Paradigm Academic Press
Studies in Social Science & Humanities
ISSN 2709-7862
DEC. 2022 VOL.1 NO.5

Black Panethnicity: Origins and Evolution

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doi:10.56397/SSSH.2022.12.09

Abstract

Unlike studies of Asian, Hispanic, Indian, and white panethnicity, systematic research on black panethnicity is lacking. To fill this lacuna, this study examines the origins of black panethnicity in colonial America and follows its evolution through U.S. historical periods. Comparative-historical methods are used to assess the creation and development of black panethnicity and to compare it with other types of panethnicity. The analysis focuses on two periods of black panethnicity. In the first stage, black panethnicity emerged from the racialization of black Africans during the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and the black slavery era. The second stage revealed how black panethnicity evolved during the historical periods of Reconstruction, Jim Crow, and Civil Rights. The similarities and differences between black panethnicity and panethnicities of other groups are also discussed.

Keywords: panethnicity, black panethnicity, origins, evolution, racialization

1. Introduction

While there are studies of panethnicity among Asian Americans, Hispanic Americans, Native Americans, and white Americans (see Cornell, 1990; Espiritu, 1992; Lopez & Espiritu, 1990; Mora, 2014a, 2014b; Okamoto & Mora, 2014; Roediger & Barrett, 2004), there is little systematic research on black panethnicity (Brown & Jones, 2015; Hester, 2017; Kapoor, 2016; Lewis & Forman, 2017). Does black panethnicity exist? If so, how was black panethnicity created, how has black panethnicity evolved over time, what is the status of black panethnicity, what role does it play in the mobility of black Americans, and how does black panethnicity resemble and differ from the panethnicities of other ethnic groups? These questions entreat scholarly answers.

There are different definitions of panethnicity, ranging from an organizational definition (Lopez & Espiritu, 1990) to a group-level definition (Okamoto & Mora, 2014) to an individual and collective definition (Itzigsohn, 2004; Yang, 2000). Lopez and Espiritu (1990, p. 198) defined panethnicity as "the development of bridging organizations and the generalization of solidarity among ethnic subgroups." This definition limits panethnicity to the organizational level and does not consider activities at the individual level. Okamoto and Mora (2014a, p. 221) defined panethnicity as "the construction of a new categorical boundary through consolidating ethnic, tribal, religious, or national groups." This definition seems to constrain panethnicity to the level of ethnic, tribal, religious, or national groups. Itzigsohn (2004, p. 197) defined panethnicity as "individual and collective identities, political projects, and social and cultural practices." Itzigsohn (2004) was mindful to include identities, projects, and practices at both individual and collective levels. Similarly, Yang (2000, p. 52) defined panethnicity as "a panethnic identity and solidarity among subethnic groups considered homogeneous by outsiders" at individual and collective levels. This definition suggests that the two levels are interrelated, but one level does not have to rely on the other level. Individuals can have a panethnic identity without participating in panethnic organizations, and organizations can use panethnicity for political mobilization without individual commitment to panethnic identification. Additionally, in this definition, subethnic groups could be along the lines of national origin, tribe, religion, and language. Along these lines, the current study also gives meaning of black

panethnicity at both the individual and collective levels.

Yen Espiritu is among the pioneers in panethnic research. Espiritu's (1992) book *Asian American Panethnicity* is the first book-length study of panethnicity, focusing on pan-Asian institutions and identities constructed by government racial lumping and the need for pan-Asian alliance. This study revealed that although Asian American subgroups did not share the same culture or political agenda, in the 1960s, they came together to form a pan-Asian alliance in America.

Hispanic panethnicity emerged in the 1980s. Hispanic leaders and business owners saw the political and financial benefits of Latinos banding together (Okamoto & Mora, 2014). While Hispanics are the most homogenous in terms of cultural factors such as language and religion, they are considered the least panethnic in terms of structural factors such as class, race, generation, and geographical dispersion (Lopez & Espiritu, 1990). Itzigsohn (2004) argued that Latino/Latina identity derived from the racialization of ethnicity in America and that panethnic media, churches, and social service agencies also contributed to the formation of Latino/Latina identity.

Moreover, whereas tribes were separate before the massive relocation efforts, the migration of Native Americans in the 1950s created solidarity among the tribes forming Indian panethnicity or pan-Indianism (Cornell, 1990). The relocation programs enabled different tribes of Native Americans to move to cities, get into close contact with one another, and form new organizations and social movements to help combat discrimination and support their political interest (Cornell, 1990). This cultural synthesis of tribes is classified as supretribalism or the merging of Indian or Native Americans. Cornell (1990) referenced this conflict as the transition from collapsing the different tribal cultures to creating a new prevailing Native American culture.

Becoming white can help improve a non-dominant group's social status and revise or expand white group (Ignatiev, 1995; Jacobson, 1998; Roediger, 1999; Yang, 2000). However, as revealed in Roediger and Barrett's (2004) study on how Irish migrants became white in America and Brodkin's (1998) research regarding how the Jews became white, a group's ancestry and social class can make the process of achieving whiteness in America a long and daunting task (Yang, 2000). Jacobson (1998) suggested that these factors are the driving forces that make being or becoming white for different ethnic groups a dominant act in the United States. Political interest and cultural capital fueled the new migrants' need for a panethnic white identity (Roediger & Barrett, 2004). Notably, solidarity among whites was fostered through the Catholic Church (Roediger & Barrett, 2004).

We believe that like the panethnicities of other ethnic groups, black panethnicity also exists in America. However, to the best of our knowledge, a systematic study of black panethnicity is nonexistent, and there is paucity in the analysis and documentation of black panethnicity, its origins, its development, its current status, its impact, etc. Research on black panethnicity requires a book-length study. Given the space constraint, the present study focuses on the origins and evolution of black panethnicity in the United States. This study seeks to answer two overarching research questions. First, how did black panethnicity emerge in America? Second, how has black panethnicity changed over time? Additionally, this study compares black panethnicity and panethnicity among Asian Americans, Hispanic Americans, Native Americans, and white Americans.

This study contributes to black panethnic studies in particular and to panethnic research in general. It will blaze the trail in research on black panethnicity by posing some fundamental and specific research questions, proposing research design, and providing evidence and documentation. As with existing research on panethnicity that has helped academia and organizations understand how solidarity among ethnic subgroups helps further the interest of non-black ethnic groups, the knowledge gained from this study will be beneficial for black Americans.

2. Data and Methods

This study was conducted using historical and archive data from existing publications and documentation. We used historical data to (1) assess black panethnic creation and the effect of racialization on black panethnicity, (2) examine the evolution of black panethnicity, and (3) compare black panethnicity with Asian, Hispanic, Indian, and white panethnicity.

We used historical-comparative approach (also called comparative-historical methods) to assess the creation and evolvement of black panethnicity. Historical-comparative approach is appropriate because this method allows us to answer big questions about patterns in whole society or over time (Newman, 2011). In Mahoney's (2004) words, historical-comparative research is characterized by the use of systematic comparison and the analysis of processes over time to explain large-scale social outcomes. Historical-comparative approach is generally considered a qualitative method at the macro level, albeit it can include quantitative data. Although this method is often used at the societal or national level, it can be used at other macro levels such as geographic units, groups, and organizations. In this study, we use within-case analysis method by investigating changes in the panethnicity of one group (i.e., blacks) before, during, and after its formation. Additionally, we used the

technique of path dependence sequences to analyze the critical junctures and turning points of black panethnicity during different historical periods. Path dependence sequences technique is an essential aspect of historical-comparative analysis because it can explain how agency can effect social change (Lange, 2013). Lastly, to conduct external/internal comparisons of black panethnicity, we used causal narratives to compile, assess, and present the ideal types of black panethnic group comparisons. Causal narratives allowed us to examine causal determinants and processes through cross-case comparisons (Lange, 2013; Mahoney & Rueschemeyer, 2013).

Tilly (1984) claimed that researchers do not appropriately use restrictions when analyzing cases because it is challenging to delimit societies as they are fake. Gerring (2006, p. 19) defined a case as "a spatially delimited phenomenon (a unit) observed at a single point in time for over some period." According to Lange (2013), most researchers do not know what ideal types are for their cases. We addressed this limitation by only selecting confirmed panethnic groups as the ideal types. Another limitation of using historical data is that it is heavily dependent on the availability of historical information (Lange, 2013). In case of an incomplete preexisting history or no history on a subject, as Lange (2013) suggested, we used distinct historical narratives to address this limitation.

3. Origins of Black Panethnicity

When did black panethnicity emerge in America? How was black panethnicity constructed? These are the very first questions that need to be answered in the study of black panethnicity. We argue that black panethnicity arose in colonial America when America was being formed and that the racialization of black Africans in the contexts of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and the black slavery in America was the fundamental force that gave rise to black panethnicity.

It is estimated that during the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade (1502-1867) about 12 million to 12.8 million black Africans were shipped to the Americas (Lovejoy, 1989; Meredith, 2014; Segal, 1995). Around 10.7 million made to the New World in this Middle Passage (Gates, 2013; Mintz, 2019). Only approximately 388,000 or 3.6% of these black Africans landed in the present-day United States (Gates, 2013). The majority of the black Africans in America hailed from West Africa where three ancient West African kingdoms developed: Ghana (500–1240 AD), Mali (1200–1400 AD), and Songhai (1400–1591 AD). The major groups of Africans included Ibos, Gas, and Yorubas. Black Africans had their languages, religions (including animism, multiple gods or goddesses, Islam), and traditions. Slavery had a long history in West Africa, just as in Greece and Rome. Africans enslaved other Africans captured in wars. Slaves often worked as servants or family laborers. Some became members of masters' families. Most could earn or buy freedom after a period. This type of indigenous slavery was relatively benign and different from the chattel slavery developed in the Americas later. When black Africans were sold to the Americas, their tribal connections were deliberately broken with members from the same tribe sent to different locations.

In colonial America, the very first group of Africans was sold to Jamestown in Virginia by a Dutch ship in 1619 (Takaki, 1993). The captain of the ship offered to trade the 20 Africans for much-needed food. Two of the Africans—Anthoney Johnson and Isabella—married, and in 1624 Isabella gave birth to a son to whom they named William, who was the first child of African descent born in English America. William was not born slave. Later, more and more Africans were brought in. Historians have documented that despite the loose term slave used to refer to these Africans, in the first about four decades of black arrival in colonial America most of these black Africans were not permanent slaves but indentured servants (Frazier, 1957; Franklin, 1969; Handlin & Handlin, 1950), albeit there could be de facto slavery (Takaki, 1993). Indentured servants were contract laborers who agreed to serve their masters for a specific period of time (4–7 years). After that period of time, they could receive land of their own and become free citizens (Franklin, 1969). Some African indentured servants (e.g., Anthoney Johnson) did become successful farmers and landowners and they themselves purchased African and white indentured servants. Black indentured servants were not very much different from many white indentured servants in terms of status (Handlin & Handlin, 1950).

However, as time lapsed black indentured servants were increasingly treated differently from white indentured servants. For example, in 1640 a law enacted by the Virginia Assembly permitted white indentured servants to bear arms, but not Negros. Runaway black indentured servants got longer terms of servitude as penalty than their white counterparts. In one case in 1640, three escaped indentured servants were captured. The two white indentured servants got 30 lashes, one more year of service for their masters, and three more years of service for the colony. However, John Punch, the black indentured servant, was punished to serve his master or his assigns "for the time of his natural life here or elsewhere" (Takaki, 1993, p. 56). This case became one of the first legal cases that made the racial distinction between blacks and whites (Davis, 1923; Harley, 1996; Hayden & Matteson, 1926; Toppin, 1971; Tunnicliff, 1926). As a result of this case, slavery of blacks became legal, and John Punch was the first documented enslaved person in America. In 1641, Massachusetts legalized certain forms of slavery. While the indentured servant opportunity was initially considered a pathway to citizenship,

land ownership, and economic freedom, these new laws became a significant obstacle hindering many Africans from becoming land-owning American citizens and subsequently began the American black slavery.

Eventually, the system of indentured servants was gradually replaced by the black slavery system in the English colonies. By the 1660s, several colonies had passed laws that legalized the slavery of blacks. In 1661, the Virginia Assembly passed a law to make Africans slaves for life. In 1663, Maryland passed law to make all Africans in the colony slaves for life. In 1664, the slavery was legalized in New York and New Jersey. In 1700, Pennsylvania legalized slavery. In 1750, Georgia legalized slave trade. In about 150 years after the arrival of black Africans, black slavery gradually became institutionalized. Blacks became permanent slaves and property and had few or no legal rights. Their status could be passed on to their children. Slavery triggered the first critical juncture in the Africans' migration story, leading to their dire need for group formation.

Life under slavery was miserable. Living conditions were very poor, with only a few pieces of furniture. Black slaves worked from sunrise to sunset in the field. They did not have the basic human rights such as meeting or marrying a free black, buying or selling anything, possessing weapons or liquor, owning property, quarreling with whites, inheriting anything, leaving plantation without a pass, and testifying against their masters (Schaefer, 2019). Although slaves could have children for the sake of future slave labor, marriage between slaves was not recognized. Their ethnic cultures were largely destroyed. Native languages discontinued after the immigrant generation. They adopted English names after their master's names. Their religion was taken away. Almost all Africans were converted to Christianity.

As a result of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and the black slavery system in America, the original tribal or ethnic cultures and identities were ruined, and the black identity became the dominant marker. In the eyes of white slave owners and settlers in general, Africans' ethnic languages, identities, and traditions were trivial and invisible to them, but their dark skin color overshadowed everything else. They were perceived as the same category of people—black people. Put differently, Africans were racialized as a homogenous group. Although Africans (perceived as heathens) were allowed to become Christians, the distinction was not between Christianity and heathenism but between black and white or between slavery and civilization (Takaki, 1993). Although the term *white* arose before the English settlement in North America, its usage in the English colonies in America served to differentiate Europeans from black Africans (or Negros) and Native Americans (Roediger, 1991). The construction of white and black identities reflected the racialization process in America.

At the organizational level, the earliest black panethnic solidarity and identity may be best reflected in the earliest black organizations in the form of mutual aid society. The earliest black mutual aid societies in colonial America included the Free African Society (FAS) in Philadelphia and the Free African Union Society (FAUS) in Newport, Rhode Island, though which one was the first is still subject to further verification.[1] Shortly after the Constitution Convention in Philadelphia, in the spring of 1787, Richard Allen, a black Methodist preacher, and Absalom Jones, a black clergyman, founded the Free African Society (FAS), the first black organization in Philadelphia. The mission of the FAS was to provide religious services and mutual economic, medical, and social aid for "free blacks and their descendants." This was a pan-black organization "without regard to religious tenets." At about the same time or probably earlier or later, the FAUS was established by Newport Gardner, Zingo Stevens, and Prince Amy. The FAUS was also a mutual aid society for "free Africans and other free people of colour" in Newport, RI (Barga, 2017; Rhode Island Historical Society, 2016-2022). The goal of the FAUS was to provide social and financial assistance otherwise denied to Black people because of racial discrimination, including birth and death record retention, apprenticeship opportunities, and care for the sick, elderly, and widowed. Similar societies were founded in America in the next few decades in Boston, Charleston, New York, and elsewhere.

These black Africans, regardless of tribal or national origins, embraced the panethnic identity of black, African, or people of color in the racial makeup of this emerging black-white society in America. One of the most important actions of these black people and organizations was to petition for ending the slavery. As documented by the National Humanities Center (2007), in 1788 unidentified African slaves submitted a petition to the Connecticut legislature begging for the mercy and liberty but met with no response. Also in 1788, a greet number of black freemen in Massachusetts petitioned to terminate slavery, and the legislature subsequently decided to prohibit the slave trade a month later. In 1791, the Free Men of Colour in South Carolina requested to abolish Negro Act that restricted the civil rights of free blacks to the state legislature but was rejected. In 1797, four free black men sent a Petition for Redress of Grievances to U.S. Congress, but the petition was denied a committee hearing. In 1799, led by the Reverend Absalom Jones, a co-founder of the FAS, 71 People of Colour, Freemen of Philadelphia submitted a petition to the President and Congress, asking an immediate end to the slave trade and the protection of free African Americans from kidnapping by slave catchers. The House rejected the petition by a vote of 85 to 1. Although most petitions failed, they demonstrated the solidarity and identity of the free black Africans.

4. A Hybrid African Culture

Although the black slavery system largely obliterated the original African cultures, it did not totally do so, and a hybrid African culture was being created in America in response to the new social environment. No matter how subtle it is, African culture is present in the lives of blacks in the diaspora worldwide. Blacks living in the United States are not exempt from this reality. For example, the ring shout, a religious ritual, was maintained on slave plantations and eventually adopted by black churches. The Ibos practiced this tradition; Yorubas, Ibibios, Efiks, and Bakongo tribes performed a ritual dance. The participants all formed a circle, sang with a call-and-response, and danced the juba in a counter-clockwise direction (Rosenbaum & et al., 1998; Stuckey, 1987). This dance of West African origin linked culture from Africa to blacks in the diaspora. It was a symbol of African nationalism in America (Stuckey, 1987).

Additionally, before arriving in America in 1660, the Atlantic Creoles from Central Africa were influenced by the Portuguese culture and created a Luso-African culture (Dewulf, 2013). They brought their Atlantic Creole Portuguese-inspired celebration (Heywood & Thornton, 2007). Enslaved and free blacks held this celebration in America during the nineteenth century. The Pinkster festival was considered a religious holiday that allowed slaves to attend religious services like baptisms, congregate with family and friends, and ultimately have a day of rest (Dewulf, 2013; Stuckey, 1987). Stuckey (1987) suggested these ritual lives on through the traditions encompassed in black fraternities, parades, rituals, music, and dancing.

While slavery was the culprit for the destruction of black Africans' native tongue, it was also responsible for the new panethnic group's approach to modifying the way they communicated with one another. While Africans were first separated from their native languages when shackled on slave ships by people not of their ethnicity (Mintz & Price, 1992), not all African languages were lost during the slave trade. This is evident from the Kimbundu (Bantu) language spoken by thousands of Americans on plantations, and the Fon (Eastern Gbe) language spoken by one-third of the Remire enslaved people (Thornton, 1998). Law (2005, p. 267) argued, "Such instances of the aggregation of peoples who were linguistically distinct but geographically adjacent were bilingual so that smaller groups could be assimilated into larger ones in America." This mastery of language afforded enslaved people a remarkable power, the power of communication. Within the first two decades after black arrival in America, they began to use their native patois less and less. Speaking pidgin or English-based creole (Hymes, 1971; Mintz & Price, 1992; Thornton, 1998) became more prominent and passed on to succeeding generations of enslaved persons as their native dialect.

Before the Middle Passage, Islam was an established and widely accepted religion in West Africa (Diop, 1988). Many first-generation enslaved people continued to practice it until they were forced to convert to Christianity (Diouf, 2013). The African religious beliefs were practiced simultaneously with American Christian beliefs. When comparing African religion and Christian Monotheism, Hall (1990, p. 227) highlighted that African Gods "live on, in an underground existence, in the hybridized religious universe of Haitian voodoo, pocomania, Native Pentecostalism, Black baptism, Rastafarianism and the black Saints Latin American Catholicism."

5. Reconstruction

After the end of the Civil War in 1865, the United States entered a new era called Reconstruction (1865–1877). If the black slavery was the first critical juncture in black panethnicity, Reconstruction may be deemed the second critical juncture in the development of black panethnicity, a transition from slaves to free blacks. During Reconstruction, three Constitutional Amendments were enacted: (1) Thirteenth Amendment in 1865, which forbade slavery in any part of the Union; (2) Fourteenth Amendment in 1868, which granted citizenship to persons born in the U.S. and an equal protection of the laws; and (3) Fifteenth Amendment in 1870, which prohibited discrimination in voting rights. During this era, blacks were seeking a new social order, and they were determined to use the democratic process to do so.

Because of America's history of owning black slaves and making it a socially acceptable part of its culture, it became a daunting task for blacks to become wholly removed from their previous status here in the United States. Du Bois (1994) thought that Reconstruction was as much a cultural reorganization as an economic and political one. This restructuring had to deal with countering the psychological effects of an economic system that "enforced personal feeling of inferiority, the calling of another Master; the standing with hat in hand" (Du Bois, 1994, p. 9).

Reconstruction for blacks included firsthand accounts of black slavery shared through the black community. From Eyerman's (2001, p. 60) cultural trauma perspective, "race was a conceptual weapon, a trope and an instrument in the struggle to transform negative into positive, lifting a distinctiveness out of a distinction." There were formerly enslaved people like Booker T. Washington and a new generation of black people intermingling during this time. These encounters allowed the group to hear oral histories of authentic accounts of everyday slave life that included lynchings, rapes, and too many Whipped Peters to count. These accounts ultimately

shaped the culture of future generations of black people who all would be born as free black men and women. These narratives took on a life of their own by becoming part of the memory of those who heard them. A collective identity prompted a collective memory during the time of the slavery. Eyerman (2001, p. 61) suggested that it is because of this cultural trauma that a new, positive collective identity took form.

With this new identity, blacks worked diligently to use the newly created laws to achieve genuine individual and political freedom. Nevertheless, black codes were quickly established to replace the social control of slavery. Black codes were "an explicit attempt by ex-slaveholding constituents to restore capital's sovereignty over black labor" (Green & Holt, 2013, p. 70). The purpose of Reconstruction was to establish racial equality. However, this is a daunting task because of the capitalists' control over land and production.

During this period, most of the land remained out of blacks' reach through unobtained reparations, and production owners remained unchanged. The Freedman Bureau was America's attempt to face the problem of race and social injustice (Du Bois, 1994, p. 10). It was one of the first U.S. agencies to support economic stability for black people. Not without strife, blacks sought a new social order through politics. Black men regained their right to vote and became elected officials. This period was rife with choice, and black people chose themselves.

In addition to politics, historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) that supported black leadership development were the catalysts for black activism. By 1917, 2,132 blacks enrolled in colleges and universities, with almost certainly no more than 50, or 2% of them enrolled in institutions other than HBCUs (Eyerman, 2001). Eyerman (2001, p. 131) revealed that historians at black colleges throughout the South were also known to collect oral histories and published accounts of the slave experience privately in the *Journal of Negro History*. The act of preserving these firsthand accounts helped to educate generations of black Americans unaltered black history.

During the period of Reconstruction, a New Negro or new class of blacks with education, class, and money emerged (Wintz, 1988, p. 31). However, concessions were made in this political sphere that was directly geared to prevent racial equity for blacks, which inadvertently intensified political interest among the group. During this evolving stage of black panethnicity, you can find similarities to the rationale for white panethnic group formation. Now that black legislative representation changed from three-fifths to one, America's discourse over class and equality took a front-row seat. For black panethnicity, those political decisions led to more collective action, as seen in the following historical era when blacks were separate and not equal when segregation was considered the solution, a time known as Jim Crow.

6. Jim Crow Era

After Reconstruction, the Jim Crow era ensued, the time referred to as "slavery by another name" (Blackmon, 2009), when southern blacks were not slaves but not free (Mandle, 1992). This era was afflicted by laws that enforced segregation in public spaces based on race. The overarching historical events were the Great Depression, World War I (1914–1918), and World War II (1939–1945). These historical events provided the "context which set the parameters for a reworking of the discursive grounds for black American collective identity thus condition their attempts to reconfigure the process of identity-formation and collective memory" (Eyerman, 2001, p.130). When referencing the Asian and Latino group identity and awareness, Sanchez (2006) and Stokes (2003) discovered when a panethnic group's identity and consciousness is accepted and agreed upon, they are more likely to participate in the formal political process through voting and in community activism (Okamoto & Mora, 2014, p. 231). During Jim Crow, blacks knew they were black. There was no free or not free distinction within the group, they were all subjected to Jim Crow laws, and all black Americans were associated with the lineage of slavery, at least on the surface.

After Reconstruction and before 1896, a few states enacted laws that permitted segregation of blacks and whites in public spaces. For example, Florida was the first state to mandate the segregation of railroad cars in 1887. Louisiana passed Separate Car Act in 1890. In 1892, Homer Plessy, who was a mulatto (seven-eighths white and one-eighth black), challenged this Louisiana law by taking a seat in the white passenger section of the railroad car. He was arrested and charged, so he filed a lawsuit. Eventually in 1896, the Supreme Court ruling on *Plessy v. Ferguson* upheld the state separate but equal accommodations as constitutional (Maidment, 1973, p. 125). After this ruling, Jim Crow laws mushroomed, especially in southern states such as Georgia, South Carolina, Oklahoma, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Virginia, requiring separate railroad cars, separate streetcars, separate taxicabs, separate residential blocks, separate parks, separate phone booths, separate baseball fields, separate racetracks, separate entrances and seating at circuses, separate airport waiting rooms, etc. Jim Crow laws were just the rebranding of Reconstruction black codes. Blacks were in no way delusional about the current state of racial inequality in America. Due to the increasing violence, failed Reconstruction, and the prevalence of Jim Crow, black activists and intellectuals continued to organize. Black people came together to eradicate deeply rooted institutional racism. A choice for blacks to advocate for social reform was through collective action

(Andrews, 2018; Andrews & Biggs, 2015; Garrow, 1986; McAdam, 1982; Morris, 1981,1984).

Organizations fulfill the need for blacks to have psychological equality (Carmichael, 2007, p. 27). During this period, a number of important black organizations emerged, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), formed by a group including W.E.B. Du Bois in 1909, the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in 1914, a black-based social movement led by Marcus Garvey, and the United Negro College Fund (UNCF), formed in 1944. These organizations played a huge role in sustaining black panethnicity by addressing the disregard for human rights and by striving for economic, political, educational, and social equality for black people. Ethnic group membership in such organizations could provide access to government funding and social programs. Black leadership was also making an imprint on black images during this period. Black representation by the government was seen in Roosevelt's appointment of blacks called the Black Cabinet Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) to second-level positions in his administration, and the observation of Negro History Week created by Carter G. Woodson.

During this era, printed publications about blacks and for blacks were in circulation, such as The Crisis (1910), the official magazine of the NAACP, the *Journal of Negro History* (1916) founded by Carter G. Woodson, and The Brownies' Book (1921), the first periodical exclusively for black youth in America. Literature such as these focused on social and economic justice for blacks and addressed critical issues of lynching, WWI, WWII, the Great Depression, and racial pride. During this era, organizations whose mission included revealing and reducing race-based discrimination and promoting racial and ethnic solidarity for blacks increased.

Through Eyerman's (2001) lens of cultural trauma, the period of Jim Crow signaled the institutionalization of the progressive narrative. Organizations and individuals disputed negative perceptions and images of blacks. They were internalizing who they were and who they were not. Individuals began to tailor their aspirations and focus on things that were not available to them. Blacks wanted to represent their true selves, not the black culture passed on by whites in images like "sambo" or "happy darky" or, as Powell (1997, p. 34) refers to as images that represent "a culture of ridiculous slander" (Eyerman, 2001, p. 60). There were organizations and programs whose mission aligned with supporting artists who presented a black social identity, such as the Harmon Foundation, the Federal Arts Program (FAP), and the Works Progress Association (WPA). A black social identity was presented through poetry, social activism, novels, plays, and black magazines and newspapers like the Crisis Magazine and the Chicago Defender, publications still in circulation today.

The Harlem Renaissance, or the New Negro Movement named after The New Negro, was the birth of a cultural explosion. Black music, art, literature, and theatrical performances were in full swing and were completely embraced by its audience, black people. The Harlem Renaissance was a cultural revolution for blacks in which they created their own public. Black cultural consciousness was thriving. This cultural explosion was not limited to Harlem. There were black sections in areas of Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and Philadelphia, where neighborhoods were formed by "small clubs and meeting halls, restaurants, movie houses, theaters, and dance halls" (Eyerman, 2001, p. 96). Pierre Bourdieu's field of power and class habitus concepts help explain how blacks viewed their social life in art, food, music, and literature.

Lopez and Espiritu (1990, p. 209) suggested that the prominence and success of the anti-colonial nationalist movement can drive a heightened sense of "racial and cultural pride and provide a context for ethnic movements." For black people, panethnic activities were also emerging under the disguise of social movements. The Niagara Movement of 1905, "one of the greatest meetings that American Negroes ever held" (Du Bois, 1906, p. 43), and the Back to Africa Movement or Colonization Movement in 1922, led by black nationalist and pan-Africanist Marcus Garvey, are two examples. Marcus Garvey's movement stressed that the unity of all black people displaced by the African diaspora was the way to end discrimination, economic stifling, and European colonization of Africa (Cronon, 1960; Garvey, 1963).

Garvey used the media to his advantage by working with James VanDerZee, a photographer from Harlem, to show the UNIA's objectives and establish a collective black identity for blacks in America through images. Eyerman (2001, p. 103) described the Garvey movement through the lens of the "new urban black public sphere," saying "social learning, socialization, and acculturation as well as experimentation with forms of expression and styles of life, played an important part." This movement sparked other black empowerment movements such as the Nation of Islam, the Black Power Movement, and Rastafarianism in Jamaica (Eyerman, 2001). While not all blacks elected to move back to Africa, they did select another move in the search for equality. The southern black migration was a collective action intended to improve the lives of blacks that suffered the injustices of the southern culture.

Migration was an option that many blacks living in the South chose to achieve better socio-economic opportunities (Johnson & Campbell, 1981; Mandle, 1992). For blacks, the migration meant leaving what had always been their economic and social base in America and finding a new one (Lemann, 2011). The two significant migrations of blacks within America were the First Great Migration after the Civil War, which

spanned from 1915 to 1940. The Second Great Migration occurred around World War II, from the 1940s to the 1950s. The migration of blacks into urban centers modernized the group and created black ethnic enclaves. Just as the rural to urban migration of Native Americans was the facilitator for the creation of pan-Indianism (Cornell, 1990), the Great Migrations of blacks facilitated the sustainment of black panethnicity.

During the Jim Crow era, there were an ethnological perspective that blacks should treat the past with respect and a retribution perspective modeled by Garvey (Eyerman, 2001). A free person of the black race was still a contradiction during this time. During the Jim Crow era, the separate but equal laws influenced significant panethnic collective actions that continued in the next historical period, the Civil Rights Era.

7. Civil Rights Era

Disfranchisement of blacks during the Jim Crow era led to the black demand for civil rights (Green & Holt, 2013). "Panethnic activism was prompted by the social struggles which swept across America in the 1960s" (Lopez & Espiritu, 1990, p. 208). Lopez and Espiritu (1990) indicated that the formation of coalitions significantly advanced panethnic group interest during this era. During this time, black communities rallied for change to address Jim Crow laws and racially motivated social issues like the murder of Emmett Louis Till (July 25, 1941–August 28, 1955). The modern Civil Rights movement began with the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision that made racially segregated schools illegal and overturned the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision of 1896, secured by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, headed by Thurgood Marshall. The next big blow to Jim Crow was the social protest against the racial segregation of public transportation in Montgomery, Alabama. Blacks banded together to fight against this injustice by using their collective power. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was instrumental in leading the boycott that ultimately resulted in the Supreme Court ruling of *Browder v. Gayle* in 1956, which declared the segregation of Montgomery buses unconstitutional.

A black social elite class with education, class, and money, labeled the Talented Tenth, was at the forefront of the group leading the charge for equality. The black-led social protest did not stop with the segregation of the Montgomery transportation system. Black activists and organizations continued to push for integration, such as with the 1960 Woolworth lunch counter-protest in Greensboro, North Carolina, led by four black A & T college students. Some activists made the ultimate sacrifice for the group's betterment, for the right to have the same considerations as any other ethnic group residing in America and laid down their lives.

Eventually, the Civil Rights Movement led to the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964, signed into law by President Lyndon B. Johnson. Likewise, the 1965 federal Voting Rights Act was passed on March 21, 1965. Bloody Sunday, the peaceful protest march for the right to vote, on March 7, 1965, led by John Lewis and other members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was instrumental in getting the Voting Rights Act passed.

Higginbotham (1993) stated African Americans used the church to help "educate the masses of their people, care for the needy, facilitate economic development, and address political concerns" (West & Eddie, 2003, p. 190). Black churches were known to support activities of the movement and provide a wide range of services such as health and food programs (Caldwell & et al., 1991). They were instrumental in mobilization, including boycotts, protests, and sit-ins (Morris, 1984). Within the black community, people assisted others who needed food, shelter, and any other support with the same diligence and care as they would for a relative. Addressing them by the familial titles of aunt, uncle, cousin, daughter, son, or by a similar relational title (Higginbotham, 1993, p. 199).

Notably, during the Civil Rights era, there was a noticeable difference in strategies for achieving rights for blacks. Some blacks turned to the Nation of Islam, to address the degradation of blacks in America. Eyerman (2001, p. 170) used a quote by Essien-Udom (1962) indicating that Elijah Muhammad could relate to the people in a different way than the intellectuals, artists, and writers during this time because he had "walked the streets with them, suffered in the hell of North America, was humiliated in the South by the devils." Additionally, there was some sentiment that the civil rights protest helped the blacks already a little ahead. For blacks to achieve the maximum benefits of the mainstream Civil Rights Movement, some people thought they would need to have at least one of the criteria for upward mobility. One of those organizations was the Black Panther Party (1966), originally the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, founded by Bobby Seale and Huey Newton.

From this organization, arose black leaders like Angela Davis, a political activist, intellectual, and author; Eldridge Cleaver, a leader of the Black Panther Party, political activist, and author; Kwame Ture, also known as Stokely Carmichael, a political activist, socialist, an instrumental developer of the Black Power Movement; and Honorary Prime Minister of the Black Panther Party. The "Black Power" motto conveyed a message to oppressed black youth that it was a new political day for their generation (Carmichael, 2007). Black power was for all people of color regardless of where they resided in the world. Okamoto and Mora (2014, p. 220) noted scholars believed slogans such as "yellow power" and "red nation" brought awareness to social injustices "within minority communities" (Cornell, 1990; Maeda, 2009; Nagel, 1995), and the Black Power slogan was no

different. Cornell (1990, p. 46) and Barrera (1988) credited the Black Power liberation movement for stimulating racial and cultural pride in Asian Americans, American Indians, and Hispanics resulting in Yellow Power, Red Power, and Brown Power, respectively (Lopez & Espiritu, 1990, p. 209).

Andersen and Collins's (2015) matrix of domination, or matrix of oppression, viewed social structures as having multiple interlocking levels of power that stemmed from the societal configuration of race, class, and gender relations (Grusky, 1994). This matrix helps to explain the systems of oppression that were in place. In light of insults hurled towards blacks of all ages and genders and the new crop of strange fruit growing from trees, some young activists and other leaders such as Bobby Seale, Huey P. Newton, and for a period Muslim Minister and activist Malcolm X felt that more drastic actions were needed to confront such degradation.

After leaving the Nation of Islam, Malcolm X founded the religious-based Muslim Mosque, Inc. (MMI). In an announcement he made to reporters, Malcolm described this mosque as "an action program designated to eliminate the political oppression, the economic exploitation, and the social degradation suffered daily by twenty-two million Afro-Americans" (Malcolm, 2015, p. 365). Later, he established the non-religious and non-sectarian Black Nationalist organization, Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), as he defined the organization's mission as "to unite Afro-Americans for a constructive program toward attainment of human rights" (Malcolm, 2015, p. 478).

Moreover, there was a noticeable difference between the different leadership styles and appearances of the followers represented in the images circulated in the media. Images associated with the Black Power Movement reflected the militant African American holding a riffle wearing leather clothing and a beret reciting from Malcolm X and Amiri Baracka idioms of racial pride and black nationalism. In contrast, images associated with the Civil Rights Movement reflected the good Negro holding a bible dressed in a suit, a dress, or coveralls reciting from Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s idioms of non-violence and Christian love (Eyerman, 2001). Whichever way you view the different ideologies, through it all, organizations helped black people proactively align themselves with a corresponding social action to continue the fight for civil rights for the collective group, thereby solidifying the collective black identity. Mumia Abu-Jamal (2006) eloquently pointed out that "One must be ever mindful of the effects of the State to create, expand, and exploit division between Black revolutionaries."

Amiri Baraka and then Leroi Jones created the Black Arts Repertory Theatre/School (BARTS). This organization combined the philosophy of the Nation of Islam, the Civil Rights Movement, and the Black Power Movement to provide context around the black lived experience and black pride. Poets, singers, writers, artists, scholars, and activists in the Black Arts Movement like Maya Angelou, Nikki Giovanni, Sonia Sanchez, Audre Lorde, Gwendolyn Brooks, and Maulana Ron Karenga contributed to exuding a message of pride in black culture through art and activism (Poets.org, 2014). Some scholars referred to this movement as the Second Renaissance (Nash, 2017) and the aesthetic and spiritual sister of Black Power (Neal, 1968).

8. Black Panethnicity in Comparative Perspective

There are similarities and differences between black and Indian, Asian, and Hispanic panethnicity. Regarding similarities, Asian Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Native Americans have all participated in activism to bring attention to social inequality and address hostile environments created by discrimination (Cornell, 1990; Lopez & Espiritu, 1990; Okamoto & Mora, 2014**).** Like the black panethnic group, these groups have been subjected to negative stereotyping and discrimination and have consequently mobilized to pursue social justice and equality. Black Americans have used activism to support their common interest throughout history until the current day. During Reconstruction, the New Negro utilized newly constructed laws, institutions, and black leadership development to seek political, economic, and social equality for the newly freed black slaves. During the Jim Crow era, the internalization of self for the black panethnic group manifested and challenged the negative perceptions and images of blacks through art, food, music, and literature. The Great Migrations of blacks stimulated panethnic identity realization and social actions, increasing group solidarity. Black activism during the Civil Rights Movement served as the blueprint for other ethnic groups to become more cognizant of the need for political action (Lopez & Espiritu, 1990; Mora, 2014a). Black organizations and members within the panethnic group fought for desegregation, voting rights, protection against discrimination, and the right to participate in the civil process. Additionally, human rights that included socio-economic and cultural aspects were also included as aims for organizations and individuals and are still objectives today.

Like Indian, Asian, Hispanic, and white panethnicity, black panethnicity is socially constructed through racialization as it varies among the group's collective ancestry and culture. The rationale for this crux is that black Africans originated from different tribes with different cultural practices located in various countries in Africa. It was the white society that lumped them into one racial category based on skin color. This process almost stripped away the African cultural identity for the enslaved blacks.

Black panethnicity differs from Indian, Asian, and Hispanic panethnicity in several essential aspects. First, black

panethnicity existed long before Indian, Asian, and Hispanic panethnicity. Indian, Asian, and Hispanic panethnicity emerged in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1980s. Nonetheless, black panethnicity gradually came into existence after many black Africans arrived in colonial America in the seventeenth century and during the formation of the United States of America.

Second, government racial lumping played a vital role in creating Indian, Asian, and Hispanic panethnicity, but the racialization of black Africans through pigment by European settlers and the slavery system played a crucial role in the emergence of black panethnicity. Nevertheless, the success of racial lumping was an effective way to create unity within Indians, Asians, Hispanics, and blacks. People associated with these groups did not have the luxury of signing a waiver rejecting their option for automatic group membership. They were subject to being perceived as members of specific ethnic groups by outsiders who disregarded undetectable subethnic differences.

Third, black panethnic organizations, especially black churches, may have played a much more critical role in sustaining black panethnicity than panethnic organizations and churches of other panethnic groups. Undoubtedly, Indians, Asians, and Hispanics have organizations like black organizations during the Civil Rights period. Nonetheless, the intensified efforts of black organizations and the black church to sustain black panethnicity can be traced back to as far as the period of Reconstruction. Additionally, the church was also a source of funding for the Civil Rights Movement and was filled with black ministers and church members who were activists (Billingsley, 1999; Higginbotham, 1993; Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990). While some scholars have identified an inverse relationship between the degree of religious belief and political activism (Marx, 1967; Reed, 1986), the black church can be credited with helping blacks mobilize for political action during these times (Albert, 1978; Higginbotham, 1993; Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990; McDaniel, 2009; Raboteau, 2001).

9. Summary and Discussion

Several key findings emerge from this analysis. First, as documented in this study, black panethnicity arose in colonial America and during the founding of the United States. Hence, it is apposite to claim that black panethnicity is the oldest panethnicity in America, a claim that has neither been made nor documented before in the literature. We believe this is one of the major contributions of this study.

Second, the roots of black panethnicity lied in the racialization of black Africans by European settlers and the black slavery system. The crucial role of racialization in the emergence of black panethnicity is the same as that in the rise of Indian, Asian, and Hispanic panethnicity, but the mechanisms are different. In the cases of Indian, Asian, and Hispanic panethnicity, racialization was carried out by the government racial lumping; but in the case of black panethnicity, the racialization was done through pigmentation and slavery. Racialization deprived enslaved Africans of their right to openly practice their culture, religion, traditions, language, diet, and freedom to identify ethnically. Nonetheless, racialization did not completely obliterate African cultures as black Africans created a new culture that included forced and voluntary customs, a new hybrid culture that had African roots and black traditions within America.

Finally, black panethnicity has evolved over time as blacks gained freedom and fought for justice and equality through increasing organizational endeavors. Reconstruction was the time closest to the actual deed of slavery. Memories of the slave culture were either personal, as in the case of Booker T. Washington, or personally recited through oral histories. These narratives breathe life into the recently emancipated blacks' reality and become part of the hearer's memories. During this time, some of the oldest black organizations and institutions were established, like the Freedman Bureau, the NAACP, and HBCUs. However, local regulations quickly reinvented the social control of slavery through black codes (Wilson, 1965).

While laws were established to segregate blacks during the Jim Crow era, black people found solace and a cultural revolution and inclusion. Black organizations and individuals disputed the stereotypical images being passed through the media by creating and uncovering a positive black lived experience. Furthermore, black ethnic enclaves were created with the resettlement of the southern blacks during the Great Migrations. There was a significant amount of collective action from black individuals and black organizations. The black church played an important role in facilitating philanthropic acts within and outside the organization (Higginbotham, 1993).

During the Civil Rights era, social activism was wrapped in packages of black consciousness, protest for human rights for black people, and black organizations mobilizing like never seen before. While the media was instrumental in swaying the perception of how the different social movements were portrayed, black people showed up and showed out, enough so that other movements like red power and yellow nation were born. Whichever ideology people in the black community subscribed to, they subscribed. By the end of the Civil Rights period, there was an intense sense of black pride, sentiments of economic empowerment, and the possible end of disenfranchisement.

In this study, there is the possibility of not appropriately identifying ideal type panethnic groups. The limitation

of properly comparing black panethnicity with the ideal type panethnic groups was addressed by only comparing blacks with groups confirmed as panethnic by previous research. Secondly, by using historical data, this study was heavily dependent on the availability of historical information. For instances where incomplete historical data arose, we examined distinct historical narratives to address this limitation. Lastly, using secondary within-case methods may limit generalizability. However, this limitation was leveraged by coupling secondary methods with primary within-case methods to analyze the information generated from the comparative analysis.

10. Conclusion

There exist ample studies of Asian and Hispanic panethnicity and to a less extent some research on Indian and white panethnicity, but systematic research on black panethnicity is lacking. This study fills this lacuna by examining the origins of black panethnicity in colonial America and its evolution through U.S. historical periods. Comparative-historical methods are used to assess the creation and development of black panethnicity and to compare it with other types of panethnicity. The analysis focuses on two periods of black panethnicity. In the first stage, black panethnicity emerged from the racialization of black Africans during the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and the black slavery era. In the second stage, black panethnicity evolved during the historical periods of Reconstruction, Jim Crow, and Civil Rights. The similarities and differences between black panethnicity and panethnicities of other groups are also discussed.

Additional historical data are welcome to add more evidence to the origins and evolvement of black panethnicity in the United States. Panethnicity is fluid and can change over time. With the increased migration of black immigrants since the 1980s, the face of the black community has changed. Hence, the current state of black panethnicity should be examined in future studies. Future studies should also investigate the impact of black panethnicity on the socioeconomic mobility, political empowerment, and general wellbeing of black Americans.

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[1] Although Newport Historical Society claimed that the FAUS had records dating back to January 24, 1787, the first FAUS meeting minutes dated November 10, 1796, which occurred after the founding of the FAS.