

**Haitians in Boston:
New Immigrants and New Blacks in an Old Immigrant City**
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Abstract

Two parallel narratives thread the Haitian experience in Boston. As immigrants – like the Irish, Italians and Jews who preceded them – Haitians benefit from a structure in which immigrant values and ethnic organization translate into opportunity. Because they are black, however, they also face the same obstacles as the African-American community. Drawing from a larger ethnographic study, this chapter highlights how racial, cultural and contextual factors have impacted the incorporation of Haitian immigrants in Boston. Their reception and incorporation attest to both the breakdown of structural barriers that supported the marginalization of blacks as well as the enduring boundaries that challenge old immigrant cities with historically excluded African-American minorities.

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Tables and Figures

1. Table 1: City of Boston, Population by Race and Hispanic Origin, 1980- 2000
2. Table 2: City of Boston, Population by Nativity, Year of Entry, Citizenship and Language Spoken at Home, 1990 – 2000
3. Table 3: Dissimilarity Indices, City of Boston, 1990 – 2000
4. Table 4: NECMA’s Population by Race and Hispanic Origin, 2000
5. Table 5.1: Haitians in Boston, Demographic Characteristics, 2000
6. Table 5.2: Haitians in Context, Social Characteristics, 2000
7. Table 5.3: Haitians in Context, Economic Characteristics, 2000
8. Table 5.4: Characteristics of Massachusetts Places with Haitians, 2000
9. Table 5.5: Characteristics of Haitians in Massachusetts by Place, 2000
10. Figure 1: City of Boston, Region of Birth, Foreign-born, 2000
11. Figure 2: City of Boston Nativity of the Population, 1990 – 1990
12. Figure 3.1: Haitians in Boston, Level of Educational Attainment, 2000
13. Figure 3.2: Haitians in Boston, Industry, 2000
14. Figure 3.3: Haitians in Boston Occupation, 2000

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Boston Remade

“There is no little Haiti here, no Little San Juan or Kingston, either. Boston is not a minority city!”

Boston is perhaps one of the most diverse cities in the New England region, but it has never had a reputation as a minority city. Unlike other metropolitan areas its size, the city’s sense of place has been marked by a politically and culturally dominant white majority. In the popular imagination Boston is Irish pubs ... Larry Bird’s Celtics ... Italian enclaves ... a city where minorities have not taken over ... the only city where *they* know their place. Working hard to repair this image, city officials have been actively promoting the “new Boston.” Claims about the city’s racial and ethnic transformation are given credibility by recent scholarship and census figures.

Bluestone and Stevenson (2000) describe it as a “renaissance” arguing that demographically, the Greater Boston region has moved from a white ethnocentric community to a diverse multicultural one. The minority population *tripled* between 1950 and 1970 (from 5% to 18%) and then *doubled* again (to 40.9%) in the next twenty years (O’Brien 1982: 7; Bluestone and Stevenson 2000: 25, See Figure 2.1). Reports based on the 2000 Census have announced that Boston finally reached “majority minority” status: with blacks, Hispanics and Asians constituting 50.5% of inner city residents (Perkins, et. al. 2001).

Notably, the leading source of population growth in the new Boston is immigration. 25% of Bostonians today are foreign-born, up from 20% in 1990 and 15.5% in 1980. Of the 151,836 immigrants in the city now, almost half are from Latin America, followed by Asia,

Europe, and Africa (see Figure 1). In the order of their magnitude, the leading countries of origin are Haiti, China, Ireland, the Dominican Republic, Italy, Jamaica, Vietnam, Cape Verde, and Russia.¹

Although immigration is having the greatest impact on the city's Asian population (82% are foreign-born), there has also been a marked shift in the composition of the black community. Currently one out of every four blacks in Boston is foreign-born.² (26.8% of blacks are foreign-born in the larger Boston, Worcester, Lawrence, Lowell, Brockton, MA-NH NECMA.) 38.3% of these black immigrants entered the US in the 1990s. Almost a quarter of all blacks in the city are bilingual; and over 10% have limited English proficiency. The growing proportions of the black population with West Indian ancestry (25.4% of the total black population), sub-Saharan African ancestry (14.4%) and Hispanic origin (5.5%) attest to the national and ethnic diversity that has developed in Boston in the last thirty years; West Indians are the third largest ancestry group in the city.

The growing presence of these “new blacks” suggests that contemporary immigration will have significant implications for the city's historically small African-American population who have seen immigrants from previous waves leapfrog over them into positions of leadership. On the one hand, black immigrant/ethnics may contribute to a multi-ethnic urban underclass that is linguistically isolated and politically disenfranchised. On the other hand, they could become a “Caribbean/African talented tenth” – a leadership class that is not connected to Adelaide's Cromwell's “other Brahmins,” the city's civil rights struggles or the Jim Crow South.

The case of Haitians illustrates the reasons for concern. Haitians are the city's largest and fastest growing immigrant group. As part of the marketing of the ‘new’ reformed Boston, Haitians have been spotlighted along with newer Hispanic and Asian groups as

welcome additions to an ethnically diverse, multicultural city. However, a closer look at the new Boston complicates an otherwise optimistic picture. As immigrants, Haitians benefit from a structure whereby immigrant values and ethnic organization have historically translated into opportunity. Moreover, given other social and economic changes in the city, the successful incorporation of French and *Kreyol*-speaking, socially conservative, Catholic, immigrant blacks may not be generalizable to all blacks in the city.

In the following pages, I describe the Haitian community and summarize key findings regarding their characteristics as a group, the nature of their migration to Boston and their social, economic and political adjustment.³ I argue that the process of community formation and the means by which Haitians, and other new immigrants, are being incorporated suggests that, rather than a radical transformation in race relations, important social divisions between immigrant minorities and native-born minorities are developing which threaten to sustain the marginalization of African-Americans.

Immigrant Boston: Then and Now

“The old Boston – the Boston as we have known it in history and in literature – no longer exists.”⁴

Large numbers of immigrants and the emergent issues surrounding their incorporation are not new phenomena in Boston. Immigrants have always flocked to the metropolitan area. Boston was one of the top five urban destinations for immigrants in 1910. By 1920, one-third (32.4%) of the city’s population was foreign-born (see Figure 2); together with their American children, immigrants accounted for 73% of Boston’s population.

For the greater part of the 19th century, Boston's immigrants came from northern and western Europe – the British Isles, the northern parts of France and Germany, as well as various Scandinavian countries – and Canada. By 1840, the Irish were the fastest growing immigrant group in the city. For over a century, the Irish was almost synonymous with immigrant Boston. Then at the turn of the last century, immigrants from southern and eastern Europe began to arrive in sizeable numbers. They included the vast majority of the city's Italians, many of whom arrived during the late 1880s and 1890s, as well as over 40,000 Jewish immigrants. The city's previous era of homogeneity was further disrupted by the first permanent Chinese community. By 1890 Boston's Chinatown was clearly established in the South Cove area. All of these groups initially challenged the sensibilities of Boston's old-time Yankees, but eventually “the swarthy Italians,” “black-bearded Jews,” and the “motley collection” of Lithuanians, Greeks and Chinese not only became citizens and learned English, they also came to personify the city as we know it (Handlin 1926).

Like the Irish, Italians and Jews who preceded them, the new immigrants are also heading for major urban centers in Boston, Lowell, Lawrence and Brockton where they are replenishing an otherwise shrinking labor force, revitalizing old immigrant neighborhoods, establishing new ethnic institutions and inheriting existing ones, such as the Catholic Church. They bring distinct languages, customs, and pre-migration histories to Boston. The new immigrants also seem to be attaining acceptance and social mobility because of their “immigrant values” (hard work, family orientation, respect for authority, belief in the promise of education) and the importance of ethnicity as the bases of social organization. However, the ability of Boston to integrate such large numbers of non-white immigrants remains in question, because the new immigrants challenge a longstanding dichotomy that

has significantly affected the experiences of Boston's newcomers and their eventual placement in the racial and ethnic hierarchy.

Accordingly, the history of Boston's black community is an important part of its immigration story. The black population was never more than 2 percent in the nineteenth century; and it didn't swell as a result of the Great Migration from the South after WWI (Thernstrom 1973). Overt racial discrimination in many industries – the semi-skilled jobs in manufacturing and transportation responsible for the upward mobility of the Irish and Italians – created enduring concentrations of blacks in “Negro jobs”: laborers, servants, waiters, janitors and porters (see Daniels 1914). Blacks were excluded from the social networks that governed access to apprenticeship programs, union membership, and job openings (Schneider 1997); but the residential clustering of blacks in certain neighborhoods and their exclusion from others, was the most salient aspect of the African-American experience in Boston.

Boston continues to be one of the most segregated regions in the nation. According to Massey and Denton (1993), in 1970 81% of all black residents in the region would have had to move to white neighborhoods to achieve racial balance. In 2000, the index of dissimilarity between blacks and whites in the larger Boston metropolitan area was still 65.2 (McArdle 2002; see Table 3 for segregation in the city of Boston). The newly acquired ‘majority minority’ designation refers only to the city of Boston, with much less diversity in the 126 surrounding communities; Boston suburbs are over 90% white. Moreover, if you look at the minority proportion of the population at a finer level of geography within the city limits, e.g., by neighborhood, the picture is very different. For example, in 1980 Charlestown was 98% white and 95% white in 1990; currently according to the 2000 Census Charlestown is still 79% white. Similarly, West Roxbury – where 97% of residents were

white in 1980 – is only 16% minority today. By contrast, minorities constitute 96% and 95%, respectively, of Mattapan and Roxbury residents. (Tables available by request.) In short, the region may be more ethnically diverse than it ever was, but it remains highly segregated by race.

In addition, African-Americans have also been marginal to city politics. Lukas (1985) argues that at times in Boston history when the Irish and other new Bostonians fought for political ascendancy, blacks lacked the “critical mass” necessary for effective political or social action. Not even the Civil Rights Movement brought about a realignment. Despite significant white flight, the city has largely resisted the urban trend of ceding political leadership to minorities: the city has never elected an African-American mayor and continues to be perceived as a place where blacks cannot rise to positions of power. As one respondent put it:

“Boston is not like Atlanta or DC where blacks are really in the mainstream. It’s a different place.”

Finally, the new Boston is indelibly shaped by the racial conflicts and struggles of the last ½ century. While the story of Boston’s urban crisis will not be retold here, it is worth noting that thirty years ago Boston attracted national attention when racial tensions erupted in the form of turf wars and the anti-busing movement (see Formisano 1991; Lukas 1985). Only three years after the city became the archetype of white flight, Boston became a symbol again when whites violently protested the court-ordered desegregation of the Boston Public schools.⁵ By 1975, the images of raging white mobs confronting armies of police and white youth hurling bottles and rocks at buses carrying terrified black students on their way to school transformed Boston’s reputation from the ‘birthplace of freedom’ (Daniels 1914) or the ‘Athens of America’ to the ‘Little Rock of the North.’

In short, the nature and shape of the Haitian experience is significantly determined by this context, as well as by old immigrants and old blacks, African-Americans, who are themselves impacted by massive changes in their communities and culture. One such change is the shift in the composition of the minority population (from native-born, non-Hispanic blacks to immigrant minorities). Non--Hispanic blacks are no longer the largest minority group in the region. Although the Latino/ Hispanic category refers to those of any race, non-Hispanic blacks are outnumbered in all but two of the New England County Metropolitan Areas (NECMAs).⁶ This shift has the potential to impact beliefs about social inequality; how minority issues are framed; and the mechanisms and dynamics to which they point. It also has an impact on the “place” that Haitians as a group take in the city.

Haitians in Boston

Somewhat remarkably, Boston has become an integral part of Haiti’s diaspora. There are more Haitians living in Boston than in *Cap Hatien*, the second largest city in Haiti (Laguerre 1998); and Haitians constitute over 50% of Boston’s West Indians. The census provides a range of useful demographic, social and economic data about Haitians currently living in the city of Boston which are summarized in Tables 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3. However, the demographic picture alone is misleading.

First, Census 2000 suggests that there are less than 50,000 persons of Haitian ancestry in the state of Massachusetts. Hidden beneath this figure is a demonstrable Haitian presence in Boston area neighborhoods, schools and workplaces, which calls into question the accuracy of this count. The official numbers, as well as those provided by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, are in fact widely regarded as gross underestimates.⁷ Part of the reason is that the growth of the Haitian community in Boston is a function of

both internal and international migration – the former is more difficult to gauge given the nature of Census migration data.⁸ In addition, Hayes (2001) estimates that almost half the Haitian immigrants in Boston are undocumented – who take great pains to remain invisible believing: “if they can be counted, they can be deported” (p. 7). While the exact size of population is unknown, local community leaders and consulate officials provide the most accurate picture — in most cases, referring to a population consisting of closer to 75,000 - 100,000 residents.⁹

Secondly, although the Boston metropolitan area has been home to the third largest settlement of Haitians in the United States since the 1980s, they have a longer history in the region than is often acknowledged.¹⁰ The Census estimates that 42.8% of the Haitian immigrants in the city arrived in the 1980s; another 19.7% came before that.

My research shows that the earliest arrivals came in the 1950s and the community began to coalesce in the mid-1960s. Recall: Haiti has been an independent nation since the early 19th century, so Haitians were not subject to some of the forces that restricted the pre-1965 growth of other West Indian communities. In fact, as some respondents confirmed, the process of network migration to Boston originated with connections formed during the US occupation of Haiti (1915-1939).

“My uncle met a man from Boston in Haiti who told him about the Boston Conservatory of Music. I was planning to go to New York to teach, but almost by chance, I came to Boston instead.”

The demographic data also make it difficult to appreciate the internal diversity among Haitians. A cross-section of Haitian society migrated to the Boston metropolitan area in four distinct waves: the *Pathfinders* (pre-1965); the *Core* (1965-1979); the *Boom* (1980-1991); and the *Newcomers* (1992-present). “We are not all boatpeople,” one respondent

commented, “Some of us are Boeing people. (Laughs.)” (The latter alludes to those who had the means to leave the country by air.) The *Pathfinders* were mostly middle class, intellectuals, artisans, and skilled professionals who created an exile community. By contrast, the *Core* migrants were working class strivers whose passport to the (lower) middle class were the jobs, neighborhoods and local institutions that middle class Americans fled. Significantly, these early migrants were mostly Catholic and high levels of religious participation served to distinguish Haitian immigrants from the largely Protestant African-American population in Boston. The *Newcomers* are not only more economically disadvantaged (marked by lower skills and lack of experience in urban America), they are also more diverse in terms of religion and origins in Haiti. The newest arrivals are overrepresented in the very lowest educational attainment category; struggling financially, they are more squarely focused on economic survival than social mobility; and they are more heavily reliant on public assistance than earlier waves.

Notably, *Pathfinders* and *Core* migrants were classic economic movers, whereas many of the *Newcomers* come to Boston as a result of immigration policy provisions favoring family reunification and refugee admissions, both of which produce less highly selected migrants. Although 37.5% of the Haitians enumerated in Boston can be characterized as *Newcomers*, Haitians are underrepresented among poor blacks in the city. Even accounting for the disadvantages of the most recent arrivals, Haitians are less likely to be on public assistance (less than 2% of the population lives in households with public assistance income).

The internal diversity as well as the pace and timing of the four waves of Haitian immigrants to Boston are crucial to understanding their social and economic incorporation. First, the migrants did not come *en masse*, as the demographic data suggests. Rather the community developed over time as a result of social networks and includes a mix of old and

new Haitian nationals, a large and varied second-generation (many of whom were born and raised in Boston), as well as an budding third-generation of Haitian youth. The Haitian community also includes a growing number of return migrants who maintain ties to Boston. The actual rate of return is unknown, but the low number of retired Haitians and the median age (30.3 years old) most likely reflects the return migration of older residents. As such, Boston's Haitians are most accurately described as an ethnic community (a diasporic one at that) – rather than an immigrant community.

This small distinction is significant because it speaks to the level of community development present among Haitians in Boston. The number of voluntary associations, community service organizations, churches, cultural organizations, radio and television programs alone challenge the idea that this is a fledgling immigrant community with few resources, concentrated at the bottom of the socio-economic structure. As early as 1976 Fontaine reported, “There has been considerable growth of cultural, political, mutual help, sports and religious organizations over the past few years. ... [The Haitian community in] Boston now has its own band, soccer teams and basketball team. There was also a short-lived newsletter, which may be started again. There is even a dance and theatre group sponsored by *Haiti Culturelle*” (p. 127). Moreover, because the more highly skilled, middle class segment led the way, by the time large numbers of lower skilled, poorly educated Haitians made it to Boston, the level of community organization enabled co-ethnics to lighten the burden of city services by facilitating the integration of newcomers.

Not coincidentally, the *Boom* years of Haitian migration to Boston coincided with a period of economic expansion. In the 1980s the Greater Boston Metropolitan area experienced such economic growth that it has been referred to as the “Massachusetts miracle.” Based on data from the early 1970s, Boston was suffering from high and rising

unemployment and violent crime rates; high percentage poor, old housing, and tax disparity; rising city government debt burden; and failing real per capita income (see Bradbury, Downs and Small 1982:50). The metropolitan area suffered from such serious functional decline that *Boston Globe* journalists wrote in 1971: “What has drawn Boston's fastest growing minority, the Haitian community, to our smog, our unemployment, our failing schools, and our punishing climate?”

After a sharp downturn, in the late 1980s employment expanded so quickly in Boston that joblessness fell to one of the lowest levels in the country. The manufacturing job base of Boston continued to erode, but white-collar occupations boomed. The employment trend shifted toward professional and service occupations away from manufacturing and transportation. As a result, Haitian migration shifted from established destinations in New York and Montreal. One respondent aptly summarized the sentiment of the time: “Boston was a small, cosmopolitan city with jobs available. People would tell each other: Don’t go to Miami, don’t go to New York – Boston has plenty jobs!”

The impact of this economic boom is evidenced in the occupational profile of Haitians today. Haitians are less likely than other blacks in the city to hold professional and managerial jobs (only 21.7% compared to 30.7%), rather they tend to be employed mostly in the educational, health and social service sector (see Figures 3.2 and 3.3). The socio-economic restructuring of Boston was the engine in assimilating middle class Haitians and the foundation for the formation of a Haitian middle class. The former also took advantage of race-based programs and white collar job growth:

“These Haitians were the beneficiaries of attempts to hire more blacks in the sciences. There weren’t many blacks in some of the fields. For example,

when General Electric and other engineering firms were here, Haitians were hired at a very high rate. Haitian intellectuals found jobs in Black Studies programs.”

More recent Haitian immigrants found opportunities in growing unskilled sectors and are numerous among the city’s janitors, nursing home aids, food service workers, fast food employees and taxi cab drivers. For these Haitians, social mobility has been slow in part because of the enduring transnational linkages and the continued inflow of poor newcomers. Several of my respondents explained their willingness to accept jobs that others refuse using a singular logic: “I am here, so I must work. I have a long chain, whatever it is – I’m gonna do this job.” This “chain” also directs resources away from local community development and individual prosperity to family in Haiti.

Notably, the growth of the Haitian population in Boston also created jobs. Not only did ethnic entrepreneurs start new businesses (see Halter 1995), but the growing presence of Haitians mandated a culturally and linguistically proficient labor force in several mainstream occupations ranging from doctors, lawyers, social workers, ESL teachers, and policeman to EMS technicians, translators, service providers. Many Haitians maintain their native language not only for the sake of cultural preservation, but for the opportunities it opens up. Today 74% of the population over age 5 is bilingual; and only 17% lack English proficiency.

Finally, unlike other groups who only began to arrive more recently, Haitians have a historical consciousness of the “old Boston.” The well-known case of Yvon Jean-Louis perhaps best exemplifies the racially charged situation which Haitians encountered in the mid-1970s. One night in October 1974, Jean-Louis was severely beaten by a white mob armed with baseball bats and hockey sticks when he went to the neighborhood of South Boston to pick up his wife from the laundry on Dorchester Street where she worked. “They

caught me in the car. People have hammers, pieces of wood, a lot of different things. They broke the door from my car. I didn't know why they beat me. I knew nothing about school buses.”¹¹ Insulated culturally and linguistically, and politically oriented toward Haiti, few Haitians at that time knew (or cared) about the struggles of African-Americans. “We are not here to make trouble,” one Haitian immigrant said, “only to make money and have a better life.” But after Jean-Louis’ nearly fatal experience, Haitians discovered that, despite religious and cultural differences from African-Americans, they were on the wrong side of the color line.

Haitian patterns of residential settlement were significantly affected by the racial fragmentation in Boston. Initially Haitians were likely to settle in neighborhoods alongside native-born blacks or other newly arrived immigrants; Haitians are now widely dispersed throughout the state. Like most non-Hispanic blacks, they are concentrated in the city; 44% live in the city of Boston, mostly in the neighborhoods of Mattapan, Dorchester, and Hyde Park. Another 11% – mostly immigrants – live in Brockton; and 8% reside in Cambridge.¹²

These neighborhoods offered a number of resources to newly arrived Haitian migrants. The two and three-decker homes, for instance, created a new class of Haitian landlords and gave Haitian renters a low cost alternative to public housing.¹³ To many Haitians, three-deckers represented the good life; approximating independent, home-owning, middle class life. In 1985, Mattapan had the 4th highest percentage of homeownership in the city – about 35%, placing it after West Roxbury, Hyde Park and Roslindale, the city’s wealthier neighborhoods. This leftover stock of housing has proven to be a significant safeguard against some neighborhood-level hazards of urban life. As multi-generational, cross-class households, triple-deckers enable social support for even the weakest Haitian families.

In addition, three Catholic churches in Dorchester and Mattapan – St. Leo, St. Matthew, and St. Angela – became the nodes for the nascent Haitian community in the 1970s and 1980s. More than just places to worship, these churches offered critical sites for social networking, information exchange, the maintenance of culture, and most importantly an alternative to a troubled public school system.

Whether the advantages outweigh the costs is an empirical question that will not be taken up here; however, it is worth noting that these neighborhoods present a host of challenges. One example is Mattapan, the center of the Haitian community. It was less than 10% black when Haitians began migrating to the area in 1960, but by the end of 1970s the area was completely re-segregated. The housing stock is old and dilapidated with relatively little development; crime rates and rents are high (average rent for a 2 to 3 bedroom is approximately \$1,500 up from \$850 in 1996); congestion is increasing; and many of the schools are failing.

The dispersion of the population mirrored its growth and development as well as changes in the city more generally. As Haitians improve their economic status, they have joined the suburban exodus – moving into Milton, Randolph and Brockton, where 17.8% of Haitians in the state reside. Other agents of diffusion are low cost housing and proximity to jobs. The inequality of the contexts in which Haitians live and the Haitians in various cities and towns in Massachusetts is summarized in Tables 4.4 and 4.5. What is worth emphasizing here is that there has been an explicit attempt to expand the racial boundaries of the city and settle areas with relatively few blacks (thereby increasing their exposure to other groups, specifically whites, and other place-advantages). In the town of Everett, for example, over 50% of the black population is Haitian; in Somerville, they account for almost 46% of the black residents. The higher proportion of Haitians in places like Randolph (32%

of all non-Hispanic blacks), Malden and Medford (34% each), and Waltham (40%) also reflects the higher suburbanization of Haitians.

In short, there are several indications that Haitians are being successfully incorporated in Boston: The sustained growth of the population defies the characterization of Haitians as a transient community hoping to return to their homeland. Residentially, they are settling in cities and towns throughout the state. They are building new institutions and starting new enterprises. There are over 50 Haitian churches in the metropolitan area; and Haitians are becoming key players in the city's Catholic community. Haitians can be found in nearly every occupation. Over 58.2 % are citizens; 27.3% are naturalized. They evidence high educational aspirations, high employment rates, and relatively high incomes.

Enrollment in college or graduate school is higher than other blacks in the city (26.8% compared to 21.8%), as are labor force participation (56.3% of Haitians over age 15 are employed; only 9.8% of the unemployed non-Hispanics blacks in Boston are Haitian) and household incomes (the median household income in 1999 was \$35,159; the median family income was \$36,165). 28.8% of Haitians own their homes symbolizing that they are putting down roots or "taking possession of the land" (Husock 1990). Finally, Haitians have generally been welcomed as an integral part of the "new" Boston. However, no other measure says as much about the development and formation of the Haitian community as their more recent experiences in Boston politics.

Here to Stay

"We are trying to give people the message that we are not going home. We are going to die here."

Political incorporation is an important stage in the development of any immigrant group. Still in its earliest stages, the initiation of Haitians into Boston politics is most significant here because of what it suggests about the process of community formation. As Haitians are gaining some political leverage, they are doing so as a distinct ethnic population. One respondent from a 1996 interview now seems almost prophetic about the future of Haitians in the city:

“Haitians need to get to the mainstream; to see a young Haitian become senator, mayor ... If the Irish and Italians can do it, why not?”

Most Haitians see “political clout as an avenue to economic clout,” but others see political engagement as a way to deal with racial discrimination – notably, that discrimination is often characterized as anti-Haitian sentiment or makes specific reference to victims who are Haitian. In Somerville, hate mail sent to an immigrant support organization mobilized Haitian residents. The letter, received by Somerville’s Haitian Coalition in February 2001, repeatedly referred to Haitians as “gorillas,” “monkeys” and “niggers.” Commenting on the incident, one respondent hinted that if the Mayor did not respond forcefully enough, Haitians would express their disapproval at the polls:

“We need to challenge political leaders and get them to acknowledge that we matter. They don’t seek the vote from us because they don’t see us as full citizens.”

Importantly, political incorporation in the US is also significant for Haitians still oriented toward Haiti in that it creates an American-based interest group sensitive to the situation on the island and the treatment of Haitian émigrés. In an ironic extension of the saying: “all politics is local,” in this case, local politics has become transnational politics. In 1986, Haitians converged on City Hall calling for an end to the (Jean-Claude) Duvalier

regime. Many of the banners and speakers emphasized American aid to Duvalier; one read: “Massachusetts Taxpayers, Your Money is Enlarging Baby Doc’s Bank Account.” In 1991, when democratically elected Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide was ousted, Haitians in Boston put pressure on Washington to take action. Likewise, Haitian-American activism has helped focus attention on discriminatory refugee policies.

The implications of Haitian political engagement for African-Americans are numerous. The most obvious is a loss of political resources – a fracturing of the minority vote. Already, almost 15% of the black population in the city cannot vote because they are either ineligible for citizenship or have chosen not to naturalize. Moreover, although some African-Americans expected Haitian immigrants to conform to their interests and goals, Haitian community leaders articulate a clear trajectory for Haitians in the city that is based on a model of incorporation set by Boston’s older immigrants. “Why reinvent the wheel?” one respondent argued, “Haitians ought to do what they know works.” And in Boston, that means following the Irish, the Italians, but notably not the African-American community. In the larger project on which this paper is based, I discuss the process, benefits and costs of gaining visibility in Boston. The point about visibility worth emphasizing here is that Haitians gained visibility as a distinct ethnic group in Boston in part at the expense of racial solidarity with African-Americans.

Accordingly, Haitian political incorporation has occurred in a complex relationship to existing black political leadership.¹⁴ When members of the Haitian community have recently sought elective office, their immigrant status, local connections, and even youth are juxtaposed to connections to the CRM, Southern roots, and an ageing, African-American old guard. This is most evident in the media coverage of three aspiring Haitian politicians.

In 1998, a 25 year old Haitian-American man ran for the state Senate in the 2nd Suffolk District, the city's heaviest minority wards. One observer noted that the political hopeful and a Dominican-American running for the House from the 28th Middlesex district in Cambridge "offered a glimpse of Massachusetts' political future." The candidates were described as "the children of socially conservative households who ... are homegrown natives of the districts they represent ... the product of local schools and strict churching. ... Their nuanced, broad-based vision of ethnic politics is more relevant to the districts than the political machine that brought civil-rights-era minorities into power." The same journalist also noted that in a contest two years ago, the Dominican-American nearly defeated a "son of the civil rights movement who has held the seat for 10 years."

Less than a year later, Marie St. Fleur, a Dorchester Democrat, won a special election to represent Dorchester and Roxbury in the State House of Representatives. She is the first Haitian-American to represent the 5th Suffolk District. The bywords of St. Fleur's biography, who is a former assistant district attorney and assistant attorney general as well as a graduate of UMASS Amherst and BU Law School, are "Haitian native" / "Haitian immigrant." In press conferences and other public appearances, she is often symbolically positioned on the Mayor's right proclaiming: "I am Black; I am immigrant; I am woman." Her immigrant identity is strategically deployed, especially as she takes positions that are at odds with her largely African-American constituents such as, the use of MCAS as a graduation requirement; and issues that have mobilized the immigrant newcomers in the city, like bilingual education.¹⁵ One respondent remarked that the difference between Marie St. Fleur and fellow Dorchester state Representative Martin Walsh are few, arguing that both are children of working class immigrants.

Finally, in 2003 city organizers for the 2004 Democratic National Convention named another young Haitian-American as outreach director to recruit minority businesses for convention work. He had been active in St. Fleur's campaign and since then served as the publisher of the *Boston Haitian Reporter*, a monthly newspaper founded under the auspices of the *Boston Irish Reporter*. In the story that ran in the *Globe*, the appointee was depicted as a Bostonian raised by Haitian immigrants and his membership in one of Boston's status communities – the Catholic Church – was made clear: “He is a trustee at the Roxbury Community College and the Catholic Schools Foundation and is also a ‘double eagle,’ a graduate of Boston College High School and Boston College. He was recently named a trustee at BC High.”

In short, these examples are among the many that reveal the portrayal of the city's “new blacks.” This construction of Haitians and other new immigrants in the city can also be said to have a causal relationship with lingering ideas about culturally deficient African-Americans devoid of the characteristics that enable social mobility.

Of all the Haitian communities in the US, the size of the minority population and Boston's racial fragmentation in the 1970s created a context conducive to the development of a race consciousness and solidarity with African-Americans. However, this context together with the social and economic experiences of Haitians led to a different outcome. Rather than cultivating a unifying racial identification, the experience of living in Boston fosters a degree of inter-ethnic and inter-racial interaction. Haitians form bonds as immigrants, as West Indians, as Catholics, along linguistic lines with other French-speakers – which contributes to diffused racial identities and race-based political mobilization. As a result, in the absence of clear geographic boundaries between the Haitian and African-American communities, socially constructed ethnic boundaries took on greater significance.

Haitians established a community at a symbolic distance from the African-American community and as a response to their smaller size (relative to other ethnic groups in the area) opted to organize new connections, as well as business and political partnerships, with other displaced Haitians in the diaspora especially in the New England region.

In addition, economically Haitians benefited from both their status as blacks and as immigrants in ways that were not available to African-Americans. As immigrants they created a new subclass of ethnic niches, as Blacks they have used race-based opportunities to their collective advantage. Social psychologists have generally noted that it takes very little for groups to form and to adjudicate status positions to nominal characteristics (Tajfel 1970; Ridgeway 1991). Thus it should not be surprising that differences in language and culture as well as gaps in income, labor force participation, homeownership, etc. are contributing to the formation of a distinct Haitian ethnic identity and consciousness.

It is also important to underscore how the post-CRM era creates a discursive space for the development of a Haitian ethnic community. As Nina Glick-Schiller (1977) insightfully pointed out with respect to Haitians in New York City, since the Civil Rights Movement, resources and opportunities have been made available to *ethnic* groups. “Haitians can choose from a number of possible identities, but in New York pressure from institutions such as the Democratic Party persuade Haitians to organize as Haitians” (Glick Schiller 1977:35). This analysis is easily extended to the Boston case. While some African-Americans exhibit a skepticism about alliances with white Bostonians, Haitians invoke an idiom of ethnicity to strive for symbolic inclusion. Economic opportunities, social relations, and civic incorporation have proceeded along the lines of ethnic organization and immigrant incorporation. An implicit immigrant narrative (based on thrift, hard work, and education)

and interaction networks (developed in the Catholic church and in racially-mixed neighborhoods) are used to form interracial social and political alliances.

In the new Boston, minorities are developing the critical mass they lacked in previous periods, however struggles for representation and access to resources are increasingly fought on the basis of ethnic allegiance.

A New Yankee City?

It is tempting to interpret the relative ease of Haitian incorporation in Boston as a black success story and the dawning of a new day in the city. In addition to Boston's changed racial landscape, there is evidence that the dichotomy between whites and racial minorities is breaking down. MA State Representative, Marie St. Fleur, is a symbol of that progress; as is Felix Arroyo, who was elected the first Latino city councilor in Boston history. Despite the fact that Thomas Menino is the first Italian-American mayor (following decades of Irish-American leadership), some have even begun to speculate about the possibility of a Haitian, Brazilian or Vietnamese mayor in the city.

In addition, anti-black discrimination and virulently racist rhetoric have been replaced with a color-blind ideology and an emphasis on the commonalities among immigrants and minorities in the city. Reference is frequently made to Boston immigrants at the turn of the last century and their experiences of residential segregation, exclusion from the primary labor market and elite educational institutions. And notably, almost all of my white respondents reacted with surprise when I made reference to the image of Boston as a racially inhospitable place. "That busing stuff?" one Dorchester resident said, "That's ancient history!"

The stereotyping and anti-Haitian sentiments that were common in the 1980s as Haitians faced stigmatizing associations with AIDS, voodoo, boatpeople, and “the poorest nation in the Western hemisphere” are also less ubiquitous today. In fact, at an event commemorating the 199th anniversary of Haitian independence, Menino spoke about how important the Haitian community has been to the city over the past several years.

“It is well known that this great nation was started by immigrants - from Italy, Ireland, and England. Today, I am proud to recognize the new wave of immigrants that contribute to the greatness of America - immigrants from Latin America and the Caribbean, particularly Haiti, who constitute the new fabric of America.”

In this sense, Boston is a very different place than it was fifty, even thirty years ago. Closer inspection, however, reveals a more complex scenario. Haitians have been accepted in Boston as immigrants, as part of the new ethnic Boston – not as blacks. In other words, there is an attempt to include the experiences of Haitians in the city as part of a larger *immigrant* narrative, because as immigrants, Haitians occupy a far more accepted role in the American imagination (Waldinger 2001). Haitians are seen less and less as a racial group impacted by structural discrimination and institutional racism and more as equal players in the politics of culture and ethnicity. Part of the cost of admission, though, is that issues of racial discrimination and race-based antagonism are off-limits – disparaged as ‘playing the race card.’”

The “ethnicizing” of Haitians as a group does not negate the racialized nature of their experience in Boston. For instance, the concentration of Haitians in the city suggests that Haitians moved into a clearly defined structure of neighborhoods carved along racial lines. Redlining policies in the late 1960s and 1970s funneled blacks looking to buy homes

into neighborhoods like Mattapan and adjacent Dorchester and deprived them of opportunities in other parts of the city; subsequently white flight and general disinvestment have led to deterioration. Newer Hispanic and Asian arrivals, it should be noted, experience much less segregation from whites in the city (see Table 3). Also, the same way that African-Americans were excluded from all but Negro-jobs at the turn of the last century, the more privileged status of Haitians (relative to African-Americans) in Boston seems contingent on their willingness to continue working the most difficult and poorly remunerated jobs under conditions that most Americans will not accept.

I am not suggesting that this situation is unique to Boston; rather it is characteristic of post-Civil Rights Movement urban contexts where inequalities based on race and class are obscured under the neutral trope of ethnicity. The region is in the midst of racial change, but there is a widespread perception that issues of discrimination have been solved and that life chances are equal. One respondent articulated his frustration with what he characterized as an emerging pattern of divided minority communities and the continued dominance of an “old boys’ network” in the city:

“This is probably the only city in the world where you can find significant communities of African-Americans, Haitians, Puerto Ricans, Vietnamese, Dominicans, Jamaicans, Cape Verdeans, Irish, Italians, Chinese, El Salvadorans, Cambodians, etc. within 10 miles of one another. 10 MILES!!! Yet what have we, as a city, done with that? ... Nothing. We’ve just created new barriers and ways to cover up old ones, instead of facing it and really committing ourselves to demanding change!!!”

Often the same city residents making reference to upwardly mobile Haitian immigrants as a sign of the city's transformation, he went on, make allusions to reverse discrimination and mobilize against affirmative action and vote to abolish bilingual education.

Therefore, it can be argued that the inclusion of Haitians does not signal the unconditional welcome of all blacks into the multicultural mainstream. Rather, it recognizes those who share mainstream, middle-class / ethnic values of work, family, civic mindedness, aspirations of upward mobility and a unique cultural heritage, while still marginalizing non-immigrant voices that question the dominant ethic. An African-American respondent summarized what he saw as the true nature of the "new" Boston:

"Before the Civil Rights movement, blacks [African-Americans] were second class citizens in Boston because they were not white. Now we're still second class citizens because we're not immigrants."

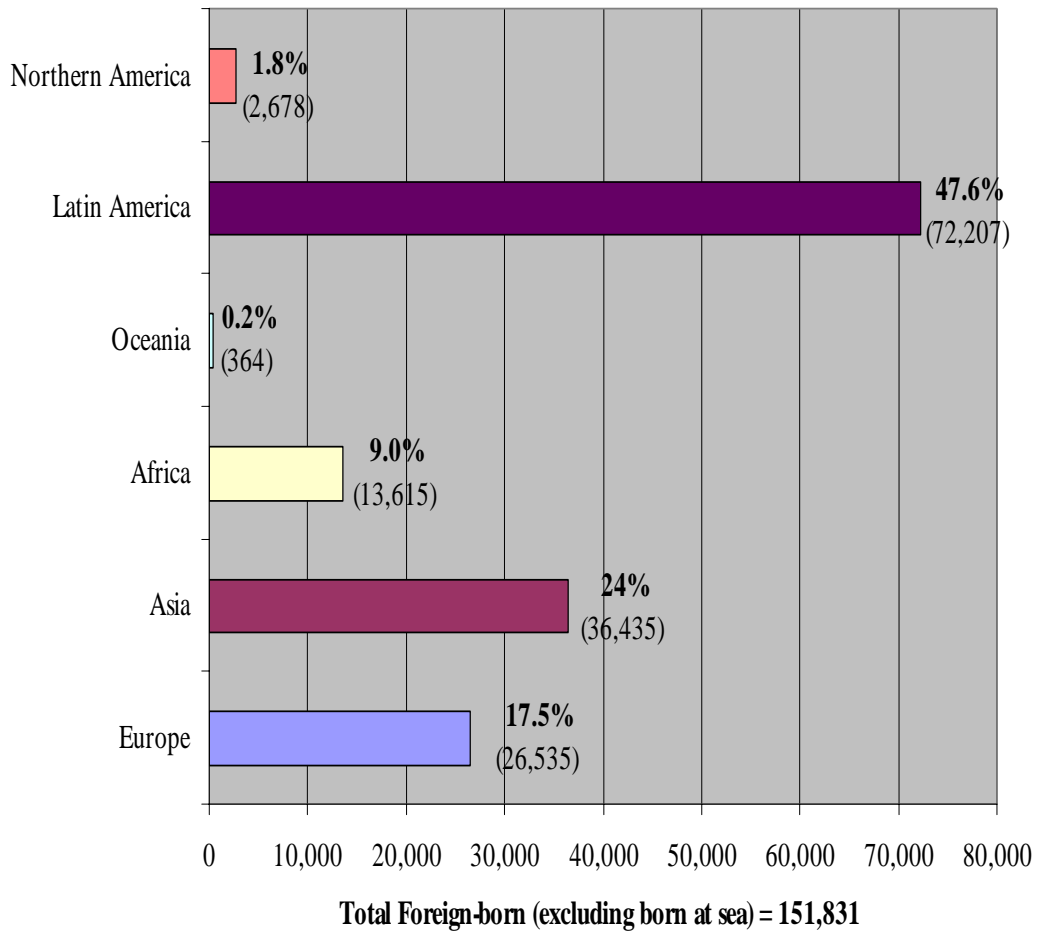
Tables & Figures

Table 1: City of Boston, Population Change by Race and Hispanic Origin, 1980-2000

City of Boston, Population 1980 -2000						
	1980		1990		2000	
White*	382,123	67.9%	339,458	59.1%	290,972	49.5%
Black/ African-American*	122,203	21.7%	137,756	24.0%	138,902	24.0%
Hispanic	36,068	6.4%	59,692	10.4%	85,199	14.2%
Asian / Pacific Islander*	14,910	2.6%	30,060	5.2%	44,279	7.5%
Native American*	1,217	0.2%	1,571	0.3%	1,666	0.3%
Other*	6,473	1.1%	5,746	1.0%	8,227	1.3%
Multi-Racial*	–	–	–	–	19,896	3.2%
TOTAL	562,994	100.0%	574,283	100.0%	589,141	100.0%

* Alone (except multi-racial), Not Hispanic
 (Source: US Census 2000, Summary File 3).

Figure 1: Region of Birth, Foreign-born in Boston, 2000



(Source: US Census 2000, Summary File 3).

Table 2: City of Boston, Population by Nativity, Year of Entry, Citizenship, and Language Spoken at Home 1990-2000

City of Boston, Population 1990 -2000				
	1990		2000	
Total population	574, 283	100%	589,141	100%
Native-born	459,686	80.0%	437,305	74.2%
Foreign-born	114,597	20.0%	151,836	25.8%
Entered US past 10 years	63,365	11.0%	73,670	12.5%
Naturalized citizen	39,453	6.9%	56,681	9.6%
Not a citizen	75,144	13.1%	95,155	16.2%
Persons 5 years and over	538,511	100%	557,376	100%
English only	400,756	74.4%	371,185	66.6%
Language other than English	137,755	25.6%	186,191	33.4%
Speaks English not very well	69,590	12.9%	91,062	16.3%

(Source: US Census 2000, Summary File 4).

Figure 2: City of Boston, Nativity of the Population, 1900- 1990

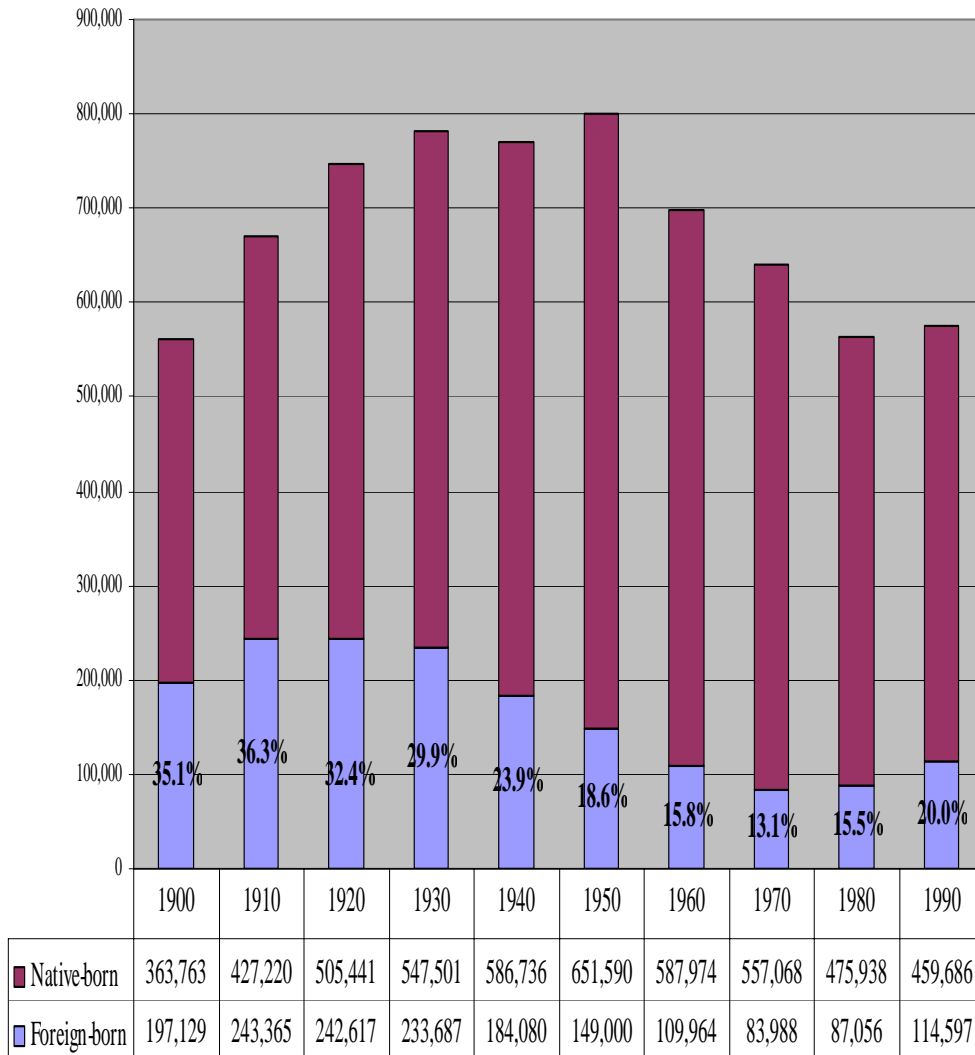


Table 3: Dissimilarity Indices, City of Boston 1990 – 2000

City of Boston, Segregation 1990 – 2000			
	1990	2000	Change
White / Black	75.2	70.4	-4.8
White / Latino	54.2	53.3	-0.9
White / Asian	43.7	39.9	-3.8
Black / Latino	47.0	43.5	-3.5
Black / Asian	74.9	69.4	-5.5
Latino / Asian	53.0	55.1	2.1

Table 4: NECMAs, Population by Race and Hispanic Origin, 2000

New England County Metropolitan Areas, Population 2000							
	White*	Black / African American *	American Indian *	Asian / Pacific Islander*	Other*	Hispanic	Total
Bangor, ME	139,562 97.2	655 0.5	1,336 0.9	1,066 0.7	145 0.1	830 0.6	143,594 100.0%
Barnstable— Yarmouth, MA	207,587 95.1	3,298 1.5	1,335 0.6	1,392 0.6	1,821 0.8	2,916 1.3	218,349 100.0%
Burlington, VT	188,622 96.1	1,460 0.7	1,167 0.6	2,910 1.5	166 0.1	1,892 1.0	196,217 100.0%
Hartford, CT	888,658 78.6	103,599 9.2	1,708 0.1	26,675 2.4	2,036 0.2	107,143 9.5	1,129,819 100.0%
Lewiston— Auburn, ME	100,004 97.6	553 0.5	416 0.4	541 0.5	48 0.1	851 0.8	102,413 100.0%
New Haven-- Danbury, CT*	1,260,879 75.2	173,587 10.3	2,803 0.2	48,096 2.9	5,441 0.3	186,932 11.1	1,677,738 100.0%
New London-- Norwich, CT	219,195 86.7	12,111 4.8	2,203 0.9	5,010 2.0	771 0.3	13,531 5.4	252,821 100.0%
Pittsfield, MA	127,054 95.2	2,604 2.0	125 0.1	1,267 0.9	180 0.1	2,223 1.7	133,453 100.0%
Portland, ME	253,041 96.4	2,408 0.9	984 0.4	3,354 1.3	234 0.1	2,447 0.9	262,468 100.0%
Providence-- Pawtucket, RI†	781,632 83.0	37,813 4.0	3,984 0.4	22,801 2.4	7,640 0.8	88,202 9.4	942,072 100.0
Springfield, MA	475,497 79.4	36,555 6.1	930 0.2	10,948 1.8	728 0.1	74,169 12.4	598,807 100.0%
Boston, MA— NH‡	5,022,568 84.4	276,947 4.6	10,588 0.2	235,802 4.0	39,674 0.7	362,889 6.1	5,948,468 100.0

*Alone (except Other), Non-Hispanic

Totals may fail to sum to 100 due to rounding errors.

* New Haven--Bridgeport--Stamford--Waterbury--Danbury, CT

† Providence--Warwick--Pawtucket, RI

‡ Boston--Worcester--Lawrence--Lowell--Brockton, MA—NH

Table 5.1: Haitians in Boston, Demographic Characteristics 2000

Persons of Haitian Ancestry, City of Boston 2000		
	Number	%
Total population	18,979	100.0
Growth since 1990	6,541	52.6
Percent of total city population	–	3.2
Percent of total black population*	–	13.7
Percent of total West Indian ancestry*	–	50.5
Male	8,682	45.7
Female	10,297	54.3
Foreign-born	13,108	69.1
Naturalized	5,175	27.3
Not a citizen	7,933	41.8
Under 5 years	1,363	7.2
16 years and over	13,612	71.7
18 years and over	12,951	68.2
21 years and over	12,104	63.8
65 years and over	1,127	5.9
Median age (years)	30.3	–
Average household size	3.7	–
Average family size	4.0	–
Occupied housing units	5,738	100.0
Home Owners	1,651	28.8
Average household size	4.8	–
Renters	4,087	71.2
Average household size	3.3	–

* Non-Hispanic

(Source: US Census 2000, Summary File 4 (SF4) – Sample Data).

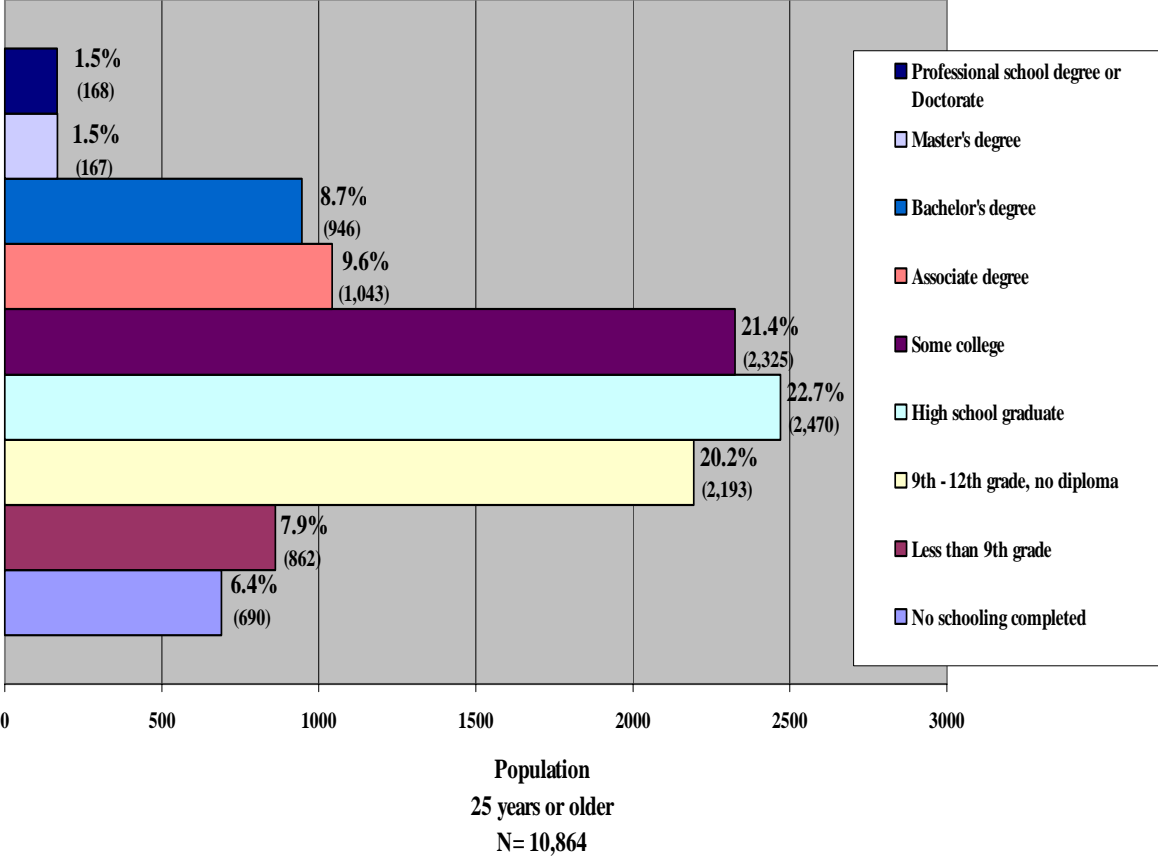
Table 5.2: Haitians in Context, Social Characteristics 2000

Persons of Haitian Ancestry, City of Boston 2000						
	Total population		Haitian ancestry		Black / African-American*	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
SCHOOL ENROLLMENT						
Population 3 years and over and enrolled in school	185,384	100.0	7,955	100.0	50,683	100.0
Nursery school, preschool	6,833	3.7	325	4.1	2,631	5.2
Kindergarten	7,934	4.3	489	6.1	3,007	5.9
Elementary school (1-8)	55,372	29.9	2,925	36.8	21,780	43.0
High school (9-12)	29,398	15.9	2,086	26.2	11,834	23.3
College or graduate school	85,847	46.3	2,130	26.8	11,431	22.6
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT						
Percent H.S. diploma or higher	78.9	–	65.5	–	73.5	–
Percent college degree or higher	35.6	–	11.8	–	15.8	–
MARITAL STATUS						
Population 15 years and over	490,749	100.0	14,060	100.0	102,470	100.0
Never married	247,903	50.5	5,667	40.3	48,286	47.1
Now married, except separated	164,959	33.6	6,393	45.5	32,607	31.8
Separated	14,823	3.0	713	5.1	5,852	5.7
Widowed	28,217	5.7	471	3.3	6,496	6.3
Divorced	34,847	7.1	816	5.8	9,229	9.0
LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME						
Population 5 years and over	557,376	100.0	17,616	100.0	128,250	100.0
English only	371,185	66.6	1,578	9.0	101,427	79.1
Language other than English	186,191	33.4	16,038	91.0	26,823	20.9
Speak English less than "very well"	91,062	16.3	7,957	45.2	11,784	9.2

*Black alone, not Hispanic

Source: US Census 2000, Summary File 4 (SF4) – Sample Data

Figure 3.1: Haitians in Boston, Level of Educational Attainment 2000



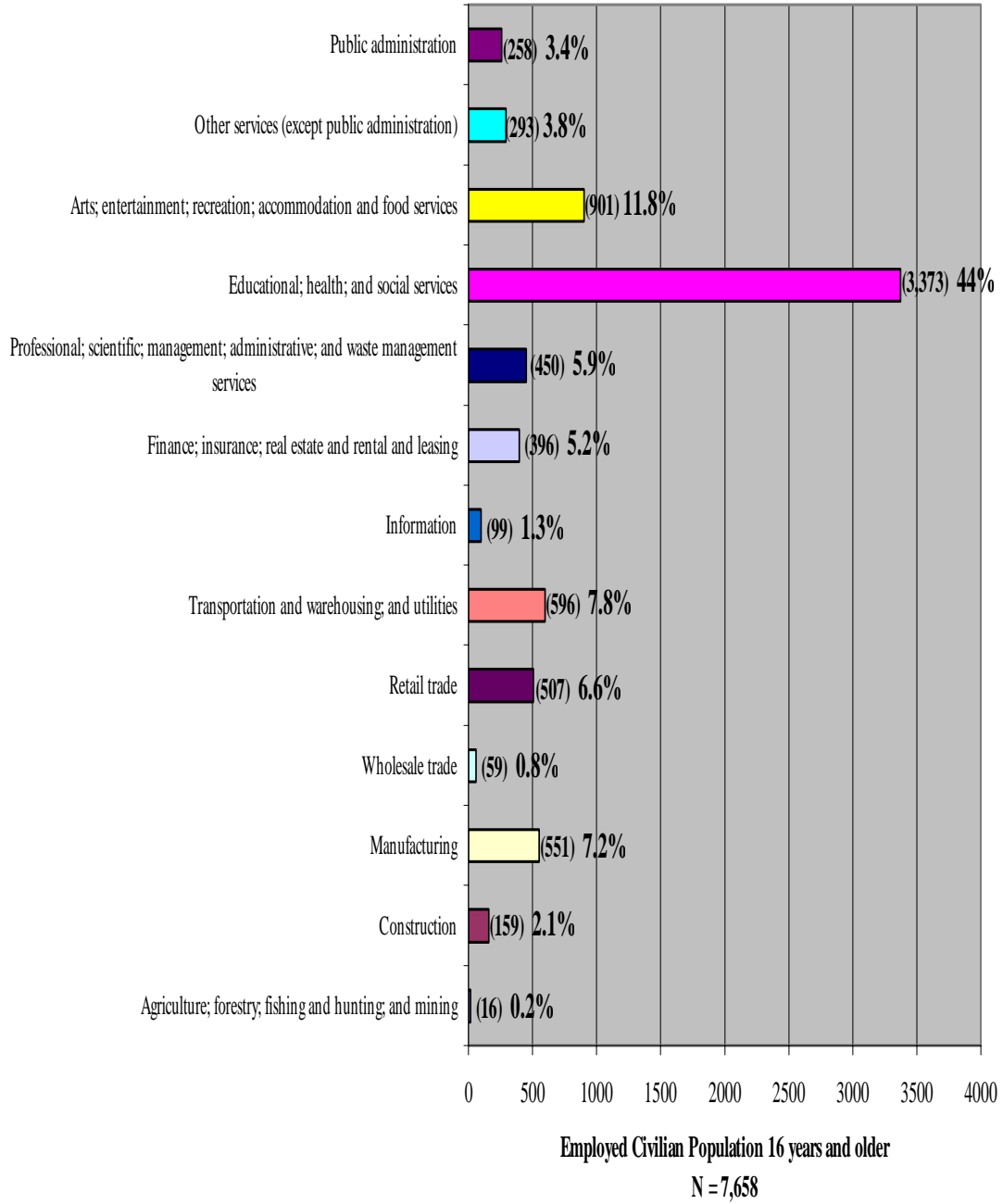
(Source: US Census 2000, Summary File 4 (SF4) – Sample Data).

Table 5.3: Haitians in Context, Economic Characteristics 2000

	Total population		Haitian ancestry		Black / African-American*	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
EMPLOYMENT STATUS						
Population 16 years and over	484,995	100.0	13,612	100.0	100,152	100.0
In labor force	308,395	63.6	8,343	61.3	59,167	59.1
Civilian labor force	308,107	63.5	8,332	61.2	59,138	59.0
Employed	285,859	58.9	7,658	56.3	52,803	52.7
Unemployed	22,248	4.6	67	5.0	6,335	6.3
Percent of civilian labor force	7.2	–	8.1	–	10.7	–
Not in labor force	176,600	36.4	5,269	38.7	40,985	40.9
INCOME IN 1999						
Households	239,603	100.0	5,768	100.0	48,789	100.0
Less than \$10,000	37,230	15.5	672	11.7	9,169	18.8
\$10,000 to \$14,999	15,764	6.6	302	5.2	3,673	7.5
\$15,000 to \$24,999	27,276	11.4	936	16.2	7,006	14.4
\$25,000 to \$34,999	27,496	11.5	957	16.6	6,877	14.1
\$35,000 to \$49,999	35,928	15.0	1,153	20.0	7,531	15.4
\$50,000 to \$74,999	41,496	17.3	838	14.5	7,474	15.3
\$75,000 to \$99,999	23,784	9.9	554	9.6	3,939	7.9
\$100,000 to \$149,999	18,496	7.7	263	4.6	2,259	4.6
\$150,000 to \$199,999	5,491	2.3	63	1.1	464	1.0
\$200,000 or more	6,642	2.8	30	0.5	497	1.0
Median household income (\$\$)	39,629	–	35,159	–	31,061	–
Families	116,657	100.0	4,879	100.0	32,125	100.0
Less than \$10,000	12,602	10.8	478	9.8	4,200	13.1
\$10,000 to \$14,999	7,118	6.1	276	5.7	2,058	6.4
\$15,000 to \$24,999	13,348	11.4	809	16.6	4,811	15.0
\$25,000 to \$34,999	13,548	11.6	780	16.0	4,665	14.5
\$35,000 to \$49,999	17,595	15.1	973	19.9	5,343	16.6
\$50,000 to \$74,999	22,545	19.3	777	15.9	5,597	17.4
\$75,000 to \$99,999	12,909	11.1	495	10.1	2,983	9.3
\$100,000 to \$149,999	10,061	8.6	202	4.1	1,682	5.2
\$150,000 to \$199,999	3,175	2.7	59	1.2	432	1.3
\$200,000 or more	3,756	3.2	30	0.6	354	1.1
Median family income (\$\$)	44,151	–	36,165	–	35,764	–
POVERTY STATUS IN 1999 (below poverty level)						
Families	17,892	–	864	–	6,135	–
Percent below poverty level	–	15.3	–	17.7	–	19.1
Individuals	109,128	–	3,606	–	29,504	–
Percent below poverty level	–	19.5	–	19.1	–	21.9

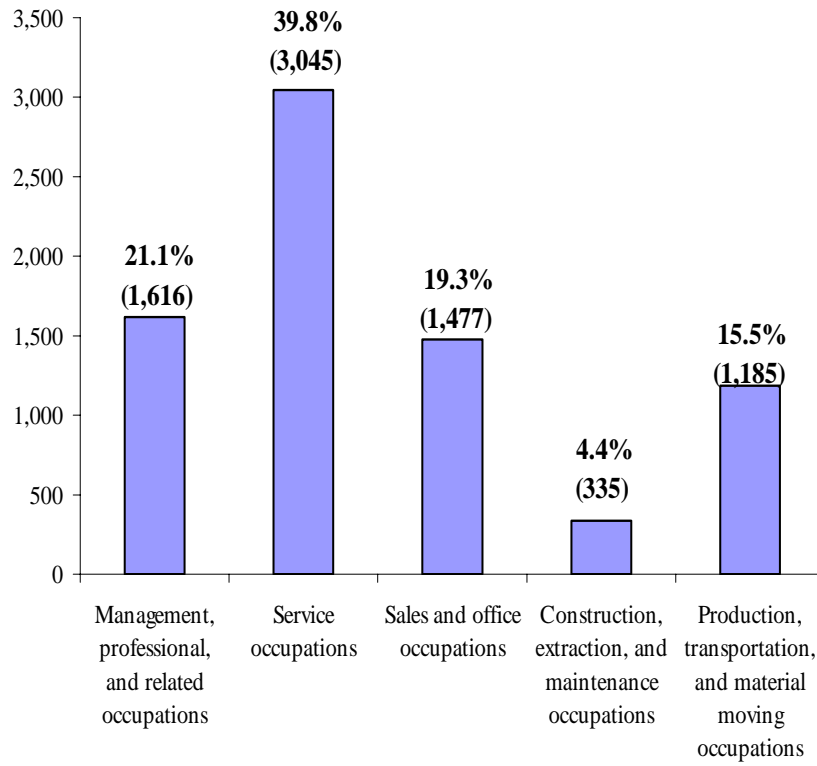
*Black alone, not Hispanic; Source: US Census 2000, Summary File 4 (SF4) – Sample Data

Figure 3.2: Haitians in Boston, Industry 2000



(Source: US Census 2000, Summary File 4 (SF4) – Sample Data).

Figure 3.3: Haitians in Boston, Occupation 2000



Employed civilian population, 16 and over
N=7,658

(Source: US Census 2000, Summary File 4 (SF4) – Sample Data).

Table 5.4: Characteristics of Massachusetts Places with Haitians, 2000

Social Context of Haitians in Massachusetts Cities and Towns, 2000

	Total Populatio n	% Black / African- American *	% Minorit y	% Foreig n-born	% Home - owner s	% College- educate d	Median Househol d Income (\$\$)	% Poor
Boston city	589,141	24.0	50.5	25.8	32.2	35.6	39,629	15.3
Brockton	94,304	16.5	42.5	18.4	54.5	14.0	39,507	12.1
Cambridg e	101,355	11.5	35.4	25.9	32.2	65.1	47,979	8.7
Somerville	77,478	6.1	27.4	29.3	30.6	40.6	46,315	8.4
Randolph	30,997	20.6	38.6	21.6	72.3	26.6	55,255	2.5
Malden	56,340	7.9	33.4	25.7	43.3	26.2	45,654	6.6
Everett	38,037	6.0	24.9	21.9	41.5	14.7	40,661	9.2
Medford	55,765	5.8	15.0	16.2	58.7	31.7	52,476	4.1
Waltham	59,226	4.0	22.1	20.2	40.6	38.4	54,010	3.6
Lynn	89,122	9.1	37.8	22.8	45.6	16.4	37,364	13.2
Milton	26,062	10.1	15.4	10.0	84.2	52.2	78,985	1.6

* Black alone, not Hispanic

(Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 Summary File 4).

Table 5.5: Characteristics of Haitians in Massachusetts by Place, 2000

Persons of Haitian Ancestry, 2000									
	Total	% of total Haitian in MA	% of black*	% Foreign-born	% Home-owners	% college-educated	% Unemployed	Median Household Income (\$\$)	% Poor
Massachusetts	43,576	100.0	13.9	66.6	31.0	15.4	5.0	39,300	14.1
Boston city	18,979	43.6	13.9	69.1	28.8	11.8	5.0	35,159	17.7
Brockton	4,720	10.8	30.8	73.6	42.1	15.9	4.7	40,156	12.9
Cambridge	3,265	7.5	28.0	68.4	5.5	12.6	4.4	28,735	16.8
Somerville	2,168	5.0	45.6	67.5	17.2	14.7	8.2	40,539	13.2
Randolph	2,060	4.7	32.3	65.3	66.3	28.5	5.8	53,603	1.8
Malden	1,508	3.5	33.9	70.6	41.0	17.5	3.0	46,612	5.5
Everett	1,208	2.8	53.2	69.1	31.9	10.5	3.7	40,132	16.8
Medford	1,112	2.6	34.3	75.9	29.2	14.3	2.2	36,563	11.4
Waltham	977	2.2	41.7	58.5	23.2	15.5	0.0	46,563	2.0
Lynn	926	2.1	11.4	65.0	28.8	14.2	6.9	42,656	19.6
Milton	574	1.3	21.8	65.5	79.2	33.3	2.2	86,230	0.0
Other**	6,079	13.9	–	56.6	–	–	–	–	–

* Black alone, not Hispanic

** Refers to the remainder of persons of Haitian ancestry (living outside the above places) in the state of Massachusetts.

(Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 Summary File 4).

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Notes

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- ¹ Notably, the metropolitan area continues to maintain a plurality of European immigrants.
- ² Of Blacks living in Boston in 1970, only 6% were foreign-born (Thernstrom 1973: 181, see Table 8.3).
- ³ Methodologically, the project is based on a combination of field, interview, Census, and archival research conducted from 1998-2002. I draw on data from approximately 75 formal interviews □ with first and second-generation Haitian immigrants, Boston-born Haitian ethnics, return migrants (in Haiti) who had lived in Boston, Haitian community leaders, as well as black and white Bostonians who interact with Haitians in the city. In addition, I analyzed over 25 years of *Boston Globe* articles and other media coverage of Haitians in the city. I conducted hours of unobtrusive and participant observations in Haitian organizations, businesses, cultural events, bilingual classrooms, and in the everyday social spaces that Haitians in the city inhabit □ the subway, doctor's offices, grocery stores, and restaurants. Finally, special tabulations from the US Census, including the newly released data from Census 2000, provide a demographic picture of Haitians in the city of Boston.
- ⁴ O'Connor 2001: 276.
- ⁵ In the fall of 1971, Michigan senator Philip Hart convened three days of sub-committee hearings to investigate the Jewish exodus from the neighborhood of Mattapan and the

rapid re-segregation of the neighborhood. See Lukas 1985; Formisano 1991.

⁶ Similar shifts have occurred in Los Angeles, Miami (where Latinos outnumber blacks) and San Francisco (where Asians outnumber blacks). In the smaller cities of New England, these shifts show up more clearly because of their size and the small proportion of blacks in their populations.

⁷ Halter (1995) argues that the lower estimates are the result of high geographic mobility, the large numbers of undocumented immigrants, and the growing number of 2nd and later generation Haitians in the city. See Halter 1995: pp.161.

⁸ Secondary migrations redistributed Haitians (immigrant and later generations) from initial destinations in the US to Boston; and later, the development of Haitian migration networks set in motion a direct flow of migrants from Haiti and asylum-seekers from other refugee placement sites.

⁹ Because of the undercount, the data are most useful as proportions, rather than absolute numbers.

¹⁰ Marking the late 19th century period, Dr. Thomas Patrick, a physician born in Haiti, lived in Boston from the time he came to the states in 1892 until his death in 1953. He founded a well-known School of Pharmacy in Boston in 1892 that trained a number of American pharmacists. See Laguerre (1983). There is also anecdotal evidence of influential Black Bostonians who were of Haitian descent, including the daughter of a Haitian settler who ran the Agassiz school in Cambridge in the 1960s.

¹¹ Quoted in "Hub's Haitians, A People Apart" *Boston Globe* 12/11/1988.

¹² The Cambridge population has declined in recent years as a result of anti-rent control legislation.

¹³ The "three-decker" is a unique housing type characteristic of New England cities in the early 20th century. Generally defined, it is a free-standing, wood frame structure on its own narrow lot, three stories high. Three-deckers are designed as multi-family housing with one family on each floor, including the owner who typically pays the mortgage by renting the other two units. They are the dominant housing stock in Dorchester where there are nearly 5,000. 4,700 of the 5250 units in Dorchester were built between 1900 and 1930 usually by and for newly arrived Irish, Jewish and Italian immigrants. See Krim 1977; Husock 1998.

¹⁴ Notably, African-Americans still dominate "minority politics" in the city, but many see an alliance with Haitians and other immigrants as imperative to increasing black political power.

¹⁵ The Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System (MCAS) is a highly contested new statewide testing program for public schools.