The Civic Culture conclude that there is a positive relationship between political efficacy and political participation. They note that citizens in Britain and the United States responded favorably to their governments because they had the opportunity to participate locally in the political process.

Participation at the local level is not a common occurrence for Haitians because Haiti has a centralized political system. Since its independence, the country has been ruled by authoritarian regimes that have supported centralized administration over localized structures where individual citizens can be empowered to defend their interests. Therefore, when Haitian immigrants arrived in the United States in the 1960s, they came in with a centralized and stratified model of participation. Their concept of participation was elitist, and it was based on class distinction. Their tendency was to participate in clubs along class lines, thereby reproducing the same type of closed and elitist relationship that existed in Haiti. Schiller (1987) notes that in 1968: "the membership of Haitian social clubs was exclusive, preserving class lines as they had existed in Haiti. They did not concede the necessity or even the possibility that all immigrants from Haiti might come together in a single organization based on their common origin" (1987: 29). However, since political participation in the United States is influenced by the individual's self-interest, Haitians were encouraged to create ethnic organizations to defend their self-interest on immigration, welfare, housing, and job issues. At the neighborhood level, they also began to participate in organizations that addressed local issues that had an impact on their lives. Usually they would be welcomed in neighborhood organizations by leaders who had experience in collaborating with people from various ethnic and social backgrounds. Sanjek (1998) notes

that what brings people together in New York are the interpersonal connections that develop as people meet and coalesce in their buildings as members of the local block associations, or as warden or tenant leaders participating in common activities. As a result of the interaction among the various ethnic groups in the city, Haitian immigrants learned that their method of organizing in Haiti, which was based on class or color, would not help them solve the important issues that they confronted as immigrants. They then began to organize on the basis of their nationality. Being Haitian became a way to promote their self-identity and a means to separate themselves from other minorities in the city, primarily African-Americans. However, even though leaders of the community no longer organize the immigrants along the color line, there are still a number of organizations in the community that tend to regroup mostly those who share similar socio-cultural backgrounds.

Although participation could take different forms, Haitian immigrants tend to participate primarily through associations that enhanced their identity as an ethnic group. As their numbers increased in New York City, they learned from other groups that organizing on an ethnic basis could provide access to resources and political power. This form of organization was also encouraged by the political parties and elected officials. Schiller (1987) notes that in the late 1960s, when the Democratic Party sought to organize minority groups, it encouraged them to organize on the basis of their ethnicity. In the case of the Haitian community, she notes that: "American political figures promoted the process of organizing ethnic groups by encouraging the potential Haitian-American leaders to be politically active" (1987: 34).

Voluntary Association and Transnationalism

Although the Democratic Party encouraged Haitians to organize on an ethnic basis (Schiller 1987), Haitians would have created their own associations anyway without its support. Long ago, Alexis de Tocqueville wrote in Democracy in America that: "Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions constantly form associations. They have not only commercial and manufacturing companies, in which all take part, but associations of a thousand other kinds, religious, moral, serious, futile, general or restricted, enormous or diminutive" (1990: 106). Since his seminal work, there has been a consensus among scholars (Pateman 1970, Newton 1997, Mansbridge, 1997) that voluntary organizations are important for achieving institutional change and for providing citizens the democratic and organizational skills that are required to function in this society. It is also assumed that voluntary associations can contribute to the empowerment of those that have been excluded from the political arena since participation itself has its rewards. Rueschemeyer (1998) notes that: "without participation in a rich field of intermediary organizations, interests are likely to remain uncertain and inchoate and unlikely to find powerful expression" (1998: 11). According to Newton (1997): "voluntary associations offer citizens an opportunity to interact informally in a setting that encourages civic virtues of trust, moderation, compromise, reciprocity and the skills of democratic discussion and organization" (1997: 575-586). Through participation in voluntary associations, an individual can be trained in the process of deliberation and the mechanisms that are available to express his/her ideas. Mansbridge (1997) argues that participation in voluntary associations tends to promote better citizens because it can help them develop a clearer understanding of their real interests by revealing

whether one's interest complements or opposes the interests of others in the polity. Robert Putnam (1993) in Making Democracy Work has found that an associative life not only increases the level of trust and networks of a community, but it leads to the creation of social capital. In a study of Italian politics, he concluded that regions of the country that had a strong network of organizations and norms of civic engagement tended to be more successful in implementing institutional change than those that lacked these characteristics.

Since the 1980s, there has been a qualitative change in the ability of the Haitian community to address complex issues. This is primarily due to an increase in all forms of voluntary associations in the community, primarily groups that are providing Haitian immigrants the opportunity to learn organizational skills and to practice the art of tolerance and deliberation in a non-threatening environment. These organizations are playing a major policy role in the Haitian community and are encouraging further participation of individuals in cultural and sports organizations.

Transnationalism and Ethnicity

An important question that needs to be addressed is how Haitian immigrants are using the transnational organizations to maintain their cultural and ethnic identity in New York City. Although Haitians have a distinct language and culture, in the US, Whites see them as Blacks with no difference from native-born African-Americans. However, coming from a country in which class is more important than skin color as a barometer of social standing, Haitians find themselves in the United States belonging to the group of minorities who are marginalized and subjected to constant discrimination and racism (Zephyr 1996).

Sutton (1992) notes that Haitians and other Caribbean immigrants are reluctant to identify with African-Americans and Puerto Ricans because these two groups "have experienced over time more downward than upward economic mobility, a general deskilling, cultural denigration, and continued separation from the resources and rewards of 'mainstream' society" (Sutton 1992 :21). To deal with this reality, Haitian immigrants try to maintain their ethnic identity through language and cultural values. Zephyr (1996) argues that Haitian ethnicity is neither incidental nor symbolic; it should be placed in the context of racial stratification which exists in America. Whereas Whites can choose when they want to be ethnic, she notes that "a Haitian who chooses to be Haitian only on West Indian American Day Carnival and American the rest of the time, becomes Black American and is involuntarily assigned his or her 'proper place' among America's lowest societal ranks" (1996: 62). Therefore the author notes, by brandishing their nationality, Haitian immigrants hope to improve their placement in the social order and to send a message to the White community that they expect to be treated differently because they are not African-Americans. "By constantly saying and reminding everyone that they are Haitian and nothing else, they seek to withstand any inferiority complex that the American system of categorization tries to give them" (Zephyr 1996: 53). The idea of maintaining a separate identity from African-Americans is more prevalent among middle-class educated Haitians who understand quite well the effects of downward assimilation on their economic and social status in America. This is the reason that before AIDS and the refugee crisis had stigmatized Haitian immigrants, members of the middle class would pass as French or French-speaking people in order to link them to a European ancestry, which means in essence "White" (Stafford 1987).

The labeling of Haitian nationals as people who were prone to transmit the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) virus compelled the middle class to forge alliances with Haitians of working-class and refugee backgrounds to protest the Center of Disease Control (CDC) decision to lump all of them together. It also changed Americans' view toward middle-class Haitians and dashed these Haitians' hopes of ever being able to pass for French nationals again. The CDC decision to lump all Haitians together also showed how the state could play a major role in creating new entities that are based on racial or ethnic similarities. Middle-class Haitians who considered themselves different from the refugees were suddenly put in the same category and were prevented from donating blood and began to suffer the same form of discrimination that working-class and Haitian refugees were facing in the society.

There are certain scholars and politicians who perceive the tendency of Haitian and Caribbean immigrants to maintain a separate identity from African-Americans as a positive gain for the immigrant community. Archer (2000) in her dissertation tends to support this initiative and argues that Caribbean immigrants may succeed in developing a political power base of their own if they continue to support politicians who come from the Caribbean. Una Clarke, a Jamaican-born member of the City Council, decided to challenge an African-American congressman in the 2000 congressional primary election by courting mainly Caribbean-Americans who resided in the district. Since she won 46 percent of the votes, the notion that Caribbean-Americans could develop their own independent political base has become more plausible for some politicians. However, I disagree with Archer's view and Una Clarke's efforts because they divide the minority population in New York City.

Moreover, historically, it has been very difficult for Caribbean-Americans to pursue a different agenda from African-Americans in New York City. This is due to the fact that only the first-generation immigrants can maintain a separate identity from African-Americans. Their children will inevitably assimilate into the larger African-American community. Furthermore, as a splinter group within the Black population in the city, the political power of the Caribbean immigrant community would tend to diminish instead of increasing.

It is also very difficult to pursue a political agenda based on a Caribbean origin because it is too narrow and will increase the negative view that already exists in America toward African-Americans. Moreover, Archer (2000) assumes that there exists a pan-Caribbean unity. Whereas in fact the larger English-speaking Caribbean community is as divided as any other ethnic group in the city. There are very few English-speaking Caribbean organizations that unify immigrants from all the islands. There are as many island organizations as there are immigrants from the Caribbean.

Transnationalism and the Haitian Middle Class

The impulse for Caribbean immigrants to create their own ethnic organizations is related to class identity and the competitive nature of American society. Whereas working-class immigrants have no choice but to live in neighborhoods where they have to mingle with African-Americans and other immigrants who share similar socio-economic backgrounds, middle-class Caribbeans can avoid this condition, to a certain extent, by living in neighborhoods that are racially mixed. However, even when they live in mixed neighborhoods, they cannot completely escape the notion of being Black in America.

However, the creation of associations such as the transnational organizations helps them maintain a separate identity from African-Americans and provides them a means to escape temporarily from the racism of American society. These organizations are institutions Haitian immigrants can call their "own." When they are interacting with friends in these institutions, they feel more connected to Haiti, and they don't have to deal with the outside world, i.e. "Whites." Moreover these organizations also offer Haitians immigrants the opportunity to play a leadership role within their own community. Schiller and Fouron (1998) note that in the Haitian community abroad "cultural assumptions about family obligations and the personal motivations of using hometown connections as a way of obtaining or maintaining cultural capital are strengthened by the racial discrimination they confront when they settle in the United States and Canada" (1998: 140). Carolle Charles (1992) also notes that the incorporation of Haitian immigrants in the United States has been shaped by two perceptions: a place to earn a living and a country that is primarily White in which they can only be temporary guests. These two perceptions were influenced by the fact that the Duvalier regime had created a strong exiled community abroad with the myth that once the regime was overthrown, most Haitians would return home.

The hope of returning home is very strong in the minds of the first-generation immigrants, and many of them join the transnational associations as a way to maintain that idea since these organizations allow them to lead a double life as citizens of the US and Haiti. But as the second generation of Haitian immigrants begins to affirm itself, the notion of returning home and organizing on an ethnic basis seems to fade rapidly.

Transnational Organizations and the Second Generation

In her study of second-generation immigrants, Waters (1996) notes that the second generation faces the dilemma of growing up exposed to the negative opinions voiced by their parents about American Blacks while they lack their parents' accents and other identifying characteristics which tend to make their peers identify them as African-Americans. Stepick (1998) notes that the pressure young Haitians encounter in their attempt to maintain their Haitian ethnicity may lead to delinquency and alienation. According to Portes and Zhou (1994), Haitian parents find themselves in conflict with their children because they want them to preserve a national identity that is associated with solidarity and social network. The essential elements that are needed for success in the immigrant community. On the other hand, their children who attend inner-city schools are ostracized and attacked by native-born Blacks if they follow their parents' wishes. To what extent Haitian immigrants will continue to maintain a separate identity from African-Americans in the US will depend on whether the regional organizations can recruit newly-arrived immigrants and young people who prefer to identify themselves more as Haitian than African-American. So far they have succeeded in preserving a Haitian ethnic image in the United States because a majority of the immigrants are first-generation.

Transnationalism and the Democratization Process in Haiti

For most of its existence, Haiti has been ruled by authoritarian regimes whose primary role was to control the population through terror, abolition of individual rights, and the exile of opposition figures. Trouillot (1997) notes that the state has never represented the interests

of the people and that, unlike other nations, Haiti's rulers were never interested in constructing an inclusive society. As such, the population was always left to fend for itself. Gros (1997) supports Trouillot's thesis by noting that: "The Haitian state has always used the veneer of authoritarianism to hide its manifold weaknesses, and it has relied almost exclusively on the stick because it has lacked the carrot" (Gros 1997: 94-109).

The Duvalier regime was the apotheosis of the personal and authoritarian rule that Gros alluded to. For more than twenty-nine years, the family governed the country with an iron fist by eliminating basic rights of the population, killing and exiling most of its enemies. However, despite all the measures that the Duvalier family took to maintain power, the population managed to organize itself and to overthrow him. In 1986, a collective movement composed of church-based organizations, activists, and members of political parties revolted against the regime and forced it to flee into exile.

The overthrow of the Duvalier regime opened up a new era in the country. Freedom of the press and to peaceful assembly peacefully were re-instituted, while the dreaded para-military force called the Tonton Macoutes was abolished. However, although the opposition won these victories, it took a long time for the government to establish minimum democratic rights in the country. The military leaders, who were handpicked by Jean-Claude Duvalier to form a provisional government called Conseil National de Gouvernement (CNG)[10] to lead the country to democracy, wanted to remain in power. Instead of implementing democratic changes, the CNG continued to maintain the status quo by continuing to protect the interests of those affiliated with the Duvalier government. On Tuesday February 18, 1986, just a few

[10]National Council of Government

days after the departure of Jean-Claude Duvalier, the army, which was in control of the country, shot at demonstrators who were protesting the new government's unwillingness to remove the Duvalierist flag from the national palace (Haiti Progres, Vol. 3 No. 46). When Haiti gained its independence from the French in 1804, the country's official flag was red and blue. The red represented the blood of the slaves that was spilled to gain independence, and the blue represented an alliance between the mulattos and the Blacks to achieve independence from the French. However, Francois Duvalier in the 1960s changed the color of the flag to red and black in solidarity with the majority of the Haitian people who are Black and also as a sign of protest against his enemies, whom he identified as the mulattos and the allies of foreign powers. Since his government lost the support of the majority of the Haitian people, his flag came to symbolize an era of repression and authoritarian rule. After the dynasty fell in 1986, the population wanted the previous flag to be restored as the official symbol of the Haitian state. Since the provisional government was taking a long time to restore the original flag, Haitians took to the streets to protest against it. The government's answer to the protesters was random shooting of the people, which resulted in several dead and wounded. As a consequence of this incident and other policies of the provisional government, the population began to realize that they had to continue to mobilize against the new regime. Dupuy (1997) notes that: "The CNG introduced symbolic and nominal changes, but it did not pursue the uprooting of Duvalierist forces from the military, government agencies, and public enterprises as demanded by the popular opposition movement" (Dupuy 1997: 51). As a result, the democratic transition in Haiti became more problematic. From 1986 to 1990, the country experienced several military coups and the resurgence of state terrorism through

death squads. By 1990, the military, which backed the provisional governments that succeeded Duvalier since 1986 lost its legitimacy as arbiter of democratic changes. It had also exhausted most of its international support, primarily that of the US. Dupuy (1997) notes that the US Congress and the State Department began to realize that a military dictatorship in Haiti was no longer needed to pursue its post-Cold War strategy in the Western Hemisphere. As a consequence the military leaders in Haiti were forced to accept free and fair elections in the country in 1990. In this election Jean-Bertrand Aristide was elected to the presidency.

From the fall of Duvalier in 1986 to the election of President Aristide in 1990, the number of transnational organizations in New York increased considerably. They also began to participate in the political process by encouraging Haitians in their hometowns to organize associations and to support local candidates. These groups took an active role in demanding that the Haitian government pass dual citizenship laws and the establishment of voting bureaus outside of Haiti, where immigrants could vote for homeland candidates. The demands that these organizations have voiced were similar to those that have been granted by countries whose citizens in the United States are active on transnational issues, including the Mexicans and the Dominicans. The governments of these immigrants recently adopted dual citizenship for their nationals who resided abroad (Besserer 1998; Smith 1998).

The participation of the transnational groups in Haitian politics has been facilitated by the regime change that took place in the country in 1986, the end of the Cold War, and the immigrants' exposure to US politics. As I argued previously, due to the dominance of the exile leaders in the immigrant community of New York City, it was very difficult for other

organizations to develop an agenda that did not address homeland politics. However, once Duvalier was gone, the field was open for other organizations to affirm themselves. The transnational organizations began to fill the void that was left by the activist organizations, whose focus was primarily on Haiti, by addressing issues that related to Haitians in New York and in Haiti.

The end of the Cold War contributed to a policy change in the American government toward Haiti. The US no longer viewed Haiti as an outpost to combat Communism in the Caribbean. Rather, it promoted a democratization policy in the country by showing some limited support for grassroots organizations. Several mass-based groups, including the transnational associations, took this opportunity to engage in Haitian politics. Their engagement ranged from supporting candidates running for local office to articulating issues that concerned their local community.

Leaders who have resided for several years in the United States attempted to reproduce the experiences and practice that they had acquired in New York in their associations. They created institutions that were similar to those that existed in New York. The bylaws and the committees that were created in these organizations relied heavily on a self-help approach to solve problems and minimize the role of the state. Shain (1999) argues that members of the diaspora play an important role in exporting the American creed abroad. This includes influencing their countries' political, cultural, and social behaviors toward the United States as well as changing their countries' approach on issues that relate to democracy and human rights.

However, when the efforts of the local population to change their country's behavior

are not enough, the US through sanction and loss of economic aid usually intervenes to assure that their creed is carried out anyway. Verdery (1998) argues that the notions of democracy and democratization are transnational concepts since they connote a specific form of political system, which is associated with the West, involving the participation of more than one country for its implementation. In a study of the political transition in the former Soviet Bloc countries, she notes that:

> Democratization is transnational in three aspects. First, Democracy is a transnational symbol, by which both dissidents before 1989 and anti-Communist political groups afterward invoked the West. Second, international electoral observers oversaw its implantation, certifying newly propitious climates for foreign capital investment; thus power flow across borders intersected with political pluralization inside them. And third, the politics of the pluralization, in some cases, produce transnational definitions of voting rights and citizens creating blocs of voters "abroad" (Verdery 1998: 291-306).

The transnational organizations, through their work with the local groups in Haiti, have attempted to export democratic practices to the country and have played a prominent role in past elections by funding candidates and encouraging citizens in their hometowns to vote for those who support democratic reforms. During the 1990 presidential elections, candidates in Haiti traveled to New York City to raise funds and to seek the support of the diaspora. Several organizations in New York raised thousands of dollars for the campaign of Aristide in 1990 (author's notes).

When Aristide became president in 1991, the transnational organizations formulated several policies to democratize the political system in the country. Although many of these policies were self-interest issues, including dual citizenship to Haitians living abroad and the right for them to vote for candidates in Haitian general elections, there were also proposals to open up Haitian institutions to greater accountability. One of these proposals was a demand

that high level officials declare their assets before they assumed their position in the government.

In September 1991, Aristide was on the path of granting these demands to the diaspora and members of the transnational organizations when the army overthrew his government. The coup delayed the implementation of these reforms and the democratic transition that started after the fall of Duvalier in 1986. The coup was the result of internal conflict among members of the Haitian ruling class who felt threatened by the new regime and the belief by the US government that Aristide wanted to establish a popular government in the Caribbean.[11] Przeworski (1991) argues that for a democratic system to survive, all the forces within the system must be convinced that it is in their best interest to participate. After the fall of Duvalier in 1986, the elite, the masses, and the international community could not reach a consensus on the best approach to proceed with the democratization process in Haiti. The inability of the actors to reach a consensus relates to the arguments presented by Terry Lynn Karl (1990) regarding newly democratized countries in Latin America. She notes that these countries face the overwhelming problem of sheer survivability since they have not yet been able to control the various forces whose interests are being shifted. "What threatens their survival is the omnipresent specter of a military coup, a coup which may be provoked by intense partisan political disagreements, by the inability of political parties to manage the current profound economic crisis of the region..by the actions of foreign powers, or by threats to the vital corporate interests of the military itself" (Karl 1990: 12). Haiti in a way was

experiencing all these factors after Duvalier left and to a certain degree was still going through them even after Aristide was restored to power in 1994.

But in the short period of time that he was in power in 1991, Aristide was able to create a ministerial cabinet position called the Tenth Department to address the demands of the hometown-transnational organizations and to encourage Haitians living in the diaspora to invest in the country. Also under his brief leadership, the hometown organizations became important players in the government's overseas politics. For example, they played a major role in raising over one million dollars in a single day in the immigrant community abroad to help the government finance a development program. They also collected school supplies and first aid materials for Haitians in Haiti (author's note). Since his overthrow and his subsequent return to power in 1994, the hometown organizations have continued to collaborate with the new government, but at a different level. They have opted to spend more energy pursuing a development policy that encourages the government to devolve power at the regional level through decentralization. The experience of the hometown associations with the government of Aristide suggests that the state has an important role to play in the development of these organizations in Haiti and in the immigrant community abroad.

Transnationalism and Social Capital

The transnational organizations have contributed to greater networking and increased trust among Haitian immigrants in New York City. Since its introduction in the social

---

[11] -Soon after Aristide was elected to office in 1990, Alvin Adams who was then the US Ambassador to Haiti referred to a Haitian proverb that implies that the burden will be heavy after the party. (Apre Dans, Tanbou Lou. The drum is heavy after the dance). Meaning that Aristide would face tremendous challenges after his victory. Many people in the country interpreted the comments as a threat to the new regime since the US

sciences by Coleman (1988), Bourdieu (1990) et al., social capital has become an important concept used to analyze relationships among individuals and organizations. Coleman, in his original article, defines social capital as a variety of elements. One relates to aspects of social structure, and the other facilitates actions of actors within the structure. The author notes that social capital is "productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends which in its absence would not be possible" (Coleman 1988: 95-119).

The Haitian community in New York offers various opportunities for social capital to be created. These include family arrangements and the presence of formal and informal organizations such as the transnational associations and the rotating credit organizations. The underpinning aspect of the credit associations is the level of trust that members invest in each other since they are willing to advance funds to one another without records or legal documents. In addition, individuals are asked to join these clubs by invitation only, which is a symbol of trust within the community. That relationship often spills over to other areas of collaboration such as helping a neighbor find employment, providing translation services to individuals who do not speak English, filing immigration forms, and lending money to send back home (Laguerre 1977).

Amber L. Seligson (1988), in his study of civil society organizations in six separate countries in Central America, concluded that: "participation in community development groups appears to be one of the keys to sparking further democratic participation" (Seligson 1998: 12). Nicole Theriot (1998) in her study of Kenyan grassroots organizations (GRO) has found that GROs play an important role in developing social capital since these groups "not

---

supported a rival presidential candidate.

only satisfied basic or practical needs, but served to forge links between women in the community--links that could later be utilized for political or social purposes" (Theriot 1998: 13). Goldring notes "that transnational social organizations can be a significant resource in the formation of social and political capital for community leaders who use transnational spaces to generate power/status hierarchies which may provide an alternative arena of interaction" (1998:167). The Haitian community has succeeded over the past three decades to use its stock of social capital for political actions and to engage immigrants in transnational activities.

The study of the hometown associations has to be analyzed in the context of these theoretical approaches since they express more accurately the efforts of the immigrant population to develop itself in relation to what is taking place in Haitian society today. A society which is experiencing tremendous social, economic and political crises because it wants to move from a dictatorial and traditional culture to an open, modern, and democratic country.

Chapter 3

Citizen Participation and the Transnational Organizations

In this chapter I analyze the survey results in an attempt to understand the relationship that exists between the hometown organizations and their members. I also compared the survey results with the 1990 PUMS file to verify whether these two data would reveal the same information about the membership of the transnational organizations or confirm a difference. The survey results have revealed the following:

- Haitian immigrants who belong to transnational organizations tend to network and socialize among themselves.
- There is a concentration of Haitian professionals in the transnational organizations.
- The majority of the members are first-generation immigrants who came to the United States in the early 70's and who have maintained some form of relationship with family members or organizations in Haiti.
- Most of the immigrants who joined these organizations are US citizens and have lived here for more than fifteen years.
- The reason that immigrants who lived here for a long period participate in these organizations is because they have been acculturated to the process of participation at the local level through churches, tenants' association, PTA meetings, or union membership.

The survey results have also revealed that Haitian immigrants are involved in other forms of participation besides voting. Verba et al. (1995), in their study of political participation in America, argue that even though voting is the most popular form of participation, there is a need to construe political participation broadly to understand the behavior of those who participate in voluntary organizations. Participation cannot be

restricted simply to voting or writing checks. Other aspects should be taken into consideration such as membership in churches and other civic organizations because participation does have various positive consequences on the individual: "Participation can have many consequences: among them, promoting the development of individual capacities, building community, and legitimating the regime" (Verba et al. 1995: 12).

Rosenstone and Hansen (1993) note that leaders and parties promote participation not because it changes people's ideas about election or the political system, but because "they offset some of the costs of participation and exploit social relationships to create social rewards for participation" (Rosenstone and Hansen 1993: 15). They further remark that mobilization is important to the understanding of participation since the efforts leaders invest in inducing other people to become active are directly related to the level of participation that can take place in an organization.

The proliferation of Haitian transnational organizations in New York City since 1986 is directly related to the overthrow of the Duvalier regime since immigrants no longer feared being persecuted, or having a family member in Haiti arrested if they were to join an organization. Since the hometown associations were the only mass-based associations that existed in the community after a majority of the activist groups had folded, Haitians began to join them in droves. But unlike the political exiles who joined the activist groups in the 1970s to overthrow Duvalier and return back to Haiti, the membership of the transnational organizations consisted mostly of longtime residents and professionals who have opted to reside in the city voluntarily.

Over a period of nine months, from November 1998 to May 1999, one hundred

twenty-five questionnaires containing twenty-seven questions were distributed through the mail and at meetings to members of the hometown organizations. Of the 125 surveys, 36 percent (N=45) were returned. The survey questionnaire was based on Verba, Schlozman and Brady's (1995) study of participation in America, Rosenstone and Hansen (1995) work on mobilization, participation, and democracy, as well as Putnam's (1993) definition of social capital and Schiller's (1992) study of transnationalism.

The survey was designed to help identify how Haitian immigrants network and socialize among themselves, their occupations, their opinion toward adopting US citizenship, their participation in the US electoral process, their collaboration with other organizations in the community and the state of gender relationships in their organization. Since these associations are incubators for new organizations in the community, it is important to understand the processes that they use to recruit and train leaders. Some questions in the survey were designed to identify how they are developing leaders, building capacity, helping individuals develop networks and trust, and encouraging them to acquire the organizational skills needed to run an organization. These are significant markers because they can help us understand why Haitians choose to participate in groups that relate to Haiti even though they have lived in New York for more than fifteen years, and are quite aware of non-immigrant neighborhood organizations that they could have joined.

Networking and Socializing

Although Haitian immigrants have decided to move away from creating organizations based on color, class remains an important factor in their networking and socializing habits.

Even though the hometown organizations are open to all immigrants in the community, the survey reveals that only certain immigrants join them and those who become members tend to network more with each other than with other organizations. About 48.9 percent mention that they work primarily with other regional associations, instead of the neighborhood groups and community centers. Since all these organizations have a similar mission, that is, to help their hometowns in Haiti, it is understandable that they would collaborate on joint projects. The creation of a federation of regional organizations like FARHE has contributed in bringing these organizations together.

However, when asked to identify what other groups within the community that they worked with, about 6.7 percent of the respondents mentioned the community centers and 8.9 percent mentioned the churches. These answers suggest that the transnational groups do not have an extensive collaboration with groups that are outside of their network. The networking and socializing among these groups do not spill over to the larger immigrant community. I find that members of the transnational organizations rarely enter into alliance with other organizations in the community to pursue collective interests. Even when they support collective issues, such as the return of democracy in Haiti after the military coup in 1991 that overthrew the elected government of Aristide, they tend to support these actions independently.

Table 2. **Groups that the Transnational Organizations Collaborate with**

	Number	Percentage
Regional associations	22	48.9
Neighborhood organization	2	4.4
Churches	4	8.9
Community centers	3	6.7
Schools	1	2.2
More than 1 group	9	20
No answer	4	8.9
Total	45	100

Since community centers are not membership organizations and only provide direct services, there are probably very few reasons for the hometown organizations to engage in any form of collaboration with them. The other possible reason is that those who belong to the hometown associations do not have much need for the community centers since they already know how to manage their interest in the country. Since the churches have been historically an important institution in the community and have supported the transnational organizations, one would think that there would be more collaboration between these associations and the religious groups. However, according to the results, there is little collaboration between the transnational organizations and the churches.

There are several implications related to the survey's answers. One is how immigrants network. Networking is important for immigrants' adaptation in a new

environment. Laguerre (1984) Foner (1987) et al. have recognized the role that networks have played in the development of the Haitian community of New York. Networks can help reduce the cost of adjusting in a new society by providing immigrants with information on housing, jobs, and services. Furthermore, networks can introduce them to resources that can accelerate their assimilation. Grieco (1998) argues that the strength and diversity of social ties within migrant networks can facilitate the development of ethnic communities. However, for this to occur, members of the migrant community must be able to expand the number of ties within their own community and outside of it. Since there are a disproportionate number of professionals who belong to the transnational organizations, and they network more with one another than with other groups in the community, the likelihood for other immigrants to develop ties that can expand the Haitian ethnic identity in the city may be diminished.

Social Class and Networking

Class may also be one of the reasons why the regional organizations do not network more often with other groups in the community. Every organization in the community carries a legacy that can be traced back to Haiti. Since the country is still a traditional society where the family plays an important role, there is the tendency in the community to associate an organization with the family who founded it. Most of the time, immigrants who had prominent social and economic positions in Haiti created the transnational organizations. Therefore, working-class Haitians tend to identify some of these organizations as "bourgeois" whether it is a true reflection of the reality or not. Being labeled a "bourgeois" organization in the community connotes negative impressions. Often community residents associate

organizations whose meetings are held in French and that have prominent families on the membership roster as bourgeois.[12]

In addition to networking, the survey reveals that most of the Haitian immigrants who belong to the transnational organizations are professionals and have a higher level of education than the rest of the immigrant population. About 33.3 percent of the survey respondents are professionals and more than 17 percent have obtained masters and doctoral degrees.

Compared to the general Haitian immigrant population in New York City, it appears that this new group is distinct because of its educational achievements, the number of middle-class people who participate in these organizations, and the skills that they have to run their organizations. This can be analyzed in several ways. First, since the rise of the Duvalier regime, there has been a continuous brain drain in Haiti. Those who had the opportunity to leave were at the beginning middle-class and professional. Therefore, they were educated in Haiti and continued their professional careers in the US. Second, if we assume that it is the most assimilated segment of the immigrant population that joins the transnational groups, it is probable to find the most educated Haitians among them. Third, Haitians who were educated in Haiti tend to retain their professional titles when they participate in these organizations even though they no longer work in these fields. Compared to the education level of Haitian immigrants that is reported in the 1990 Public Use Micro-data Sample (PUMS), members of the transnational organizations are indeed a privileged group. Only 6.5 percent of PUMS sample received a college education and less than 5 percent had obtained a

---

[12] In a conversation with a few immigrants about the transnational organizations, I mentioned to them the name of a group, they responded instantaneously: "This is a bourgeois organization" based on the fact that they have

post-graduate degree.

table 3. **Education Level of the Transnational Members**

	Number	Percentage
High school	7	15.6
Some college	10	22.2
Associate degree	10	22.2
BA	4	8.9
Master	6	13.3
Ph.D.	2	4.4
No answer	6	13.3
Total	45	100

table 4. **Education level of First-Generation Haitian Immigrants** (PUMS 1990 data)

	Number	Percentage
High school	265	20.7
Some college	367	28.6
College grad	84	6.5
Post grad	52	4.1
No school completed	373	29.1
No answer	142	11.11
Total	1283	100.

several professionals and most of whom come from prominent families in Haiti.

Since the transnational organizations attract the most successful segment of the immigrant population, the question that comes up is why do they join these organizations. One reason that professional Haitian immigrants join the transnational organizations is that these associations allow them to reinforce their middle-class values and training. These organizations help immigrants escape from their work environments, which may be unpleasant due to racism and the lack of challenge of the job. Basch, Schiller, and Blanc (1994) note this transformation in the following terms:

> Unable to transfer their landholdings and commercial position into ready cash, and without knowledge of English, diplomats [professionals] became elevator operators, lawyers parked cars, doctors became orderlies, and teachers became factory workers. People who had staffs of live-in servants all their lives became maids and waiters (Basch et al. 1994: 158).

Although Haitians in general have been seen as successful in the US, there are several immigrants who had obtained their degree in Haiti who found themselves working in fields that did not meet their middle-class aspirations.

There are hundreds of stories in the community where immigrants who were professionals in Haiti find themselves taking low-level positions to meet their economic needs in the US. Several times one would meet an immigrant who is often called "Maitre", meaning lawyer, when the person is not practicing law in the United States and is not working for a law firm. However, that person studied law in Haiti and maintains his title even though he may be a teacher or an accountant, or even a janitor. Although that person has an academic diploma, he may be technically a blue-collar worker. However, when he participates in the transnational organizations, his fellow Haitians often call him by the title

he acquired in Haiti. The transnational organizations in fact help create a new form of identity for those immigrants. That new identity is connected to the immigrants' former life in Haiti.

table 5. **Occupation**

	Number	Percentage
Technical	6	13.3
Managerial	5	11.1
Professional	15	33.3
Health related	4	8.9
Manual	5	11.1
No answer	10	22.2
Total	45	100

table 6. **Occupation** (PUMS 1990 data)

	Number	Percentage
Manager	361	28.1
Professional	37	2.9
Unemployed	3	.2
Other categories	882	68.7
Total	1283	100

Citizenship and Immigration

Table 6 reveals that 62.2 percent of those who are members of the transnational organizations are US citizens. This is exceptional when compared to the average rate for the Haitian immigrant population, which is about 26 percent (1990 US census). This suggests that those who are members of the hometown associations are more politically active. It may be further construed that they have a better sense of how they can tap into the resources of the US to conduct their transnational activities. For a transnational Haitian, there are several advantages to being a US citizen, especially if the person has to travel often to Haiti. First, the individual does not have to deal with the passport and immigration controls of the Haitian government that are cumbersome and at times expensive. The Haitian passport is changed by the government every five years and costs more than 200 Haitian dollars to obtain. Although 200 Haitian dollars is equal to about 50 US dollars, it is quite high for the population whose per capita income is about 400 US dollars (World Bank 1995). Second, even if the individual stays for an extended period of time in Haiti, he does not lose any legal or economic rights in the United States. Third, given Haiti's unbalanced political system, an American passport can bring some measure of protection from the US embassy to the individual in case there is a coup d'Etat or another political conflict in the country.

table 7. **Citizenship**

	Number	Percentage
US citizen	28	62.2
Haitian	12	26.7
No answer	5	11.1
Total	45	100

Although the data suggest a high rate of participation of Haitian-Americans in the transnational associations, there is, however, a great discrepancy between how most naturalized Haitian immigrants understand the notion of citizenship as well as the rights and obligations that come with it. When I asked the respondents whether they felt more American than Haitian, about 75.6 percent responded that they felt more Haitian than American. Even though they are US citizens and have lived in the US for more than thirty years, they are still attached to their homeland. This means that most of the respondents have become US citizens for functional reasons, such as to seek residence for a family member or to take advantage of the benefits that are offered only to US citizens. As a US citizen, a retiree can collect his pension in his home country and does not have to travel every six months to the US to renew his green card.

Scholars have found similar examples among Latin American immigrants who lived in New York City. Michael Jones Correa (1998) notes that Latin American immigrants have adopted US citizenship as a way to facilitate travel to their home country and the immigration of their relatives. However, most of the time these immigrants maintain their traditional

social and cultural behaviors and engage in activities whose sole objective is to express their connection to their homeland. These activities include parades, picnics, and the cooking of ethnic food to prove that their allegiance is still to their home country. "In these social circles the food does not change, nor the drinks, nor the accent. All this is perhaps meant to imply that their experience as immigrants in the United States has not changed them or made them any different from those who stayed behind" (Correa-Jones, 1998: 102). Beth Baker-Cristales (1999) in her dissertation on Salvadoran transnationals argues that they view US citizenship as utilitarian and that they use their US citizenship to gain greater access in Salvadoran politics or to further their economic interests.

The perception of citizenship as a utilitarian exercise reveals the contradictions within the immigrant community at a time when the United States and Western Europe are retreating from T. H. Marshall's concept that citizenship cannot be limited to a territorial birthplace, but must also be linked to other political, social, and economic rights. The Haitian immigrants are contesting the common assumption that US citizenship means assimilation into the society because they maintain their identity and social relationships with their country of origin. By retaining their loyalty to their country of origin, members of the transnational organizations assume that their welfare rests with that country.

Since more than 52 percent of the survey respondents travel at least every year to Haiti, they may be more inclined to identify with their country of origin than those who do not travel that often. The high number of respondents who claim that they travel often to Haiti further confirms the transnational character of these organizations. Although the reason for traveling to Haiti is mixed, since there are several respondents who gave more than one

answer, it can be assumed that most of them travel to Haiti to visit families, prepare their retirement, or to visit organizational projects. The frequent travel to Haiti may reflect the intention of these members to retire in the country since 22.2 percent of the respondents mentioned that they would like to retire in their homeland. This answer also reflects the fact that high proportions of those who belong to the hometown associations are first-generation immigrants who nurture the dream of returning home someday.

Transnationalism has been defined as an attempt by immigrants to negotiate their citizenship at a time when globalization and progress in communication are creating more interdependence between third world countries and advanced industrialized societies (Friedman (1998) Smith (1998). The pattern of Haitian citizenship in the United States reflects this phenomenon since the immigrants have expressed the desire to maintain their American connections while they have embraced their previous cultural and social values. This is a form of segmented assimilation in which the immigrants chooses from both countries what is in their best interest. However, this form of segmented assimilation seems to facilitate mostly middle-class Haitians who can afford to travel regularly to Haiti and who are acculturated to a point where they are comfortable living simultaneously in two societies.

The survey reveals that there is a high rate of voter participation among members of the transnational organizations. Approximately 51.1 percent of the respondents stated that they voted regularly. This is far higher than the average immigrant population.

table 8. **Voting**

	Number	Percentage
I vote regularly	23	51.1
I do not vote regularly	9	20
No answer	13	28.9
Total	45	100

The high rate of voter participation among members of the transnational organizations is an indication of their level of assimilation into the mainstream and the recognition that there are rewards associated with participation. Bass and Casper (1999), in a study of voting behavior of naturalized and native-born voters, found that immigrants "who have spent 26 to 65 years in the US are more likely to vote than those who entered the U.S. ten or less years ago" (Bass and Caper 1999: 11). They argue that the assimilation process of the U.S. is directly related to this behavior since naturalized immigrants tend to be more attached and integrated into their communities. The answer from this question confirms Bass and Caper's findings that immigrants who have been in the US longer tend to vote more often than recently arrived naturalized citizens. More than 42.2 percent of the individuals who belong to the transnational organizations have been in the U.S for more than twenty years. The 1990 census data reveal that 57.9 percent of the Haitian population entered the U.S. between 1980 and 1990.

table 9. **Year of Arrival for Members of the Transnational Organizations**

Year of arrival in the US	Number	Percentage
1960-1970	19	42.2
1971-1975	11	24.4
1976-1980	5	11.1
1981-1985	3	6.7
1986-1990	4	8.9
No answer	3	6.7
Total	45	100

Although voting is one of the most common participatory acts in the United States, a majority of Americans do not vote because of the various bureaucratic and institutional barriers that are imposed by local and federal governments (Piven 1988). However, since it is one of the most important participatory actions in Western societies, it is necessary to understand how it affects citizen participation. Cole (1973) notes that scholars are interested in citizen participation "because of its impact on the individual participant, the political system as a whole and ultimately, upon democratic theory and representative government" (Cole 1973: 1). Voting is not only an act of participation, but it also determines how resources are distributed in our society. Studies by Mollenkopf (1992), Stone (1989), and Gittell (1980) have shown that politicians tend to channel resources and attention to neighborhoods where there is active citizen participation. During the 1970s and 80s,

Mollenkopf (1992) notes that New York City politicians tended to fund community-based organizations that had an active constituency and whose leaders were linked to the political clubs.

Transnational Organizations and Non-electoral participation

Although voting is a major component of participation in the American political system, there are other forms of participation that have taken place within the transnational organizations. More than two-thirds of the respondents, about 66.7 percent indicated that their organizations were active in raising money. About 48.9 percent of the sample claimed that their organizations have held events for this purpose. Approximately 44.4 percent of the participants indicated that their organizations have held more than one major fundraising event during the year. About 37 percent belonged to the boards of their organizations, whereas 17.8 percent belonged to the fundraising committee. There was a high percentage of the membership (22.2 percent) that belonged to more than one committee within the organization. Members of the transnational organizations tended to hold meetings frequently since 57.8 percent of the respondents stated that they met once a month, whereas 24.4 percent met at least once every three months.

Very few respondents are in contact with US public officials despite a high rate of citizenship. More than 80 percent did not have any relation with their elected officials. Although this may appear astounding, generally very few American citizens are in contact with their elected officials (Verba 1996; Rosenstone 1994). About 46.7 percent of the respondents who joined the transnational organizations were between the ages of 41-60. This is a reflection of the population make-up of the first generation that emigrated from Haiti to

the United States. According to the US Census, 44.4 percent of the Haitian immigrants who arrived in the United States from 1982-1988 were between 25-44 years old.

Gender and the Transnational Organizations

The survey suggests that more men belong to the transnational organizations than women do. About 68.9 percent of the survey respondents are men. In his study of Italian hometown associations in Toronto, Harney (1998) remarks that these associations are patriarchal and that a majority of the clubs consist of institutions for males to gather after work hours and on Friday evenings to play cards. Although there is a large concentration of women among the Haitian immigrant population, since women head almost 40 percent of the households in the 1990 PUMS sample, the level of women participating in the transnational organizations is very low. This is due to the position that women tend to occupy in these organizations. Most of them are either recording secretaries or treasurers.

Although there is a low rate of women participating in the transnational associations, this is in no way a true reflection of women's role in Haiti and the diaspora. Before 1986, it was impossible for women activists to organize in Haiti because of the repressive nature of the Duvalier regime. Although there were women's organizations in Haiti before the dictatorship, the government once in power destroyed most of them. To intimidate women activists from organizing their members, the regime would kidnap, rape, and torture them (Charles 1995). However, once they came to New York, women activists quickly created organizations to address feminist issues. During the 1970s and 1980s, several women organizations were created in New York, and these organizations were engaged in mobilizing

against the regime in Haiti, educating women about their rights, and exposing the abuses that women were subjected to in Haiti under the government. These groups including Union Fanm Patriotique and Neges Vanyan[13] succeeded in bringing their agenda to several international conferences in Berlin, Panama, and Cuba. These immigrant organizations not only brought the attention of the international community to the plight of Haitian women in Haiti, but they also succeeded in captivating the attention of thousands of immigrants in New York on women's issues including domestic violence, child care, and household chores.

The participation of women in the transnational organizations should have been a continuation of the activism that the women's organizations had shown during the early 1980s. However, the leadership role that these women are given in the transnational organizations severely limits their capacity to address feminist issues and to advance their agenda. The transnational organizations, like any other Haitian institutions, are battlegrounds for Haitian women to advance their agenda. It was only in 1979 that the Haitian constitution recognized married women as adults (Charles 1995). Throughout the country's history, women no matter how old were regarded to be under the guardianship of their spouse or the older adult male in the family. Domestic violence, rape, and other abuses were rarely prosecuted by the state.

Although they have very few women in leadership positions, these organizations have supported women's issues more often than other traditional groups in the community. They supported the Aristide government's initiative in 1995 to create a cabinet position for women. A prominent woman leader from the diaspora was appointed as its minister. This

---

12- Union of Patriotic Women and Strong women

decision raised the profile of women's issues in the country, and the ministry initiated programs to educate women about their rights and to sensitize the men toward gender issues. However, despite the Lavalas government's goodwill gesture toward women, a lot more remains to be done before women are accorded equal rights in the country. In 1996, members of Parliament wanted to close the ministry. When Aristide resisted, they cut its funding severely and forced it to reduce its personnel. As a result the institution currently is very limited in its capacity to address women's issues in the country.

The official position of the transnational organizations is to support policies that benefit women. But since a majority of the men who belong to these associations are first-generation immigrants, they tend to remain attached to Haitian traditional cultural and social values that treat women as second-class citizens. This tendency is further reinforced when a woman who may earn more income than the man in New York accepts to relinquish the decision-making authority in the house to the spouse. Since the recruiting process of the transnational organizations is through family members and close friends, the opportunity to challenge the men is limited because those who join tend to accept the established leadership structure. This is probably the reason that most women do not join the transnational organizations. They opt to stay away from organizations that replicate the same form of social and cultural values that exist in Haiti.

Summary

What this survey reveals is that members of the transnational associations are different from other Haitian immigrants because they are more educated, assimilated into the mainstream, and have lived in the US longer. Far from being organizations that welcome

new immigrants, these organizations are rather groups that middle-class Haitians join to preserve their identity in New York and maintain their social status in Haiti. Although they encourage participation through their involvement in activities that include fundraising and trips to Haiti, they are not interested in addressing local issues that newly arrived immigrants in the city are coping with on a daily basis. Furthermore, there is a very closed circle relationship among the members of these organizations, since often new members are invited to join through the invitation of a current member. Many of these organizations have bylaws that limit the membership of their organization to immigrants who were born in the town and their spouses. Others are less exclusionary since, in addition to those who were born in the town, they also include friends. But even this is limited since one still needs some form of relationship with a town's member to be admitted.

The transnational organizations encourage Haitian leaders to create their own associations and recruit members from their hometowns. A consequence of this policy is that most prominent Haitians who come from small towns are interested in establishing their own hometown associations. These groups end up competing with one another for resources and attention. As a result of the proliferation of these hometown associations in New York, there are villages that are better known in New York than in Haiti. It is not uncommon to find on any given evening in the summer two or three hometown associations organizing fundraising events and inviting the same people to attend them. It can be argued that, given the fact that Haitians come from a political culture which does not encourage participation, the more of it we have the better it is, since those who participate more often will remain active longer. However, the data suggest that there are some individuals who belong to more than one

committee in their organization. Those who are engaged in several committees at once may jeopardize the capacity of the organization to function effectively because tasks may not be divided broadly, and the quality of the participation may be inadequate.

The survey results also suggest that Haitian transnationalism is a first-generation phenomenon that may disappear once that generation retires. The majority of the respondents are between the ages of 41 and 60. This is an indication that those who participate in the organization are first-generation immigrants who are more attached to their old cultural values and habits. These values at times may come in conflict with women and members of the second generation since very few of them will participate in organizations that replicate the traditional Haitian social values that they left in Haiti. Although these organizations provide Haitian immigrants an institutional framework to conduct transnational activities and to participate, they are far from adopting American values that would attract women and young people.

Chapter 4

Profile of the Hometown Associations

In this chapter, I present a profile of the hometown associations from the comments that were made during interviews with the members. Based on these comments, I argue that, more than being important institutions through which Haitian immigrants support transnational activities to improve the social and economic conditions of their hometowns in Haiti, these organizations also fulfill other roles in the community for individuals who participate in them. These roles include:

- encouraging the maintenance of a separate Haitian identity based on historical pride and the perpetuation of the "return to the homeland myth";
- providing leaders opportunities to restore the networks that existed in Haiti;
- helping leaders maintain their prestige and status by being advisors on community and personal issues in New York; and benefactors in Haiti;
- contributing to breaking cultural and social barriers that existed between urban and rural Haitians; and
- reinforcing the role of the church in the life of Haitian immigrants.

Improving Social and Economic Conditions

The primary function of the hometown associations is to create transnational activities that can support members' hometowns in Haiti. The leaders of these associations reveal clearly that they created these associations because they wanted to help their hometowns.

A leader of the Association des Fils et Amis de Lavoute (AFAL) notes the following:

> Our mission is to build roads. We have plans to build a health clinic. We have been able to build a school. We are working to solve the electricity and water problems, and we are doing things to train the youths, such as sport activities.

A member of Fraternite Valleenne notes that: "The objective of the group is to bring education, health, and agriculture in the community". Another member of the Petite Riviere association notes that their goal was to: "Help the city economically and financially so that it could create some development projects."

The Association des Rivartibonitiens a l'Etranger has contributed to pay the salary of teachers who were teaching literacy classes to poor children in the community and has raised money for the construction of a drinking water fountain and the repair of the Catholic church. Two leaders of the Alliance Gonaivienne (ALGO) note the following: "ALGO was founded to help the people of Haiti, the City of Gonaives and the people who live in its vicinity."

A leader of the St. Marc Association was asked about the accomplishment of his organization since its foundation. He answered the following:

> The first thing that we did was to send a mimeograph machine to the high school. Most of us were educated in that school. Many times students are not able to copy their homework on the board. This causes them to miss work. We visited the hospital and discovered that there was no isolation ward for people who have tuberculosis, so we decided to build an isolated ward for the hospital.

In addition to these aids, the association has also sent medical equipment and two fire trucks to the city.

A member of the Organisation pour le Developement de Lascahobas notes that:

> The organization has opened a modern library in the city with computers and electricity. It has put up street signs, and it is now in the process of fencing the cemetery to prevent vandalism.

Similar activities took place with the organizations in the Southeast where Fraternite Valleenne collected $32,000 for the construction of a health center between 1978-1980. Members of the Association des Amis de Lavoute in the Southeast made the following remarks:

> We rented a house for a health clinic. When one of our members goes there every year, we send medicines and we hold a health fair inviting doctors, nurses, and health professionals to come to help. Then we built a road. The road is not yet asphalted, but we have a good road now for the rainy season.

The activities that these organizations engage in their hometowns not only contribute toward improving the living conditions of those who live in the area, but they help Haitian immigrants who are returning back adjust to their new environment since they are concerned with either development or sanitary conditions.

The Myth of Returning to the Homeland

The myth of returning to one's homeland has always been a powerful symbol for first-generation immigrants. Studies of other immigrant populations (Harney 1998; Soyer 1997; Espinosa 1994) reveal that many times the creation of hometown associations is an attempt by immigrants to maintain their cultural cohesion and remain attached to the homeland in a symbolic manner.

When I asked a leader of the Association des Amis de Lavoute whether he plans to return to Haiti to live, he answered in the following:

> Don't even ask that question. We all have homes in Lavoute, and we plan to retire in Lavoute. It is just a question of time. We plan to educate the population. Provide it with all the information and knowledge possible. I plan to train them in legal matters. I will help them; provide them with counseling. That will be the time for me to share with them the knowledge I acquired in Haiti. I plan to teach since I will be retired and I won't need much money.

The president of the Association des Amis de Belle Anse provided a similar answer to this question:

> Personally given the experience that I am acquiring here, I would like to go and finish it in Haiti. My goal is to return to Haiti to realize our dreams and help the country develop. Change the face of the country. Give the people the means to live decently.

A member of the Association des Rivartibonitiens a l'Etranger answered the question in the following way:

> Let me tell you when I was studying at the Lycee (high school) Antenor Firmin in Port-au-Prince, my mother was a merchant. She was selling in the market in Petite Riviere, L'Estere, and Jean Denis. I remember going with my mother to all these places, I was trying to understand the Haitian reality at close range. Since then, I have had what you would call "a class consciousness." Which means that I tried to understand where I came from and those who came from the same place who are still living in poverty, ignorance, that until today the country has not been able to eradicate. So even though I have been living a long time abroad, the way I lived my youth in Haiti had already an impact on me. It was on December 16, 1990 after the election of Aristide that I said to myself that finally I am not in the opposition anymore. So in four years, I hope to go back to Petite Riviere to help them.

The President of Fraternite Valleenne gave us the essence of his feeling toward Haiti in these statements:

> When I am traveling to Haiti, I always like to sit by the window to watch the view as we land. At that time I feel something that I cannot explain when I see the country. And when you get there, you feel you are at home. You cannot describe it, but no matter how Haiti is, you feel that you are home.

A leader of CODEVA (Committee for the Development of LaVallee) in the Southeast Department who lived for two years in Miami made the following comments about his nostalgia for Haiti:

> I missed Haiti so much that I developed a stomach ulcer. I had a lot of difficulties eating. Every day I dreamt of my hometown. I finally explain these things to a doctor. He said to me: "My friend, there is no other cure to your illness, but to go back home." I took his advice and returned right to Lavallee. Since then, my ulcer has been treated, and I have had no regrets for coming back home. As they say in Haiti "Lakay se lakay."

Home sweet home.

Maintenance of the Haitian Identity

The desire of the first generation to return home is also influenced by other factors that they have encountered in the United States and their past history. Haitian immigrants for the most part have to deal with racism that they encounter in the United States, and the fact that they find themselves at the bottom of the social ladder as people of color. Zephyr (1997) notes that the persistence of racism in the United States, which constantly reminds Haitians of their color, and the feeling that they do not belong here encourage them to maintain their separate cultural and ethnic identity. Wiltshire argues that: "the willingness for immigrants from the Caribbean to create voluntary associations in the United States is an indication of perceptions of the host society as being hostile, a bad influence for children, and lonely" (Wiltshire 1992: 186). The author further notes that it also indicates who friends and social associates were most likely to be. The longing to return to Haiti is also due to the fact that Haitians are aware of their past achievements. Carolle Charles notes that: "Pride in the Haitian revolution is part of the cultural and ideological make-up of the Haitian social fabric. There is no Haitian political and social statement that does not make reference to Haiti's independence. The Haitian revolution of 1791-1804 is the basis on which Haitians define themselves, perceive and evaluate others, and create their identities" (Charles 1992: 106).

Haitian immigrants have expressed an interest in maintaining their ethnic difference by not joining African-American organizations. During an interview, one participant explained her view of the racial situation in American society through these comments:

> I never wanted to identify myself as African-American because of the negative attitude that exists toward African-Americans in this country. We Haitians are very proud of ourselves. We don't want to be put down by anyone.

The President of the Association of St. Marcois a l'Etranger notes:

> Personally I am very reluctant to join African-American groups. I participate in African-American groups as a Haitian, but not as an American. I have been here for forty years, but I have never become a citizen. I work with African-American groups in Harlem. I have been in contact will all these groups since the 1960s during the segregation period, but I always let them know before everything that I am a Haitian.

The distinction that Haitian immigrants make between themselves and African-Americans is based more on class and ethnicity since they are not only aware of their African heritage, but they have historically played a major role in identifying with the struggle of Black people in the Americas. Haiti after its independence supported the emancipation of slaves throughout the Americas by providing military support, or economic aid to leaders who were fighting the colonialists, or by advocating the emigration of Blacks to the island. Simon Bolivar in his struggle to liberate South America from the Spanish crown sought the support of Haiti in 1816. The Haitian government provided material and economic aid on conditions that he frees people of African descent from slavery once he liberated the territories (Masur 1948). In the nineteenth century, Haiti was a major supporter of African-American emancipation and had encouraged Black Americans to immigrate to the island. During the 1820s under the leadership of President Jean-Pierre Boyer in Haiti, there was a movement to encourage free African-Americans to move to Haiti. The Haitian president was motivated largely by a need to improve the country's agriculture, which was severely affected by the revolutionary war, and by the determination to support the freedom of African-Americans from slavery. In the 1860s during the American Civil War, the movement to

encourage African-Americans to immigrate to Haiti rebounded again. Dixon (2000) notes that two thousands African-Americans from Louisiana and other parts of the South immigrated to Haiti between 1859 and 1862 (Dixon 2000: 129).

Throughout the nineteenth century, a number of African-Americans had significant contacts with Haiti. They would usually gather in their churches in the United States on the first day of January to celebrate Haiti's independence. Several of these leaders including James T. Holly and Reverend Richard Allen of Philadelphia supported the migration of free American Blacks to Haiti. Although the 1820 and the 1860 movements did not succeed in bringing a large number of African-Americans to Haiti, it did, however, arouse in the mind of African-Americans what Dixon described as "a concern of trans-national racial unity" (Dixon 2000: 52).

This transnational unity is still present within the larger Haitian community. As can be attested in the various cases of police brutality in New York City in which Haitian immigrants were the victims. In August 1997 a Haitian immigrant by the name of Abner Louima was sodomized with a plunger by police officers in the bathroom of the 70th police precinct in Flatbush, Brooklyn (New York Times August 22, 1997). On March 16, 2000 the police in Manhattan fatally shot another Haitian-American by the name of Patrick Dorismond when he refused their advances to sell them drugs (New York Times, March 17, 2000). Both incidents shocked the city and mobilized the Haitian community to demand reforms in the way the police deal with minorities in the city. One of the key African-American leaders who has played a major role in these two incidents is Reverend Al Sharpton. Rev. Sharpton denounced the brutality of the police force against Haitians in the city and also mobilized the

African-American community to support the community's struggle to bring the officers who committed these acts to court. The intervention of African-American leaders, including Sharpton and former New York City mayor, David Dinkins, in these two incidents, not only broadened the support of Americans for the cause of the Haitian, but it also forced the current mayor and federal officials to address this problem on an institutional level. Currently the federal government is investigating the practices of the police department toward minorities in the city. The current mayor has made several changes in the department including the staffing of more minority officers in precincts with large number of minorities (Police Department document, March 1998).

Therefore, the inclination of the members of the transnational organizations to maintain a separate identity from African-Americans only reflects the class interest of these groups, but not a desire to renounce their African heritage, or the sense of a common history that they share with African-Americans. The transnational organizations realize that by speaking Creole and French in their meetings and writing their correspondence in French, their members will feel more connected with the homeland. However, no matter how connected they want to be with Haiti, incidents such as those involving Abner Louima and Patrick Dorismond always compel them to join forces with African-Americans to deal with the more prevalent racial attitudes that exist in New York City.

Leaders Restore Haitian Networks to Maintain Prestige and Status

Those who are considered leaders in Haiti and New York tend to lead the hometown associations. These include people whose families owned large tracks of land in the towns,

professionals, merchants, and high level bureaucrats. In the New York Haitian community, leaders also include those who had opposed the Duvalier government during the brutal years of the regime and individuals who took initiatives to create self-help or community organizations. The transnational organizations in New York provide these leaders the opportunity to restore their networks in Haiti and to maintain their prestige and status in the New York community. Through frequent travel to Haiti, these leaders maintain contact with their friends and families in their hometown and reinforce existing social distinction that exists in the town. When the transnational organizations under the leadership of these individuals help build a school or provide money to support a health clinic in the town, the prestige of these leaders increases in the community. Moreover, since many of the leaders that I have interviewed are members of the elite in Haiti because of their economic resources and their education, it makes it more difficult for ordinary citizens in the town to criticize their policy.

Although these leaders express a nostalgic feeling toward Haiti and their hometown, it is evident from the interviews that their desire to return home is based on the economic and social interests that they enjoy in the community and the need to preserve the family wealth and legacy. Several leaders mentioned that their families owned property in the town, and they are well known in the region. Therefore as returning immigrants, with social and economic resources, they find that the prestige of the family tends to increase in the town. When their return is linked to benevolent activities that benefit the whole town, this process takes a whole new dimension. This confirms Goldring's (1998) thesis that:

> transnational social fields, and localities of origin in particular, provide a special context in which people can improve their social position and perhaps their power,

> make claims about their changing status and have it appropriately valorized, and also participate in changing their place of origin so that it becomes more consistent with their changing expectations and statuses" (Goldring 1998: 167).

Many times those who choose to return to their hometown have economic interests that they want to protect or they may want to use their previous experiences to gain economic privilege in the town. Several leaders of the transnational organizations own land and other property in their town. The President of the Association des Amis de Belle Anse notes that:

> My father had land in Belle Anse. When he died, he left a lot of wealth. He had several mills, and he was a big shot in town.

A leader from the City of Gonaives in the Artibonite Department who travels often between Gonaives and New York notes that:

> My father was a school teacher, and I have family members who are members of the elite. They have a lot of properties in the city such as gasoline stations, hotels, etc.

Here is how the President of the Association des St Marcois talked about his family:

> My father was an arpenteur (land surveyor), a speculator, and an entrepreneur. He was one of the first people to start an industry in the Artibonite Valley. He had various milling machines.

A leader of the Association des Fils et des Amis de Lavoute, in the Southeast Department notes the following:

> The family originally came from Petionville in Port-au-Prince. They used to go to Lavoute to buy coffee and that's how they decided to settle in Lavoute. My grand-father was a big landowner. I could say that my grandfather had a lot of land and only the Louis family lived on that land. They had several children. My father was born in Lavoute, but he lived in Jacmel since he was in the military for 25 years. When I was a child, I used to go to Lavoute for vacation. So I became very much attached to it. It was my grandfather who gave the land to build the church.

There are a series of relations that are embedded in transnational organizations that are difficult to discern unless one is completely aware of the socio-economic context in

which these relations develop. Since it is mostly middle-class individuals who tend to play a leadership role in the transnational organizations, it is their networks that facilitate the actions that these organizations are engaged in. A leader that I met in the town of Petite Riviere de l'Artibonite illustrates how networks, prestige, and status are enmeshed in the context of transnationalism and the hometown organizations. It is a town of about 25,000 located in the heart of the country's agricultural center in the Artibonite Valley. Although it is a historic city since it was a major commercial and political center after the Haitian revolution, as with most of the other cities in the country, the Duvalier regime did not promote its development. Efforts to address the city's problems have come from voluntary organizations, such as the Albert Schweitzer Hospital and local grassroots organizations. Projects sponsored by the Association des Rivartibonitiens a l'Etranger, the hometown organization in New York, are managed by a local group whose main leader used to live in the diaspora.

Marco Desormes, who is the director of the group in Petite Riviere lived in Montreal, Canada for more than twenty-five years. He decided to return to Haiti to attend his father's funeral in 1991. While he was there, a military coup overthrew President Aristide, and he was unable to leave the country because there was no air transportation between Haiti and Canada since the national airport was closed. Since the other members of the family lived abroad, he was asked to stay on to manage the family business. Mr. Desorme has been quite active as a leader of the group in the town. He is the liaison between the New York branch of the association and Petite Riviere. He manages the projects that members of the association support from New York. In addition to implementing the projects, he has also sought other

resources from local institutions to complete the projects. When I asked him to describe his role and his relationship with the organization in New York, he answered in the following:

> This is an association of the people from Petite Riviere who live in New York, who understand the reality of the city and who want to contribute to its progress. We have several issues to deal with including sanitation, drinking water, and cultural groups. Those of us who live in North America are used to finding people who are competent to deal with these problems, but here in Petite Riviere it is different. The members of the association wanted to address the drinking water problem. The town, which has more than 25,000 residents does not have any running water. People are still carrying water in buckets to their home. It costs about $4,000 to dig a water well. But we need several in the city.

Since the association in New York could not fund all the wells, Mr. Desorme went to the missionary hospital, which has a program to install other wells for drinking water. He notes that the hospital decided to dig the well for 400 Haitian dollars, an amount that is much cheaper than the current rate. The installation of wells in the town will provide potable water to 2,500 school children who used to drink polluted water. In addition to installing the drinking water system, Mr. Desorme is also engaged in the installation of a generator system for the hospital and in building a town library. The generator for the hospital and the books for the library came from abroad.

Like other middle-class members of the associations that I have met in New York, this leader is a member of the elite in the town. Since he returned to Petite Riviere, he has used his networks of friends and families to obtain projects for the organization. When asked about his family, he answered the following:

> Well we don't like to talk about us. We try to be as modest as possible. People know us, but we don't like to talk about it. My father was a merchant. He was offered an assembly seat all the time, but he always turned it down. He said that I am above all a merchant. When you get into politics, you become the friend of everyone. I am not interested in being chief of anything. Recently the Minister of the Interior came by to ask for advice and suggested that I take a job with him. I told him that I was not

> interested. My grand father also owned land. My politics is to tell the peasants that the land belongs to them. They have been on it for so long that we could not remove them from it. We ask them to pay us a very low rent on the land. We sometimes have to fight to keep them on the land because there are some other people who would like to take it away from them.

Mr. Desorme's lack of enthusiasm to participate in the government has reinforced his position as a neutral resident in the town and has turned him into a leader who is consulted on almost everything by members of the other organizations in the town. As he himself notes:

> Right now, I have become a missionary. People think that I talk a lot and that I have to do something. That's why they keep inviting me to events. But I try to solve problems also. For example, I serve as an intermediary between the authorities and the population. And through this, I have been able to solve problems. For example, this house is a reference point. When the drilling company came to town, they stopped here first to ask me for advice. People thought that it was my father's company. They kept saying that the company came and I did not offer them any jobs. So I spoke to the manager of the company and I got him to hire a few local people for the job.

Mr. Desorme's access to the power brokers in Haiti is linked to his family background, his knowledge of local politics, and his experience abroad. Although he has managed to use these assets for the benefit of the association, indirectly he has profited from his membership in the group. Over a period of time his network among the different sectors in the country will increase. Residents in the community will continue to see him as a benefactor because he was able to bring in jobs and additional resources into the community, and his family interest will be preserved as his prestige in the community continues to grow.

However, even in localities where leaders have not traveled abroad, they are still able to maintain their prestige and reinforce their networks as in the case of Lavoute, a village located about twenty miles from the city of Jacmel with a population of about ten thousand residents. The village has a primary school, but the children have to travel to the main city of

Jacmel to attend secondary school. Most of the residents including the leaders of the association have never traveled to a foreign country, and most of them have lived in the village since they were born. However, through their connection with leaders of the Association des Fils et Amis de Lavoute (AFAL) in New York, they have developed a series of networks which have not only benefited the community, but also themselves because state officials consult with them on projects related to the community. During my field trip in July 1999 in the community, leaders of the organization were meeting with the Ministry of Public Works about the use of a tractor to build a soccer field in the community. This meeting was arranged through a member who lives in New York and who knows some high level officials in the ministry.

AFAL has also tried to broaden its base to include anyone who comes from Lavoute regardless of where that person lives. One informant made the following remarks regarding the association:

> AFAL is an initiative of residents who are living here and abroad and who realized that we cannot have development if people are not organized. So a lot of our residents from abroad came and met with us and suggested that we create AFAL. They then began to participate in the activities and talk to other organizations in the area so that they can also join AFAL. In the beginning, people in the village thought it was a foreign organization. Now they realize it is their organization and that they have to join it. AFAL also tries to regroup everyone who is from Lavoute into the association even if they live away from the village. For example, we have a group in Port-au-Prince, another one in Jacmel.

Since the leaders in New York come from prominent families in the community, they were successful in securing grants from the Haitian state to build a soccer field for the community and in bringing resources to improve the quality of education in the area.

Whereas local leaders in Haiti accumulate more prestige since they are seen as

benefactors of the town, in New York they are sought by immigrants for advice on issues that affect their daily life. A leader of the Association for the Development of Lascahobas notes the following:

> Friends would come to see me for help with legal problems such as divorce, or problems with their children. Since I am not a lawyer, I usually refer them to a legal expert. Others would come to see me about translating documents from Creole or French into English.

A leader of the Association des St. Marcois a l'Etranger stated the following:

> I am someone who likes to help a lot of people in the community. When they don't have a place to sleep, they would come to my house. I once took a whole family into my house. I saw this Haitian family on the street in the winter. I could not just pass them by. That was in 1968; they had no place to sleep. I also translate Creole into English for people who needed immigration services. I write letters for them, help them find jobs, help them obtain social security cards and give them food. Until today some of them still remember me. One day at a soccer game, this man approached me and began to thank me. He explained to every one how I helped him when he came to New York.

Breaking Social Barriers

Although leaders of the hometown organizations did not realize it when they were creating these associations, one of their major contributions to the advancement of an equitable society in Haiti has been the breakdown of social barriers that existed between urban and rural Haitians. Since independence, there have always been conflicts between the rural population and the urban elite. The rural people perceive urban residents as predators who are only interested in exploiting them. Urban residents have systematically denigrated rural Haitians through laws and customs. Until the 1990s, the Haitian government was still dispensing birth certificates with the label "peasant" printed on them to distinguish rural from urban residents (Maguire 1997). This mentality was ingrained so well in our culture that it has

been captured by several of our writers. Jacques Roumain (1944), considered one of Haiti's most famous writers, in his classic novel Master of the Dew, exposed the plight of the peasantry by stating how the urban people think of them as "the high class people in the city derisively called these peasants 'barefoot Negroes, barefooted vagabonds, big-toed Negroes" (Roumain 1944: 29).

The hometown associations have contributed to the elimination of this difference by inviting people from the whole town to join as members and by emphasizing things that bond these immigrants together in a foreign land. A leader in Petite Riviere believes firmly that his group can bring rural and urban people together by stating that he feels closer to the rural people as a result of his experience in the organization.

One leader in Lavoute expressed the same feeling:

> I don't know if it exists elsewhere between those who were born in the city with those who were born in the countryside. Right now the residents from the countryside go to school the same way that those who live in the city. Sometimes, they are smarter than those who live in the city. So if you have the same training with the person from the city, there is no way he /she can raise that issue. I don't see any conflict on this issue between people who live in the countryside and those who live in the city. For example, I live in Port-au-Prince, Mr. Seneca lives in Lavoute and Pastor Bernard lives here and Jacmel.

Another one notes that:

> In the beginning, there could have been some conflict because the person might have thought that AFAL is something that is foreign. But now since AFAL has a lot of branches, the people see it differently. Even though the headquarter of the organization is here, we don't decide everything on our own. When we have a project, we invite other members from the other branches to participate in the decision. For example, we wanted to build the road to the village. We did not take the decision on our own. We invited the other members that are abroad to come and decide with us what needs to be done. We are doing the same thing for our water project.

A member of the Association des St. Marcois a l'Etranger stated the following:

> I think the regional organizations have done a lot on that. I think the gap is being closed. But you should not be intimidated. You have to be bold. Where I see the gap closing more is in the diaspora. Before people in the diaspora would identify themselves as coming from Port-au-Prince. Now, they are proud to identify themselves with the provinces that they came from. I think the regional organizations had a lot to do with that. Now, a lot of people are identifying themselves with their place of origin. However, I still think that there is a lot of work that needs to be done because you still have people who think the old fashioned way. This is the only conversation that they have.

In addition to bringing urban and rural Haitians together, the transnational organizations have also attenuated the conflict that existed between diaspora and homeland Haitians. A leader of the Initiative Gonaivienne, a local organization affiliated with Alliance Gonaivienne, notes the following on the conflict between diaspora and homeland Haitians:

> I don't think it exists anymore. I think this conflict between diaspora and native people is a false one. It was the circumstances in one's life that made him leave the city. I did not go abroad, maybe because it was not appropriate for me. There are friends that I have not seen for twenty years, but once I see them we act as if we were never separated and life goes on. Three quarters of my friends in Gonaives come from the diaspora. I grew up with them so, I feel comfortable working with them. There may be a negative opinion of the people from the diaspora and vice versa because of some stereotype. For example, sometimes you hear that people from the diaspora say that all the Haitians who stayed in Haiti were macoutes.[14] Which is not true. But I could not say that all of those abroad were spies. I think that won't get us anywhere. We have to find ways to collaborate for the common good. If everyone decides to do something, the city will look better.

A member of the affiliated organization in St. Marc notes that there is not really any conflict between the diaspora people and local Haitians.

> Anyone who comes here from the diaspora is welcome. I went to New York in 1986 and I met them. They were all very happy to see me. They bought me gifts and we had a good time. It so happened that they came here for a funeral and we gave them the same welcome.

Due to the complex socio-political development of Haiti, the transnational

---

[14]. Tonton Macoute was the para military force that the Duvalier regime created to terrorize the population.

organizations can only address the few problems that are in their realm and that have kept Haitian society in a terrible state of underdevelopment. By bringing residents of the hometown associations together on common projects, they will eventually contribute to a better relationship between the urban and rural population and between the diaspora and homeland Haitians.

Religion and the Hometown Associations

Since the 1960s Haitian immigrants in the United States have used the church to organize themselves and to conduct political activities. These activities include the use of religious symbols and the celebration of major religious activities. Harney (1998) remarks that:

> Religious symbols and rituals provide a sense of order in times of dislocation, and promise in the face of an unpredictable future. Religious institutions provide an organizational framework in which the form of groups can be constructed. Religious rituals also nourish and encourage a sense of communal solidarity. (Harney 1998: 144).

Like the Jewish and the Italian immigrants before them, Haitians have successfully used religion as a tool to create their transnational organizations. The importance of the church in the life of Haitian immigrants can be traced back to Haiti. As a former colony of France, Haiti after its independence was overwhelmingly Catholic. However, the American occupation in 1915 brought along the Protestant churches, which began to convert Catholics to Protestantism, and in the late 1940s an influx of Pentecostal churches from the southern area of the United States further accelerated the number of Haitians who converted to Protestantism. These Protestant churches have also contributed to the migration of Haitians to the United States. Laguerre (1984) notes that: "in the 1960s, several American Protestant

missionaries established churches in Haiti, and have succeeded in securing job affidavits for would-be immigrants among their parishioners" (Laguerre 1984: 59). Once these parishioners arrived in the United States, they obtained much economic, spiritual, and emotional support from their fellow American Protestants. For example, the first community centers established in New York to help the immigrants were created by the Catholic Church. Jocelyn Mc Calla, Director of the National Coalition for Haitian Rights, notes that around 1976, the Haitian Fathers was the most active group in the community. They had published a magazine in Creole in which Haitian issues were debated. A number of people mostly from the left came around these priests. However, these priests were not given any parishes to work because the Catholic Church did not want to antagonize its relations with the Haitian church in Haiti. They eventually founded a community center in Brooklyn to help organize and keep in touch with other priests and the Haitian community.

For most of the 1970s until the fall of Jean-Claude Duvalier in 1986, the Haitian Fathers, as they were known, became the most vocal and active group that advocated issues on behalf of the community. Msgr. Guy Sansaricq, who played a prominent role in the effort to free Haitian refugees from prisons in the United States in the 1970s and 80s, notes that the Haitian community responded to the calls of the Catholic church to support the refugees because of the following reasons:

> A lot of Haitians went to Catholic schools in Haiti. They have kept certain knowledge of the church and its teachings. Second, at that time we had certain priests such as Father Antoine Adrien and the Holy Ghost fathers who had an impact on the community. We were also delivering social services to the community. Finally, I think that the church has an honest reputation. No one wanted to make money out of this, nor were we looking for jobs or political appointments. We were not fighting to defend the interest of one person over another one. We were fighting for a cause that was well understood by every one.

The transnational organizations have also used the church to attract members and to gain legitimacy. The president of the Association of St. Marcois a l'Etranger notes the following:

> We celebrated a mass on the occasion of St. Mark's day in 1978. Father Antoine Adrien and William Smarth from the Holy Ghost fathers celebrated the mass for us. In 1979 we had the same mass celebrated on the anniversary of St. Mark. The people in Canada called us when they heard about the mass. They called me to find out more about it and then decided to do the same thing too. So they had their own mass in 1980 and it was well received. After the mass, the people said that we cannot let this initiative die. They suggested that we create an organization.

The association is currently raising money to repair the church in St. Marc.

Alliance Gonaivienne also celebrates the patron saint of the town, and it uses this event to bring together people from other boroughs into the organization. Many of these regional organizations at one time have used the priest in their hometown as their trustee to implement development projects in Haiti. A board member of the Association des Fils et Amis de Lavoute notes that when the organization was building a road to the village of Lavoute, Father Simon, the Catholic priest, decided to help them by raising funds. With the help of that same priest, the village was elevated to the level of a parish, a decision that greatly enhanced the village's stature and may facilitate more revenue for the area.

Leaders of the hometown organizations have used the church to build their associations not only because of their religious belief, but also because the United States provides a fertile ground for the church to be more active on social issues. Yarnold (1991) notes that the church, through its use of natural law instead of positive law, comes to share a lot with participants in social movements and marginalized individuals. Taking the sanctuary movement as a test case, the author argues that: "due to their historic commitment to natural

law, religious organizations generally play an important role in social movements. The identification of religious organizations with the ideas of a social movement gives these ideas a measure of legitimacy" (Yarnold 1991: 29).

The church has also contributed to the development of social capital in the community by providing an infrastructure to nurture these organizations. Foley (1999) notes that a number of studies have indicated that a wide range of voluntary associations use free space from congregations to run their meetings, hold local forums, or facilitate political activities. These congregations can also be "important arenas for building and nurturing community leadership as well as serving as platforms for civic participation and collective mobilization" (Foley 1999: 25). During the 1980s when the Haitian community was organizing for the release of the refugees, most of the meetings were held in church halls with the support of the Haitian Fathers. Meetings of the regional organizations are still held in church facilities. In April 1999 when the regional organizations were inaugurating the creation of their federation, the meeting was held at St. Francis Church in Brooklyn, a Catholic parish which is known in the community for its support of activist voluntary associations.

The special relationship that is established between the Haitian community and the Catholic Church is well documented in McAslister's (1998) study of Haitian worship of the Black Madonna in Harlem, New York. She notes that being identified as Catholics in the United States is another way for Haitians to distance themselves from African-Americans and to renegotiate the United States'system of racialization. Furthermore, the use of the Black Madonna in Harlem as the site of the annual pilgrimage for immigrants is another attempt by

Haitians to reconstitute their transnational life by using the site as a place to renew their spiritual rebirth, since they are unable to travel to Haiti for this event. While in Catholic religious rites, the Black Madonna represents the Virgin Mary, in Vodoun religious practices she represents one of the most important deities. The feast of the Black Madonna is one of the most celebrated activities in Haiti since it brings together those who simultaneously practice Catholicism and Vodou. Since most Haitians were unable to travel to Haiti during the Duvalier dictatorship, the Black Madonna in Harlem became the saint through whom they could practice their transnational religious rites and also celebrate a feast that is important in the life of Catholics. McAlister further remarks that instead of replacing spiritual centers of the home country, religious sites in the United States are added to the realities of transnational movement of Haitians.

Trust and the Transnational Associations

In addition to these contributions, the hometown associations have been able to increase the level of trust that exists among their members. This occurs because the charter of the homeland associations encourages those from the locality to become members regardless of the social or economic conditions. Some of these organizations define their members as anyone who was born in the town. As a result of this broad definition, there is a potential to recruit a large pool of members through the family and other acquaintances. As a result of this policy, there is also a high level of trust and social cohesion within the organization. Onyx and Bullen (1998) argue that "trust entails a willingness to take risks in a social context based on a sense of confidence that others will respond as expected and will

act in mutually supportive ways" (1998: 5). Putnam notes that "the greater level of trust within a community, the greater the likelihood of cooperation" (1993: 171). For Misztal, trust is seen as "essential for stable relationships, vital for the maintenance of cooperation, fundamental for any exchange and necessary for even the most routine of everyday interaction" (1996: 12). Leaders of the transnational organizations promote trust and cooperation by taking initiatives to welcome urban and rural Haitians into the organization and by going beyond class differences to address the problems of their members.

Follow-up interviews with members of the transnational associations reveal that they decided to join because they trust the person who invited them. A member of the Lavoute association remarked:

> There is a lot of trust among our own members because we feel that everyone has joined to improve the conditions of their locality.

A leader of the Association des Rivartibonitiens notes:

> There are some people in the association that I have known for a long time. We are of the same generation. We went to school together.

Since many members of these organizations are invited to join by someone in their family, trust that already existed within the family is also passed on to the organization. As Benjamin Barber notes, the family is the primary source of trust in society (Barber 1983: 26).

Participation and the Transnational Organizations

Members of the hometown associations tend to take an active part in their organizations. This occurs because the leaders deploy tremendous efforts to encourage members to attend meetings and other events. Leaders of the regional organizations told me

that most of the time to entice their members to participate, they send letters and they also call them. A leader of the Association pour le Developement de Lascahobas notes that she usually sends notice of meeting to the members and would often follow up with a phone call. A leader of the Association des Rivartibonitiens a l'Etranger explained the different relations that he has developed with his members:

> We have attended together some social events. We go to parties together, day trips. I believe these activities lead to other things. We also call each other often and we don't talk only about the activities of the organization.

A member of Fraternite Valleenne notes the following:

> The meetings are held in my house. I knew these people's family in LaVallee. I did not know some of them in Haiti because I have been here for a long time. But these are people that I would lend money or watch their children.

Paul Hirst notes that: "because associations are voluntary and organic products of social life, they truly enjoy the loyalty of their members and thus make claims upon them not less strenuous and yet more justified than those of the compulsory state" (Hirst 1994: 45). The leaders of the transnational organizations are able to make claims on their members because of the bonding relationship that exists among them.

In addition to participation within the organization, there is also a high rate of participation in civic life within these organizations. This is due to the fact that those who join these associations have been in the United States for a long period of time and are aware of the US political process. A member of the Association des Rivartibonitiens a l'Etranger stated that he votes in regular US presidential elections and does join other organizations to lobby on behalf of issues that affect the Haitian community.

A representative of Fraternite Valleenne notes that he only votes regularly in US elections, but he also stated the following:

> I have met with my local state senator once or twice. If I write them about Haiti, I think they would answer me. I have contacted them three or four times for things related to Haiti.

The efforts to encourage Haitian immigrants to participate in US electoral politics have been taken place for a long time in the community. In the 1980s, Msgr. Rollin Darbouze, Pastor of Holy Cross Catholic church in Brooklyn with a large Haitian congregation organized the Haitian-American Citizens for Action. He notes that:

> The Haitian American Citizen For Action (HACFA) was created to not only help Haitians who were in Haiti, but also to develop an economic, political, and social force in New York City. We wanted to organize ourselves economically in New York to respond to our needs and to represent ourselves at all the political levels. For example, we wanted to have representative in City Hall, Albany, and in Washington.

In the 1980s, the group organized several trips to Washington DC to lobby for the release of the Haitian refugees and to isolate the Duvalier regime in the US.

Despite the efforts of the hometown associations to play a positive role in the community and Haiti, there have also been instances where leaders in New York have encountered some negative experiences with those in Haiti. One leader in St. Marc notes that members of the organization were more active before the fall of Duvalier. But after Duvalier was ousted, several members of the association came back to Haiti and began to use their contributions as a means to motivate the population to vote for them. When they realized that they could not win electoral offices, they withdrew their support. Furthermore, certain associations have seen the aid that they provided to residents in the hometowns squandered by local leaders. One leader notes the following:

> Before 1986, the St. Marc organization was more active. I don't know if it is because they were nostalgic since they could not travel to Haiti. Some of the people were politicians. When they came back to St. Marc, they realize that we did not want to support them. So as a result, there developed a conflict between the group in NY and us in St. Marc.

As a result of that conflict, the organization has not been as active as it was before. If it is not political conflict that sometimes impairs the hometown associations, it is the inability of the local organizations to manage the projects satisfactorily. Leaders in Haiti complain about the lack of state support for their projects, while in New York, the main complaint is that the people in Haiti are unable to manage the equipment and the projects. The president of the St. Marc association notes that the organization donated two fire trucks to the town. A few years later, when he received pictures of the trucks, they were completely destroyed. He believed that the committee in St. Marc did not do its jobs since it never built a garage for the trucks. He complains that:

> They were in the yard of the ministry. People came, took whatever they wanted from these trucks. In 1991, we sent medical supplies and also an ambulance. In 1987-88, we sent several laboratory parts, including new things such as a microscope. According to what I have heard, a lot of these things were stolen and sent to Port-au-Prince. We asked why they were taken to Port-au-Prince, people answered that you know how things function in the country. If you want to keep your job, you have to do what they want, especially when they hear that you have better equipment than the one that they have.

The Hometown Organizations and the Second Generation

When I compare the experience of the Jewish and Italian immigrants in the United States with that of the Haitian immigrants, I can conclude that the hometown associations will not survive beyond the first generation. Even though scholars such as Portes, Schiller, and others argue that transnationalism is a growing movement influenced by globalization

and the changing nature of state-society relations (Portes 1994, Smith 1998). Not only the survey results suggest that Haitian transnationalism is a first-generation phenomenon, subsequent interviews with leaders of these organizations have also revealed that their organizations have difficulty recruiting American-born Haitians. The adults complain that the young people are only interested in projects that satisfy their immediate interests, while the young people claim that the adults do not want them to participate in the organization. A member of Alliance Gonaivienne notes the following:

> Right now the associations are facing a crisis. A lot of young people do not want to join them. I don't know if it is our fault because we have tried enough to integrate them. The youths are more interested in their own activity. When we have a fundraising activity, if we make a profit, we would take the balance and send it to Gonaives. The youths on the other hand would like to use the money for their events instead.

Interviews with members of two youth groups who are active in their churches reveal a gap between their perception of the transnational organizations and their parents' role. One youth informant mentioned that his father, who belongs to a hometown association, has never invited him to join the organization because he perceives it as an adult activity. Therefore young people are not invited, even though this young man is twenty-two years old and a college student. His reason for not being invited by his father is that:

> I guess Haitian parents have the idea that certain things are adult things and other things are for children. When it comes to making certain decisions, it's up to them.

Another aspect that the youths mention is that their parents are more interested in Americanizing them than in helping them understand the Haitian culture. This may explain also the reason that they do not invite their children to attend meetings of the hometown associations. One youth informant noted that:

> I feel like a lot of our culture is dying out because of a lack of education from our parents. They raise us as Americans. Everybody orders take-out food. Our mothers do not cook the traditional meal. There are a lot of things we don't know. One thing I feel strongly about is the music. I feel Compas[15] is the most unique form of art. But a lot of people here don't listen to it.

Another one stated that his father was very active and would often attend meetings in the community, but his mom would forbid his dad to take him to those gatherings. Waters (1999), in her latest book on West Indian immigrants, failed to consider the impact of parents in helping the second generation assimilate. The author argues that: "the assumption that higher social status is achieved by becoming American rather than by remaining an immigrant is not true for this population because becoming American for West Indians entails becoming Black American, something that they perceive as downward mobility." (Waters 1999: 12). This is not a universal occurrence among all Haitian immigrants because of their history in Haiti and the class background of the family. Working-class Haitians and those who had terrible political experiences in Haiti tend to shed the immigrant mantle much faster than middle-class Haitians. This explains the lack of enthusiasm by some Haitian families to participate in the hometown associations and their reluctance to raise their children as Haitian. As one youth stated:

> My mother talks about her early years in Haiti because she had a hard life there. Duvalier was after her family. She does not like us to go there because of all those stories.

Foner (1997) argues that a fusion between the old culture and the new one occurs in first-generation immigrant families once they arrive in the United States. This is the result of the external social and economic forces that impact on the family as they experience new

---

[15]- Compas is a rhythm in Haitian music.

cultural frameworks that may be in contradiction with their pre-migration practices. In the context of the Haitian community, the power of women in the household greatly expands as they migrate to the United States because of the economic opportunities that they acquire and the values that are found in US culture, which put more emphasis on the nuclear family. Therefore the interplay between culture, gender, and past experiences not only connect Haitian immigrants in New York, but it also affects the participation of the second generation in transnational organizations.

Summary

Although it may not be apparent to many observers, the hometown associations have succeeded in removing the wall that separated urban from rural Haitians, and they have contributed to the democratization of social relations in Haitian society. Middle class, educated Haitians are more comfortable speaking Creole in public today than they were twenty years ago. Moreover these organizations have made it easier for professionals and urban Haitians to work with those who come from the rural areas of the country. The hometown associations have also created the framework for Haitians to participate in other institutions in New York City and Haiti by establishing relationships with local and national leaders such as Al Sharpton, David Dinkins, and Randall Robinson.

Despite their efforts to maintain a separate identity from African-Americans, the politics of the city in which certain issues are seen through the prism of race will force them to seek alliances with Black Americans. Therefore, creating a separate identity from African-Americans can only be functional when it serves to reinforce ties with Haiti and to maintain organizational cohesion within the immigrant community.

The myth of returning to Haiti will be maintained as long as the membership of these organizations is comprised primarily of first-generation immigrants who can retain the historical memory of their life in Haiti. As long as new immigrants continue to arrive from Haiti, there will be reasons for these organizations to nurture that myth. Maintaining the myth of returning home also fits perfectly with the leaders' objective of restoring their networks and prestige in New York City and Haiti.

The desire for Haitian immigrants to participate in the homeland associations is also motivated by the role that African-Americans fulfills in our society. For the most part African-Americans who become role models for Black immigrants in America have virtually no ancestral memory to validate them as Africans. Their frame for self-validation is Euro-Americans and the values that were acquired during slavery. Often these values are in contradiction with what first-generation Haitian immigrants want to be. Therefore it is more convenient for Haitian immigrants to hold on to their traditional values and history which create a greater frame if reference and give them a better understanding of their society and culture.

Although the Catholic Church is viewed as a conservative institution in the United States, it has been very supportive of the Haitian community. First as a refuge for the exile immigrants who were fleeing the repressive regime of the Duvalier dynasty. Second as an advocate for Haitian refugees[16]. As a result, the church has been an influential member in the development of the immigrant community in the city. It has not only provided the

---

[16] - In addition to the Haitian Fathers who advocated on behalf of the Haitian refugees in New York, The Haitian Refugee Center in Miami, which was run by a Catholic priest, was the most outspoken organization in the US that worked to release Haitian refugees from US prisons. Often, the Catholic Church was a co-sponsor of their lawsuits against the US government.

community with resources, but it has become the primary institution that helps immigrants assimilate in the society. This occurred because the majority of Haitians are Catholics and Francois Duvalier had alienated his government from the Catholic hierarchy by expelling the Vatican representative in Haiti in the 1960s.

As long as the leaders of the hometown associations continue to deploy the effort to recruit members, the level of participation within these groups will be high. I n addition to a higher rate of participation, the leaders will be in a better position to make claims on their members because of trust and the bonding relationship that exists among them.

It is still to be proven how the second generation will effectively participate in the activities of the hometown associations. This is due to the inter-generational gap that exists between the older members and the young people, and also because the culture of US society does not encourage second generation immigrants to take part in organizations that are heavily dominated by immigrants. The young people are often too busy trying to integrate into mainstream and doing their best to remove the immigrant mantle that comes with their surname, the schools that they attend and the pressures to be "normal," meaning being in synch with their friends and colleagues. As a result, the pressure not to participate in the hometown associations is much greater on young people than their parents can imagine.

Chapter 5

The Haitian Government and the Transnational Organizations

In this chapter, I analyze the relationship that is established between the Haitian government and the hometown organizations. I argue that contrary to past regimes, the current Haitian government has established a good, working relationship with the transnational organizations. This relationship is manifested through the creation of the Tenth Department, a cabinet position, whose objective is to work with Haitians abroad. The government has taken initiatives to pass legislation to facilitate the functioning of the transnational organizations in the country, invited hometown leaders to events in Haiti, and supported the position of Haitian immigrants in New York on local issues such as AIDS and political asylum for the refugees.

But despite these positive initiatives, there remain several obstacles before the transnational organizations can fully implement their programs in Haiti. These obstacles include local perception of the hometown associations, lack of capacity by members of the regime to address the needs of these organizations, and competing interests within the government and the associations.

Portes (1994), Schiller (1992), Laguerre (1998), Smith and Guarzino (1998) note that an important aspect of transnationalism is its ability to delineate traditional borders between nations. The movement of citizens across different borders not only forces interaction among the sending and receiving countries, but it also pushes states to reconsider their relationship with their nationals since they can influence politics at home and abroad. Laguerre (1997)

notes that Haitian immigrants send remittances back home and they influence the vote of their relatives and friends in their hometown. The growing number of Haitians in New York has also attracted the interest of politicians who want to get elected. Several immigrant leaders have maintained contact with their congressmen and have sought their support on issues that affect Haiti. Shain (1999) argues that local politicians in the US are courting newly empowered groups such as Haitians, Filipinos, Koreans, and Chinese.

> The openness of the American political system to ethnic voices has allowed many newly organized Diaspora to acquire a meaningful role in the U.S. foreign policy, especially on issues concerning the nature of the regime and the economic policies of countries of origin or symbolic homeland (Shain 1999: xi).

Although historically major ethnic groups, including the Jews and the Greeks, have influenced US foreign policy toward their homeland, it is only in the last two decades that Haitians have succeeded in doing so toward Haiti. The influence of the Haitian community on US foreign and domestic policies was reflected in the refugees' crisis of the 1980s, the reversal of the AIDS policy which prevented Haitians from donating blood, and the subsequent coup against Aristide in 1991.

Robert Smith (1998) notes that the transnationalization of migrant life has given the state a central role in "structuring transnational life and creating a transnational public sphere." This takes place in the form of demands that the transmigrants can make on their home state as well as the relationship the home state can establish with the migrants in their host society. Several countries, including Mexico and the Dominican Republic, that have recognized the importance of developing good relationships with their nationals living in the United States have granted them dual citizenship as a way to maintain their loyalty to the homeland and to preserve their cultural legacy. In the context of Haiti, the transnational

organizations are forcing the state to rethink its view toward Haitian immigrants and how the government is organized to include them in the political process. The following story is an illustration of that relationship:

On August 16, 1999 more than 200 Haitians from all over the United States. Canada, the Dominican Republic, Spain, and France attended a weeklong conference on the diaspora in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. The Ministry of the Tenth Department, the governmental branch whose role is to address issues related to Haitians who are living abroad, sponsored this conference officially called "Semaine de La Diaspora." The importance of this conference was not so much in the issues that were raised at all the panel presentations or interviews that the participants gave to the media. Rather, what gave that conference a "special" importance was the fact that Haitian intellectuals, activists, businessmen, social workers, police officers, and politicians from the United States, France, Spain, the Dominican Republic and Martinique were being recognized by the government and given prominent role at the national level. Those who made the trip felt honored and happy to have been chosen by the government to participate in the conference. This was reinforced further by the official welcome that they had received at the national palace where President Preval offered a sumptuous reception and proceeded to decorate with presidential medals of honor several prominent Haitians who have excelled in their fields abroad. This was the first time during the Preval presidency that he had lavished so much attention on transnational Haitians.

A few weeks after the conference, I went to a party in New York where several leaders were also invited, including people who participated in the government's conference in Haiti. Among these leaders, there were people who have been critical of the current

regime for not being more proactive in pushing issues that members of the transnational organizations care about, such as dual citizenship and the right for Haitian citizens to vote abroad. As with any gathering in the Haitian community, the topic of conversation always turns to Haiti whenever two or three Haitians meet. Certain leaders at the party complained that the government took a long time to introduce legislation on these issues and that they felt abandoned by the Lavalas regime after they had mobilized so many resources for the return of Aristide. Others in the room tried as much as possible to explain the difficulties that president Preval was confronting with Parliament on these issues. When the topic of conversation turned to the conference that leaders in the diaspora had attended in Port-au-Prince, it was interesting to note how those who had attended the conference were able to articulate the policy of the government toward the transnational organizations. They also mentioned the changes that they had observed in Haiti and the efforts deployed by the government to welcome them. After they related their experience in Haiti to the group in the room, several leaders who had previously taken a critical approach toward the government began to change their opinion of the regime. As I listened to their account of the visit, I realized that the conference in Haiti had indeed changed some people's attitude toward Haiti and the government. Leaders in the community were less cynical toward the country and they were willing to give the present government the benefit of the doubt. Furthermore, they talked about their counterparts in Haiti as people that they should help, given the formidable obstacles that they have to surmount to run the country.

The significance of this story is that Haitian transnationalism through the work of the hometown associations and the new policy of the government is succeeding in reversing

decades of mistrust that existed between Haitians living in Haiti and those who live abroad. Traditionally Haitian governments have had an antagonistic relationship with its citizens who lived abroad. This is due to several historical reasons including the fact that during the 1960s those who left Haiti were considered for the most part enemies of the government and they could not voluntarily return home. Even before the 1960s, mass migration of Haitians abroad was linked to the poverty and repression that were rampant in the country. Until 1986, whenever a Haitian president was deposed, he had to flee the country to avoid being subjected to repression or humiliation by the new regime. As a result there was no tradition of collaboration between past and future governments, or between immigrants and local Haitians. Past governments were usually overthrown through violent means, i.e. a coup, an assassination, or revolt. Therefore, the government in power was always suspicious of the exile community and perceived it as people who were just interested in its overthrow.

Moreover, the revolutionary army during Haiti's struggle for independence was mobilized on the notion that it was fighting against the "Blanc," meaning the White man. Therefore an "anti-Blanc" ideology, which means anti-White and anti-foreigners, became engrained in the country's psyche. Foreigners tended to be seen as either agents of governments opposed to Haitian independence or friends of the regime's enemy. This ideology was codified in our legal system through laws that prohibited foreigners from owning property in the country. During the 1960s Francois Duvalier, a former tyrant of Haiti, used these laws to strip his opponents abroad of their nationality. He revoked their passports, expropriated them, and refused to give them return visas. As a result of this policy, Haitian immigrants in New York developed great animosity toward the regime and toward those who

had collaborated with it. For thirty years during the reign of the family, there was a great mistrust between Haitians abroad and those in Haiti.

The overthrow of the Duvalier regime in 1986 opened up the possibilities for the new government to reweave a new set of relationships with Haitians living abroad. The immigrant community thought that finally Haiti would follow the example of its neighbors by creating conditions for a smooth democratic transition. This idea was entertained because the democratic sector of the country played an important role in the overthrow of the Duvalier dictatorship.

From the 1970s until today, the political forces in Haiti have been divided primarily into two sectors. The democratic sector that comprises members of grassroots organizations, Christian-based community churches, members of the lower clergy, unions, peasant, youth, women, and cultural organizations. These groups were active in isolating the Duvalier regime in Haiti and abroad. After the fall of Duvalier in 1986, they coalesced to foster further democratic reforms. Most of them supported the candidacy of Aristide. The traditional sector, which is primarily composed of members of the army, former officials in the Duvalier regime, conservative political parties, and a sector of the business community, advocated for slower democratic reforms and the maintenance of the status quo, including more resources for the army. That sector chose Marc Bazin, a former official of the World Bank, to be its candidate for the 1990 presidential elections.

The wish of most Haitians for a smooth democratic transition was rapidly blown away when the leaders who replaced Duvalier continued his policy of creating fear and distrust among Haitians abroad and those in Haiti. It took several efforts by the transnational

organizations and the democratic forces in Haiti to overcome this division. As part of this effort, members of the hometown associations began to reconnect openly with their counterparts in Haiti and initiated projects that could build trust among them right after the fall of Duvalier in 1986.

Despite various maneuvers by the pro-Duvalier regimes between 1986 and 1990 to delay the implementation of reforms, the population, through the grassroots organizations that were created during the Jean-Claude Duvalier presidency, kept pressuring the government to open up the political process. Finally, a general election in 1990, in which representatives of the democratic sector took part, was held, and Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a representative of that sector was elected to the presidency.

The election of Jean-Bertrand Aristide to the presidency in 1990 represented the culmination of all the efforts by members of the new coalition to revamp the political process. For Haitians abroad, his election represented a ray of light in their struggle to be integrated into the national life. With President Aristide in power, efforts to reconcile Haitians abroad with those in Haiti began in earnest. He recognized this need by appointing Haitian leaders from the diaspora to prominent position in the consular offices and embassies where there was the presence of a large number of Haitian immigrants (Richman 1994, Fouron and Schiller 1998). His greatest contribution to the promotion of the Haitian diaspora was the creation of a ministerial cabinet called the Tenth Department to address the needs of Haitians abroad. As Schiller and Fouron note: " the formulation and institutionalization of the Tenth Department provided a public representation of Haitian immigrants as linked to the Haitian state. In the processes of reconceptualizing the Haitian state, Haitian political leaders

in Haiti were reevaluating and rehabilitating the way in which they perceived and spoke about Haitian emigrants" (Fouron and Schiller, 1998: 139).

Since the creation of the Tenth Department, relations between diaspora Haitians and leaders in Haiti have been on good terms. The government has taken initiatives to pass legislation that would guarantee the legal right of the transnational organizations to function in Haiti. It has also advocated the right of Haitians living abroad to participate in national life. By recognizing these Haitians, the government hopes to increase the talent pool that can contribute to the country's development. Haitian immigrants will have the opportunity to run for public office in Haiti and contribute socially and economically to the development of the country. This new approach will also lessen the hostility that previously existed between diaspora and local Haitians.

However, since 1991, the government has been unable to pass legislation that would incorporate diaspora Haitians into the political process. This is due to the fact that the elite and the bureaucracy feel threatened by these immigrants and have put a lot of pressure on Parliament to postpone the enactment of the legislation. Jean Geneus, the current Minister of the Tenth Department notes that:

> There are some people who believe that the hostility between those who are in Haiti with those who live abroad came about by itself. Contrary to that belief, I believe this is connected not only to an erroneous understanding of the contributions of the diaspora, but there are people in Haiti who perceive the diaspora as vultures, people who come to obtain things that don't belong to them. This is completely false. The people from the diaspora come to contribute. There are also those who do not want to see an harmony between the diaspora and the local people because the diaspora, despite certain criticisms that one can bring against it, will always be a rude competitor to those who are working in Haiti. Since it was functioning in a society that was more organized and disciplined; it can introduce a work ethic that is much more advanced than the one that currently exists in Haiti.

State Support for the Transnational Organizations

During the Duvalier era and under the various provisional governments that ruled Haiti from 1986 to 1991, the animosity between local Haitians and those who lived abroad was encouraged by the state. Speeches were made by government officials in which they accused the diaspora of fomenting turmoil in the country. The word diaspora became a dirty word in the country. Although there is some lingering antagonism toward the diaspora in some sectors of the country, this animosity is no longer being fueled by the executive branch of the government. The current administration has become a major supporter of the idea of integrating Haitians abroad into national life. Minister Jean Geneus notes that the ministry has established various mechanisms to address the needs of the diaspora Haitians. The government perceives Haitians who are living abroad as their strategic partners since they can contribute politically, culturally, and socially to the development of Haiti. The Minister comments:

> We believe the 10th Department is the strategic partner that Haiti has abroad. For example, we take into consideration the hometown organizations because they have a fundamental role to play in the decentralization program of the government. The way things are in Haiti, the country has no future without decentralization. We have asked the hometown organizations to come with projects where the government can meet them halfway. For example, we have told them, the projects that they will be presenting and the studies that will be done of these projects, if we conclude that they are feasible, we will encourage the government to match the funds that would be necessary to implement them.

When I asked if he thought that the hometown associations could play a role in the political and social development of Haiti, he answered that these organizations and the whole diaspora had a political and economic role to play in the country, and they had played this role before.

Several associations have responded to the government's interest to help them. One

member of the Association des Familles et Amis de Lavoute notes that they have approached the government for help with the local school.

> It was the government that built the school after we had approached them. Also the departmental director for the Ministry of Education comes from Lavoute. Therefore, we know he would help us with the school.

In addition to the school, the organization has also obtained support from the government for the construction of a road to the village. The president the Association des St. Marcois a l'Etranger acknowledges that the organization has approached the government for assistance:

> We have asked them to help us with customs. We did not pay any money to custom to bring the materials to St. Marc. The Finance Minister was very helpful at that time. But I have to tell you also that some people are very uncooperative in Haiti. We sent a container in Haiti. One of us who was in Haiti at that time did all the paper work in December, and we gave the liaison committee the papers to pick up the container at the port. It was not until I came back in August 1987 that I was able to take the container from the port. The liaison committee did not go to pick up the container.

A member of the Organization pour le Development de Lascahobas, who has sent several materials to Haiti to build a local library in the town and to electrify the community, also mentioned that they have approached the state for help with these projects.

> We sent materials for street lighting, and we asked the mayor of the town to take them from customs for us. The last time we sent materials like these, they were lost or stolen because we did not send members of the government to remove them from customs.

Certain organizations have approached the state for help in dealing with customs or in implementing projects in their hometowns. However, others are reluctant to ask for help because of their mistrust of the state, given their past experience with the previous regimes. One leader of Solidarite Jacmelien in Jacmel, the main city in the southeast of Haiti notes the following:

> We received mostly moral support from the government. When we ask them to lend us heavy equipment to repair the road, we have to give them money to buy fuel. The people who really help us are the foreign NGOs (Non Governmental Agencies).

Leaders of Fraternite Valleenne note that they were persecuted by the Duvalier regime after they had raised money to build a local hospital in the area:

> When we were inaugurating the hospital, we invited President Duvalier to attend. However, his local officials told him not to come because we were a group of communists who wanted to assassinate him. Effectively he did not come. However, one day, as he was going to another town in this region, he decided to come to visit the hospital. He did not say anything afterward.

There has not been any persecution of members of the regional organizations since President Aristide returned to power in 1995 and under the current administration.

The hometown organizations have also made inroads with the state on issues that are important to their ability to function in Haiti. These issues include voting and dual citizenship. Since 1986, Haitians in the diaspora have advocated for their right to vote in Haiti's presidential elections and for the government to grant them dual citizenship status. Although most of the elected officials have voiced their agreement to such a law, Parliament has been unable to vote on legislation that would make it effective. Since there has not been a functioning Parliament in the past two years, it was not possible for those who support the legislation to introduce it in the chambers. The political parties such as the Fanmi Lavalas of President Aristide and Pati Louvri Barye (Open Gate Party), which is a branch of the Lavalas movement that elected Aristide to power in 1990, have supported this initiative and have pledged to introduce it in the next parliamentary session. In New York, when Haitian politicians from Haiti who are running for office come to raise money, they are always confronted with the dual citizenship issue, and most of them support the idea of introducing a

bill in Parliament on that issue.

Decentralization and the Transnational Organizations

Decentralization of the government has also been an issue that the hometown associations have been pressuring the government to act on because they have realized that they are able to achieve a lot more at the local level, and it is also an avenue to democratize the state. One of the issues that came up during the diaspora conference was the need for the government to decentralize the bureaucracy. Leaders of the transnational organizations have also expressed to the government the need to decentralize the system. A leader from Initiative Gonaives, an organization that works closely with Alliance Gonaivienne, notes that the city of Gonaives has been unable to exploit its resources because of the over-centralization of the state:

> One of the problems that the country is confronting is the over-centralization. Every thing is concentrated in Port-au-Prince. For the city to move from its economic slump, we have to identify our resources and potentials. We have to make an inventory of what resources that are available in the city. For example, if we want to concentrate on agriculture, we have to identify the land, the tractors and other resources that can help us achieve an agricultural development. We have to go through the same process for an industrial development also. The region has a lot of natural resources such as marble, cement, but we don't have a way to exploit them. We also have a lot of potential for tourism.

Haiti's 1987 constitution calls for the decentralization of the state. This is not merely an administrative decentralization, but a real devolution of power to the local level since it included the creation of mandated local institutions to administer the departments and the regions. Decentralization through devolution would not only increase participation at the local level, but it would also transfer accountability to the local population. In addition to

accountability, resources and power would be transferred and the localities would be less dependent on the central government.

In 1995 the government of President Aristide began to include local institutions in the governance process by soliciting the participation of local leaders and grassroots organizations in developing a national development plan. A former participant in the project described the process that the government had adopted as follows:

> The Ministry of Planning initiated a program called decentralized and participatory planning. The program calls for the participation of the community at the local level along with the elected officials in creating any plan for the area. We had to train the localities to discuss their local interests and to establish a plan that responds to their needs at the local level. This plan should incorporate the local authorities, the central government, and civil society in general. This plan should be coherent in all of its aspects and should be replicated at all levels of society. The ministry from 1995 to 1998 implemented this program, and it also provided technical assistance to the local authorities in the collection and treatment of the data, planning, and management. That means the state was very much engaged in the process and has also made an effort to distribute the resources throughout the territory.

Although this process took place in 1995, the current government needs to move forward with it. When I asked the informant why the government has not moved to implement the plan further, she answered that there are too many pending interests that need to be addressed, and this government is not willing to tackle this issue right now. She further noted that:

> People have to fight for it and have to earn it. People have to be very well organized and structured to say, well, this is what we want. Decentralization is essentially a transfer of power. It does not make sense to talk about decentralization, if we leave the local elected officials isolated from their social and organizational context; it will not work. We cannot talk about decentralization in Haiti without participation.

Another reason that the government has not pursued the decentralization project is because most of the agencies that are coordinating this process have seen their personnel

reduced from one-half to one-third under the austerity budget that was imposed by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The director of the office on NGOs and voluntary associations notes that his staff has been cut to one-third. Therefore, he is practically unable to implement any projects (interview 8/99). The United States Agency for International Aid (USAID) reported that in 1995 the Haitian government had 52,192 civil service employees. The agency is working with the Haitian government and the World Bank to downsize the Haitian civil service. USAID and the World Bank expect to reduce the size of the civil service to 44,692 employees for the 2000 fiscal year (USAID 2000 publication). Although reducing the size of the government might appear to be a sound economic policy for the World Bank and USAID, it has had tremendous economic and social consequences on the population since the government is the biggest employer. Haitians have resented USAID's austerity measures by protesting in the streets against this policy.

Influence of the Transnational Organizations on Their Local Government

Besides using the hometown associations to move the decentralization agenda of the government, Minister Geneus believes that members of these groups can help on issues that concern Haiti with countries that have large concentration of Haitian immigrants. He notes that the diaspora can be very helpful to the government in the United States and Canada on issues related to the deportees. Since 1996, Canada and US have been sending criminals of Haitian background to Haiti after they have served their prison terms. Since the implementation of this policy, the number of criminal activities committed in Haiti has increased considerably. Although all the crimes cannot be attributed to these individuals,

they have, nonetheless, been involved in several murders and robberies in Port-au-Prince (Luxius 1999). The problem with the Haitian police is that it does not have the means to track these individuals once they have arrived in Haiti, and since they did not commit the crime in the country, the legal system cannot detain them. The government is interested in using Haitian immigrants in New York to lobby their elected officials to change that policy. Minister Geneus notes that:

> The government thinks that the diaspora has a role to play in that issue. In Canada, the majority of Haitian immigrants are citizens. We believe they can influence their elected officials to revise this policy.

The Haitian diaspora, through their hometown associations, has in the past played important roles on issues that concern Haiti and their community in North America. Shain (1999) notes that "during the Aristide's three years in exile, the Haitian-American community mobilized to reverse the September 1991 coup that had deposed him" (Shain 1999: 71). The mobilization of the Haitian community to support the return of democracy in Haiti after the coup d'etat that overthrew President Aristide in 1991 has become one of the most memorable events that took place in the history of Haitian immigration abroad. That mobilization is significant because it helped the community forge coalitions with other sectors in the US to reverse the coup. The African-American community became an important ally in that effort. Their support was pivotal in changing the Clinton's administration position on Haiti and his decision to return Aristide to power. Randall Robinson the director of TransAfrica went on a twenty-seven-day hunger strike to bring the attention of the American public to the plight of the Haitian community (Haiti Progres Vol. 12, no. 4 April 20-26, 1994). This hunger strike combined with the support of the Black Congressional Caucus pressured the Clinton

administration to support the return of Aristide (Congressional Quarterly Vol. 51- March 6, 1993: 520).

However since the very first day of the coup, a contingent of Haitian-Americans in New York City took to the streets to protest against the military regime in Haiti and to support the return of Aristide to power. This group protested everyday in front of the United Nations and was called in the community "diplomat beton"[17] (Haiti Progres Vol. 11, no. 43, January 19-25, 1994). Their protest ended in 1994 when Aristide returned to Haiti. In addition to protests and marches, they lobbied their elected representatives in the United States to encourage the suspension of economic and military aid to the regime. Several immigrants became US citizens as a means to gain greater leverage with US elected officials. Former President Jean-Bertrand Aristide notes that the Haitian diaspora has provided faultless moral support in his quest to return to Haiti. He described the greeting that he received in the diaspora in the following terms:

> Honest citizens and heroes who are building a democratic alternative, helping Haiti to survive and to resist. In their bearing, there was the entire palette of nuances coming from each host country. The Brooklyn Haitians blend with the American masses; those in Quebec are more integrated in a country where the support is unambiguous. The welcome is forthcoming in Miami and rebellious in Paris. One of my most emotional memories is that of French Guyana: several thousand people belonging to a great family and constituting such an important part of an underpopulated country (Aristide 1994: 91).

Local Issues and the Transnational Organizations

At the local level, members of the hometown associations have played an important role in helping Haitian refugees obtain asylum and in having the CDC reverse its AIDS

policy toward Haitians. In the late 1970s and early 80s, as a result of the political repression and the changes that were taking place in the Haitian economy, several thousand Haitian peasants and workers began to flee Haiti by boat to the shores of the United States (Dewind 1987). These refugees would land in Florida, and due to the terrible conditions of the passage, they did not survive the eight-hundred-mile crossing in rickety boats. The residents of Florida often would wake up to see their beaches littered with refugees' bodies. To stem the flow, the Carter and the Reagan administrations began to incarcerate the captured refugees in various concentration camps in Puerto Rico, New York State, Florida, and Texas (Miller, 1984).

As the crisis increased, the Haitian organizations, including the hometown associations, used their external networking to bring those with resources, power, and influence in the U.S. together to start a systematic campaign of rallies, demonstrations, and strikes to pressure the government to change its policy toward the refugees. In 1981, over 10,000 Haitians demonstrated in Washington D.C. to protest the inhuman treatment of the refugees (Stanzon-Blanc, Schiller, 1994). Several prominent individuals and institutions supported the actions of the Haitian organizations. The Rev. Jesse Jackson in 1982 called for "a national movement to persuade the Reagan administration to grant asylum to those fleeing the tiny Caribbean republic." (New York Times, April 5, 1982). The Catholic Church, the Labor Movement, the Congressional Black Caucus, as well as the American Civil Liberties Union took part in pressuring the government to change its current policy. These groups in alliance with the Haitian organizations succeeded in rallying public opinion in favor of the

---

[17] concrete diplomat

refugees and prompted the Reagan administration to increase its aid to the agencies that were working with these refugees. In 1982, Congress passed legislation to add $23,340,000 for refugee and entrant assistance to reimburse states that were affected by the influx of Haitian and Cuban refugees (Congressional Record of the 97th Congress). The intensive campaign by the Haitian organizations with their allies led the Reagan administration to release all the refugees who were incarcerated in 1984. In 1987, Congress passed the Simpson-Rodino bill that granted permanent status to the refugees.

In 1991, after the military coup that overthrew the elected government of Haiti, there was another wave of refugees. The Bush administration incarcerated several of them at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba. The community again was mobilized through its organizations and succeeded in preventing the government from returning several thousand refugees to Haiti. In 1998, Congress voted to adjust the status of 49,000 of those refugees.

The Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) has been a major issue in which all Haitian organizations in New York, including the hometown associations, have mobilized their constituencies to influence public policy. On April 20, 1990, 100,000 people crossed New York's Brooklyn Bridge to Wall Street and City Hall to protest the Center for Disease Control's decision to exclude Haitian nationals from the blood donor program. This decision, taken in the 1980s by the CDC, was considered arbitrary by several immigrant organizations because, they argued, the CDC had no scientific proof to decide how AIDS was transmitted to other groups since research at that time was preliminary. The New York Times (December 5, 1990) notes that an official of the CDC claimed that they took that action because "Haitians were the only identifiable group that transmitted the disease

heterosexually." However, the CDC could not prove scientifically that more Haitians were prone to transmitting AIDS than the general population. The publication of the CDC memorandum caused havoc in the Haitian community. Many immigrants lost their jobs as a result. Students and professionals were increasingly discriminated against in schools and at work. However, the protest against the Center for Disease Control (CDC) in April 1990 and the subsequent lobbying effort by Haitians to their elected officials resulted in having the CDC rescind its original memo which had banned Haitian immigrants from donating blood (New York Times, December 5, 1990).

Jean Geneus, Haitian Minister for the Tenth Department, notes that immigrants living in the major metropolitan cities in Canada and the United States can play a major role on bilateral issues. Haitian immigrants have demonstrated their capacity to carry out mass actions that can affect US-Haiti relations and also their condition in New York. These mass actions tend to bring into the process those who have been usually left out. Mahler (1998) argues that mass actions provide a medium through which the non-elite can exercise power by forcing the established institutions to address its interests. The AIDS and the refugee issues are examples that had local ramifications since they forced the US government to revise its policy toward the community. These issues also reinforced Haitian identity in New York and provided the community the opportunity to network with other organizations. The mobilization for the return of Aristide to Haiti also had local and transnational ramifications since it forced the American government to change its foreign policy toward Haiti. The US government policy toward Haiti was to support the military that overthrew Aristide and send the refugees back home. However, once the immigrant community began to mobilize against

the coup, that policy changed and the refugees were interned in Guantanamo Cuba until democracy was restored in the country.

Obstacles to an Effective Policy toward the Hometown Associations

The greatest challenge for the government is to find the means to help concretely the hometown associations. The Ministry of the Tenth Department has had five ministers since its creation four years ago. It is one of the lowest funded ministries in the government with an annual budget of $400,000 (US). The current minister has acknowledged that it has very few experts to study the projects that are presented to it by the regional organizations.

Leaders from the Association des Rivartibonitiens note that they have to ask for permits from the government to donate materials to the local hospital in Petite Riviere. However, it is practically impossible to obtain these permits because of administrative bureaucracy and infighting among members of the government. They made the following remark:

> After we saw employees of the hospital delivering babies with kerosene lamps, the Canadian chapter of the association immediately bought them a generator. The generator is still in storage because we have to go through the regional health administrator to get a permit. The regional administrator has to get permission from his boss before he can deliver the permit. So this is why things are so bad. There is no capacity to execute any project.

Another leader of a hometown association made a similar comment regarding the health department in her region. Her hometown association mobilized resources to build a hospital in the town of Lascahobas. However, after construction was completed, local leaders were unable to obtain a license for the hospital to operate. She told me that according to the Ministry of Health, the leaders should have obtained a permit from its offices before

they had started construction of the hospital. Although this appears to be a legitimate argument, leaders in the village perceived the problem differently. They saw it more as a show of force between their local initiative and the interest of certain bureaucrats at the central office. Not only would they probably not have obtained the permit, but also given the level of corruption that exists in the public administration, they would have had to pay too many bureaucrats to obtain the permit. In the end the hospital would not have been built. To support that argument, they mentioned another experience that the group had with government officials regarding the construction of the library.

> It has been two years (1997), since we have opened the library. Since that time we have asked the national library system to take over the institution so that they can pay the employees for us and manage it. Nothing has been done. We are still raising funds here to manage the building and pay employee salaries.

Leaders have mentioned the state's lack of capacity to help them as a major obstacle in their effort to implement projects in Haiti. Minister Jean Geneus while not denying this issue, argues that the main problem that his administration has found with the hometown associations is their lack of understanding of Haitian laws:

> One of the problems that we have found is that the regional organizations have an erroneous reading of Haitian laws. This erroneous understanding of the laws is created by the fact that they lack good information on Haiti. For example, there are organizations that are legally registered in the United States, but they did not do anything to register legally also in Haiti. So when they bring materials here, they think that they would be taken care rapidly. There are rules that have to be followed. I encourage them to register with the Planning Ministry. For example, two days ago I met with a group that came from Spring Valley, NY, and I helped them obtain their legal status here. If a group does not have a legal existence in Haiti, it will be very difficult to bring in materials to implement projects. If a group does not know which organization to contact here, it won't be able to do anything.

Since the idea of creating hometown associations to address the needs of localities in Haiti originated from immigrants who live in New York, their tendency is to apply American

values and ethics to these organizations. As mentioned before, Americans are culturally inclined to create self-help organizations to address common and individual problems. Therefore, they don't necessarily expect the involvement of the state in every issue. This is contrary to Haitian thinking regarding the state. As a centralized society, most of the initiatives for community participation and self-help projects tend to come from the government. In the 1970s under pressure by the international community to open up the political process, the Duvalier government of Baby Doc initiated a community action program in the countryside where peasants were encouraged to participate and address local issues. Although this program was ineffective because it was used more as a control mechanism than a participatory tool, its legacy was still present in Haiti when the hometown organizations decided to work in Haiti. Therefore, at that level the transnational organizations had to address this issue and deal with the cultural and political differences.

When I asked leaders of the hometown associations whether they consider that it should have been the role of the state to provide the services that they are currently providing, many of them said no. A leader of Fraternite Valleenne states the following:

> I don't think so because who really benefits from this. It is the local population. It is not a question of who should have done it because it is a necessity.

A member of the Association des Fils et Amis de Lavoute (AFAL) stated the following:

> If I remember well, President John Kennedy said: "ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country." Based on this principle, it is us that should do for our country. If every one is waiting on the state to do something, the state will not be able to do for every one. Lavoute is a rural community. If the cities cannot obtain services from the government, I don't see how the rural community will get anything. We believe that we have to roll our shirtsleeves and do the things for our community.

One member believes that people who want the state to provide the services that they

are currently providing do not understand the purpose of these organizations:

> I think these people do not know what is meant by organization. Take the United States for example, which is a very rich country with a lot of organizations. There is a lot we can learn from it. Here in the US, a lot of things are done by the private sector. It is the voluntary sector that does them. Sometimes they get help from the state. It can provide them with tax exemption. I think people who say that are not thinking positively. I think they don't understand what's going on, and they are looking for excuses for not doing anything.

The President of the Association des Amis de Belle Anse notes that:

> Well, I think the state itself does not have enough resources to do everything that needs to be done. We have to work together with the state to do the things that need to be done. I don't think the regional associations have a lot of resources to do big infrastructure projects such as big road construction. I think, these associations can only address the basic needs that people need to survive such as a small elementary school, a health clinic for primary care, potable water to prevent disease, reforestation, etc. I don't think they can really undertake huge projects. In general I still believe that the associations do projects that respond to the immediate needs of the population. I don't think they can be a substitute for the work that the state has to do. The associations do not have a large budget. They operate on fundraising and small donations. The associations do not have millions of dollars to operate. The big infrastructure projects are in the millions of dollars. It is always helpful to obtain aid from the international organizations for community development projects.

Non-Governmental Organizations and the Transnational Associations

Although leaders of the hometown associations like to present themselves as self-help voluntary associations similar to those that exist in the United States, there are, however, some differences in the way that they are perceived by the government and residents of Haiti. The Haitian state, including the Ministry of Planning, tends to classify them as non-governmental organizations, thereby regulating them under the same aegis as the foreign NGOs. This has important implications regarding the activities that these organizations can implement in Haiti and the kind of relationship that the state establishes with them.

As non-governmental organizations, these associations are part of civil society. In Haiti and in many other parts of the world, there is an important debate on the role of the state toward civil society organizations, including the hometown associations. Some scholars have argued that voluntary organizations, primarily the NGOs, have taken over the traditional role of the state by providing services to local constituencies. Stephen N. Ndegwa in the Two Faces of Civil Society notes that in Africa, many NGOs have become intermediaries between the state and citizens. They have contributed to the overall process of democratization at two levels. "First, NGOs pluralize the civil society environment and may pursue actions that enable them and others to operate more freely and unfettered by the state. Second, they contribute to the process of democratic development by empowering grassroots communities where they pursue their development activities" (Ndegwa, 1996: 25). Eventually these communities may then act through the NGOs or independently to pursue their local agenda.

However, there are also other contending approaches to the notion that NGOs are contributing positively to the democratization process. Michael Edward and David Hulme (1996) argue that the proliferation of NGOs must be interpreted in the context of the "New Policy Agenda." According to the authors, this new policy agenda is driven by two basic sets of beliefs that are organized around the two poles of neo-liberalism: neo-liberal markets and liberal democratic theory. Markets and private initiatives are now seen as the most efficient mechanisms to achieve economic growth and to provide social services to people. As a result governments who are advocating the neo-liberal view support NGOs in their efforts to adopt market mechanisms in all aspect of the social, political, and economic arena. These organizations are being substituted for the state in providing welfare services and are being

encouraged to enter into areas that were once considered the state's domain. The authors note that there is "a good deal of evidence to suggest that the rise and growth of NGOs are directly related to the increasing availability of official funding under the New Policy Agenda" (Edwards and Hulme 1996: 3).

The hometown associations are not only substituting the state at some level in their dealing with the population, but in some circles in Haiti and the United States, they are being heralded as an important element of civil society that should act as a counter force to the state. This view was expressed by one of the affiliates of the hometown associations in Gonaives.

> Civil society is beginning to realize that we cannot leave everything to the state. The state has its role, but at times we are the ones who will help it achieve its goals. For example, we need to educate the population about their obligations. More people are coming to see us to discuss their demands. For example, they don't do drivers licenses in Gonaives. Every three months you have to obtain a permit from the police that allows you to drive the vehicle. But this permit expires every three months and you have to pay twenty Haitian dollars for it every time. In a year, the permit would cost $80. The license itself costs $50 for five years. So we said we would discuss that with the authorities to address this problem. We have the same problem here for ID cards. The role of civil society is to sit with the authority to demand changes.

A leader who lives in the town of St. Marc and represents the Association des St. Marcois a L'Etranger in the city notes:

> Everyone is waiting on the state to do things for him or her. Can the state really do everything at a time when they are talking about globalization? Don't you think that it should be an organized civil society with a strong private sector that should propose what needs to be done for the city? When the government says that it has gotten money from the Inter-American Bank for Development (IDB) for projects, we should say no this is not what we want for the city.

In a country like Haiti where there is a weak state, the hometown associations, if they are organized and financed, can implement projects more effectively than the government

bureaucracy. However, while they may come with good intentions to implement sound projects for the population, they can also undermine the authority of the state by competing with one another and creating duplicate projects. The regional director of the Planning Ministry in the southeast who coordinates the activities of these organizations in the region, noted that the NGOs and the hometown associations have not informed the department about their activities in the area, even though the state wanted to coordinate development in the region:

> Coordination is one of the major difficulties that we are encountering. Until now we have not succeeded in getting all the NGOs to come together to share information about their work. You find two organizations in the same community doing similar work. For example, the two organizations might be working on water delivery or an organization may decide to build a school in an area that has one already. This occurs because one may not know what the other is doing.

An employee of a major international organization in Haiti made the following comments:

> NGOs feel that they owe their allegiance more to foreign donors than the government. The NGOs that have an interest in a real development for the country are marginalized.

Another looming obstacle for a positive relationship between the state and the hometown associations in Haiti comes from the fact that there is a tendency for their leaders to juxtapose them with the state. These organizations are not an alternative to the state and can never replace it given their structure and their mission. Although they can act as pressure groups or institutions that can encourage greater participation among the citizenry, their resources and their structure will always limit them. Markovitz (1998) argues that there is an interrelation between civil society and the state and that one feeds upon the other. Therefore, what is important is to evaluate whether civil society organizations are contributing to better governance or impeding it. Using Africa as an example of the interconnection between civil

society and the state, he notes that:

> In Africa, and elsewhere in the world, civil society and the state intertwine when state officials go to members of civil society for advice, both occasionally and on a sustained and systematic basis; when civilians from organizations or interests in civil society are loaned or seconded to the institutions of government that are responsible for the oversight, management or conduct of those organizations or interest; when the structures and organization of civil society are created, enhanced, supported, and promoted by structures, organizations and officials of the state, or the reverse (Markovitz,1998: 24).

In a report released by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID: 1998), it noted that the hometown associations, for the most part work, with local leaders and elected officials on projects that go beyond charity. The report further stated that diaspora-based organizations emphasize volunteerism and have very few staff members. As a result of these assets, these organizations will probably have more success with their projects if they continue to nudge the state to give them more autonomy in their actions.

Summary

Since the antagonism toward the hometown associations is no longer coming from the state, the leaders of these associations are in a better position to advance their projects in Haiti and to seek the support of the government to implement them. However, a lot more remains to be done before trust can be established between these organizations and the state. The government needs to work toward changing the prevalent attitude that Haitians who live abroad are traitors and enemies of the state. Since Duvalier spent more than thirty years advocating that notion, it will take a long time for Haitians to overcome this concept. One of the approaches that the government can use is to provide civics lesson to young students and organize massive media campaigns to explain the importance of the diaspora to the economy

of the country. By just simply explaining to the population that the diaspora send more than half a billion dollars to Haiti every year, local Haitians would understand that a false dichotomy was established between them and the immigrants. An adequate funding of the Tenth Department would also send a clear signal that the government is serious about integrating members of the diaspora in the country. Currently, that Ministry is one of the lowest funded agencies in the government. The decentralization effort should be encouraged and integrated further to include leaders of the hometown associations at the local and regional level. The government's reluctance to pursue the decentralization effort and its decision to trim the bureaucracy at a time when the country is in need of talented individuals are in contradiction with its stated intention to welcome members of the diaspora.

Leaders of the hometown organizations have expressed their willingness to support the government through the various actions that they have conducted in New York. Whether it was the mass demonstrations in support of asylum for the Haitian refugees, the return of democracy in Haiti, or against CDC policy on AIDS. Although the government has recognized their usefulness and their potential to alter US foreign policy toward Haiti, the Haitian state has not yet developed a comprehensive plan to tap into the potential that the immigrant community possesses in New York.

On the other hand, leaders of the hometown organizations have to realize that they cannot substitute themselves for the state. They will continue to face the challenges of applying their experience in the country without alienating the people that they want to help. Since the majority of Haitians welcome their support, they need to recognize that Haiti is still a traditional society where old habits die hard and at times slowly. Therefore, the experience

that they acquired abroad can only benefit Haitians in Haiti if they are humble about it and are willing to learn anew the customs and traditions of the country since no one can bring about real change on issues that he or she does not know well. The fact that Haitian immigrants can forge new alliances in New York to defend their self-interest and appeal to a broader constituency are important markers that the Haitian government should take into consideration. In the next chapter I will analyze the efforts of local politicians in the city to tap into the resources of the Haitian community and the new alliances that the immigrant community is forging in the city.

Chapter 6

Transnational Organizations and Coalition Politics in New York City

Although several scholars have studied the impact of coalition politics on the election of minorities in cities throughout America (Stone 1989; Mollenkopf 1992; Grimshaw 1992; Sonenshein 1993), very few have analyzed how emerging constituencies in these cities, such as immigrants and marginalized ethnic groups, affect the vitality of these coalitions. Since the election of David Dinkins in 1989, the presence of the Caribbean-American community has greatly expanded in New York City, and it has forced the African-American community to revisit its relationship with Haitians and the English-speaking Caribbean community.

Watts (1996) argues that: "a coalition requires the concerted intent on the part of individuals and groups of individuals to link with themselves together for reasons of pursuing an end that could not in all probability be attained if these disparate groups did not pull their resources" (Watts 1996: 40). It probably would have been very difficult for Blacks to elect David Dinkins as New York City's mayor without the support of all the minority groups in the city. Mollenkopf (1992) notes that the coalition that elected David N. Dinkins into office was a mixture of Blacks, Latinos, White liberals, Jewish and Catholics. Although the Black community is analyzed as a monolithic racial block when it comes to the study of biracial coalitions (Reed 1992, Sonenshein 1992), there is however a great difference when it comes to the local level. In the context of New York City, not only Blacks from the Caribbean have attempted to maintain a separate identity from African-Americans, but their interests have also come into conflict. This is due to the fact that Caribbean Blacks have managed to

develop their own enclave in the city and identified as a separate ethnic group. Among all the Caribbean Blacks, the Haitians have been at the forefront of creating a separate ethnic identity in the city due to the cultural and language differences that exist between them and the rest of the Caribbean groups. Stafford (1987) notes that: "as a population of foreign immigrants who are phenotypically black, Haitians occupy an ambiguous position in New York. They are a minority within a minority, but at the same time, distinguished within the black population from other black immigrants and from black Americans by cultural and linguistic characteristics" (Stafford 1987: 131).

Haitians in New York City have used their ambiguous position to forge multiple coalitions in the city. Haitian immigrants have managed to use their language and history to carve a separate ethnic identity from the rest of the Caribbean population, and they have succeeded in using their ethnicity to reach the larger American public. Evidence of that support is reflected in the coalitions that they have built with African-Americans, Liberals and Whites in their effort to establish a democratic society in Haiti. They have also undertaken initiatives to undo domestic policies that are unfavorable to them and their successful mobilization of immigrants and other city residents to protest against police brutality.

The multiple coalitions that the community has been able to forge are due to the fact that there have been some fundamental changes in the city's constituencies. Mollenkopf (1992) notes that currently race, ethnicity, and religion define the basic constituencies of the city's electorate. The change in the city's political coalition began to take place with the election of David Dinkins to the mayoralty in 1989. The political coalition that elected him

to office consisted of Blacks, Latinos and White liberals. Among the blacks in that coalition, there was a large constituency of Caribbean immigrants, including Haitians. In return for their collaboration in the election of Dinkins, Haitians have succeeded in obtaining the mayor's support for their issues including the return of Aristide to power in Haiti and the allocation of resources to institutions in the community. Mayor Dinkins strongly condemned the military coup against President Aristide in 1991 and attended several events sponsored by Haitian organizations to rally support for the return of democracy in Haiti.

Since the 1980s Caribbean immigration to New York has had an important political and economic impact on the city. Mollenkopf (1992) notes that these immigrants have become the driving force behind social change and are redefining the nature of racial succession in the city. Sassen (1991) has argued that the informal sector in New York, which is important to the structural transformation of the city, has been supported for the most part by immigrant communities. They are key players in the informal economy since they help the city meet its internal and external demand for goods and services. The health industry is one of those sectors that Caribbean immigrants have greatly contributed their effort to help the city meet its labor shortage. A study of the 1990 PUMS data by the Caribbean Research Center has found that more Caribbean immigrants work in health-related services than in any other major industry. Waldinger (1996) has found that Caribbean immigrants have developed a niche in the health care industry because of their ability to speak English where interpersonal communication is important. Although English is not the first language of Haitian immigrants, they have nonetheless been successful in carving out a niche in the health care industry. More 20.9 percent of the Haitian immigrant population work in the

health care industry, according to the PUMS data.

The empowerment of Haitians through ethnic politics has several implications for the future of the larger Caribbean immigrant community and coalition politics in the city. To some extent by retaining their ethnicity, members of the Haitian transnational organizations are resisting a downward assimilation into the African-American community. However, the idea of Haitians being a distinct ethnic group from African-Americans can only be sustained with the first generation since there are no language or physical traits that can distinguish children of Haitians from those of African-Americans. Moreover, even if they were to maintain their separate ethnic identity, they would still be members of the minority population in the United States. Therefore, in order to obtain resources and advance their agenda, they would have to forge coalitions with other Black organizations. Kasinitz (1992) notes that unlike White ethnic groups who have used their ethnicity to access resources and to position themselves within the political system, it is very difficult for Haitians and Caribbean immigrants to pursue the same policy since they are seen as Blacks by the White community and their interests tend to merge with those of African-Americans. Moreover by developing a separate identity from other Caribbean immigrants, Haitians may be setting themselves up to compete with other Black groups instead of developing coalition with them.

The possibility for Black immigrants like the Haitians to develop as a separate ethnic group is due to the opportunities that they have acquired in the United States since the passage of the Civil Rights Act of the 1960s. Fifty years ago most immigrants from the Caribbean lived in Harlem, which was the center of the Black community. Racism, housing segregation laws and the opportunities that Harlem offered to new immigrants made it

attractive to Caribbean settlers. Caribbean immigrants did not see themselves and were not seen as a separate ethnic group. Rather they were seen as Blacks and were identified as a racial group along with African-Americans (Owens-Watkins 1996). Several scholars who have written about Caribbean immigrants in New York have emphasized the close collaboration that existed between African-Americans and the Caribbean community in Harlem. Watkins-Owens (1996) notes that several prominent Black leaders in New York City during the 1930s came from the Caribbean and lived in Harlem where they mingled with Blacks from the South. Prominent Caribbean leaders who lived in Harlem in the early part of the twentieth century included Claude McKay, the poet and literary critic, Marcus Garvey, the founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, and W.A. Domingo, a well-known businessman from Jamaica. In addition to being the residence of choice and circumstance for many Caribbean immigrants, Harlem was also a place where people from various ethnic groups in the Black diaspora mingled. Watkins-Owens notes the following:

> Walking through the pushcart market under the New York Central tracks at 116th Street and Park Avenue market, where Caribbean fruits and vegetables were sold, a newcomer in 1930 would have noticed the British Caribbean intonations of vendors and snatches conversations in French or Spanish or Haitian Creole spoken by black immigrants (Watkins-Owens 1996: 39)

Turner et al. (1988) argue that Harlem helped immigrants from the Caribbean islands recognize their shared identity as West Indians since living on different islands, people saw themselves as Jamaicans, Trinidadians, or Barbadians.

The selection of Harlem as the choice destination for Caribbean immigrants gradually changed in the 1960s as new laws that barred housing segregation and housing covenants that excluded Blacks in certain neighborhoods were repealed. In addition to the repeal of these

laws, a substantial increase in the number of immigrants from the Caribbean greatly contributed to conditions for a separate Caribbean identity to emerge in the city.

Politics and Ethnicity

The development of a large Caribbean community in the 1980s and the opportunities that are available to minority immigrants have created the feeling among Caribbean leaders that they can empower themselves without the support of the African-American community. Archer (2000) notes that several Caribbean leaders believe that they are strong enough to win elections through an ethnic appeal.

> For several Caribbean leaders, the path to political empowerment lies in a specifically ethnic appeal just as a racial appeal works for African American leaders. If Clarke is successful, it will confirm the notion that ethnic appeals count more than racial appeals among Caribbean immigrants (Archer 2000: 112).

Although Clarke did not win the 2000 congressional election, Archer's thesis is still important to analyze and to understand the dynamics of coalition politics among Haitians, English-speaking Caribbeans and African-Americans.

McClain (1996) notes that there is an assumption by scholars that the presence of multiple minorities in a major city can lead to political coalitions among the various groups. African-Americans who have been the dominant sector in biracial coalitions that have been forged in New York City tend to assume that Blacks from the Caribbean would readily join their coalition and wait their turn to run for political office. In fact before Una Clark's attempt to run for office without the backing of the party machine, no Caribbean leader has attempted to run for political office without the support of the African-American party machine. Watkins-Owens notes that at the beginning of the Twentieth Century up to the first

World War, Black immigrants and African-Americans who cooperated with the two major parties to obtain recognition for Blacks and naturalized citizens from the Caribbean, played important political role in the African-American community. As a result of that collaboration several politicians of Caribbean descent were elected to office in the 1920s and 40s (Watkins-Owens 1996).

Una Clarke's decision to run for Major Owens' senate seat in Brooklyn has forced the party machine, which is dominated by African-Americans, to reconsider its relationship with the Caribbean community. Her candidacy in the Eleventh Congressional District in the fall of 2000 was not only a direct challenge to the African-American leadership, but it also undermined the African-American and Caribbean coalition that was instrumental in the election of Dinkins in 1989. Since 1982 the eleventh Congressional district, which covers Flatbush and East Flatbush of Brooklyn, has been represented by Major Owens, an African-American who began his political career as a librarian in the days of the anti-poverty programs (Village Voice September 12, 2000). In 1982, the coalition that elected Owens to Congress was made up mostly of African-Americans and Whites. However, over the past two decades, that racial coalition has changed. The Haitian and the English-speaking West Indian communities have replaced, for the most part, the African-American and White voters in the district. The New York Times notes that the population of the district currently is 55 percent Black. More than two-third of those are Caribbean-Americans (NYT August 31, 2000).

During the late 1970s and early 80s the voting power of Haitians and English-speaking Caribbean citizens was non-existent. As a result, the native African-American

leadership took the West Indian component for granted (Kasinitz 1992). Caribbean interests, if they were being heard at all, would usually merge with those of the African-American community. However, even though most of the issues that concerned the Caribbean community were taken for granted, the Black community always granted Haitians special attention. Congressman Owens would often support the Haitian immigrants' campaign to isolate the Duvalier regime by denouncing the regime's human rights abuses and forcing it to release political exiles. In 1985 when several groups opposed the Duvalier regime in New York, Major Owens would often release position papers in which he denounced the regime. On May 9, 1985 in a press conference, he accused the Reagan administration of supporting the Duvalier regime and not taking a position on the government's abuses of human rights in the country. He further stated that the regime caused the disappearance of several refugees who were deported by the American administration (Haiti-Progres Vol. 3, no. 6, 15-21 Mai 1985).

Throughout his career, Major Owens has supported the Haitian community's position against the authoritarian regimes in Haiti. In 1991, when President Aristide was overthrown in a military coup, he supported the effort in Congress to reinstate him to power. Therefore, since 1982, there has been a strong support within the Haitian community for his candidacy, and the leaders in Flatbush respected him. He also enjoyed similar support within the English-speaking Caribbean community and in 1991, he supported the election of Una Clark as the first Caribbean-American woman elected to the City Council (Village Voice September 12, 2000).

Although Major Owens continued to enjoy the support of the Caribbean community,

in 1998 he voted against a bill that would have extended the NAFTA agreement to businesses in the Caribbean (Archer 2000). Several Caribbean-American business associations in New York, including the Caribbean-American Chamber of Commerce, supported that bill. Since this incident, there have been calls in the community to run a Caribbean candidate against him. Caribbean leaders thought that was possible given the fact that since the 1980s, their voting power has increased considerably in the district. Una Clarke, who is of Caribbean descent and whose term in the city council is expiring in 2001 because of term limits, decided to challenge Major Owens for the congressional seat in the 2000 congressional elections. By all accounts, of all the primary races in the city of that period, the 2000 congressional race was the most interesting and closely watched because it forced the political establishment and the media to focus on the Caribbean immigrant vote in New York City.

The candidacy of Una Clarke not only divided the Black vote in the city, but it tore apart the unspoken agreement among major Black politicians that they not challenge each other unless they were given the green light by the party machine. In the case of Una Clarke, the Brooklyn Democratic machine did not endorse her candidacy and encouraged her to withdraw from the race. Una Clarke, who had hoped to become the first Caribbean Black elected to Congress on an ethnic appeal, found tremendous resistance within the African-American community and also among some Caribbean constituents, including the Haitians.

Although through the years Major Owens has been a friend of the Haitian community and has supported its aspiration to establish a democratic society in Haiti, there were times when he was inaccessible to community organizations and Haitian leaders. Once Una Clarke declared her intention to run for his seat, he became visible again in the community and

began to seek out the support of Haitian-Americans by attending local churches and community events. He also brought into the community prominent African-American leaders to boost his campaign, including Jesse Jackson who supported a bill sponsored by Owens in Congress to provide asylum to Haitian refugees from Guantanamo, Cuba who were facing deportation to Haiti. In addition to sponsoring the bill for the refugees, Owens also supported legislation to grant asylum to immigrants who have been living in the US for a long period of time.

The candidacy of Una Clark turned the unspoken agreement between American Blacks and the Caribbean community into turmoil. Although a majority of Jamaicans supported Clarke, the Haitian community for the most part supported Major Owens and provided on election day more than fifty volunteers to mobilize voters to go to the polls (author's note). Haitians supported Owens because of his long-term relationship with the community and also because they are competing against the English-speaking Caribbean immigrants for political space in Flatbush. Since one of the Haitian social service agencies in the community lost a $400,000 grant in 1998 to a rival agency supported by Una Clarke, there has been a simmering feud between these two prominent ethnic groups in Flatbush.[18] Despite the enthusiastic response of the English-speaking Caribbean community regarding Una's campaign, Major Owens won 54 percent of the votes to Una Clarke's 46 percent (Village Voice September 26, 2000).

---

[18]- Lakou Lakay, a mental health agency that is run by Haitians blamed Una Clarke for losing $400,000 in state grant. The former director, Lola Poisson is running for Una's council seat and has encouraged one of the Haitian newspapers to support Major Owens against Una. It is rumored in political circles that Una wants to support her daughter for the City Council seat. Haitian leaders, however, believe that this seat should go to one of them.

Coalition Building and the African-American Community

Una Clarke's challenge to Major Owens has several implications for coalition building among Haitians, English-speaking Caribbean immigrants, and the African-American community. In the coalition that previously existed between African-Americans and English-speaking Caribbeans, Haitian interests were secondary. Both groups supported Haitians' issues that pertained to Haiti, but neglected community issues that could empower the community. This is due to the fact that these groups perceive Haitians as a competitor for resources that would have otherwise gone to them. However, the decision by Una Clarke to challenge an African-American opponent has placed the Haitian community in a position where it can be taken more seriously. Haitian immigrants were suddenly accorded a special attention and became the power broker between the two factions.

The candidacy of Clarke has practically put an end to the traditional coalition and has opened up the possibility that Caribbean immigrants will no longer wait for the approval of the party machines before they challenge African-Americans or other minorities for political office. The election of David Dinkins as the city's first Black mayor in 1989 in which minorities came together to attain a shared goal was probably the last time that Caribbean and African-Americans would form coalitions to support a major Black candidate. The growth in the number of Caribbean voters and the ability of their leaders to build an independent power base will be used to empower further the Caribbean community. Therefore, it is expected that they will use their newly acquired position to run for offices that African-Americans previously occupied at the local level.

African-Americans Reaction to Clarke's Candidacy

African-American leaders reacted angrily to the candidacy of Una Clarke. Assemblyman Al Vann, who is a supporter of Major Owens, called it a "political betrayal." Tension between African-Americans and the partisans of Una Clarke increased to a level where they were calling each other unfortunate names. Peter Noel of the Village Voice insinuated that Una had called the politicians who did not support her candidacy "Brooklyn Rats" (Village Voice September 26, 2000). She also accused Major Owens of being anti-immigrant for taking her to court to prove her citizenship (The New York Times August 31, 2000). Owens, on the other hand, compared Clarke to Hitler for exploiting the prejudices that exist within the Black community (Noel: 2000).

The candidacy of Una Clarke has also revealed the feelings of several Caribbean leaders toward members of the African-American community. Several of them perceived the African-American community as their competitor. One Caribbean leader notes that:

> Caribbean people always played a role in the struggle of the African-Americans in this country. As long as Caribbeans agree to follow the leadership of African-Americans, there is no conflict. But once we decide to send one of our own, African-American leaders claim that we are splitting the family. Caribbean-Americans cannot wait for their turn. We are not a people like that.

Another leader who runs a trade association that includes African-Americans argues that although his organization was non-partisan during the campaign, members of the organization did support Una Clarke.

> As a group we did not support any candidate. Many of us individually had allegiance to Una Clarke. We have collaborated with Una. We have tried to have her represent out interests unsuccessfully. We have some members who are key supporters of Una.

The enthusiasm of certain Caribbean leaders to support Una Clarke is explained not

only by the belief within the Caribbean Community that they can challenge the African-American machine in Brooklyn, but also because these leaders perceive that the Afro-American community is not helping them on issues that can empower them. One leader notes that Afro-American politicians are not helping them register Caribbean immigrants to become citizens. According to that leader the African-American leadership believes that the Caribbeans are here to take their jobs and that it is not in their best interest to help them with voter registration and citizenship drive.

The simmering feud between African-Americans and English-speaking Caribbeans is fueled in part, not just by competition for resources, but also by the erroneous argument of several scholars that Caribbeans tend to do better than African-Americans in the United States because of their work ethic, their level of education, and their aspirations. This view, which is supported by (Laporte 1976, Sowell 1978, Beer 1985), and others is based on the study of the 1970 census in which Caribbean-Americans in the United States tended to have higher earnings than African-Americans. Since the early immigrants who came from the Caribbean were more likely to be educated, it was easier for them to find employment in non-traditional places. However, other studies since Sowell have found that Caribbean Blacks did not have higher earnings than African Americans once other factors were taken into consideration such as experience, education, and other background characteristics (Kalmijn 1996). Model (1991), in a study of six states that have a large population of Caribbean immigrants, concluded that: "whatever advantages Afro-Caribbeans enjoyed over Afro-Americans have disappeared, leaving these immigrants no more successful than their Afro-Americans counterparts."

Although the candidacy of Una Clarke aroused a lot of energy in the Caribbean community, she did not obtain the support of the Haitians because of the community's history with Major Owens. Also not all the English-speaking Caribbean politicians supported her. Nick Perry, who is a Jamaican-born state assemblyman, supported Major Owens and campaigned on his behalf in the community. Archer (2000) who is critical of Perry's position toward Clarke notes that: "one leader [in the community] referred to Perry as a 'tit on a bull.' In other words, he is useless because he is only an appendage of the county Democratic Party hierarchy." This may appear to be a biased statement since there are other Caribbean leaders who did not support Clarke. These leaders assumed that it would not be wise to challenge the leadership of the African-American community since they have the largest presence in the city and they have a lot more resources as a community. One leader notes:

> I see the future of the Caribbean community with the African-American community. We have to make an alliance with the Black Americans. There is only one history with Blacks and Caribbean. The slave owners used to buy slaves from everywhere, so we are one in essence.

The notion of a Pan-Caribbean alliance that Clarke was seeking to get her elected to Congress could not have happened because no such unity exists among Caribbean immigrants, and it is unlikely to develop at any time soon given the history of the Caribbean. Leaders in the Caribbean have made great efforts among themselves to develop a common agenda on economic issues. However, it has been difficult for them to achieve the same consensus when it comes to social and political issues. The number of Caribbean organizations in the community and the different interests that they represent also reflects their tendency to work independently. A veteran leader of the Caribbean community laments the fact that there are so many organizations in the city from each Caribbean country.

> We have a group known as the Trinidad and Tobago Alliance, the alliance of many Trinidad and Tobago groups. I am so sorry to see this organization by itself. There is a strong Jamaican group as well and a Barbados group also. Why do they never come together to do Caribbean things is a mystery to me. It is a step backward for us when we cannot get together as a group for the benefit of the Caribbean community as a whole.

Moreover the antagonism reflected between African-Americans and Caribbeans in the election of Una Clarke is not a complete picture of the relationship that exists in the city between those two groups. Caribbean Blacks are forced to ally themselves with African-Americans by the greater White forces that control their destiny. On a social level they do relate to African-Americans, and several of them have sons and daughters who are married to African-Americans. One leader notes that his best friends at his job were African-Americans:

> I had very good friends. In fact we formed a Black employee association of Xerox Corporation and I was on the board. Regardless whether you are Caribbean-American or not, you are Black and the question that some people would say to Caribbeans that they are different is a lot of crap because we don't see any difference with our skin, and that was what counted..

Another leader stated that:

> This country likes to stereo-type people. We are mutually inclusive. If we divide from each other, we set ourselves to be doomed. We need each other.

Several Caribbean leaders have recognized the need to repair the rift that took place in Brooklyn over the candidacy of Una Clarke. Since there is still bitterness between the African-American community and the Caribbean leaders who supported Una Clarke, it will take some time for the wound to heal. But even if the healing process takes place, it will be very difficult for African-Americans to merge their interests with those of Caribbean Blacks unless there is a common consensus on the issue. Caribbean Blacks will not let African-

Americans speak on their behalf as this used to occur before the election of their own leaders. Coalition politics among Blacks in New York City seems to be moving from a race-based approach to class-based. Middle-class Caribbeans may forge alliances with White liberals while working-class Caribbean Blacks will ally themselves with African-Americans on issues of common interests.

Haitian Immigrants and the Caribbean Community

Although the Caribbean leaders that I interviewed have mentioned that they have African-American friends, most of them could not mention any Haitian friends and seem to be more isolated from Haitians than other ethnic groups in the community. This occurs even though these two groups tend to be neighbors in several neighborhoods in the city. Carole Archer (2000) notes that very few English-speaking Caribbeans that she interviewed express some positive aspects toward Haitians. She notes that: "When asked which group would they least like to associate with, 22 percent of English-speaking Caribbean residents said Haitians" (Archer 2000: 203).

Several Caribbean leaders that I have interviewed mention that they have fewer Haitian friends. The owner of a trade association that is run by an English-speaking Caribbean stated that he would like to see more Haitians involved in the association. Another prominent leader in the Guyanese community stated the following:

> I don't have any problems with Haitians. The barrier with Haiti is the language. The more we come to know each other's language, the more we will be able to work together. I have criticized Haitian community leaders for selfishness. It is a closed community. It does not open enough to other groups.

That same leader suggested that Haitians and English-speaking Caribbeans have had

problems coming together because of the manipulation of African-American leaders who do not have an interest in seeing these two groups coalesce. Members of the Haitian transnational organizations mentioned that, although many of their coworkers are English-speaking Caribbeans, very few of them are close friends. These Haitians tend to associate more often with members of the transnational organizations or Haitians in the community. The lack of collaboration between these two ethnic groups is based on a long mistrust. For example Haitians were not invited to the annual West Indian carnival before the 1990s. Other factors that have prevented these two groups to come together include the competition for political space in New York and the tendency of the majority institutions in the community to encourage each group to organize separately. But a consequence of the lack of interaction among these two groups is the reinforcement of existing stereotypes. Many English-speaking Caribbean leaders mentioned cultural factors as a barrier to working with Haitians. These cultural barriers include the fact that Haitians practice Vodou.

The lack of interaction with Caribbean immigrants has not kept the Haitian community from developing its own political base in New York. Haitian leaders are more aggressive in their effort to establish an independent base in Flatbush than before. Several of them have already expressed their intention to run for council seats in open districts in Brooklyn. In September 2000, several wealthy professional Haitians raised $40,000 for Hillary Clinton's campaign (Haitian Times, August 30-September 5, 2000) and have also contributed money to members of Congress and local elected officials. It is quite symbolic to see that Hillary Clinton decided to end her senatorial campaign at a rally sponsored by the Haitian-American community. More than 1,500 Haitian-Americans crowded the auditorium

of Brooklyn College on November 5, 2000 to express their support for her candidacy (New York Times Nov 6, 2000).

The demise of the traditional coalition in which Caribbean interests were merged with those of African-Americans has created opportunities for Haitians and English-speaking Caribbeans to develop their own identity and to compete equally for political office. Although this may appear to be a positive step for the minority groups in the city, in reality it is a setback. Political offices that Caribbean Blacks could have won through coalition with African-Americans will most likely fall in the hands of White liberals or conservatives. A case in point is the Brooklyn Borough President's office. The feuding within the Black community in Brooklyn will likely give the office to State Senator Marty Markowitz in the 2001 local elections instead of the Black candidate. African-American leaders who used to take the Caribbean community for granted will now have to compete with White liberals and other sectors in the city for the Caribbean vote. Although this may make it harder for Blacks to win political office in the city since their vote will be scattered, it will undoubtedly open up some political space for Haitians and the English-speaking Caribbean community. The mayoral and Council elections that are coming up in the fall of 2001 will test whether the Caribbean community, including Haitians, is able to forge new forms of coalitions that will provide them the power and resources that they need to empower their own community.

Summary

The Haitian community has entered into a new era in New York City politics. Local politicians can no longer afford to neglect its presence. In close local elections, its support can determine who wins the office. However, despite its growing presence, the community

needs to build coalitions with other sectors of the city to develop a power base. Unlike the traditional coalitions where Haitians or Caribbean Blacks were expected to join forces with African-Americans, the new coalitions are composed of forces that include Blacks, Latinos, Asians, and White Liberals and are based more on local interest than on ethnic solidarity. As a result, in the long term, the community will have better opportunities to negotiate on its issues. The competition between African-Americans, Haitians and English-speaking Caribbean immigrants for resources and political access will amplify in the next decade, as minorities become the dominant sector in the city. In this political maneuvering taking place in the city, Haitians have succeeded in bringing greater attention to their concerns because they have been able to turn them into national and international issues. When their brothers and sisters were denied political asylum in the United States, that issue became an international cause celebre which attracted individuals all over the country and even abroad. The refusal of the Center for Disease Control to allow Haitians to donate blood became an international human rights issue that was being addressed by groups all over the world. The police brutality issue that took place in New York in 1997 and 2000 has moved beyond the city to the national stage. An outcome of this strategy at the local level is that it has reinforced the competitive atmosphere between the English-speaking Caribbean and Haitian immigrants. It has also placed White liberals in the city as intermediaries whose alliance with any of those groups determines who wins the local election. This new arrangement was probably at the root of Una Clarke's loss to Major Owens in the last congressional election.

Chapter 7

Conclusion and Perspectives for Future Research

What I have found in this study is that Haitian immigrants created the hometown organizations to address the predicaments that they faced in the mid-1980s. As political and community leaders who advocated a return to Haiti, they did not succeed in overthrowing the Duvalier regime. At the same time, they were becoming more integrated into US society which distanced them from Haiti and made it more difficult to return home. The hometown organizations helped address these predicaments by creating the conditions for the leaders to maintain some form of relationship with Haiti, keep in touch with families and friends, and justify their leadership position among the immigrants in New York. These associations achieve these goals by working on issues that are related to Haiti and by paying attention to the needs of the immigrant community in New York City.

Although the leaders claimed that they could not return to Haiti in the 1980s because of the repressive nature of the Duvalier government, very few went back after the regime was overthrown in 1986. They failed to return because they had assimilated too deeply into US society, and also they came to realize that their yearning to return home was more symbolic than a real desire to live in the country. However, even though they did not return, they remained attached to Haiti and the hometown associations by taking advantage of the progress that has been made in information and communication. The immigrant leaders realize that today people can still be leaders in their localities in Haiti without the need to travel or to be there physically.

There are other interesting findings from this research. First, the hometown associations help reinforce the Haitian identity among the immigrants in New York City. Second, they provide leaders an institutional framework to deal with racism in American society and a power base to negotiate with other institutions and ethnic groups. Third, they have become laboratories to train emerging leaders in the community in organizational management and political participation. It is not an accident that these organizations had an active role in the mobilization for the return of President Aristide to Haiti after the military coup that overthrew him in 1991. These groups also played an important role in the various protest movements that took place in Brooklyn against police brutality. Their managerial capacity and the relationship that their leaders have established with various institutions in the US, undoubtedly, positioned them to play a major role in any crisis that can arise in the Haitian community.

As a result of the increase in the number of Haitians who migrated to the US in the late 1960s and early 70s, there was more opportunity for leaders to create hometown associations. Since the immigrants who came in the second wave were interested in addressing not only issues that were related to Haiti, but also community problems in New York, this made the hometown associations more successful in combining homeland interests with local issues and in creating a transnational agenda.

The development of the hometown associations was also facilitated by the changes that took place in technology, global trade, and the pressure by the advanced capitalist countries to liberalize the political systems of Third World societies. For example, telephone communication and the Internet have allowed immigrants to keep in touch with their

hometown more effectively, and these services have allowed them to evaluate programs that are being implemented in their town at a faster pace.

Although transnationalism is not a recent creation of the newly arrived immigrants in New York, some of its characteristics are unique to Haiti. Thirty years ago, it would have been impossible for Haitian immigrants to conduct mass-based transnational activities such as the creation of hometown associations because of the repressive nature of the Duvalier dictatorship, the culture of Haitian society, and the lack of material and human resources. Transnational activities appear to be easier to practice in the United States today because US society has become more tolerant of immigrant culture due to the increase in the minority population, and the recognition that immigrants assimilate differently in the society.

What I have also found in this study is that although Haiti has historically supported the struggle of African-Americans for equality in the US since 1804, and that Haitians have a strong racial pride, first-generation immigrants in New York City still try to maintain a separate identity from African-Americans. This separate identity takes different forms: at times, Haitian immigrants stress the language differences that exist between African-Americans and themselves. At other times, they emphasize their level of education, income, or social origin.

Although Haitians are considered Black in America, at the community and individual levels, where members of these two communities live together, Haitians do not create alliances with African-Americans based solely on their skin color. As a result of this approach, there are tremendous political and economic ramifications. These two groups not only compete with one another for political space, but the White community emphasizes the

cultural differences between Haitian immigrants and African-Americans to divide them, thereby diluting their potential power. Therefore, to understand the politics of Haitian leaders toward the African-American community, there is a need to factor in their class background. This approach is more prevalent among members of the first generation because they are more connected to Haitian culture. However, when it comes to the second generation, there is less resistance to identify with African-Americans because the children do not speak Creole, nor do they possess any cultural traits that can identify them as Haitians.

This study also reveals that a majority of the leaders who take part in transnational activities have been living in the United States for a long period of time and, to a certain extent, can be considered as the "assimilated" segment of the immigrant population. Most of them have been here for more than fifteen years; they speak English fluently, are US citizens, are more educated than the average Haitian immigrant, and know the complex political culture of the United States. Newly arrived and poor immigrants generally do not join these associations.

The transnational organizations reflect the ambivalence that exists in immigrant organizations that are led primarily by members of the middle class. In one instance, they have espoused social issues that cut across class and status within the Haitian community. By bringing together peasants and urban residents to work on common issues, they are breaking down existing barriers in Haitian society and creating a culture of tolerance. By exporting participatory practices to Haitians in Haiti, they are sowing seeds for the establishment of a new political culture in the country, one that is based on participation and self-reliance. They are also encouraging Haitian citizens to reconsider the role of the state in

their daily life. By using Creole in their meetings, they are expanding the number of people who have access to knowledge and information. In the context of Haitian politics, these are positive initiatives.

At the same time that these organizations are working toward these ends, they have also created certain practices whose aim is to enhance the prestige of the leaders, and maintain their social status. As benefactors of the population, leaders of these organizations enjoy tremendous support among residents of the town and they are less likely to be questioned about their leadership style and their wealth. Therefore, they are in a position to continue the traditional practices that have divided Haitian society for generations. There is a tendency for those whose family occupied important economic positions in Haiti to join these associations. Members of these organizations network with one another more often than with other organizations in the community. By creating a closed circle in which they interact more often with one another than with other leaders, they are maintaining an elitist organization. This is in contradiction with their stated goal of bringing Haitians from all backgrounds together to work for the improvement of their hometowns.

I also find that the Catholic Church played an important role in helping Haitian immigrants forge an identity in New York City by supporting the development of the hometown associations and by providing facilities for these groups to meet. In addition to providing resources and spiritual support for Haitian immigrants, the Catholic Church also helped them maintain their ethnic difference from African-Americans. How the community celebrates the feast of the Black Madonna in Harlem is an indication of support obtained from the church.

This research suggests that the transnational Haitian immigrants do not necessarily forge coalitions based on their racial identity. There is as much competition within the Black community for resources and power as there exists within the White community. The Haitian community tends to forge alliances with African-Americans on the same criteria that they would use for White liberals. After the attack on Abner Louima and the killing of Patrick Dorismond, African-American leaders supported the mobilization of the Haitian community against the New York City Police Department, but the alliances that the community forged were not limited only to the Black community. Haitian organizations succeeded in rallying the support of White liberals and the religious community to address the police brutality issue. Since the Louima incident in 1997, a coalition of religious leaders from different denominations has been working together to bring about changes in the policy of the police toward minorities in the city. This group has succeeded in rallying prominent individuals to support their effort. These individuals include public officials such as former mayors Edward Koch and David Dinkins and actors like Ossie Davis and Danny Glover.

The activities of the hometown associations also have important implications for Haitian politics in Haiti. The diaspora has become in the last fifteen years a major source of income for politicians running for local office in Haiti and also a battleground for various ideologies. No prominent politician who is interested in winning office in Haiti can neglect the New York Haitian community. Through the homeland associations, individuals and leaders have pressured their elected representatives in Haiti to support democratic practices and the rule of law. The Ministry of the Tenth Department has supported a proposition that calls on members of Parliament to discuss pending legislation that addresses concerns of the

hometown associations with immigrants in the diaspora before such legislation is submitted for ratification. This is an indication of the importance that these organizations have acquired among officials of the government. The projects that these organizations are involved in Haiti also bring their leaders into close contact with government and private officials with whom they can advocate more effectively on behalf of their localities.

The transnational organizations have given a lifeline to the Haitian state. In the 1980s the state was up for grabs by the different sectors of the country. The hometown organizations succeeded in obtaining a piece of it by forcing the government to be more aware of the needs of its residents abroad. At the same time that they are collaborating with the government, the transnational organizations have become institutions that the state has to reckon with if it wants to establish a favorable image in the diaspora. As this study suggests, these organizations can enhance or destroy a government's image abroad. Their support for democratic changes in Haiti enhanced the legitimacy of the Aristide government after the coup in 1991 and made it easier for the regime to conduct political activities among Haitians in the diaspora. It also provided a platform for the Haitian government to challenge US policy in Haiti. Today, the Haitian state relies on these organizations to oppose policies that are detrimental to Haiti's interests and to influence US policy toward Haiti through the mobilization of Haitian-Amercan citizens. The legitimacy of the Haitian State among the immigrant community in New York also provides the government the opportunity to tap into the vast talent pool that exists in the community for development activities in the country.

Although the hometown organizations can help the state implement its development agenda, they cannot replace the government in its obligation to provide services to all its

citizens. As members of civil society, these organizations will be given a prominent role in the new government of President Aristide as the state struggles to admit new stakeholders in the political process since they have been shown to be more efficient in implementing programs. They will probably be called upon to manage projects that are funded by the international community. However, if these groups begin to assume responsibilities that go beyond their capacity, they will undoubtedly fail.

The study also suggests that there is a strong presence of social capital among members of the transnational organizations. This is manifested through the level of trust that members invest in each other and the form of solidarity that is expressed among them. This form of social capital can be further developed and strengthened since it relates to people who come from the same town and who share basically similar aspirations.

In the midst of all their potentials, I have found that the transnational organizations have two shortcomings. First, they are unable to attract second-generation immigrants at a rate that can sustain their membership. This poses serious questions regarding their ability to survive in the long term. The inability of the organizations to attract young people is due to their lack of recruiting effort, the absence of programs that would interest the young and the fact that they are competing with an aggressive Euro-American culture that seeks, but does not completely succeed, in neutralizing all other cultures in America. This Euro-American culture is appealing to immigrants who want to leave behind their experience in Haiti, especially if their lives were affected by political repression, poverty, or personal abuses.

The second shortcoming of the transnational organizations is the absence of a sensible gender policy that recognizes women's ability to lead and to participate at all levels

of the association. Since these organizations lack such policy, there are very few women who want to join them. Unfortunately, the men who lead these organizations do not seem to be interested in developing an aggressive policy to promote women in leadership positions. This is definitely a set back for these groups since the hometown organizations are important participatory institutions for Haitian immigrants in New York and they could be ideal settings for women to educate the male members about their issues.

Despite these shortcomings, I believe that these organizations play an important role in the Haitian community of New York City and have contributed greatly in maintaining a Haitian identity and transforming immigrants' mentality on social and political issues. Since they bring together Haitians from different social and political backgrounds to address issues that are common to all of them, they have the potential to break down social and political barriers that have been major impediments to a successful Haitian society. In New York these associations serve as major institutions to articulate the needs and interests of the community. They have become training grounds for those who want to participate in civic activities. This is an important achievement since it is the first step toward the democratization of Haitian society and the removal of policies that have ostracized the rural population for two centuries. These organizations are also transferring skills that their members have acquired in the United States to individuals and institutions of their hometown. This effort will force Haitians to work together on a national level to address the country's problems. The impact of these changes on Haitian society will be felt in Haiti and the diaspora in a few years when Haitians abroad will be invited to participate in developing a national plan for the country and to vote for their candidates.

Perspective for Future Research

Since this is a new paradigm in the analysis of immigration, there are a number of questions that it cannot answer currently, but which will be interesting to study in the future. It will be interesting to study the adaptation of Haitian immigrants in their respective local communities once they decide to return to their hometown. Will there be a transfer of skills, and what are the processes that the government and the local organizations will establish to make sure that this transfer takes place? How will the democratization process proceed in Haiti after the 2001 elections in which former President Aristide is expected to run? New York City will be going through a redistricting process after the 2001 census; some ethnic groups will see their numbers increase, thereby creating the possibility of developing a larger pool of voters and candidates who can run for elected office citywide. It will be interesting to study the participation of the Haitian community in that process and the role of the hometown associations. In conclusion, this research may represent only the beginning of a long study of the Haitian community in New York City and its struggle to adapt to a changing world.

November 2000

Appendix

Survey Results

The data for this survey's results were obtained from a questionnaire that was sent to members of the transnational organizations over a period of nine months. The questionnaire is printed after the data.

ACTIVITY I take part in the following activities

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Meeting with elected	1	3	6.7	6.7	6.7
Meet with other grou	2	2	4.4	4.4	11.1
Raise money	3	6	13.3	13.3	24.4
Invite others to joi	4	1	2.2	2.2	26.7
Speak on behalf of t	6	1	2.2	2.2	28.9
More than 1 answer	7	29	64.4	64.4	93.3
Blank	8	3	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total		45	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 45 Missing cases 0

AGE

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
18-25	1	2	4.4	4.4	4.4
Blank	10	6	13.3	13.3	17.8
26-30	2	1	2.2	2.2	20.0
31-40	3	6	13.3	13.3	33.3
41-45	4	5	11.1	11.1	44.4
46-50	5	5	11.1	11.1	55.6
51-55	6	5	11.1	11.1	66.7
56-60	7	7	15.6	15.6	82.2
61-65	8	8	17.8	17.8	100.0
Total		45	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 45 Missing cases 0

CITIZENS Citizenship

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Yes	1	28	62.2	62.2	62.2
No	2	12	26.7	26.7	88.9
Blank	3	5	11.1	11.1	100.0
Total		45	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 45 Missing cases 0

COLLABO Collaboration with other groups

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Community centers	1	3	6.7	6.7	6.7
Churches	2	4	8.9	8.9	15.6
Schools	3	1	2.2	2.2	17.8
Neighborhood organiz	4	2	4.4	4.4	22.2
Regional association	5	23	51.1	51.1	73.3
More than 1 answer	7	9	20.0	20.0	93.3
Blank	8	3	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total		45	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 45 Missing cases 0

COLLABO1 Organization works with

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Local elected offici	1	4	8.9	8.9	8.9
US federal agencies	4	1	2.2	2.2	11.1
State officials and	5	2	4.4	4.4	15.6
City officials and a	6	2	4.4	4.4	20.0
More than 1 answer	7	1	2.2	2.2	22.2
Blank	8	35	77.8	77.8	100.0
Total		45	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 45 Missing cases 0

COMMITTEE I belong to the following committee (s)

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Fundraising	1	8	17.8	17.8	17.8
Public relations	2	2	4.4	4.4	22.2
Program	3	1	2.2	2.2	24.4
Board	4	17	37.8	37.8	62.2
Special projects	5	3	6.7	6.7	68.9
More than 1 answer	7	10	22.2	22.2	91.1
Blank	8	4	8.9	8.9	100.0
Total		45	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 45 Missing cases 0

EDUCAT Education

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
High school	1	7	15.6	15.6	15.6
Some college	2	10	22.2	22.2	37.8
Associate degree	3	10	22.2	22.2	60.0
BA	4	4	8.9	8.9	68.9
Masters	5	6	13.3	13.3	82.2
Ph.D.	6	2	4.4	4.4	86.7
Blank	7	6	13.3	13.3	100.0
Total		45	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 45 Missing cases 0

EVENTS The organization works with events held

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Fundraising	1	22	48.9	48.9	48.9
Trips to Haiti	5	1	2.2	2.2	51.1
More than 1 answer	7	21	46.7	46.7	97.8
Blank	8	1	2.2	2.2	100.0
Total		45	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 45 Missing cases 0

FEELING I feel more American than Haitian

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
American	1	35	77.8	77.8	77.8
Haitian	2	2	4.4	4.4	82.2
Blank	3	8	17.8	17.8	100.0
Total		45	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 45 Missing cases 0

GENDER Gender

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	1	32	71.1	71.1	71.1
Female	2	8	17.8	17.8	88.9
Blank	3	5	11.1	11.1	100.0
Total		45	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 45 Missing cases 0

HMEMBER I joined the organization through

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
An invitation from o	1	15	33.3	33.3	33.3
Family member	2	9	20.0	20.0	53.3
A friend	3	4	8.9	8.9	62.2
Founding member	5	13	28.9	28.9	91.1
Blank	7	4	8.9	8.9	100.0
Total		45	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 45 Missing cases 0

MEETINGS Frequency of meeting

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Once a month	1	30	66.7	66.7	66.7
Every three months	2	11	24.4	24.4	91.1
More than 1 answer	5	2	4.4	4.4	95.6
Blank	6	2	4.4	4.4	100.0
Total		45	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 45 Missing cases 0

MEMBERS Organization works with

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Haitians in Haiti on	1	14	31.1	31.1	31.1
Haitian-Americans in	2	3	6.7	6.7	37.8
Haitians in Haiti an	3	20	44.4	44.4	82.2
More than 1 answer	6	7	15.6	15.6	97.8
	7	1	2.2	2.2	100.0
Total		45	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 45 Missing cases 0

MISSION Organization mission

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Help home town	1	29	64.4	64.4	64.4
Organize cultural ev	2	1	2.2	2.2	66.7
Provide services	3	1	2.2	2.2	68.9
Work with churches	6	1	2.2	2.2	71.1
More than 1 answer	7	11	24.4	24.4	95.6
Blank	8	2	4.4	4.4	100.0
Total		45	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 45 Missing cases 0

PARTICI1 I participate in the organizations activ

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
All the time	1	32	71.1	71.1	71.1
Most of the time	2	7	15.6	15.6	86.7
Once in a while	3	1	2.2	2.2	88.9
Rarely	6	1	2.2	2.2	91.1
More than 1 answer	7	4	8.9	8.9	100.0
Total 45 100.0	100.0				

Valid cases 45 Missing cases 0

PROJECTS Activities

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Raising money	1	30	66.7	66.7	66.7
More than 1 answer	7	13	28.9	28.9	95.6
Blank	8	2	4.4	4.4	100.0
Total		45	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 45 Missing cases 0

RETIRE Place of retirement

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Haiti	1	30	66.7	66.7	66.7
Florida	2	2	4.4	4.4	71.1
New York	3	2	4.4	4.4	75.6
More than 1 answer	6	1	2.2	2.2	77.8
Blank	7	10	22.2	22.2	100.0
Total		45	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 45 Missing cases 0

RJOINING Reason for joining

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Help my home town	1	40	88.9	88.9	88.9
More than 1 answer	5	3	6.7	6.7	95.6
Blank	6	2	4.4	4.4	100.0
Total		45	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 45 Missing cases 0

TRAVEL Travel frequency to Haiti

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Every six months	1	7	15.6	15.6	15.6
Once a year	2	17	37.8	37.8	53.3
Every 2 years	3	4	8.9	8.9	62.2
Every 3 years	4	3	6.7	6.7	68.9
Every 5 years	5	8	17.8	17.8	86.7
Never	7	1	2.2	2.2	88.9
Blank	8	5	11.1	11.1	100.0
Total		45	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 45 Missing cases 0

TRAVEL1 Purpose of travel

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Visit friends and fa	1	6	13.3	13.3	13.3
Visit projects	2	6	13.3	13.3	26.7
Vacation	5	3	6.7	6.7	33.3
Funerals	7	1	2.2	2.2	35.6
More than 1 answer	8	24	53.3	53.3	88.9
Blank	9	5	11.1	11.1	100.0
Total		45	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 45 Missing cases 0

TYPE This is a:

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
More than 1 answer	10	1	2.2	2.2	2.2
Blank	11	1	2.2	2.2	4.4
Professional organiz	5	2	4.4	4.4	8.9
Cultural association	7	1	2.2	2.2	11.1
Regional association	8	39	86.7	86.7	97.8
Other	9	1	2.2	2.2	100.0
Total		45	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 45 Missing cases 0

VOTE Vote in US elections

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Yes	1	23	51.1	51.1	51.1
No	2	9	20.0	20.0	71.1
Blank	3	13	28.9	28.9	100.0
Total		45	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 45 Missing cases 0

WORK Occupation

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Technical	1	6	13.3	13.3	13.3
Managerial	2	6	13.3	13.3	26.7
Professional	3	15	33.3	33.3	60.0
Health related	4	4	8.9	8.9	68.9
Manual	5	5	11.1	11.1	80.0
Retired	6	2	4.4	4.4	84.4
Not working or no an	7	7	15.6	15.6	100.0
Total		45	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 45 Missing cases 0

YEARINUS Year of arrival

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
1960-1970	1	11	24.4	24.4	24.4
1971-1975	2	5	11.1	11.1	35.6
1976-1980	3	3	6.7	6.7	42.2
1981-1985	4	4	8.9	8.9	51.1
1986-1990	5	3	6.7	6.7	57.8
blank	8	19	42.2	42.2	100.0
	Total	45	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 45 Missing cases 0

YFOUNDED Year

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
1970-1975	1	1	2.2	2.2	2.2
1976-1980	2	1	2.2	2.2	4.4
1981-1985	3	7	15.6	15.6	20.0
1986-1990	4	16	35.6	35.6	55.6
1991-1995	5	6	13.3	13.3	68.9
1996-1998	6	4	8.9	8.9	77.8
More than 1 answer	7	1	2.2	2.2	80.0
	8	9	20.0	20.0	100.0
Total 45	100.0	100.0			

Valid cases 45 Missing cases 0

YMEMBER Year of membership

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
1970-1975	1	2	4.4	4.4	4.4
1976-1980	2	2	4.4	4.4	8.9
1981-1985	3	7	15.6	15.6	24.4
1986-1990	4	17	37.8	37.8	62.2
1991-1995	5	9	20.0	20.0	82.2
1996-1998	6	4	8.9	8.9	91.1
More than 1 answer	7	1	2.2	2.2	93.3
Blank	8	3	6.7	6.7	100.0
	Total	45	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 45 Missing cases 0

Questionnaire Sample

Transnational Organizations and Citizen Participation

Organization's name_____

Please check all appropriate answers

1)This organization works with
a) Haitians in Haiti only
b) Haitian-Americans in the United States only
c) Haitians in Haiti and the United States
d) everyone who lives in my neighborhood in New York.
e) Americans who are not Haitians

2) This is a
a) neighborhood association
b) political club
c) church group
d) sports club
e) professional organization
f) political party
g) cultural association
h) regional association
i) other: explain

3) The organization was founded in _____

4) I became a member of the organization between:
a) 1970-1975
b) 1976-1980
c) 1981-1985
d) 1986-1990
e) 1991-1995
f) 1996-1998

5) I joined the organization through
a) an invitation from the officials of the organization
b)a family member
c) a friend
d) public invitation
e) I am a founding member

6) I joined the organization because I wanted to
a) help my home town in Haiti
b) help Haitians in New York
c) make Americans aware of the political situation in Haiti
d) help Haitians participate in cultural and sport activities

7) I participate in the organization's activities
a) all the time
b) most of the time
c) once in a while
d) rarely

8) I take part in the following activities to help the organization
a) meet with congressmen and other elected officials
b) meet with other groups to discuss the organization's projects
c) raise money for the organization
d) invite others to join
e) participate in forums to publicize the organization
f) speak on behalf of the organization.

9) I belong to the following committee (s)?
a) fundraising
b) public relations
c) program
d) executive board
e) special projects
f) other: please list

10) The mission of the organization is
a) to help my hometown in Haiti.
b) to organize cultural activities related to Haitians in New York.
c) to provide services to Haitian people in the community.
d) to increase political awareness abroad about Haiti.
e) to encourage more Haitians to become active in the community.
f) to work with church members.

11) The organization is engaged in the following activities:
a) raising money for projects in Haiti
b) running candidates for electoral office in Haiti
c) helping Haitian groups in Haiti
d) providing training and technical assistance to Haitians in New York
e) doing advocacy work on behalf of Haitians in New York
f) providing direct social services to Haitians in New York

12) The organization meets
a) once a month_____
b) every three months_____
c) every six months_____
d) every year___

13) Since I have been a member, the organization has held the following events
a) fundraising
b) seminar to train new members
c) forum to discuss Haitian problems
d) conferences to discuss community issues
e) trips to Haiti
f) demonstrations and protest marches

14) The organization works with the following other Haitian groups:
a) community centers
b) churches
c) schools
d) neighborhood organizations
e) regional associations
f) political parties

15) The organization also works with
a) local elected officials in the US
b) members of the US Congress and the Senate
c) the Democratic and Republican parties
d) US federal agencies
e) state officials and agencies
e) city officials and agencies

16) I travel to Haiti
a) every six months
b) once a year
c) every 2 years
d) every 3 years
e) every 5 years

17) I usually travel to Haiti
a) to visit friends and families
b) to visit the projects of my organization
c) to help other organizations
d) for business
e) for vacation

f) to help the government.
g) for funerals

18) When I retire, I will live in
a) Haiti
b) Florida
c) New York
d) the Southeast of the United States
e) other places (please name)

19) I came to the United States in_____

20) I am a US citizen B) I am not a US citizen

21) A) I vote regularly B) I do not vote regularly

22) I feel more Haitian than American

23) I feel more American than Haitian

24) age at last birthday_____

25) gender (male or female) _____

26) I have completed
a)High School
b) Some College
c) Associate Degree
d) BA
e) Master's
f) Ph.D.

27) I work as a_____

1990 PUMS DATA

CNTY

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Bronx	50	19	1.5	1.5	1.5
NY	51	69	5.4	5.4	6.9
SI	52	4	.3	.3	7.2
Brooklyn	53	797	62.1	62.1	69.3
Queens	54	394	30.7	30.7	100.0
Total		1283	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1283 Missing cases 0

F_AGE

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	68	5.3	5.3	5.3
High school	3	2	.2	.2	5.5
College	4	1	.1	.1	5.5
Young	5	595	46.4	46.4	51.9
Middle age	6	552	43.0	43.0	94.9
Senior	7	63	4.9	4.9	99.8
90 or older	23	2	.2	.2	100.0
Total		1283	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1283 Missing cases 0

F_ANCEST

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	68	5.3	5.3	5.3
	8	1	.1	.1	5.4
	22	2	.2	.2	5.5
French	26	10	.8	.8	6.3
German	32	3	.2	.2	6.5
Greek	45	2	.2	.2	6.7
Italian	51	7	.5	.5	7.2
Polish	142	5	.4	.4	7.6
	148	4	.3	.3	8.0
Puerto Rican	261	3	.2	.2	8.2
Dominican	275	6	.5	.5	8.7
Spanish	291	2	.2	.2	8.8
	32	1	.1	.1	8.9
West Indian	335	5	.4	.4	9.3
Haitian	336	1026	80.0	80.0	89.2
	425	2	.2	.2	89.4
	429	2	.2	.2	89.6
	553	2	.2	.2	89.7
Central African	596	11	.9	.9	90.6
Afro-American	900	35	2.7	2.7	93.3
Not reported	999	86	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total		1283	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1283 Missing cases 0

F_CITZEN

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Born in Puerto Rico,	1	126	9.8	9.8	9.8
Born abroad of Ameri	2	462	36.0	36.0	45.8
US citizen by natura	3	695	54.2	54.2	100.0
Total		1283	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1283 Missing cases 0

F_CLASS

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Na	0	164	12.8	12.8	12.8
Employee private for	1	729	56.8	56.8	69.6
Employee private -no	2	90	7.0	7.0	76.6
Local govt employee	3	137	10.7	10.7	87.3
State govt employee	4	38	3.0	3.0	90.3
Federal govt employe	5	14	1.1	1.1	91.3
Self-employed-- not	6	79	6.2	6.2	97.5
Self-employed incorp	7	23	1.8	1.8	99.3
Without pay family b	8	6	.5	.5	99.8
Unemployed last work	9	3	.2	.2	100.0
Total		1283	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1283 Missing cases 0

F_EDUCTN

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	68	5.3	5.3	5.3
None	1	74	5.8	5.8	11.1
No school completed	2	373	29.1	29.1	40.1
High school	3	265	20.7	20.7	60.8
Some college	4	367	28.6	28.6	89.4
College grad	5	84	6.5	6.5	95.9
Post grad	6	52	4.1	4.1	100.0
Total		1283	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1283 Missing cases 0

F_ENGLSH

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Less than 5 years old	0	151	11.8	11.8	11.8
Very well	1	453	35.3	35.3	47.1
Well	2	470	36.6	36.6	83.7
Not well	3	193	15.0	15.0	98.8
Not at all	4	16	1.2	1.2	100.0
Total		1283	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1283 Missing cases 0

F_IMMIG

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
US born	0	163	12.7	12.7	12.7
Eight	1	295	23.0	23.0	35.7
Six	2	713	55.6	55.6	91.3
Presix	3	112	8.7	8.7	100.0
Total		1283	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1283 Missing cases 0

F_INDUST

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	164	12.8	12.8	12.8
Agmin	1	3	.2	.2	13.0
Cons	2	18	1.4	1.4	14.4
Cppar	3	26	2.0	2.0	16.4
Othmfg	4	124	9.7	9.7	26.1
Transport	5	131	10.2	10.2	36.3
Commun	6	5	.4	.4	36.7
Util	7	7	.5	.5	37.3
Wholesale	8	25	1.9	1.9	39.2
Restbar	9	30	2.3	2.3	41.5
Othret	10	71	5.5	5.5	47.1
Finance	11	51	4.0	4.0	51.1
Insre	12	48	3.7	3.7	54.8
Hibizsvc	13	5	.4	.4	55.2
Lobizsvc	14	89	6.9	6.9	62.1
Hotels	15	40	3.1	3.1	65.2
Persvc	16	35	2.7	2.7	68.0
Health	17	268	20.9	20.9	88.9
Legal	18	2	.2	.2	89.0
Eductn	19	50	3.9	3.9	92.9
Socsvc	20	41	3.2	3.2	96.1
Govt	22	45	3.5	3.5	99.6
Military	23	2	.2	.2	99.8
	992	3	.2	.2	100.0
Total		1283	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1283 Missing cases 0

F_LANG1

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
N/A	0	68	5.3	5.3	5.3
Speaks another langu	1	1132	88.2	88.2	93.5
Speaks only English	2	83	6.5	6.5	100.0
Total		1283	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1283 Missing cases 0

F_LANG2

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Not in the universe	0	151	11.8	11.8	11.8
French	620	632	49.3	49.3	61.0
Patois	622	1	.1	.1	61.1
Haitian Creole	623	480	37.4	37.4	98.5
Spanish	625	17	1.3	1.3	99.8
Portuguese	629	2	.2	.2	100.0
Total		1283	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1283 Missing cases 0

F_OCCUPA

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	164	12.8	12.8	12.8
Mgr	1	61	4.8	4.8	17.5
Tech	3	43	3.4	3.4	20.9
Sales	4	64	5.0	5.0	25.9
Admin	5	142	11.1	11.1	36.9
Prhh	6	5	.4	.4	37.3
Protect	7	12	.9	.9	38.3
Svc	8	329	25.6	25.6	63.9
Farm	9	11	.9	.9	64.8
Craft	10	89	6.9	6.9	71.7
Oper	11	105	8.2	8.2	79.9
Trmatop	12	152	11.8	11.8	91.7
	92	97	7.6	7.6	99.3
	415	2	.2	.2	99.5
	416	4	.3	.3	99.8
	909	3	.2	.2	100.0
Total			1283	100.0	100.0

Valid cases 1283 Missing cases 0

F_POB

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	68	5.3	5.3	5.3
New York	1	38	3.0	3.0	8.3
US	2	9	.7	.7	9.0
Puerto Rico	3	3	.2	.2	9.2
Forborn	5	3	.2	.2	9.4
	342	1162	90.6	90.6	100.0
Total		1283	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1283 Missing cases 0

F_RACE

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NH white	1	29	2.3	2.3	2.3
NH black	2	1181	92.0	92.0	94.3
NH Asian	3	1	.1	.1	94.4
NH other	4	4	.3	.3	94.7
Hispanic	5	68	5.3	5.3	100.0
Total		1283	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1283 Missing cases 0

F_RELAT

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Householder	0	1265	98.6	98.6	98.6
Father/mother	5	18	1.4	1.4	100.0
Total		1283	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1283 Missing cases 0

F_RLABOR

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
N/A less than 16 yea	0	68	5.3	5.3	5.3
Civilian employed at	1	933	72.7	72.7	78.0
Civilian with a job/	2	12	.9	.9	79.0
Unemployed	3	65	5.1	5.1	84.0
Armed forces at work	4	2	.2	.2	84.2
Not in labor force	6	203	15.8	15.8	100.0
Total		1283	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1283 Missing cases 0

F_SEX

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	0	774	60.3	60.3	60.3
Female	1	509	39.7	39.7	100.0
Total		1283	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1283 Missing cases 0

Bibliography

Abbott, Elizabeth. Haiti: An Insider's History of The Rise and Fall of the Duvaliers 1998 Touchstone, New York.

Almond, Gabriel and Sidney Verba. The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations 1963, Princeton University Press, Princeton NJ.

Archer Carol. The Forging of a Caribbean Ethnic Identity in New York City Politics Ph.D. Dissertation 2000 City University of New York, NY, NY.

Arian, Asher, Arthur S. Goldberg, John H. Mollenkopf and Edward T. Rogowsky. Changing New York City Politics. 1991 Routledge Press New York, NY.

Aristide, Jean-Bertrand. Dignity 1994 The University of Virginia Press Charlottesville. English translation.

Barber, Benjamin. Strong Democracy. 1984 University of California Press, Berkeley, CA.

Barrett, Wayne. "Brooklyn Betrayal" The Village Voice September 12, 2000.

Basch, Linda et al. Nations Unbound 1993 Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, PA

Bass, Loretta E. and Lynne Casper. "Are There Differences in Registration and Voting Behavior Between Naturalized and Native–Born Americans?" Paper presented at the Annual meeting of the American Sociological Association (ASA) San Francisco, CA August 1998.

Bellegarde-Smith, Patrick. "Resisting Freedom: Cultural Factors in Democracy– the Case of Haiti" Haiti Renewed Edited by Robert I. Rotberg. 1997 World Peace Foundation and the Brookings Institution Press Washington D.C.

_____ Haiti: The Breached Citadel 1990 Boulder, Co.

Besserer, Frederico. "A Space of View: Transnational Spaces and Perspectives" paper presented at the ICCCR International Conference, Manchester U.K. May 16-18, 1998.

Binder, Frederick M. and David M. Reimers, All the Nations Under Heaven 1995 Columbia University Press, New York.

Borjas, George J. Friends or Strangers: The Impact of Immigrants on the U.S. Economy, 1990 Basic Books, Inc, Publishers, New York.

Bryce-Laporte, Roy S. and Delores M. Mortimer. Caribbean Immigration to the United States 1976 Smithsonian Institution Washington D.C.

Bourdieu, Pierre. In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology 1990 Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA.

_____ "The Forms of Capital" in Soziale Ungleichheiten Edited by Reinhard Kreckel. Goettingen: Otto Schartz & Co., 1983, pp. 183-98

Bouvier, Leon F. Peaceful Invasions: Immigration and Changing America 1992 University Press of America, New York.

Charles, Carolle. "Gender and Politics in Contemporary Haiti: The Duvalierist State, Transnationalism, and the Emergence of a New Feminism (1980-1990)." Feminist Studies 21, no. 1 Spring 1995 p. 135-64.

_____ "Transnationalism in the Construct of Haitian Migrants' Racial Categories of Identity in New York City" Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration edited by Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc-Szanton. 1992 The New York Academy of Sciences, New York, NY.

Clarke, Velta and Veronica Udeogalanya. Adjustment of Caribbean Immigrants in New York 1989 Caribbean Research Center, Medgar Evers College Brooklyn, NY.

Cole, L. Richard. Citizen Participation and the Urban Policy Process 1974 Lexington Books Lexington, MA.

Coleman, James S. "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital" American Journal of Sociology vol 94. 1988 University of Chicago p. s95-s120.

Correa-Jones, Michael. Between Two Nations The Political Predicament of Latinos in New York City. 1998 Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York.

Cristales-Baker, Beth. "El Hermano Lejano": The Transnational Space of Salvadoran Migration to the United States. 1999 Ph.D. Dissertation, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Democratie Nouvelle, Mars 1977.

Demographic Profiles of Persons of Caribbean Ancestry Undated publication of the Caribbean Research Center Medgar Evers College (CUNY) Brooklyn, NY.

De Tocqueville, Alexis. Democracy in America Vol. 1 and 2 1990 Vintage Books Edition.

Dewind, Josh and David Kinley III. Aiding Migration: The Impact of International Development Assistance on Haiti. 1988 Westview Press, Boulder Co.

Diederich, Bernard and Al Burt. Papa Doc and the Tonton Macoutes: The Truth about Haiti Today 1969 McGraw Hill, NY.

Dixon, Chris. African America and Haiti 2000 Greenwood Press Westport, Conn.

Dreyfuss, Joel. "The Invisible Immigrants" New York Times Magazine May 23, 1993

Dupuy, Alex. Haiti in the New World Order 1997 Westview Press, Boulder, Co.

Edwards, Michael and David Hulme. Editors Beyond the Magic Bullet: NGO Performance and Accountability in the Post-Cold War World 1996 Kumarian Press, Inc. West Hartford, Conn.

Guarzino, Luis Eduardo. "The Emergence of a Transnational Social Formation and the Mirage of Return Migration Among Dominican Transmigrants". Identities, Vol. 4(2), pp 281-322

Foley, Michael W., John D. McCarthy and Mark Chaves "Social Capital, Religious Institutions and Poor Communities" paper presented at the Conference on "Social Capital and Poor Communities: Building and Using Social Capital to Combat Poverty" Fordham University, New York, March 11-13th, 1999.

Foner, Nancy. New Immigrants in New York. 1987, Columbia University Press, New York.

_____ "The Immigrant Family: Cultural Legacies and Cultural Changes" International Migration Review Center vol. 31 no. 4 (Winter 1997): 0961-0974.

_____"What's New About Transnationalism? New York Immigrants Today and at the Turn of the Century" Diaspora vol. 6, no. 3 Winter 1997. P 355-375.

_____ From Ellis Island to JFK: New York's Two Great Waves of Immigration. 2000 Russell Sage Foundation. New York, NY.

Friedman, Thomas L. The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization 1999 Farrar, Straus and Giroux. New York, NY.

Georges, Eugenia The Making of a Transnational Community 1990 Columbia University Press, New York, NY.

Gibson, Margaret A. and John U. Ogbu. Minority Status and Schooling: A Comparative Study of Immigrant and Involuntary Minorities. 1991 Garland Publishing , Inc. New York, NY.

Gittell, Marilyn. Limits to Citizens Participation 1980 Sage Publications, Beverly Hills, CA.

Gittell, Ross and Avis Vidal Community Organizing: Building Social Capital as a Development Strategy. 1998 Sage Publications, Inc Thousand Oaks, CA.

Glazer, Nathan and Patrick Daniel Moynihan. Beyond the Melting Pot second edition. 1970. The MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.

Gold, Steven J. "Transnationalism and Vocabularies of Motive in International Migration: The Case of Israelis in the United States." 1997, Sociological Perspectives Vol 40, No. 3 p. 409-27.

Goldring, Luin "The Power of Status in Transnational Social Fields" Transnationalism From Below. Edited by Michael Peter Smith and Luis Eduardo Guarzino. 1998 Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Grasmuck, Sherri and Patricia Bessar. Between Two Islands: Dominican International Migration 1991 University of California Press.

Grasmuck, Sherri and Ramon Grosfoguel. "Geopolitics, economic niches, and gendered social capital among recent Caribbean Immigrants in New York." Sociological Perspectives v.40 no.3 (1997) p 339-63.

Grieco, Elizabeth. "The Effects of Migration on the Establishment of Networks: Caste Disintegration and Reformation among the Indians of Fiji" International Migration Review Vol 32, Fall 1998, p 704-36.

Grimshaw, William J. Bitter Fruit 1992 The University of Chicago Press. Chicago, Ill.

Gros, Jean-Germain. "Haiti's Flagging Transition" Journal of Democracy October 1997 vol. 8, no. 4 p 94-109.

"Quelle Alternative en Haiti?" Haiti Observateur 27 mai-3 juin 1977.

"Assistante de Carter prend contact avec des Haitiens" Haiti Observateur 17-24 juin 1977.

"Young: un avertissement a Jean-Claude" Haiti Observateur, 19-26 aout 1977.

"2,000 Marched in Washington" Haiti Observateur 8-15 avril 1977.

"Manifestation Face Au Palais National" Haiti Progres Vol. 3 No. 46 19 au 25 Fevrier 1986.

Harney, Nicholas DeMaria. Eh, Paesan! Being Italian in Toronto 1998 University of Toronto Press. Toronto CA.

Hicks, Jonathan. "Bitter Primary Contest Hits Ethnic Nerve Among Blacks" The New York Times August 31, 2000.

_____ "New York Officials Start Scrambling for New Jobs as Term Limits Loom" The New York Times June 21, 1999.

Hirst, Paul. Associative Democracy. 1994 The University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst MA.

Idelson, Holly. "Haitian Refugees: Black Leaders Criticize Continuation of Policy" Congressional Quarterly Vol. 51. March 6, 1993 p 520.

Liff, Bob. "Brooklyn Pols in a Bitter Race to Wire" Daily News September, 7, 2000.

_____ "Congress Bid Could Split Black Blocs" Daily News February 8, 1999.

Kaiser, J Paul and Rose M. Kadende-Kaiser. "Identity, Citizenship, and Transnationalism: Ismailis in Tanzania and Burundians in the Diaspora" 1998 Africa Today 45, 3-4 p 461-80.

Kalmijn, Matthijs. "The Socioeconomic Assimilation of Caribbean American Blacks" Social Forces, vol. 74 March 1996 p. 911-30.

Karl, Terry Lynn. "Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America" Comparative Politics. October 1990 p. 1-21.

Kastoryano, Riva. "Transnational Participation and Citizenship: Immigrants in the European Union" Center D'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales. Fondation des Sciences Politiques, 27 Rue Saint-Guillaume 75337 Paris Cedex 07 France.

Kasinitz, Philip. Caribbean New York 1992 Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York.

Kelly, Patricia Fernandez and Richard Schauffler. "Divided Fates: Immigrant Children and the New Assimilation" The New Second Generation Edited by Alejandro Portes. 1996 Russell Sage Foundation New York, NY.

Kifner, John. "Investigators Looking at New Allegations in Brutality Case" The New York Times August 21, 1997.

Laguerre, Michel. American Odyssey Haitians in New York City, 1984 Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.

Laguerre, Michel. The Military and Society in Haiti 1993. The University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

Laguerre, Michel. Diasporic Citizenship: Haitian Americans in Transnational America 1998 St Martin's Press, NY.

Le Patriote Haitien no.109 6eme annee 14-Avril au 6 Mai 1977.

Le Patriote Haitien no. 42, 2eme annee.

_____22 Aout-11 Septembre 1975.

Lundahl, Mats. "The Haitian Dilemma Reexamined: Lessons from the Past in the Light of Some New Economic Theory" Haiti Renewed: Political and Economic Prospects 1997 Brookings Institution Press, Washington D.C.

Luxius, Michael. " La Delinquence Juvenile dans la Diaspora et la Securite Publique en Haiti" Actes des Colloques 1991 Ministere Des Haitiens Vivant a l'Etranger, Port-au-Prince, Haiti

Mahler, Sarah J. "Theoretical and Empirical Contributions Toward a Research Agenda for Transnationalism" Transnationalism from Below Edited by Michael Peter Smith and Luis Eduardo Guarzino. 1998 Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, NJ.

Mansbridge, Jane. "Does Participation Make Better Citizens?" CIVNET August-September 1997, vol. 1 no 3.

Markovitz, Irving Leonard. "Uncivil Society, Capitalism and the State in Africa" Civil Society and Democracy in Africa: Critical Perspectives Edited by Nelson Kasfir 1998, Frank Cass and Co. London. Pp 21-53.

Marshall, T.H. Class, Citizenship, and Social Development 1965 Doubleday, Garden City, NY.

Masur, Gerhard. Simon Bolivar 1948, 1969 The University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, NM.

McAlister, Elizabeth. "The Madonna of 115th Street Revisited: Vodou and Haitian Catholicism in the Age of Transnationalism" Gatherings in Diaspora: Religious Communities and the New Immigration. Edited by R. Stephen Warner and Judith G. Wittner. 1998 Temple University Press, Philadelphia PA.

McClain, Paula D. "Coalition and Competition: Patterns of Black-Latino Relations in Urban Politics" The Politics of Minority Coalitions Edited by Wilbur C. Rich 1996 Praeger, Westport, Conn.

Miles, B. Matthew and A. Michael Huberman. Qualitative Data Analysis 1994 Sage Publications, London.

Miller, Jake C. The Plight of Haitian Refugees 1984 Praeger Publishers, New York, New York.

Ministere de la Planification et de la Cooperation Externe. Livre Blanc du Sud Est: Elements de la Problematique Departementale Novembre 1997.

Ministere de la Planification et de la Cooperation Externe Livre Blanc de L'Artibonite Elements de la Problematique Departementale, Novembre 1997.

Misztal, Barbara A. Trust in Modern Societies: The search for the bases of social order. 1996 Blackwell Publishers, Inc. Cambridge, Mass.

Mitchell, Katharyne. "In Whose Interest? Transnational Capital and the Production of Multiculturalism in Canada" Global /Local Cultural Production and the Transnational Imaginary Rob Wilson and Wimal Dissanayake, Editors. 1996 Duke University Press, Durham NC.

Model, Suzanne. "Caribbean Immigrants: A Black Success Story?" International Migration Review vol. 25, Summer 1991 p 248-76.

Mollenkopf, John Hull. A Phoenix in the Ashes: The Rise and Fall of the Koch Coalition in New York City Politics 1992, Princeton University Press, Princeton NJ.

Mollenkopf, John and Manuel. Castells, Dual City: Restructuring New York 1992 Russell Sage Foundation, New York.

Morton, Alice L. "Haiti: NGO Sector Study" 1998 Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit and Caribbean Country Management Unit Latin America and the Caribbean. USAID report No.17242-HA.

Ndegwa, Stephen N. The Two Faces of Civil Society NGOs and Politics in Africa 1996 Kumarian Press, West Hartford, Conn

Newton, Kenneth. "Social Capital and Democracy" American Behavioral Science Vol. 40, no. 5. March-April 1997 p. 575-86.

Noel, Peter. "Brooklyn Rats" The Village Voice September 26, 2000.

Ogelman, Nedim. "Immigrants, Associations, and Transnational Political Opportunity Structures" paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C. August 31-September 3, 2000.

Pateman, Carole. Participation and Democratic Theory 1970 Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England.

Phillips, Bernard S. Social Research: Strategy and Tactics 1976 MacMillan Publishing Co., 3rd edition. New York.

Pickus, M. J. Noah. Immigration and Citizenship in the Twenty-First Century 1998 Rowman & Littlefield Boston, MA.

Pierre-Pierre, Gary. "New York Haitians Sensing Betrayal in a Land of Refuge" The New York Times August 18, 1997.

_____ "In Hospital, Immigrant Gives Views on Brutality" The New York Times August 22, 1997.

Piven, Frances Fox and Richard Cloward. Why Americans Don't Vote 1998 Pantheon Books, New York.

Portes, Alejandro and Ruben G. Rumbaut,. Immigrant America A Portrait 1990 University of California Press, CA.

Portes, Alejandro and Min Zhou. "Should Immigrants Assimilate?" Public Interest 116 (Summer 1994).

Portes, Alejandro. The New Second Generation 1996 Russell Sage Foundation, New York.

Portes, Alejandro and Robert D. Manning, "The immigrant Enclave: Theory and Empirical Example" Competitive Ethnic Relations edited by Susan Olzak and Joane Nagel. 1986 Academic Free Press, Inc.

Przeworski, Adam. Democracy and the Market 1991 Cambridge University Press, New York, NY.

Putnam, Robert. Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Italy 1993 Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.

Reed, Adolph Jr. "The Black Urban Regime: Structural Origins and Constraints" Power, Community and the City Edited by Michael Peter Smith. 1998 Transaction Books.

Rosenstone, Steven J. and Robert Hansen. Mobilization, Participation and Democracy in America. 1993 McMillan Press. New York, NY.

Roumain, Jacques Masters of the Dew 1944 Heinemann London.

Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Marilyn Rueschemeyer and Bjorn Wittrock. Participation and Democracy East and West 1998 M.E. Sharpe Armonk, New York.

Salins, Peter. Assimilation, American Style 1997, Basic Books New York, NY.

Salvo, Joseph J and Ronald J. Ortiz,. The Newest New Yorkers: An Analysis of Immigration into New York City during the 1980s New York City Department of Planning and Population Division June 1992.

Sanjek, Roger. The Future of Us All: Race and Neighborhood Politics in New York City. 1998 Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York.

Sassen, Saskia. "The Informal Economy" Dual City: Restructuring New York John Mollenkopf and Manuel Castells, editors. 1991 Russell Sage Foundation, New York, NY.

Schiller, Nina Glick, Linda Basch and Christina Blanc-Szanton. Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration 1992 New York Academy of Sciences New York, NY.

Seligson, Amber L. "Civic Association and Democratic Participation in Central America: A Test of the Putnam Thesis" paper delivered at 1998 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Shain, Yossi. The Frontier of Loyalty 1989 Wesleyan University Press Middletown, CT.

_____ Marketing the American Creed Abroad 1999 Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Shefter, Gabriel. Modern Diasporas in International Politics 1986 St. Martin's Press New York.

Siegel, Joel. "Revolt in the Ranks: Clarke is poised to challenge Owens" Daily News December 30. 1999.

Smith, Robert. "Transnational Public Spheres and Changing Practices of Citizenship, Membership and Nation: Comparative Insights from the Mexican and Italian Cases."

Draft paper presented at ICCCR Conference on Transnationalism, May 18th, 1998. Manchester, England.

_____" Transnational Localities: Community, Technology and the Politics of Membership within the Context of Mexico and U.S. Migration". Transnationalism From Below. Edited by Michael Peter Smith and Luis Eduardo Guarzino. 1998 Transaction Publishers. New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Sonenshein, Raphael J. Politics in Black and White 1993 Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.

Soyer, David. Jewish Immigrant Associations and American Identity in New York, 1 880-1939. 1997 Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass.

Stafford, Susan Buchanan. "The Haitians: the cultural meaning of race and ethnicity." New Immigrants in New York. Nancy Foner Editor. 1987 Columbia University Press, New York, NY

Stepick, Alex. Pride Against Prejudice: Haitians in the United States 1998 Allyn and Bacon, Boston, MA.

Stone, Clarence. Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta, 1946-1988. 1989 University Press of Kansas.

Sutton Constance and Elsa M. Chaney,. Caribbean Life in New York City: Sociocultural Dimensions 1987 Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc., New York.

Taylor, J. Steven and Robert Bogdan. Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: The Search for Meaning 1984, John Wiley and Sons.

Theriot, Nicole D. "The impact of Women's Grassroots Organizations on Social Capital Accumulation in Kenya" paper delivered at 1998 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. Haiti.State Against Nation 1990 Monthly Review Press, New York.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. "A Social Contract for Whom? Haitian History and Haiti's Future" Haiti Renewed: Political and Economic Prospects edited by Robert I. Rotberg. 1997 The World Peace Foundation, Washington D.C.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. Haiti: State Against Nation 1990 Monthly Review Press, New York.

Tuckman, Bruce W. Conducting Educational Research. 1978 Harcourt Brace Jonvanovitch, New York.

United States Agency for International Development. Haiti: NGO Sector Study (1995) Washington D.C.

Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman and Henry E. Brady. Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics. 1995 Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Verdery, Katherine. "Transnationalism, nationalism, citizenship, and property: Eastern Europe since 1989" 1998 American Ethnologist vol. 25 (2).

Waldinger, Roger. Still the Promised City, 1996 Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Wahlbeck, Osten. "Transnationalism and Diasporas: The Kurdish Example" Paper Presented at the International Sociological Association XIV World Congress of Sociology, July 26-August 1, 1998 Montreal, Canada.

Warner, Lloyd and Leo Srole. The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups 1945 Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.

Watts, Jerry Gafio. "Black and Coalition Politics: A Theoretical Reconceptualization" The Politics of Minority Coalitions edited by Wilbur C. Rich 1996 Praeger, Westport CT.

Waters, Mary C. "Ethnic and Racial Identities of Second-Generation Black Immigrants in New York City" The Second Generation edited by Alejandro Portes. 1996 Russell Sage Foundation, New York, NY.

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

Watkins-Owens Irma. Blood Relations: Caribbean Immigrants and the Harlem Community1910-1930. 1996 Indiana University Press Bloomington, Ind.

Wiltshire, Rosina. "Implications of Transnational Migration for Nationalism: The Caribbean Example" Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration. Edited by Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc-Szanton. 1992, The New York Academy of Sciences, New York, NY.

Wilson, M. Tomas and Hastings Donnan. Border Identities 1998 Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Winnick, Louis. New People in Old Neighborhoods 1990 Russell Sage Foundation, New York, NY.

Wolfe, Douglas. "On the Value of Citizen Participation" paper presented at the 1999 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta Marriott Marquis and Atlanta Hilton and Towers, September 2-5, 1999.

Yang, Phillip Q. Post-1965 Immigration to the United States 1995 Praeger Press, Westport, CT.

Yarnold, Barbara. The Role of Religious Organizations in Social Movements 1991 Praeger Publishers New York.

Zephyr, Flore. Haitian Immigrants in Black America: A Sociological and Sociolinguistic Portrait 1996 Bergin and Garvey, Westport, CT.