Introduction

*Caribbean Migrations to Western Europe
and the United States*

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This edited volume is the result of the colloquium "Caribbean Migrations to Western Europe and the United States" held on June 20–21, 2002, at the Maison des Science de l'Homme in Paris. To the best of our knowledge, this was the first post-9/11 conference held on Caribbean migration. The post-9/11 period is marked by "Islamophobia"—overt discrimination against Muslim people—and the invisibility of ongoing racist discrimination against old colonial/racialized subjects of empire within the metropolitan centers (Grosfoguel and Mielants 2006a). "Islamophobia" and racism toward Arabs and Muslim people are not new. Orientalist discourses have existed for at least two hundred fifty years (Said 1978). The entanglement of Orientalist discourses with the stereotype of the "Arab terrorist" is not new, either. For the past thirty years, in Western media and public discourses, Arabs and Muslims who fight for national liberation have been construed as "terrorists" (Said 1981). What is novel is the entanglement of "Islamophobia" with a new discourse about "national security," by which the civil rights of immigrant and minority groups are further threatened by harsher law-enforcement measures. Some of these measures lead to detention without due process and deportation for criminal activities that previously did not receive such an extreme penalty. Meanwhile, the case for Western states' military aggression against non-European populations is made in the name of "a safer world."

Today, metropolitan public discourse and the media's focal points include the globalization of "Islamic terrorism," geopolitics in the Middle East, and

Muslims. To be sure, there are a number of fundamentalist groups shaping the agendas of transnational terrorist groups. What is perverse, however, is the use of this threat to further jeopardize—and in some cases, even nullify—civil rights, the mere recognition of which took years of political struggle in the West and to increase state terrorism across the world. As shown in this volume, Caribbean migrants in the United States and Western Europe have been vulnerable to policy changes in the realms of civil rights and welfare that tend to reinforce the social distance between citizens and non-citizens. This trend predates 9/11, but it is being reinforced and has acquired new dimensions in relation to the post-9/11 wave of turmoil in world politics, which has complex entanglements with the geopolitics of migration and natural resources.

The essays presented here on Caribbean migrations—their demographic, socioeconomic, political, and cultural impact on the United States and Western Europe, as well as their role in the development of transnational social fields—makes this volume timely and relevant. This volume also examines how contrasting discourses of democracy and racism, the openness of borders and xenophobia, and globalization and pro-nativism shape issues pertaining to incorporation, citizenship, and identity formation among immigrants who move between a geopolitically strategic, albeit subordinated, area of the world and core zones. These analytical axes make this volume timely and relevant for both Caribbean studies and comparative migration studies from a global perspective.

Caribbean migrants are among the groups with the longest presence in areas associated with colonization and the emergence of a corresponding global "colonial pattern of power" (Quijano 2000) that has relied on the concepts of culture and race as tools of domination over colonial subjects. The Caribbean was the first peripheral region to be colonized by Europe in the construction of what Ramón Grosfoguel (2004) elsewhere has called the "modern/colonial capitalist/patriarchal world-system" and the last peripheral region to formally eliminate colonial administrations."[1] Even today, there are many non-independent countries in the Caribbean: Dutch, French, American, and British Caribbean territories such as Aruba, Curaçao, Bonaire, Martinique, Guadeloupe, Turks and Caicos, the Cayman Islands, Puerto Rico, the British Virgin Islands, St. Maarten/Saint Martin, the U.S. Virgin Islands, for example, do not have an independent status vis-à-vis the United States or European powers. The analysis of issues pertaining to incorporation, citizenship, and identity formation among Caribbean migrants in Western Europe and the United States sheds light on global threads that have been operating since the origins of the formal colonial period and that continue to shape the incorporation of racialized subjects from subordinated, peripheral areas of the world system.

Caribbean migration is not a new subject in the field of international migration. However, this volume has unique scholarly features that merit

attention. First, many edited volumes on Caribbean migration tend to cover the migratory circuits toward only one or two metropolitan centers. In this volume, we have included all of the contemporary circuits of Caribbean migration to the metropoles—that is, migration to France, Spain, the United States, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom. To understand the different circuits of Caribbean migration and the migrants' modes of incorporation into the metropoles, it is important to understand this history and the particular relationship (colonial, neocolonial, independent, non-independent) between the country of origin and the metropolitan center. Second, this volume addresses the different metropolitan cultural, political, and economic processes that shape Caribbean migration and the incorporation process. A major rationale guiding this compilation is that it is impossible to understand the incorporation of immigrants and particular forms of social exclusion related to the multiple processes of incorporation, and particularly the location of Caribbean migrants in the metropolitan racial/ethnic and class hierarchies, without addressing the socio-historical contexts of the metropolitan political economy and cultural/national ideologies and transnational social fields related to them. A number of essays in this volume address the transnational linkages between country of origin and the metropoles in relation to metropolitan political, economic, and cultural processes. And third, this compilation calls attention to the complex material and symbolic dimensions of the migration experience and the processes of incorporation of Caribbean migrants in Western Europe and the United States. Based on case studies, it offers an assessment of how such dynamics currently unfold. A general pattern of power related to geopolitical relationships that in many cases can be traced to colonialism frames Caribbean migration to Western Europe and the United States, yet it does so in everyday life through specific dynamics pertaining to labor markets, state policies, approaches to citizenship, sources of meaning and identity formation, and specific family and household strategies that migrants employ either to cope with the shrinking avenues of social mobility or to resist forms of exclusion.

In what follows, we contextualize Caribbean migrations to the metropoles historically in light of current theoretical approaches while introducing the main contents of the anthology chapter by chapter.

Colonial Legacies and the Coloniality of Power Argument

The Caribbean massively imported people from different regions of the world for centuries. The relation between European colonizers and African and Asian populations started in the Caribbean sugar plantations and was marked by the demand for and supply of colonial labor. African slaves arrived in the Caribbean

in the late sixteenth century after the enslavement and genocide of thousands of indigenous people (Tainos and Caribs), while Asian indentured labor started arriving in significant numbers in the late nineteenth century after the global demise of slavery and its imminent collapse in those areas of the Americas where it was still practiced. Immigrants from metropolitan areas also arrived in the Caribbean, more so after formal independence was achieved, while a circuit of intra-Caribbean migration evolved in the first half of the twentieth century as the big sugar enterprises and other capitalist corporations, the most profitable of which (such as Cuba and the Dominican Republic) were operating under the control of the United States, pulled cheap labor from the region. From the second half of the nineteenth century and throughout the first decades of the twentieth century, there was an expansion of transnational social fields (including transatlantic ones) involving migration to, within, and to some extent from the Caribbean. At that time, transnationalism was framed by the continuing use of the region as an epicenter of surplus value extraction in the world-economy through the multiplication of the global labor flows that involved the area, and the expansion of the transnational faction of the capitalist class directly linked to it. These developments went hand-in-hand with the continuing use of the Caribbean as the target of geopolitical designs, which shaped migration through two dynamics that were often interrelated; the development of large-scale accumulation schemas and the rise of violent conflicts, which often led to life-threatening scenarios (Baez Everetz 1986; Bovenkerk 1975; Cervantes-Rodríguez 2009; de la Riva 1979; Grosfoguel 2003; Portes and Walton 1981; Rich 1986).

Transnationalism related to Caribbean migration since the second half of the twentieth century, however, has been marked by the fact that the Caribbean has emerged as a region of "emigration." After World War II, tens of thousands of Caribbean workers migrated to metropolitan centers. The postwar economic boom produced a labor shortage at the bottom of the labor market in the core of the capitalist world economy. This labor shortage was supplied by the mass-recruitment of cheap labor that to a great extent came from the non-independent colonial territories of the Western empires. Thousands of workers from the British, Dutch, French, and American Caribbean territories were recruited to work in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, France, and the United States. Global economic restructuring (which led to the rearticulation of the Caribbean to the world economy through several intermediate processes, such as the rise of export-processing zones and the feminization of the job market), combined with political turmoil generated within the Cold War context, would further reinforce the late-twentieth-century pattern of Caribbean migration to Western Europe and the United States. Although specific market trends, policies, and even legislation, such as the British government's Commonwealth

Immigration Act of 1961, have severely curbed immigration from specific Caribbean islands to Western Europe and the United States at certain junctures, the Caribbean has remained a labor-exporting and refugee-generating region while dense cultural, political and socioeconomic transnational fields have been formed in relation to migration.

Although Caribbean migration is inscribed within a global pattern and there are some particularities that pertain to the region, this volume also demonstrates that the migratory fields between the French Caribbean and France, the British Caribbean and Great Britain, the Dutch Caribbean and the Netherlands, and the U.S. Caribbean and the United States have some distinct features. It is important to distinguish Caribbean migrations from "non-independent" territories from Caribbean migrations from formally "independent" territories (Grosfoguel 2003). The metropoles' mass-recruitment of colonial labor from the Caribbean during the 1950s and 1960s has four common characteristics.[2]

First, it was an organized labor migration from non-independent territories. Each metropolitan center used the labor available in the Caribbean colonies to satisfy its labor demands during the postwar period. The United States underwent an economic boom because it was the sole industrial economy in the world without competition from other core countries, while the boom of the Western European economies was due to the process of reconstruction after World War II. Puerto Ricans were among the first colonial groups to be massively recruited to work in the manufacturing and agrarian enterprises of the U.S. Northeast. The formation of the Migration Division within the colonial administration on the island was the institutional mechanism used to massively recruit Puerto Rican labor to the United States, and it served as a model for the rest of the region. West Indians from the British colonies were also recruited to work in the United Kingdom as cheap labor in public services and manufacturing. The British Migration Office in Barbados was an imitation of the Puerto Rican Migration Division Office; similar to the Puerto Rican case, this office recruited labor directly from Barbados to the United Kingdom. In other British colonies, such as Jamaica and Trinidad, institutional mechanisms were in place to foster labor migration, such as job advertisement, social workers, and direct recruitment from the British public administration and private companies. Dutch Caribbean labor from Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles (Curaçao, Aruba, and others) was also recruited to work in the Netherlands. In Curaçao during the 1960s, social workers were instrumental in the recruitment of labor. Similar to the Puerto Rican case, the French state organized the BUMIDOM (Le Bureau pour le développement des migrations dans les départements d'outre-mer, or Bureau for the Development of Migration in the Overseas Departments) to recruit labor from Martinique, Guadeloupe, and French Guiana to work in the French public administration. The contribution by Monique Milia-Marie-Luce

in this volume compares the organized migration from Puerto Rico to the United States with the organized migration from Martinique, Guadeloupe, and French Guiana to France. She examines the similarities and differences of the Migration Division Office in Puerto Rico and the BUMIDOM in France, and, based on archival work, shows how the Migration Division Office in Puerto Rico served as a showcase for the whole Caribbean region and, in particular, for the French Overseas Department after World War II. It was through the Caribbean Commission, an organization created by Western colonial powers in the Caribbean to coordinate their policies in the region during the early years of the Cold War, that the migration model used by the United States in Puerto Rico was exported to the rest of the region. Milia-Marie-Luce's work invites the production of more comparative historical research in Caribbean migration studies. In sum, one common feature of all of these migrations from non-independent territories is that several state institutional mechanisms were in place to recruit colonial labor or to foster colonial labor migration as a way to supply cheap workers to serve the needs of the metropolitan labor market.

Second, colonial labor migrants from the Caribbean were all legal citizens of the metropole. After World War II, colonial reforms in the Caribbean led by the Caribbean Commission (an international organization of Western powers in the Caribbean) extended metropolitan citizenship rights to the colonies. This facilitated the massive transfer of labor from the colonies to the metropole. No institutional barriers such as visa procedures or work permits were present to prevent massive labor migration from the Caribbean colonies. Moreover, the legal status of Caribbean colonial laborers as metropolitan citizens gave them access to welfare-state policies and social rights enjoyed by all metropolitan citizens. This supplemented their incomes and helped meet the cost of repro-ducing their labor force, given their low salaries compared with those of Euro-pean and Euro-American workers.

Third, colonial migrations from non-independent territories have included a larger representation of the lower classes than that from formally independent territories (Grosfoguel 2003). Without metropolitan citizenship, members of the lower classes would face many obstacles to migrating. Most of the migrants from independent Caribbean countries, who do not have such citizenship rights, thus come from the most educated and the middle sectors of the work-ing classes. There are important exceptions to this pattern: migrants from Haiti to southern Florida, from the Dominican Republic to New York via Puerto Rico, and from Cuba to Miami who overcome institutional barriers to migra-tion by crossing the oceans on rafts or boats; particular types of workers sought by "host countries" to do jobs that the metropolitan populations are not willing to do, such as Dominican domestic workers in Spain (see the chapter by Laura Oso Casas in this volume); and immigrants who make use of family-reunification

programs, such as recent Jamaican immigrants to the United States (Jones 2007). Such state institutional arrangements facilitate the direct recruitment of lower-class migrants from independent Caribbean countries.

Fourth, despite their legal status as metropolitan citizens, Caribbean colonial migrants experience racist discrimination, creating what is usually regarded as "second-class citizenship" inside the metropoles (Grosfoguel 1999). Consequently, the racial/colonial hierarchies that were put in place on a world scale during the European colonial expansion are now reproduced within the metropolitan global cities, which in turn leads to questions about continuities and discontinuities of colonial legacies in the present.

One of the central contemporary Eurocentric myths since World War II has been that, with the demise of colonial administrations in the periphery of the capitalist world economy, we are living in a "postcolonial," "post-imperial" world (Grosfoguel 1999). The question is not whether colonialism, understood as the presence of colonial administrations, ended: the answer to that question is obvious, and from that point of view we would be living in a so-called postcolonial world. The question is whether colonial relations of exploitation and domination between Europeans and Euro-Americans and non-European people finished with the end of colonial administrations. The answer to that question is more complex. The global hierarchies put in place during more than four hundred fifty years (1492–1945) of colonial administrations articulating the relationship between European and Euro-American metropoles and non-European peripheries did not disappear with the end of colonial administrations. Today, despite some anomalous cases, it is obvious that most of the non-European periphery is organized into "independent" states. However, the global hierarchies created during the four hundred fifty years of European colonial expansion, such as the international division of labor (core–periphery), the racial/ethnic hierarchy (European/Euro-American and non-Europeans), the gender hierarchy, the epistemic hierarchy, and the interstate system (military and political power) are still with us, even though colonial administrations have ended (Grosfoguel 2004). This is what the Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano refers to as "coloniality of power" (Quijano 2000). Power structures at the global and national levels are still informed by colonial ideologies and structures that go back in time several centuries.[3]

Coloniality of Power, Transnationalism, and Migrants' Incorporation

What is the relevance of "coloniality" to discussions of Caribbean migrants inside the metropoles? To understand the transnational processes of migrants' incorporation into metropolitan societies, it is important to make conceptual

distinctions among diverse migration experiences. The application of the "coloniality of power" perspective to migration studies allows us to open new spaces of reflection and invites an alternative conceptualization on the subject. Migrants do not arrive in an empty or geopolitically neutral space. Migrants arrive in metropolitan spaces that are always "polluted" by colonial history—that is, a colonial imaginary, colonial knowledges, a racial/ethnic hierarchy linked to a history of dominance, and subordination in the interstate system that can be traced directly to empire building and colonial relations. Migrants arrive in a space of power relations that is always already informed and constituted by coloniality. There is no geopolitically neutral space of migrant incorporation.

The reconceptualization of migration studies in light of the coloniality of power argument invites critical assessment of the widely held perception, mainly in U.S. academia, that non-European immigrants will eventually follow the path of European immigrants in the incorporation process. Migration studies in the United States tend to take as a point of reference the mainstream European migration experience when trying to predict what the future holds for the incorporation path of non-European immigrants. Large-scale immigration of non-European groups has brought to the forefront debates on the issue of cultural assimilation and Anglo supremacy. Based on the European experience, mainstream research on incorporation is often rooted in the assimilation framework, which has systematically portrayed the United States as a society where language acquisition begins the process of assimilation. This perspective holds that assimilation occurs over generations along with the depreciation of ethnicity as a meaningful source of identification. What is perceived as the "largely symbolic" nature of ethnicity by the third generation points to a path of acculturation and acceptance into U.S. society.[4]

There have been some reactions to the oversimplification of the canonical assimilation argument. Scholars following the "segmented-assimilation" perspective (cf. Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 2001), for example, address the link between assimilation and social mobility and suggest that the assumption that full assimilation is a precondition of successful incorporation is problematic. Other sociological works (e.g., Massey 1995) bring to our attention important differences in the social contexts of immigrants' incorporation in the "post-1960 immigration regime" as compared with previous ones and conclude that, at least in the case of migration from Latin America, it is incommensurable with the European experiences in many aspects. Linguistic and geographical concentrations, the continuing nature of the migration process, and even involvement in transnational activities are cited as important points of rupture with the European models.

However, these critiques are biased by what has been called "methodological nationalism," or the propensity to conflate the concepts of society and nation-

state (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2003). Furthermore, the canonical assimilation argument has been associated with a reduction of the Durkheimian conceptualization of "socialization" to the issue of cultural assimilation. However, these arguments neglect the fact that cultural assimilation is seen as a process that comes "from within"—that is, a process in which the nation-state is the repository of social relations and conflicts. What is missing from the outlined critiques of the canonical assimilation argument is the role of transnational racial constructs in the process of incorporation and ultimately how the incorporation of the migrants is shaped by the re-enactment of racist and culturalist constructs that can be traced to colonial and neocolonial designs, including territorial and political annexation or domination, in which European powers and the United States have been directly involved. Lack of success, defined in terms of European assimilation on U.S. soil, is usually accounted for by a "cultural" problem inside the migrant community (Glazer and Moynihan 1963). By homogenizing the diverse incorporation experiences of migrant groups, the group that is dominant within the racial/ethnic hierarchy avoids confronting the legacy of racist discrimination that is rooted in colonial legacies. This is usually left unexplored in accounts that rely on the concept of assimilation.

The coloniality of power perspective to migration studies and the transnational approach share a critical positionality toward canonical statements of the mainstream assimilation perspective. By focusing on transnational activities from a methodological stance that challenges what has been called "methodological nationalism" (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2003), current developments in the transnational approach shed light on the complex matrix of social relations that shapes issues pertaining to identity formation, labor-market incorporation, and political loyalties and participation. Specific research on migration and transnationalism that has focused on non-European groups (e.g., Basch et al. 1994; Glick Schiller and Fouron 1999; Ong 1999) has advanced our understanding of such process as mediated by racial constructs, capital-accumulation strategies, and the Eurocentric project of modernity. Although the literature on transnationalism does not address the issue of the "immigrant analogy" based on the early European migration to the United States, it fosters a more complex understanding of the experiences of incorporation as shaped by dynamics of race, class, and gender related to global hierarchies. The transnational perspective has challenged the static models of migration that focus on migration in terms of unidirectional mobility from "sending" to "host society" and incorporation as a process that encompasses the "host society" exclusively. It examines immigrants' multidirectional interaction between country of origin and country of arrival and the circulation of capital, money, material goods, ideologies, symbols, and political projects that the migration process conveys under conditions of capitalist expansion in an unequal and hierarchical

international system. It also calls attention to families and households as key units in understanding such dynamics.

The coloniality of power argument allows us to distinguish between migrants based on their colonial experiences, or lack thereof. From this perspective, the main difference between Western European migrants (to the United States and other areas of the world) and Caribbean migrants does not rely primarily on the timing of their experience but on the fact that Caribbean populations had been colonized/racialized as inferior others and now migrate to their respective metropolitan and neo-metropolitan areas. Western Europeans historically have moved (and have been perceived as moving) from centers of wealth and influence in the global hierarchies and have been racialized as superior. Migrants from colonial and former colonial areas, however, are not just another group of immigrants; they are subjected to treatment as "colonial/racialized subjects of empire"—that is, subjects inside the empire as part of a long colonial history (Grosfoguel 2003). The metropolitan colonial imaginary, racial/ethnic hierarchy, and racist discourses are frequently constructed in relation to these subjects. A long history of racialization and inferiorization of "colonial/racial subjects of the empire" informs, constitutes, and determines present power relations. The coloniality of power of the metropolitan country is organized around and against these colonial subjects; they are frequently at the bottom of the racial/ethnic hierarchy. And migrants from peripheral locations who were never directly colonized by the metropolitan countries to which they have migrated are racialized in ways similar to the "colonial racial subjects of empire" that were there for a longer time (Grosfoguel 2003, 2004).

To avoid culturalist explanations about the failure or success of one particular migrant group, it is crucial to understand that conquest and colonization shape migration in important ways beyond creating the turmoil and unrest that they induce, which frequently lead to displacement, if not mass-migration. Culturalist explanations are part of transnational hegemonic ideologies that are very popular in the new forms of "antiracist racisms" in the core of the capitalist world economy and that, together with other ideological positions, such as the ideology of competitiveness, justify the supremacy of certain groups and states vis-à-vis the majority of the world's population. This is linked to what has been called "new racism" or "cultural racism" as we witness the reproduction of the old colonial/racial hierarchies of Europeans versus non-Europeans and the hegemony of racist ideologies inside each metropolitan center. To understand this process, we need to link the present racial/ethnic hierarchy to the colonial history of each empire. Otherwise, it makes no sense to question why Caribbean people remain at the bottom of the social structures and the targets of metropolitan racism. It is not an accident that in London, Amsterdam, Paris, and New York, colonial Caribbean minorities share the bottom of racial/ethnic

hierarchy with other colonial/racialized subjects (Grosfoguel 1999). In London, West Indians, Pakistanis, and Bangladeshis are at the bottom of the racial/ethnic hierarchy. In Amsterdam, Dutch Antilleans and Surinamese share with Moroccans and Turks the experience of racist oppression. Eric Mielants's contribution to this volume discusses the colonial legacy of the Dutch empire in relation to Caribbean migrants in the Netherlands. After describing the history of the migration processes from Suriname and the Dutch Antilles, Mielants shows how both Surinamese and Dutch Antilleans have a long history of colonization/racialization with the Netherlands that is reproduced inside the metropole. He shows how the use of culturalist arguments contributes to justify the racialization of these communities and provides an insightful discussion of the racialization of these Dutch citizens in housing, the labor market, and public schools.

In Paris, French Caribbeans share with Algerians the discrimination produced by French colonial racism. Michel Giraud's crucial intervention shows the history and perverse effects of French colonial legacies in contemporary France. While acknowledging that French Republican ideology assumes an abstract notion of equality that serves to conceal racial discrimination in today's France, Giraud also submits the liberal forms of multiculturalism that end up reproducing extreme forms of "identity politics" to an in-depth critique while pointing out the links between French colonial history and contemporary French racist discourses. According to Giraud, racism toward migrants coming from a direct colonial history with the metropole, such as Martinicans, Guadeloupeans, and French Guianese migrants, cannot be de-linked from colonial history. As he states, "The difficulties in integration shared by French Caribbean immigrants and certain foreign nationals highlight the fact that . . . the discrimination suffered by these 'immigrants' depends less on the dividing-line between nationals and non-nationals set forth by law, and more than on a social image of immigrants from the former colonies and their descendants that presents them as an alien element in society, one that threatens the 'integrity' of national identity."

By bridging the coloniality of power argument and the transnational approach to migration studies, we can produce a more nuanced understanding of the racial/ethnic inequalities inside various metropolitan centers. The transnational approach to migration studies allows us to understand the complex global networks of interaction produced by trans-migrants between the country of origin and its metropolitan centers. The coloniality of power argument allows us to understand how racism and colonial legacies affect social relations and networks related to the migration experience and, especially, the transnational networks between a peripheral country of origin and a core center, as well as those involving Europeans and Euro-Americans and non-Europeans inside metropolitan centers.

Moreover, the coloniality of power argument sheds light on how a global pattern of power that emerged during the colonization of indigenous groups in the Americas, and which that conveys the use of "culture" and "race" as powerful "concepts of control" and instruments of domination, currently shape not only migration patterns, but also migrants' everyday lives, including the reasons why and the ways in which they construct transnational social fields. Through the Caribbean experience, this volume shows how macro-interventions and processes such as militarism and economic restructuring that are historically rooted in a colonial relationship currently continue to shape forms of labor control, ethnic (usually employed as a code language hiding to hide forms of racism) and gender relations, among other and other social dynamics that are permeated by racial and cultural constructs. Such constructs have placed Caribbean groups in a disadvantaged position in the process of incorporation into the societies of U.S. and Western European societies and the United States.

Recent developments in the transnational perspective to migration studies (Basch et al. 1994; Glick Schiller 1999; Glick Schiller and Fouron 1999) have led to a better grasp of the transnational continuum that shapes the migration experience, for which the key concept of "simultaneous incorporation" (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2003) has been critical. However, as Nina Glick Schiller points out in this volume, analyses of transnationalism can generate their own limitations: "transnational studies, while it takes us beyond methodological nationalism, can produce new silences. Transnational Studies may even obstruct the analysis of imperialism."

Pointing out how migrants tend to face and circumvent societal constraints by using transnational strategies, Laura Oso Casas's contribution calls attention to the important role of Dominican women who have emigrated to Spain as heads of transnational households and the constraints they face in both Spain and the Dominican Republic in achieving social mobility. Oso's chapter shows how different social agents and their respective (sometimes conflicting) interests shape Dominican women's strategies of incorporation in Spain, including transnational ones. The chapter by John R. Logan and Wenquan Zhang focuses on Cubans and Dominicans in their main settlement areas in Miami and New York. They examine Cubans and Dominicans against the backdrop of the Latino experience. The chapter reveals significant contrasts in these groups' socioeconomic characteristics and residential patterns, which reflect differences in their immigration contexts. However, the authors argue, there are also similarities that create a foundation for describing what is the "typical" Latino experience. Such similarities refer to the fact that Cubans and Dominicans, like most Latinos, are predominantly first-generation immigrants, and the two groups tend to live in neighborhoods where co-ethnics and Latinos are greatly over-

represented. Further, they indicate that for the two cases their ethnic neighborhoods are disadvantaged, compared to other neighborhoods where group members live, and upward residential mobility generally requires moving to mainstream zones of the metropolis.

Critical Thinking, Critical Border Thinking, and Migration Studies

The discussion of the importance of the coloniality of power perspective to transnational migration studies is linked to epistemological questions. Migration studies tend to reproduce one of the most pervasive myths of Eurocentric social science: that of a neutral, universalist, objective point of view. There is no neutrality in knowledge production. We always speak from a location in the gender, racial, class, and sexual hierarchies of the European modern/colonial capitalist/patriarchal world system (Grosfoguel 2004; Lee and Wallerstein 2004). In the case of international migration, because of its relation to colonial legacies and the reproduction in the present of colonial situations between migrants and "host populations," we always speak from a location in the "colonial difference" produced by the coloniality of power. The "colonial difference" is a concept articulated in Latino postcolonial critique (Mignolo 2000) as a further elaboration of Quijano's coloniality of power. It refers to the coloniality of power at the epistemic level, to the loci of enunciation, to the epistemological relation between colonizer and colonized that creates tensions and conflicts in the process of knowledge production. The way knowledge is produced is a constitutive element of the "colonial difference." Migration studies speak from a non-neutral location in the colonial divide. They reproduce the perspectives of either the colonizer or the colonized or a complex fluid and antagonistic combination of the two. To be sure, migration studies have tended to reproduce the colonizers' point of view, a point of view that frequently justifies the domination, marginalization, or poverty of the migrant population in terms of a claim to a neutral, universalistic, and objective culturalist or economic reductionist argument. According to this literature, migrants have "difficulties" due to "objective" factors, such as their cultural background (attitudes, behavior, mentality, values) or economics (class origin, economic crisis, market constraints). Issues such as discrimination, xenophobia, and racism are rarely addressed in these studies (cf. Grosfoguel and Mielants 2006b).

This compilation has been produced from a multiplicity of approaches and locations that challenge canonical discourses on assimilation, immigrant incorporation, and identity formation while avoiding essentialist notions about the migrants' identity and their experiences. Although the voices of migrants are heard throughout most of the chapters in one way or another, those focused

on sources of meaning, identity construction, cultural resistance, and emotional development make it a clear point that immigrants are not just passive recipients of imposed constraints and epistemologies. Mary Chamberlain's chapter on contemporary Caribbean migration to England traces the role of family strategies and cultural codes intended to provide support to the extended Caribbean family. Using the case-study technique, Chamberlain lets two Caribbean families speak about their own experiences while exploring their narratives and how they describe their transnational lives. She argues, "The similarities and repetitions in the accounts of family and migration conform to, and reinforce, 'cultural templates': patterns of response through which accounts may be stereotyped, and in which values and priorities are encoded, and transmitted." As such, she argues, these narratives constitute feedback to the transnational experience, a sort of discursive practice that "provide[s] important clues in understanding the nature and meaning of Caribbean transnational family life, and [is] increasingly powerful as [an] expression of, and foci for, a Caribbean cultural identity."

Elizabeth Aranda's chapter on Puerto Ricans in Florida examines how Puerto Ricans' identities shape their understanding and social constructions of "home" and explores what such constructions reveal about the impact of transnational patterns of living on migrants' emotional and cultural livelihoods. Aranda's contribution focuses on exploring the emotional implications of the transnational space that Puerto Ricans arriving in Florida from both the island and the Northeast have developed. She shows that Puerto Ricans coming from the island and those coming from New York ("Nuyoricans") to Florida find an ethnoscape where they can "nurture their ethnic identities without having to return to their country of origin." In a critical assessment of the influence of the increasing Latinization of Florida in Puerto Ricans' decision to settle there, she contends that, while such ethnic social constructions sometimes result in marginalization within the Puerto Rican community, they also lead to greater solidarity among islanders and Nuyoricans, as those who find themselves on the fringes of multiple groups often reach out to those who are marginalized. The proximity to both the island and New York, she argues, shapes a transnational identity that affects constructions of home as not bounded to a particular place, but to particular feelings. She explores how such feelings, embedded in a sense of rootedness, help in coping with exclusion and displacement associated with their migration experience and being Puerto Ricans in the United States.

Lisa Maya Knauer's contribution focuses on the social spaces of the racially marked practices of "traditional" Afro-Cuban music and religion—rumba and Santería—in the New York area and Havana. She explores how these cultural practices help shape a translocal counter-public—made up of "multi-directional flows of money, goods, practices, and people, and where varied social actors in

both places craft identities through intra- and intercultural negotiation and contestation." Her main locus of observation is the weekly rumba performances in the New York City area. She demonstrates that, more than mere cultural expressions of a minority group, such performances point to "competing claims of authenticity and ownership and racialized, gendered, and class-based conflicts over public space and public culture." Livio Sansone's contribution calls attention to the emergence of Amsterdam as a major city of the Black Atlantic region and the centrality that mass-immigration of people of African descent from Suriname, the Dutch Antilles, and a variety of African countries, particularly Ghana, has had in this development. While previous research has emphasized the making of a Dutch black culture with an epicenter in Amsterdam, Sansone's chapter sheds light on the mutual influences of cultural trends and lifestyles of the "host society" and the societies of origin in remaking both the cultural landscapes of Amsterdam and those of the "Dutch black culture" through the shaping of "traditional [aspects] of Surinamese Creole community life in the Netherlands."

"Critical border thinking" is the epistemology that emerges in colonial situations where the hegemonic perspective is subverted from the cosmologies, languages, and epistemologies of the subaltern (Mignolo 2000). It is a form of epistemology that emerges in the "in-betweenness" of two languages, two cosmologies, two epistemologies, where the subversion of hegemonic knowledge is brought about by the geopolitics of knowledge of the subaltern. This anthology does not address the issue of critical border thinking and migration directly, but some essays refer to the centrality of the migration process in Caribbean border cultural expressions, language asymmetries, and border thinking as permeated by the colonial difference. The works compiled in this anthology show that the interplay of colonialism, coloniality, capitalism, and international migration has profoundly shaped the transnational spaces in which Caribbean migrants are embedded. It invites us to think of their links to the flow of commodities, ideologies, cultural expressions, and geopolitical projects in relation to colonization and the advancement of capitalism and how such projects continue to inform the migration experience and affect migrants' everyday lives, the mechanisms that sustain them, and the strategies employed to subvert them.

Notes

1. The notion of the "European modern/colonial capitalist/patriarchal world system" is a reinterpretation of the work of Gloria Anzaldúa, Walter Mignolo, Anibal Quijano, and Immanuel Wallerstein. For a detailed discussion, see Grosfoguel 2004.

2. For a comprehensive discussion, see Grosfoguel 2003.

3. For a comprehensive discussion, see Grosfoguel and Cervantes-Rodríguez 2002.

4. A detailed critical assessment can be found in Cervantes-Rodríguez and Lutz 2003.

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