All Skinfolk Ain't Kinfolk[*]: Racial Cohesion and Ethnic Distinction between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans

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Abstract

Studies of group politics tend to be preoccupied with intergroup conflict. However, this focus overshadows how underlying attitudes and perceptions may shape intragroup dynamics. This study examines intra-racial attitudes between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans to explore how they influence both convergence and divergence in group members' policy preferences. Employing the 2004 National Politics Study (NPS), I discover, first, that negative group stereotypes weaken both groups' feelings of racial solidarity. Second, although both groups endorse race-based policies and redistributive policies similarly, their preferences diverge on immigration-related issues. Yet, African Americans' more conservative immigration stances are shaped by their feelings towards non-black immigrant groups rather than Afro Caribbeans. Alternatively, their negative group attitudes towards Afro Caribbeans have a more profound impact on their preferences on affirmative action and redistribution. Ultimately, the results demonstrate underlying interethnic differences may undermine the potential for stable intra-racial political partnerships.

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[*]The title is adapted from a statement made by Zora Neal Hurston, an American novelist typically associated with the Harlem Renaissance.

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Studies of racial politics have been traditionally preoccupied with how White Americans' racial attitudes towards African Americans shape their candidate evaluations, policy preferences, and voting behavior (Key, 1949; Sears, Hensler, and Speer, 1979; Sniderman and Piazza, 1993; Kinder and Sanders, 1996; Oliver and Mendelberg, 2000). More recently, some studies have begun to expand beyond the black-white dichotomy to explore the outgroup perceptions that different racial and ethnic groups hold towards one another (Oliver and Wong, 2003; Gay, 2006). While these studies have advanced our understanding of racial politics in the United States, their focus on interracial relations overlooks the diversity that exists within these groups. Such diversity often leads to differences in perspectives and interests that should encourage researchers to be cautious about treating any of these groups as a monolith.

Over the last fifty years, changes in immigration policy have dramatically increased racial and ethnic diversity in the United States. While most Americans are familiar with the explosive population growth that has occurred within Latino and Asian communities, fewer are aware of the significant growth of the black population. In 2015, foreign-born blacks accounted for 8.7% of the black population, which was almost three times larger than their share in 1980 (Anderson, 2015). Moreover, this growth is expected to continue. The Census Bureau projects that by 2060, the share of immigrants within the black population will rise to 16.5% (Brown, 2015). In particular, while arriving in smaller numbers than during the twentieth century, Afro Caribbeans constitute approximately half of all black foreign-born residents in the United States (Thomas, 2012).[1]

By most accounts, African Americans and Caribbean blacks experience similar economic outcomes relative to white Americans and other ethnic groups in the United States. Both groups tend to earn lower incomes, attain fewer years of education and acquire less presti-

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[1]Throughout the manuscript, the terms African American and native-born blacks are used interchangeably to describe black Americans who descended from enslaved Africans brought to the United States. The terms Afro Caribbean, Caribbean blacks and Caribbean American blacks are used to capture blacks with national attachments to Caribbean nations who can trace at least some ancestry to Africa. The author recognizes that they lack precision, but are used for the sake of clarity.

gious jobs (Niedert and Farley, 1985; Dodoo, 1997). Their shared experiences with racial discrimination imply African Americans and Afro Caribbeans may choose to work together to secure their shared racial interests.

On the other hand, there are clear interethnic differences between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans. Their different origins influence their distinct pathways to economic advancement, political attitudes and policy preferences (Rogers, 2006; Greer, 2013). Afro Caribbeans' ethnic backgrounds and immigrant experiences may convince them that their interests are not aligned with African Americans. Therefore, despite sharing the same racial classification, their ethnic differences may cause African Americans' and Afro Caribbeans' group interests to diverge.

This study separates itself from previous studies of African American and Afro Caribbean relations by its focus on their underlying intra-racial attitudes. The seminal works in this area have not systematically explored how the attitudes that native-born blacks and Caribbean blacks hold towards one another impact their policy positions (Rogers, 2006; Greer, 2013; Smith, 2014). In particular, this research gauges the influence of each groups' perceived discrimination, perceived group competition and group stereotypes on support for (1) race-based policies, which African American and Afro Caribbeans should seemingly rally around, (2) immigration policies, which highlight one of the potential lines of cleavage between both groups, and (3) redistributive policies, which should elicit more race-neutral considerations.

Our results indicate, first, that both groups believe negative stereotypes about each other that weaken their feelings of racial solidarity and potentially undermine efforts at political partnerships. Second, while both groups share similar levels of support for race-based policies like affirmative action and redistributive policies, they diverge- often starkly- on the issue of immigration, which Afro-Caribbeans believe should be more inclusive. Yet, African Americans' more conservative immigration stances are not chiefly driven by their feelings toward Afro Caribbeans. The analysis shows their feelings toward other immigrant groups have more of an impact on their immigration preferences.

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Afro Caribbeans and African Americans: Racially-Bound or Ethnically-Distinct?

Afro Caribbeans hold a unique space within the black community in the United States. Like African Americans, Caribbean American blacks have been subject to racial discrimination, both economically and politically (Rogers, 2006). They trail white Americans on key socioeconomic indicators. When compared to white Americans, both African Americans and Afro Caribbeans earn lower incomes, have lower rates of educational attainment, and higher poverty levels (Manuel, Taylor, and Jackson, 2012). With respect to assets, research indicates that, on average, both African Americans and Afro-Caribbeans report lower net worth and less asset ownership than whites (Martin, 2009). Taken together, these facts would seem to suggest Afro Caribbeans have common interests with African Americans given their shared racial circumstances.[2]

Yet, Afro Caribbeans can be distinguished from African Americans by their ethnic identities and status as an immigrant population. In contrast to African Americans, Afro Caribbeans' entry into the United States was voluntary. As such, their relationship to their racial identities as well as their beliefs about the prospects for full incorporation, equality, and economic success may be distinct from native-born blacks.

These differences are reinforced by economic and social advantages that Caribbean American blacks enjoy relative to native-born blacks. For instance, employers tend to prefer Afro Caribbeans to African Americans, thinking they have a stronger work ethic and orientation toward achievement (Corra and Kimuna, 2009). The advantages that Caribbean American blacks experience relative to native-born blacks may encourage them to distance themselves from African Americans socially as well as politically (Thornton, Taylor, and Chatters, 2014).[3]. Such advantages have allowed Afro Caribbeans to reach parity and in some cases

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[2]Reasoning of this type is what informs Rogers (2006) minority group model.

[3]These advantages seem to be relegated primarily to Afro Caribbeans who immigrate from English-speaking countries (Manuel, Taylor, and Jackson, 2012)

surpass the socioeconomic status of African Americans. Kent (2007) reveals that the socioeconomic status of Caribbean American blacks exceeds that of African Americans on a range of economic indicators such as educational attainment and poverty levels. Furthermore, while both African Americans and Afro Caribbeans typically have fewer assets than whites, Caribbean American blacks tend to have higher rates of homeownership and higher housing values than African Americans (Logan and Deane, 2003; Martin, 2009). Moreover, there is evidence that Afro Caribbeans' ethnic and socioeconomic differences uniquely shape their political attitudes and behavior (Rogers, 2006). Their ethnic differences along with the social rewards associated with the black immigrant experience may fuel conflict between both groups.

The aim of this study is to investigate the role of group attitudes on intra-racial cohesion and conflict between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans. To begin, the analysis explores the determinants of African Americans' and Afro Caribbeans' feelings of closeness to each other. The second goal is to uncover convergence or divergence between both groups' policy preferences. Lastly, the study examines how underlying group attitudes influence each groups' policy preferences. Ultimately, the analysis seeks to uncover how intragroup attitudes between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans shape the prospects for intra-racial cooperation.

Determinants of Racial Cohesion

Perceived closeness reflects an affinity or attachment to one's own group or another group. Early studies focused on group members' feelings of closeness to other in-group members (Craemer, 2008; Campbell et al., 1960; Converse and Campbell, 1968). As such, they viewed objective group membership as a necessary-albeit insufficient- condition for feelings of group closeness (Conover, 1984). Since then, the focus has shifted to feelings of closeness towards racial and ethnic outgroups (Thornton and Taylor, 1988; Tropp, 2007; Kaufmann, 2003). These studies suggest feelings of closeness toward an outgroup are not exclusive to individuals

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with objective group membership. Furthermore, they demonstrate that perceived closeness is more politically relevant than objective group membership (Craemer, 2008).

The first section of this study examines feelings of closeness between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans. The analysis is intended to answer two questions. First, to what extent do African Americans and Caribbean American blacks identify with one another? If the analysis reveals a strong affinity between both groups, it suggests they would be more likely to support policies that are perceived to be in the others' interest. If not, it implies they may be less willing to work together as partners toward shared goals. Second, how are their feelings of closeness shaped by their underlying group attitudes towards one another? The following sections discuss how perceived discrimination, perceived zero-sum competition and group stereotypes shape feelings of closeness between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans.

Shared Experiences of Racial Discrimination:

This study employs measures of African Americans' and Caribbean blacks' perceived discrimination directed towards each other as proxies for their sense of racial attachment. Racial discrimination has been defined as "actions or practices carried out by dominant racial or ethnic groups that have a negative and differential impact on members of subordinate racial and ethnic groups"(Feagin and Eckberg, 1980, pp. 1-2). Although many overt forms of racial discrimination (e.g., racially segregated lunch counters) are now sanctioned, more subtle versions (e.g., avoiding seats that are next to black passengers) are pervasive throughout society. In fact, many blacks in the United States report experiencing racial discrimination daily (Feagin, 1991). However, while they may perceive discrimination often, there is considerable variation in their sensitivity to discriminatory events.

The existing work on racial discriminations suggests that perceiving one's in-group as a target of racial discrimination fosters an affinity towards other marginalized racial groups (Craig and Richeson, 2012). For example, Craig and Richeson (2012) reveal that members of racial and ethnic minority groups who perceive racial discrimination directed towards their

group are more likely to perceived commonality with and less likely to express outgroup antipathy towards other racial and ethnic minority groups.

One's identification with the life experiences of a group has been shown to motivate group cohesion. Perceived linked fate is a measure frequently used to approximate respondents' racial attachment. Linked fate reflects the perception that the life experiences of other group members impact one's own experience. Previous work reveals linked fate predicts increased political participation, support for coalitions with other racial and ethnic groups, and support for race-based public policies (Dawson, 1994; Tate, 1993; Kaufmann, 2003). Other identity measures, while less consistent than linked fate, reveal similar results (Gurin, Hatchett, and Jackson, 1989; Miller et al., 1981).

One factor that has been shown to influence group members' recognition of racial discrimination is the strength of their racial identification. Group members with stronger racial identities are more likely to attribute a discriminatory event to race when compared to group members whose racial background is less of a central component of their identity (Crocker and Major, 1989; Shelton and Sellers, 2000). Social psychologists have considered whether Afro Caribbeans' attachment to their ethnic identification limits their sensitivity to racial discrimination in society. These studies imply that Caribbean American blacks that primarily identify with their national origins tend to perceive less racial discrimination (Hall and Carter, 2006). However, the results from these studies are largely driven by first-generation Afro Caribbeans, who tend to have less internalized racial identities. Later generations of Caribbean American blacks have stronger racial identities and, thus, are more sensitive to racially discriminatory incidents. The relationship between racial identity and perceived racial discrimination is what informs the first expectation of the study, which is:

H1: African Americans and Afro Caribbeans who perceive racial discrimination directed towards the other group will be more likely to feel close to them.

Perceived Zero-sum Group Competition

On the other hand, African Americans and Afro Caribbeans' perceived closeness may be negatively impacted by whether they perceive themselves to be in competition with one another. Blumer (1958) proposes that racial prejudice is a function of the racial hierarchy in the United States. When group members perceive their resources or status are being threatened by a subordinate group, it illicits prejudicial attitudes and behaviors toward the outgroup. Blumer's expectations have been applied to several groups across the racial hierarchy (Bobo and Hutchings, 1996).

However, to the author's knowledge, there are few studies that demonstrate the influence of perceived zero-sum competition within racial and ethnic groups (for exception see Carey et al., 2013). As mentioned above, there is evidence that white employers prefer blacks of Caribbean descent over African Americans because they are believed to have a strong work ethic (Corra and Kimuna, 2009). Given the existence of a racially segregated labor market, African Americans may believe Afro Caribbeans threaten their access to gainful employment. In addition to employment competition, there is evidence that African Americans and Afro Caribbeans engage in political competition. For example, Rogers (2006) reveals that African American and Afro Caribbean political elites in New York City often clashed over Afro Caribbeans' efforts to gain greater descriptive representation and political influence for their constituencies. These findings suggest that perceived zero-sum economic and political competition between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans will have a negative effect on their feelings of closeness to one another. Thus, the second hypothesis is as follows: **H2:** Perceived zero-sum competition between African Americans and Caribbean American blacks reduces their feelings of closeness.

Group Stereotypes

The classical prejudice model proposes that racial prejudice reflects negative affect towards a particular racial group caused by an individual's psychological predisposition for social

categorization (Allport, 1954). Allport (1954) argues that such prejudice is rooted in group stereotypes whose content is informed by cultural ideas about a group acquired through socialization. Most of the early literature on racial attitudes explores white Americans' racial animus towards African Americans (Allport, 1954; Sears, Hensler, and Speer, 1979; Sears and Kinder, 1985). These studies reveal that white Americans' negative racial attitudes predict their candidate evaluations and policy preferences. Most of the measures used to capture racial stereotyping assess participants' agreement with a series of questions that ask them to evaluate groups along a number of positive and negative traits (e.g., laziness, intelligence, and self-sufficiency).

More recently, research has started to explore the racial attitudes that racial and ethnic minority groups hold towards each other. For instance, some work indicates African Americans tend to express less racial prejudice towards Latinos than Anglo-Americans (Cummings and Lambert, 1997). In addition, there is evidence that Latinos harbor more negative racial attitudes towards African Americans than Anglo-Americans (McClain et al., 2006). Ultimately, the study of group prejudice has often been viewed through the prism of interracial relations.

Alternatively, little research has explored the role of group stereotypes within racial and ethnic minority groups. Early psychological studies reveal that African Americans may harbor negative perceptions of black identity and other African Americans (Clark and Clark, 1947). Unfortunately, there has been less work conducted to examine the group prejudice between African Americans and Caribbean American blacks in particular. One exception shows that blacks of Caribbean descent have adopted negative stereotypes of African Americans that make them more attached to their ethnic rather than their racial identity (Rogers, 2001). Some suggestive evidence shows that a large proportion of both African Americans and Afro Caribbeans subscribe to some of the same stereotypes of each other that prevail in mainstream society. For instance, Jackson and Cothran (2003) reveal that among African Americans and Caribbean American blacks an overwhelming majority of each group agree

with negative stereotypes of each other (e.g., that the other group thinks they are better than other blacks, have a negative identity or self-image, are poor). Such group biases may temper feelings of group solidarity and, consequently, undermine efforts to pursue mutually-beneficial policy objectives. Thus, the hypothesis is as follows:

H3: Negative group stereotypes between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans reduce feelings of closeness between both groups.

Conflicted Agendas?

Aside from their perceived closeness, another important question is whether the policy preferences of African Americans and Caribbean American blacks are aligned. From a political standpoint, the alignment of African American and Afro Caribbean policy preferences signals whether both groups will serve as a stable bloc to pursue their racial interests. Divergence between African American and Afro Caribbean policy preferences may be particularly common within certain policy domains. For instance, race-based policies such as affirmative action in hiring and admissions in higher education may be an area where convergence occurs since both groups are likely to benefit. Previous work seems to corroborate this expectation (Greer, 2013).[4]. Accordingly, the fourth hypothesis is as follows:

H4: African Americans and Afro Caribbeans will express similar levels of support for race-based policies such as affirmative action.

On the other hand, inter-ethnic differences between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans may surface when considering policies that address ethnic concerns. One such issue is immigration. As an immigrant population, Afro Caribbeans would be expected to support more lenient immigration policies in the United States. Conversely, native-born African

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[4]Although, there are emerging concerns about potential conflicts between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans over affirmative action. Black immigrants are overrepresented in American colleges and universities relative to their share of the black population (Massey, Mooney, and Torres, 2007). Given the initial intention of the program to redress the previous treatment of African Americans in the United States, some have argued that the benefit afforded to black immigrants is contrary to the spirit of affirmative action (Page, 2004; Johnson, 2005)

Americans have no direct interest tied to more lenient immigration policies. In fact, some may believe such policies work against their economic interests, heightening job competition (Nteta, 2013). Therefore, I expect native-born blacks will diverge from Afro Caribbeans since it is not perceived to address their racial group interests. Given this consideration, the fifth hypothesis proposes:

H5: Afro Caribbeans will express stronger support for more liberal immigration policies than African Americans.

This study also compares the policy preferences of African American and Afro Caribbeans on redistributive policies. Both groups' attitudes on redistributive policy are informative because their preferences on affirmative action and immigration can be compared to seemingly race-neutral policies. Granted, there is evidence that even seemingly race-neutral policies can contain underlying racial content (Peffley and Hurwitz, 2002). However, these studies have typically been conducted on white Americans. My expectation is that attitudes towards redistributive policies will not be as profoundly influenced by racial attitudes for African Americans and Afro Caribbeans as the evidence has shown they are for white Americans. Thus, the expectation for redistributive policies is as follows:

H6: African Americans and Afro Caribbeans will express similar levels of support for redistributive policies.

Lastly, the analysis explores the underlying intergroup and intragroup attitudes that influence both groups' policy preferences. Previous work shows that attitudes on certain issues are largely influenced by the groups that are perceived to be the primary beneficiaries (Nelson and Kinder, 1996). For instance, African Americans' views toward immigration are likely to be influenced by their attitudes about groups they believe benefit the most from more liberal immigration policies. While evidence suggests African Americans are not overwhelmingly in support of liberal immigration policies, there is little evidence that demonstrates how their immigration preferences are informed by their underlying group attitudes.

Given the association often made between the issue of immigration and Latino and Asian populations, one might expect that African Americans' and Afro Caribbeans' attitudes toward immigration are shaped by their feelings and affinity towards those non-black immigrant populations. The expectation is that African American and Afro Caribbean preferences for each policy area are largely driven by their feelings towards Latinos and Asians. Accordingly, the final hypothesis is as follows:

H7: African Americans and Afro Caribbeans' preferences surrounding immigration will be shaped by their group attitudes towards Latinos and Asians.

Ultimately, we are unsure how group attitudes will shape preferences for affirmative action and redistributive policy. Thus, our analysis of the relationship between group attitudes and preferences on affirmative action and redistributive policies are largely exploratory.

Data and Analysis:

In order to test the hypotheses, the analysis relies upon the 2004 National Politics Study (NPS)(Jackson et al., 2004). The NPS is an attractive data source because it includes oversamples of racial and ethnic minority groups. Even more unique to this dataset, it collected an oversample of Afro Caribbeans (n=404) as well as African Americans (n=756). Lastly, while previous studies of relations between native-born blacks and Afro Caribbeans have tended to use regionally-specific samples (Greer, 2013; Rogers, 2006), the NPS offers the opportunity to employ a national sample to study African American and Afro Caribbean relations.

There were several dependent variables employed within the analysis. To measure group closeness, we rely upon a measure that asks respondents, "How close do you feel in your ideas, interests and feelings toward [out-group]?" The response options were (3) very close, (2) fairly close, (1) not too close. African American and Afro Caribbean respondents were asked identical questions about each other.

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The remaining dependent variables ask respondents preferences on a range of different public policies. The first policy item asks, "Generally speaking, do you think affirmative action is a good thing or a bad thing?" The response options are (3) a good thing, (2) neither good nor bad, and (1) a bad thing. Those that felt it was neither good nor bad, didn't know or refused were placed in the middle category.

The next set of dependent variables gauges respondents' attitudes about immigration generally and its social impact. The first question asks, "Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be increased, decreased, or left the same as it is now?" The response options are (3) increased, (2) left the same, and (1) decreased. The middle category includes respondents who wanted it left the same, didn't know, or refused to answer the question. The next two questions ask respondents how strongly they agree with the following statements: "Immigrants take jobs away from people who were born in America" and "Immigrants make America more open to new ideas and cultures." Respondents were given the option of answering: (4) strongly agree, (3) somewhat agree, (2) somewhat disagree, and (1) strongly disagree. The last dependent variable asks respondents how strongly they agree with the following statement: "Non-citizens serving in the U.S. military should be granted American citizenship as a result of their service." Same as the items described above, the response options range from strongly agree to strong disagree. These four items were combined to create a summary index (α=.49).[5]

The last set of dependent variables capture respondents preferred levels of spending on redistributive policies. The items ask respondents if they, "Would like to see spending for the following programs increased, decreased, or if you would leave it the same". For the purposes of this study we utilize their measures for social security and public education. The response options are: (3) increase, (2) stay the same and (1) decrease. Respondents

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[5]Each item emerged from an exploratory factor analysis with a promax rotation that included the above immigration variables along with other immigration-related items.

who answered "Don't Know" or "Refused" were included with the middle category. Both items were combined into an index (α=.41). [6]

The independent variables of interest gauge the inter-group attitudes between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans. First, both groups were asked how strongly they believe the other group faces discrimination as an indicator of their racial attachment. The item asks, "Do you think the following groups face a lot of discrimination, some, a little, or none?" Afterwards, several racial and ethnic groups are listed. The enclosed analysis relies on the measure of perceived discrimination towards Caribbeans among African Americans and perceived discrimination towards African Americans among Afro Caribbeans. The responses were coded so that the highest values reflect the belief that each group faces a lot of discrimination while the lowest value represents respondents that believe they face none.

Second, the analysis relies upon measures of perceived zero-sum competition between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans. The group competition variables measure the degree to which respondents believe that gains in employment and political influence for the out-group lead to losses in jobs and political power for their group. Specifically, the variables ask to what degree respondents agree with the following statements: (1) "More good jobs for [out-group] mean fewer good jobs for people like me" and (2)"The more influence [out-group] has in politics, the less influence people like me have in politics." The response options range from strongly agree to strongly disagree, with the highest value reflecting strong agreement with the statement. Both items were combined to create an index, which proved reliable (α_{black}=.64 and α_{carib}=.66).

The last key independent variable captures respondents' group stereotypes of the out-group. In particular, participants are asked about the perceived laziness of different racial and ethnic groups. The question asks, "Where would you rate [out-group] in general on a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 indicates lazy, 7 means hardworking and 4 indicates most [out-

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[6]These items along with others on preferred spending measures were included in an exploratory factor analysis using promax rotation. The items for social security and public education were the only items that reflected a simple structure

group] are not closer to one end or the other?" Within the analysis, the response options are reverse-coded so that the highest value reflects the belief that the respective group is lazy, while the low value indicates a belief that they are hardworking.[7]

In addition to the independent variables of interest, there were control variables included in the analysis to account for respondents' political ideology, party identification, educational attainment, income, work status, gender and age. Respondents' political ideology is measured by an item asking, "We hear a lot of talk today about liberals and conservatives. When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as liberal or conservative?" The measure is coded (1) conservative, (2) middle of the road, and (3) liberal. Respondents who had not thought about it, didn't know or refused to answer the question were placed in the middle category.

To assess party identification, participants were asked, "Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a republican, a democrat, an independent or something else?" The responses to the item are coded (1) Republican, (2) Independent, and (3) Democrat. Respondents that offered preferences for third parties (e.g., the Green party and Libertarian party) were included in the middle category.

Respondents' socioeconomic status is measured chiefly by their educational attainment, income, and work status. Educational attainment is captured by a 5-point measure ranging from a low value of 1 for those who earned less than a high school diploma to 5 for those that at least attended graduate school. Income is a continuous variable that asks respondents how much they and the members of their family made the previous year in income. The variable is coded from 0 to 1 in order to more easily assesses the effect of income from the lowest to the highest value. Two dichotomous variables were created for employed and unemployed participants from the measure of work status. For the employed measure, the employed were

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[7]While laziness is a central component of stereotypes about African Americans, there is little evidence that it is a prevailing stereotype of immigrant groups such as Afro Caribbeans, Latinos, and Asians. Nevertheless, the lazy stereotype measure for those groups is used because it may still capture other stereotypes and forms of animus directed towards each group.

given a value of 1 and all other responses were given the value of 0. Similarly, the item for the unemployed is coded so that unemployed respondents are given the value of 1 and all other responses equal 0.

In addition, the model includes indicators of respondents' gender and age. The gender measure is coded so that 1 represents female participants while 0 captures male participants. The item for age ranges from a low of 17 to a high value of 100.

Lastly, the models for Afro Caribbeans include a measure for the generational status of the participant. The generational status item ranges from 0 to 4, where 0 represents noncitizens, 1 represents first-generation, 2 represents second-generation, 3 represents third-generation, and 4 represents fourth-generation citizens.

Results:

Perceived Closeness between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans

This analysis begins by examining the rates of perceived closeness that African Americans and Afro Caribbeans report towards each other. As mentioned above, the measure of perceived closeness is revealing because it shows the degree of positive affect members of one group feel towards the other. The presumption is that positive feelings may serve as a basis of collaboration between both groups.

[Table 1 about here.]

Table 1 reports the response frequencies of perceived closeness for African Americans and Afro Caribbeans respectively. Both groups' perceived closeness towards whites, Latinos and Asians is included in the tables in order to compare their closeness to each other relative to their perceived closeness to other racial and ethnic groups.

First, the results indicate that there is an asymmetry in the perceived closeness between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans. Afro Caribbeans feel closer to African Americans

than African Americans feel towards Afro Caribbeans. While approximately eighty percent (79.7%) of Afro Caribbeans report feeling very close or fairly close to African Americans, only roughly fifty percent of native-born blacks (49.7%) reciprocate those feelings towards Afro Caribbeans. In fact, the results reveal that African Americans tend to feel closer to Latinos than any other group, followed closely by white Americans (66.4% and 59.7% respectively). On the other hand, Afro Caribbeans feel closer to African Americans than any other group by a wide margin. After African Americans, Afro Caribbeans perceive themselves as closer to Latinos (68.1%), followed by white Americans (61.9%). This finding offers the first hint that the racial context in the United States may drive Afro Caribbeans to recognize their common racial identity with African Americans. Afro Caribbeans' strong racial attachment is corroborated by evidence that they are more likely to recognize racial discrimination directed towards other groups of blacks in the United States (Greer, 2013). Conversely, the ethnic distinctiveness of Afro Caribbeans may be tempering African Americans' sense of racial solidarity.

Determinants of Perceived Closeness between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans

Next, the analysis explores the intergroup attitudes that predict feelings of closeness between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans. To begin, let's look at the predictors of African Americans' perceived closeness with Afro Caribbeans. Given the ordinal structure of the dependent variable, I employ ordered probit regression analysis. Within the model, three intergroup attitude measures are specified: (1) perceived discrimination against Caribbeans, (2) perceived zero-sum competition with Caribbeans, and (3) stereotypical attitudes about Caribbeans. The stronger African American respondents believe Caribbeans face discrimination, my expectation, as specified earlier, is that they will feel closer to Afro Caribbeans. Therefore, the coefficient should move in the positive direction. Conversely, the more African Americans perceive zero-sum competition or harbor negative group stereotypes of black

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Caribbeans, the less closely they should feel towards them. As such, the coefficients for both items should be negative. In addition to the key independent variables, the model includes several control variables to ensure that the effect of the intra-racial attitude variables are not serving as proxies for underlying personal characteristics. These items include political ideology, party identification, educational attainment, respondents' work status, gender, and age.[8] For the sake of economy, I rely on coefficient plots of the key independent variables in Figure 1 to illustrate the findings, rather than a table with the full model specification. The control variables are excluded from the figure. Nevertheless, the estimates from the model are reported in Table A2 in the appendix.[9]

The model specification for Afro Caribbeans' perceived closeness to African Americans is almost identical except that for Afro Caribbeans an item that captures their generational status is added to the model. The expectation is that later generations of Afro Caribbeans will feel more closely to African Americans. Later generations of Afro Caribbeans are more acclimated to the racial climate of the United States and, thus, are more likely to recognize African Americans' and Afro Caribbeans' shared racial experiences (Waters, 1994).

The effects of the key independent variables in both models are illustrated in Figure 1. The top panel shows coefficient plots for the model of African Americans and the bottom plot shows them from the Afro Caribbean model. For African Americans, all three intra-racial attitude measures move in the expected direction. However, only two of the estimates reach conventional levels of statistical significance: perceived discrimination against Afro Caribbeans and African Americans' negative stereotypes towards Afro Caribbeans. First, the estimate for perceived discrimination against Caribbeans is positive and statistically significant (β =.19), suggesting that the stronger African Americans' believe Afro Caribbeans are subject to discrimination, the more closely they feel towards them. Second, the coeffi-

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[8]Each model in this study relies upon a population weight which is the product of a non-response weight and a post-stratification weight. The product was then centered so that the sum of the weights equaled 3339, the total number of respondents in the study.

[9]The findings are presented in similar fashion for the remainder of the study. All tables are located in the appendix.

cient for African Americans' negative stereotypes of Afro Caribbeans is both negative and statistically significant (β=-.13). Specifically, the stronger African Americans subscribe to the belief that Afro Caribbeans are lazy, the less closely they feel towards them.

[Figure 1 about here.]

Like the model for African Americans, each of the group attitude measures move in the expected direction for Afro Caribbeans. However, only Afro Caribbeans' negative stereotypes of African Americans reach the level of statistical significance (β=-.19). Similar to African Americans, the more Afro Caribbeans subscribe to the belief that African Americans are lazy, the less likely they are to feel closely towards them.

Overall, the evidence shows that attitudes that African Americans and Afro Caribbeans harbor towards each other shape how closely they feel towards one another. Unfortunately, the results do not bode well for relations between both groups. While African Americans that believe Afro Caribbeans face discrimination are more likely to feel closely towards them, this is not reciprocated by Afro Caribbeans. Furthermore, both groups' negative stereotypes of each other reduce their feelings of closeness. Ultimately, the analysis suggests these negative stereotypes may prevent them from working together towards their shared racial interests.

A Black Agenda?: Differences in Policy Preferences between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans

Next, the analysis explores differences in policy preferences between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans on affirmative action, immigration, and redistributive policies. These issue domains are pertinent to this study because they allow for comparisons in group preferences when considering issues that are racially-bound (affirmative action), ethnically-distinct (immigration), and race-neutral (redistribution). Affirmative action is a policy that was initially intended to redress racial inequities in employment and college admissions caused by the tortured history of racial discrimination in the United States. Since its enactment, its

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intent has shifted from that of redress to securing diversity. As such, the beneficiaries have expanded to cover a number of underrepresented, marginalized groups such as women (including white women), Latinos, and Asian Americans. Afro Caribbeans, who experience similar racial discrimination to African Americans, also benefit from affirmative action policies. Due to their shared racial interests, the expectation is that there will not be a significant difference in the perceived benefit of affirmative action programs between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans.

On the other hand, immigration policy is likely to reveal fissures in potential alliances between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans. Unlike affirmative action, immigration policy addresses the specific ethnic interests of Afro Caribbeans. In fact, some in the African American community may view such interests as contrary to their personal interests, particularly if they perceive job competition from certain immigrant groups. Consequently, the expectation is that group preferences on immigration policy will diverge between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans. As mentioned above, the items that measure immigration policy attitudes include respondents' general feelings about increasing immigration, the perceived costs and benefits of immigration (i.e., job competition and the enrichment of American culture), as well as their preferences on several specific policies.

Lastly, both groups' attitudes on redistributive policy offer the opportunity to compare their preferences on affirmative action and immigration to policies that are racially and ethnically neutral.[10] The expectation is that African Americans' and Afro Caribbeans will not have significantly different preferences on redistributive policies. Rather than mobilizing group members along their racial or ethnic attachments, it is likely they will be bound by their partisan or ideological allegiances.

The models for each policy item are identical. Given the ordinal nature of the affirmative

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[10]Yet, there is evidence that even attitudes towards race-neutral policies can be influenced by racial considerations (Peffley and Hurwitz, 2002; Tesler, 2012). Nevertheless, we expect that the lack of explicitly racial and ethnic content should at least mitigate the effect of racial considerations from overall preferences. Furthermore, the racial content underlying racial-neutral policies has typically been shown to influence white Americans' policy attitudes rather than members of racial and ethnic minority groups.

action measure, ordered probit regression analysis is employed. Ordinary least squared regression is used to examine attitudes towards immigration and redistributive policy. In all three models, the key independent variable is a dichotomous measure that captures whether respondents are African American or Afro Caribbean. A high value of 1 represents Afro Caribbean respondents while African Americans are represented by a value of 0. According to our hypothesis, we expect that policy preferences that emphasize their shared racial interests (i.e., affirmative action) will be similar. Accordingly, I do not expect the coefficient for black identity to reach conventional levels of statistical significance. On the other hand, the interethnic differences that exist between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans imply that differences on the immigration items will be statistically significant. In particular, the estimates should show that Afro Caribbeans express more liberal, inclusive immigration preferences than African Americans. Lastly, I do not expect there to be significant differences in policy preferences for redistributive policies.

[Figure 2 about here.]

Figure 2 shows the predicted estimates from all three models.[11] The results offer overwhelming support for the hypotheses. The first panel in Figure 2 shows the predicted probabilities of African Americans and Afro Caribbeans for the belief that affirmative action is a good thing. The results indicate there is no significant difference in the perceived benefit of affirmative action between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans. The group difference in attitudes on affirmative action fails to reach conventional levels of statistical significance. This evidence suggests that African Americans and Afro Caribbeans may be inclined to mobilize around issues that advance their shared racial interests. The NPS did not include additional policy measures that would allow for a more robust test of both groups' support for race-based policies. However, I suspect the results revealed in this analysis would be consistent even when considering policies that are less explicitly racial in nature (e.g., police

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[11]In order to calculate the predicted estimates from each model, the control variables were held at their median values.

brutality and voter identification laws.)

Next, the analysis examines whether there are differences in immigration attitudes between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans. Panel 2 of Figure 2 illustrates the difference in immigration attitudes between both groups. The results confirm the fifth hypothesis that Afro Caribbeans are more likely to support more lenient immigration policies than African Americans. Ultimately, the evidence suggests interethnic differences between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans differentially shape their attitudes on immigration.

Lastly, the evidence for redistributive policy confirms our expectation that there would be no significant difference in African American and Afro Caribbean attitudes. Panel 3 of Figure 2 reveals that the difference in redistributive policy preferences between both groups is virtually indistinguishable.

Overall, the results offer strong support for our hypotheses. The prospects for maintaining a unified force between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans in support of race-based policies are high. In contrast, when considering policies that address Afro Caribbeans' ethnically-distinct interests African Americans report more tempered support for those issues than Afro Caribbeans. Granted, the evidence does not necessarily imply opposition to these policies. However, they do suggest that immigration serves as an area of potential tension between African Americans and black Caribbeans. Finally, both groups report similar preferences on redistributive policies suggesting that they are likely to find common ground on issues influenced by their partisan or ideological leanings.

When reviewing the control variables in each of the models there were few items that consistently predicted either groups' policy attitudes.[12] There were two exceptions: party affiliation and educational attainment. Consistent with expectations, beyond racial or ethnic considerations, African Americans and Afro Caribbeans tended to be bound by their shared party affiliation. The coefficients for party identification in the affirmative action and redistribution models were both positive and statistically significant, indicating that

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[12]The estimates for the control variables are reported in Table A3 of the appendix

Democratic respondents were more likely to voice support for each policy. In addition, the coefficients for educational attainment reach conventional levels of statistical significance in two out of the three models in Table 4. In column 1, higher levels of education predict more positive attitudes towards affirmation action (β=.16). For the model of immigration attitudes, higher educational attainment predicted mostly inclusive, accommodating immigration preferences(β=.14).

The Influence of Group-Based Attitudes on Policy Attitudes

The last portion of this study explores how intergroup attitudes might explain differences in policy attitudes between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans. The objective is to explore whether each groups' preferences are shaped by their attitudes towards each other or other racial and ethnic groups. In order to test these relationships we rely upon the same set of dependent measures from the previous section. However, we include several measures of intergroup attitudes to predict their policy preferences. First, we include three separate items to capture African Americans' and Afro Caribbeans' perceived discrimination towards each other as well as to Latinos and Asians. For African Americans, measures of perceived discrimination toward Afro Caribbeans, Latinos and Asians are added to the analysis. For Afro Caribbeans, items for perceived discrimination toward African Americans, Latinos and Asians were included. Likewise, three items for perceived group competition and stereotypes of each respective group were employed. The estimates for African Americans' policy preferences are illustrated in Figure 3 and for Afro Caribbeans in Figure 4.

[Figure 3 about here.]

Panel 1 of Figure 3 reports the coefficients of the intergroup attitude measures on African Americans' views towards affirmative action. The coefficients for most of the intergroup attitude measures are not statistically distinguishable from zero. However, an exception is African Americans' perceived group competition with Afro Caribbeans (β=-.49). The

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negative and statistically significant coefficient indicates the more threatened they feel from Afro Caribbeans the less likely they are to think affirmative action is a good thing. This finding may reflect underlying misgivings among African Americans that Afro Caribbeans are receiving the benefit of policies initially intended to redress the historic discrimination targeted towards African Americans.

Next, panel 2 reveals that African Americans attitudes towards immigration are driven largely by one consideration: perceived group competition with Asians. Those African Americans that perceive competition from Asians are more likely to support more restrictive immigration policies (β=-.19).

Lastly, panel 3 offers mixed results for the influence of African Americans' intergroup attitudes on their preferences for redistributive policies. Indeed, there is evidence that underlying negative group attitudes towards Afro Caribbeans drives their opposition to more spending for such programs. The negative and statistically significant coefficient for group competition towards Afro Caribbeans (β=-.09) indicates that when native-born blacks feel threatened by Caribbeans, they are less likely to support redistributive policies. Likewise, negative stereotypes drive down African Americans' support for such programs (β=-.02). This evidence seems to corroborate the finding from the model of attitudes toward affirmative action that underlying competition and animus towards Afro Caribbeans may sabotage efforts at political cooperation. The remaining findings are also quite interesting. African Americans' perceived discrimination toward Asians and perceived competition with Latinos heightens their support for increased spending on redistributive programs (β=.05 and β=.11, respectively). In step with the conceptual expectation for perceived discrimination, the finding suggests African Americans' perception that Asians are subject to discrimination heightens their support for redistributive policies, presumably for Asian Americans. The estimate for African Americans' perceived competition with Latinos is more difficult to explain. One could speculate that if African Americans believe they disproportionately benefit from redistributive programs, competition with Latinos may heighten support for such policies.

Next, the analysis examines the intergroup attitudes that shape Afro Caribbeans prefer-
ences in each policy domain. Figure 4 plots the coefficients from each model. Few significant
estimates emerge from any of the policy areas. In fact, the effect of Afro Caribbeans perceived
group competition with Asians is the only coefficient that reaches statistical significance
(β=.33). The positive estimates indicates those Afro Caribbeans that feel threatened from
Asians are more likely to believe affirmative action is a good thing, perhaps because they be-
lieve affirmative action grants them admission to universities and jobs that might otherwise
be directed towards Asians. The limited impact of intergroup attitudes on Afro Caribbeans'
policy preferences suggests they may be more amenable to interethnic partnerships.

Overall, the evidence demonstrates that inter-group attitudes shape African Americans'
preferences in ways it does not for Afro Caribbeans. There is evidence that African Amer-
icans' feelings of competition and animus towards black Caribbeans may undermine the
potential for political cooperation. However, it is also clear that their policy preferences are
shaped by their attitudes towards other racial and ethnic groups as well. On the other hand,
Afro Caribbeans' policy preferences are little shaped by their intergroup attitudes, suggest-
ing they may be more flexible when deciding with whom they want to engage in political
partnerships.

Conclusion

Social psychologists and sociologists have long considered the fundamental tension caused
by conflicts between racial and ethnic identities within the black population. Despite some
notable exceptions (Rogers, 2006; Greer, 2013; Smith, 2014), political scientists have given
the topic far less consideration. The lack of attention to the topic is unfortunate given its
profound implications for black political life. For instance, the black utility heuristic, which
is a dominant theory within the racial and ethnic politics literature, is premised on the

notion that given the historic tendency within the United States for blacks' self-interests to be inextricably tied to their racial group interests, they use their racial group interests as a proxy for their own personal well-being (Dawson, 1994). While the evidence for the black utility heuristic when applied to African Americans is compelling, it is unclear how the theory would stand when applied to black ethnics, who when holding a strong racial identity may at the same time hold an equally salient ethnic identity.

This study reveals that while African Americans and Afro Caribbeans recognize their shared racial interests, their relationship is mired by competition and negative stereotypes that both groups feel towards each other. Consistent with Greer (2013), the results reveal that Caribbean blacks actually feel more closely to African Americans than African Americans feel towards them. This evidence suggests that Afro Caribbeans' racial identity should not serve as a barrier to racial solidarity. However, the findings also show that both groups' perceived closeness to one another is shaped by negative stereotypes that both groups believe about one another. While other studies have highlighted the role of group stereotypes on relations between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans (Waters, 1999; Jackson and Cothran, 2003; Rogers, 2006; Greer, 2013), to the author's knowledge, this is the first time that it has been demonstrated systematically. Ultimately, the evidence suggests group members appropriate racial stereotypes of each other often propogated by mainstream society.

When examining both groups' policy preferences, it is clear that they are willing to rally around their mutual racial interests. There was no significant difference in their support for affirmative action programs. However, their preferences tended to diverge when considering immigration policies. There is also little difference in both groups' attitudes on redistributive policy. This evidence demonstrates the clear limitations to creating stable alliances within the black community. While the African American political tradition has tended to expect its proponents to subordinate their other identities (e.g., gender, sexual orientation) to their racial identity, Afro Caribbeans seem less willing to make this tradeoff (Cohen, 1999; Rogers, 2006). Furthermore, African Americans appear less willing to support policies that serve the

ethnic concerns of Afro Caribbeans.

Yet, while African Americans' more tepid support for liberal immigration policies might lead one to believe there is little room for conciliation on the issue of immigration, further examination suggests otherwise. A look at the group attitudes that drive African Americans' immigration attitudes shows that their views on immigration are largely shaped by their perceived competition and negative group attitudes towards non-black immigrant groups. Thus, their views may be highly susceptible to change depending on the racial identity of the immigrant populations being considered. Interestingly, it is their attitudes towards affirmative action and redistributive policies that are shaped by their group attitudes towards Afro Caribbeans. African Americans seem less inclined to work cooperatively with Afro Caribbeans when they are competing for resources that appear finite.

In closing, this study highlights the problems that may emerge when relying too heavily on a monolithic treatment of the black population to understand black political attitudes and behavior. The developing literature on black ethnics is uncovering a community with a profound level of diversity. As such, while the black community may uniformly rally around issues that are perceived to be in step with their shared racial interests, it is likely that there will be a greater divergence of opinion on non-racial issues. Given the projected growth of the black foreign-born population, it is reasonable to expect such policy differences within the black community to intensify.

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Figure 1: The Impact of Intra-group Attitudes on Perceived Closeness
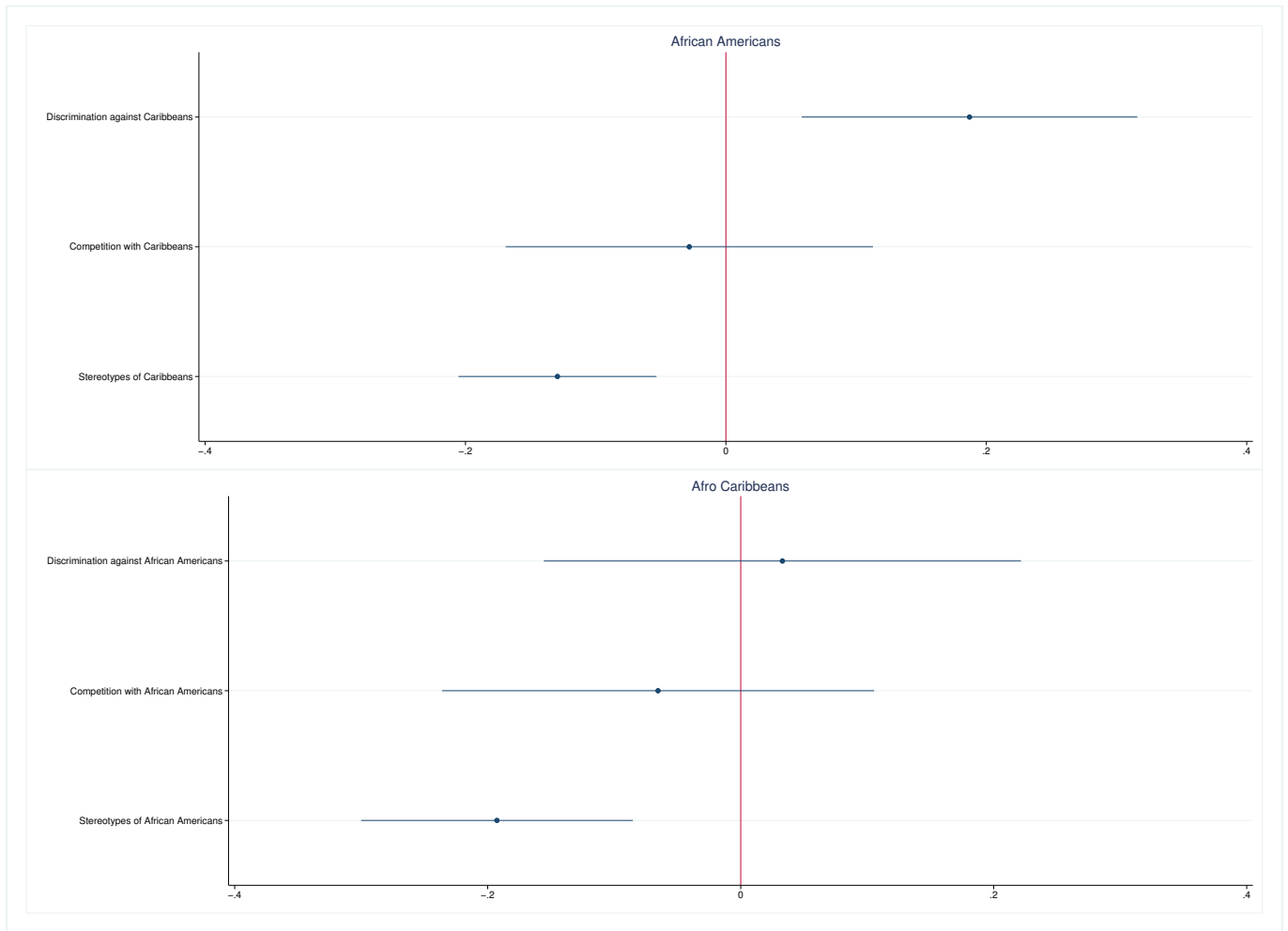
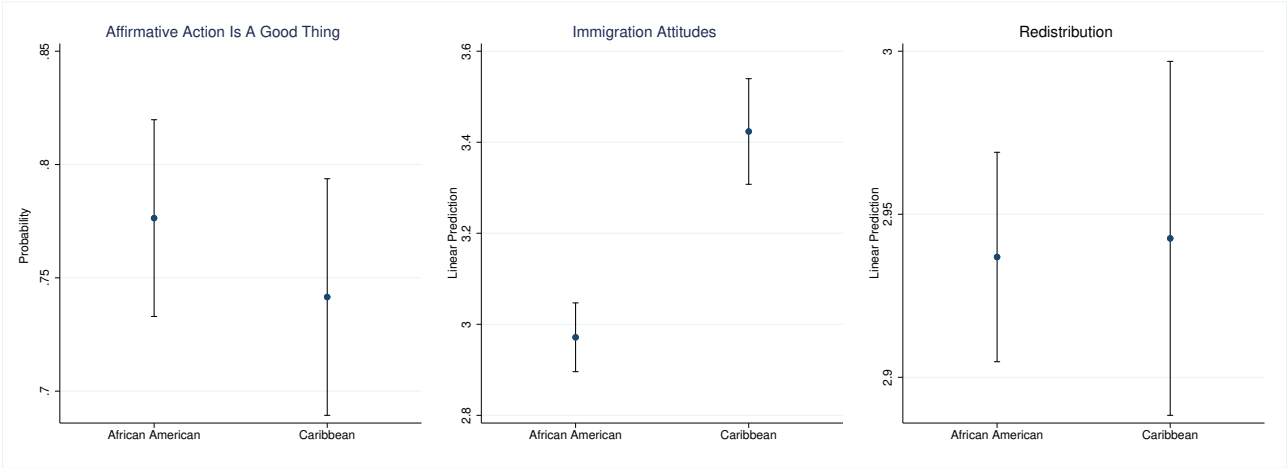Figure 2: Differences in Policy Preferences between African Americans and Afro Caribbeans

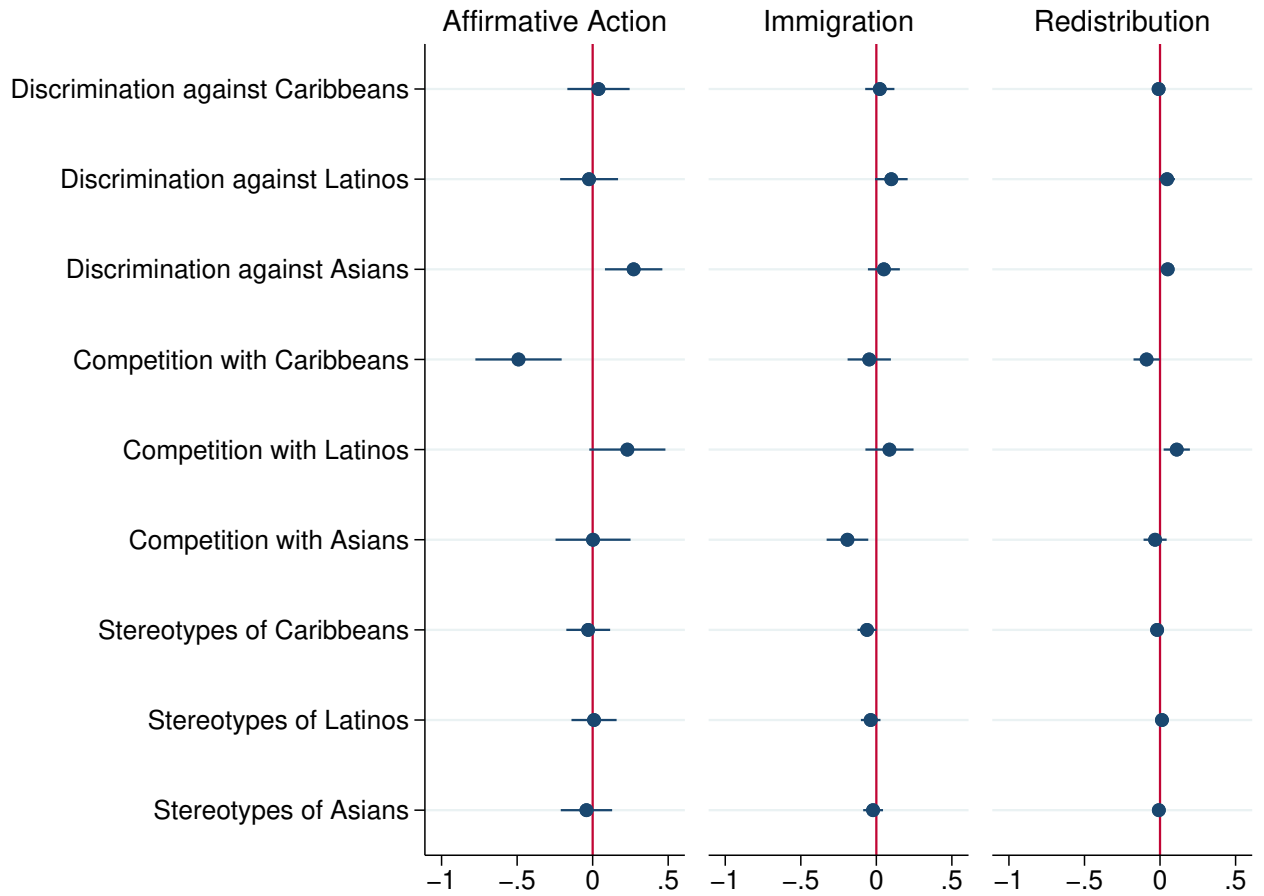Figure 3: The Impact of Group Attitudes on African Americans' Policy Attitudes

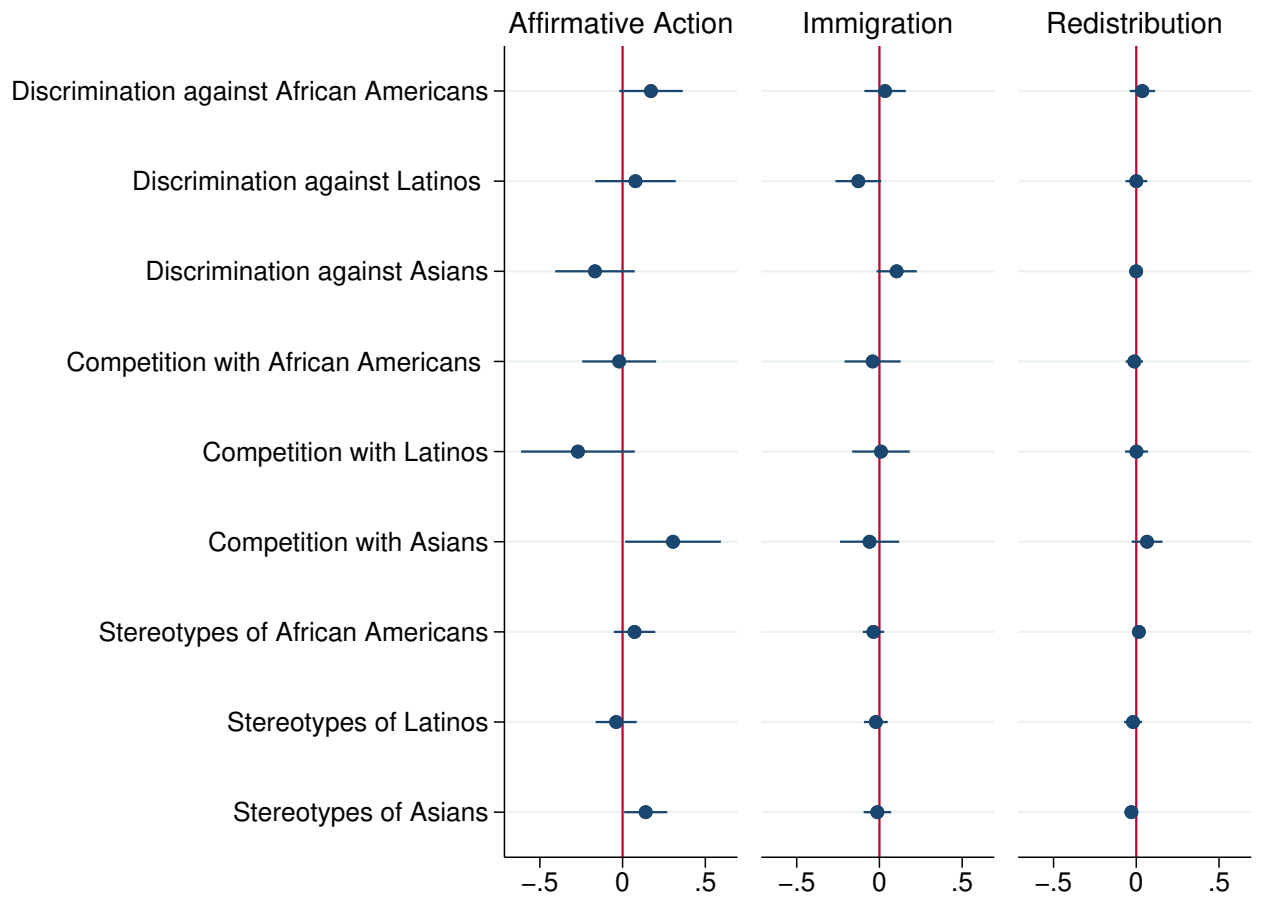Figure 4: The Impact of Group Attitudes on Afro Caribbeans' Policy Attitudes

Table 1: Percentage of African Americans, Afro Caribbeans and Latinos Who Perceive A Fair Amount or A Lot In Common with Other Racial and Ethnic Groups

	African Americans	Afro Caribbeans	Whites	Latinos	Asians
African American	–	49.7	59.7	66.4	41.4
Afro Caribbean	79.7	–	61.9	68.1	35.5
Latino	55.1	41.8	69.6	–	38.8