

Globalization, Immigration, and Education: The Research Agenda

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Globalization defines the post-Cold War order of nations. It is remapping cities—indeed, entire countries and regions—throughout the world. Globalization has three pillars: 1) new information and communication technologies; 2) the emergence of global markets and post-national knowledge-intensive economies; and 3) unprecedented levels of immigration and displacement. Together these interrelated phenomena will have profound implications for the study of immigration and education in the new millennium. In surveying the recent scholarship on globalization, it becomes obvious that a critical but understudied and undertheorized aspect is the experiences of children. Globalization is the reason that immigrant children are entering U.S. schools in unprecedented numbers. Furthermore, their life chances and future opportunities will be shaped by globalization.

In this lead article to this Special Issue, I focus on conceptual and empirical work on one of globalization's three major constituent units: immigration. I further narrow my analysis to scholarly issues pertinent to the education of immigrant children in school settings. The education of immigrant youngsters, whether in Lagos, Lima, or Los Angeles, is critical because schooling has become a high-stakes process that imparts the skills needed in the rapidly growing knowledge-intensive sector of the global economy (Murnane, 1996). Schooling in the era of globalization, arguably more than ever before, profoundly shapes the current and future well-being of children, as well as their chances and opportunities. Children who thrive in schools, immigrant or otherwise, will be better prepared to penetrate the well-remunerated opportunity structure. On the other hand, youth who leave school without acquiring the skills demanded in the global economy will be de facto locked out of the more appealing sectors of this structure (Orfield, in press). For immigrant children, schooling also serves as the primary point of sus-

tained and close contact with a crucial institution of the society their parents chose to join. For many immigrant children, it is the *only* point of systematic and meaningful contact with the new society (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

This article is structured along the following lines: Before turning to the education of immigrant children, I attempt to place the topic of immigration within the parameters of the globalization of economics, societies, and cultures. Next I turn to a number of non-obvious problems suggested by recent basic research on the children of immigrants. Lastly, I offer a series of questions for basic research in the field of education in the era of globalization.

Globalization: What Is It?

The new millennium has witnessed the rapid intensification of social, cultural, and economic formations that in ensemble come under the general conceptual rubric of globalization. The study of globalization is generating considerable academic interest in a variety of disciplines, including anthropology, economics, sociology, political science, law, and education (see, e.g., Appadurai, 1996; Baylis & Smith, 1997; Bauman, 1998; Castles & Davidson, 2000; Giddens, 2000; Jameson & Miyoshi, 1999; King, 1997; Lechner & Boli, 1999; O'Meara, Mehlinger, & Krain, 2000; Sassen, 1998). One of the challenges in studying globalization is that it is conceptualized, defined, and operationalized differently by different disciplines and by different researchers.

The term *globalization* in its current usage is quite broad and lacks well-defined epistemological, theoretical, and empirical boundaries. While the idea of globalization has gained increased circulation in the social sciences and is pregnant with potential — especially for theorizing broad processes of social change from Detroit to Delhi — before its analytic use can be fully mined it is necessary to attend to basic definitional and theoretical matters.¹

Anthropologists, for example, tend to approach the problem of globalization in relation to their long-term interest in culture. Globalization detaches social practices and cultural formations from their traditional moorings in national territories. Globalization decisively undermines the once imagined neat fit between language, culture, and the nation. One hundred years ago European and Euro-American anthropologists took long journeys to remote locations to study exotic social institutions and cultural beliefs. Globalization now delivers the “exotic” to the anthropologist’s own back yard. It is in plain sight that Turkish cultural formations — language, marriage, kinship, ritual practices, and so on — are as ubiquitous in parts of Frankfurt as they are in Istanbul. Likewise, Mexican culture is now alive and well in New York City.² Hence we have witnessed over the last decade the emergence of an anthropological taste for such topics as immigration (see Chavez, 1992; Pessar, 1995; Roosens, 1989), transnationalism (see Basch, Schiller, & Blanc, 1994; Gupta

& Ferguson, 1992; Mahler, 1995), cultural hybrids (Canclini, 1989/1995), delicious dualities (Zentella, in press), and unsettling cultural conflicts (Shweder, 2000; Wikan, 2000), all brought about by globalization.³

Economists, on the other hand, tend to privilege the study of globalization via their interest in transnational financial markets, transnational capital flows, and the post-national production and distribution of goods and services. From the time the reader woke up this morning to the time she goes to bed tonight, over a trillion dollars will have crossed national boundaries (Friedman, 2000). The archetypical American car, the Chevrolet Camaro, is now a thoroughly globalized product. It is built nowhere and everywhere — with capital, labor, and parts literally originating in multiple continents. It is a car “on the move,” so to speak, from its very conception.⁴

Political scientists for their part are focusing on the emergence of international systems (such as human and civil rights) reaching well beyond the confines of individual nation-states. An Argentine torturer who is accused of committing crimes against humanity in his own country can now be arrested in Mexico and tried for crimes against humanity in Spain, as happened in February 2001 (see Robben, in press). Political scientists have also noticed that new deterritorializing processes shape the course of political fortunes in many parts of the world. Peoples in the diaspora — Mexicans in Los Angeles or Dominicans in New York, for example — are emerging as extraordinarily powerful actors across national boundaries. Dual citizenship agreements — the ability to maintain citizenship rights in more than one nation-state — are complicating and making more interesting the politics of belonging (see Castles & Davidson, 2000). For example, Dominican politicians have long been fully cognizant that election campaigns in their country need to be waged in New York — where Dominicans are now the largest immigrant group — as much as in Santo Domingo. Mexican politicians have taken longer to wake up to the new global game, but in late December 2000 newly elected President Vicente Fox spent a day at Mexico’s busy northern border personally welcoming some of the immigrants returning home for Christmas, performing and telecasting a new strategic approach to *paisanos* living in the United States. Under the Fox administration the nearly eight million Mexicans living in the United States are no longer an afterthought, or worse, an embarrassment, to Mexican national pride.⁵

For the purposes of this essay, I define *globalization* as processes of change, generating at once centrifugal (qua the borders of the nation state) and centripetal (qua the post-national) forces that result in the deterritorialization of important economic, social, and cultural practices from their traditional moorings in the nation state. Because globalization involves a kind of “post-geography” (Bauman, 1998), it is futile to attempt to map it. Indeed, different regions of the world are, at once, implicated in multiple, overlapping globalization processes. While globalization by definition refers to economic, social, and cultural processes that are post-national, I do not mean to

suggest that it augurs the demise of the state apparatus. It is, I think, subtler than that.

My claim is that nation-states are responding to processes of globalization by displaying new forms of hyper-presence and hyper-absence. Plenty has been written about how globalization undermines the workings of the nation-state — from national economies to traditional ideas of citizenship and cultural production (see Castles & Davidson, 2000; Sassen, 2000). In some important ways, states indeed appear hyper-absent qua the forces of globalization — as, for example, when billions of dollars enter and exit national boundaries with the agents of the state having little say over the course of this cash flow. On the other hand, states are responding to globalization by hyper-displays of power and theatrics. Arguably the most globalized spot in the world today, which is also, alas, the most heavily trafficked international border in the world, is the vast region that at once unites and separates the United States and Mexico. It is also the most heavily guarded border in history (Andreas, 1998). The militarization of the border at a time of record border crossings suggests a process more complex than the simple erosion or demise of the nation-state. In the places that matter, that is, where states bump into each other, hyper-presence is the name of the game. This is the case in the United States, in post-Schengen Europe, and in Japan.⁶ To claim that the state is waning is to miss one of the more delicious paradoxes of state performance.

What, if anything, is *new* about globalization? Is globalization simply “modernization” on steroids? Is it “Westernization” in fast-forward? Is it “imperialism” now driven by the extraordinarily high octane of American hyper-power? Alternatively, is it a phenomenon or a set of phenomena of a completely different order? A number of prominent scholars have claimed that globalization is best conceptualized as part of a long process of change — arguably centuries in the making (see, e.g., Mignolo, 1998; Sen, 2000).

Yet three new formations suggest that globalization in some important respects represents a break with previous processes of economic, social, and cultural change. First, as mentioned earlier, new powerful market forces are bypassing nation-state boundaries. Under the regime of global capitalism, the production of goods and services is completely internationalized. The global market is generating global tastes. McDonald’s now is Brazil’s largest employer (Schlosser, 2001). Market forces seduce and manipulate in even the most remote parts of the world with stunning results.⁷

Second, globalization is the product of new information and communication technologies that instantaneously connect people, organizations, and systems across vast distances. In addition to creating and circulating vast amounts of information and data, these technologies have the promise of freeing people from the tyranny of space and time. These new technologies are rapidly and irrevocably changing the nature of work, thought, and the interpersonal patterning of social relations (Turkle, 1997).⁸

The third novel feature of globalization is the generation of unprecedented new patterns of large-scale immigration. Globalization is about deterritorialization — the hallmark of the post-national — not only of markets, information, and symbols, but also of large and growing numbers of people. Large-scale immigration is a world issue that is transforming Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Americas. Roughly 30 percent of Frankfurt's population is immigrant. Amsterdam by the year 2015 will be 50 percent immigrant. Leicester, England, is about to become the first city in Europe where "Whites" will no longer be the majority. Japan, long held as the exception to the North American and European rule that immigrant workers are needed to maintain economic vitality, is now facing a future where immigrants will play a significant role (Tsuda, 1996). Africa has by far the largest number of refugees in the world. These migratory flows are directly related to globalization.⁹

Some students of globalization see it as the avenue to the development of poor nations (see, e.g., Micklethwait & Wooldrige, 2000; Sachs, 2000). Others have argued that globalization is harsh to the weak (Bauman, 1998). While some regions of the world seem to have prospered immensely under globalization's regime, in other parts it has hit like a tornado, intensifying misery and human suffering (Dussel, 2000; Mittelman, 2000; see also Nader, 1993). Globalization has polarized broad regions of the world, and in some settings has deepened patterns of inequality (see, e.g., Bauman, 1998; Dussel, 2000). Yet others see globalization as a deeply destabilizing system (see Soros, 2000).¹⁰

Globalization is the general backdrop for any understanding of the new immigration. A critical but neglected area of the new immigration relates to the experiences of immigrant children. What do we know and what do we need to know about the littlest actors in the new global stage? Before addressing this question, however, we should ask just what is "new" about the new immigration.

The "New" Immigration

At the turn of the millennium the United States had the largest number of immigrants in history. By the year 2000, the "foreign-stock" (foreign born plus the U.S.-born second generation) population of the United States reached nearly 55 million people (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Two dominant features characterize this most recent post-1965 wave of immigration: its intensity — the immigrant population grew by over 30 percent in the 1990s — and the somewhat radical shift in the sources of new immigration — prior to 1965, the vast majority of immigrants were Europeans or Canadians, while today over 50 percent of all immigrants are from Latin America and over 25 percent are from Asia (see Figure 1).

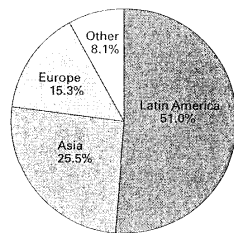
When it comes to immigration in the global era, race and ethnicity, along with class and gender, continue to matter. They matter, first and foremost,

because the vast majority of immigrants are from the non-European, non-English-speaking "developing world." In the new *argot* of American multiculturalism, they are "people of color." Whether new immigrants have a cultural category to conceive of themselves as "people of color" or not is quite irrelevant; that is the category that will be mirrored at them (C. Suárez-Orozco, 2000).

Immigrants today are a highly heterogeneous population that defies easy generalizations. They include highly educated, highly skilled workers drawn by the explosive growth in the knowledge-intensive sectors of the economy. They are slightly more likely to have advanced degrees than the native-born population (see Figure 2). These immigrants come intending to thrive. Immigrants now, especially those from Asia, are among the best-educated and most skilled folk in the United States. They are overrepresented in the category of people with doctorates. Thirty-two percent of all scientists and engineers working in California's Silicon Valley are immigrants (Saxenian, 1999).¹¹ Roughly one-third of all Nobel Prize winners in the United States have been immigrants; in 1999, *all* (100%!) of the U.S. winners of the Nobel Prize were immigrants. Perhaps with the exception of the highly educated immigrants and refugees escaping Nazi Europe, immigrants in the past tended to be more uniformly poorly educated and relatively less skilled than they are today (see Borjas, 1995). Never in the history of U.S. immigration have so many immigrants advanced so fast — both in terms of educational attainment and status mobility.

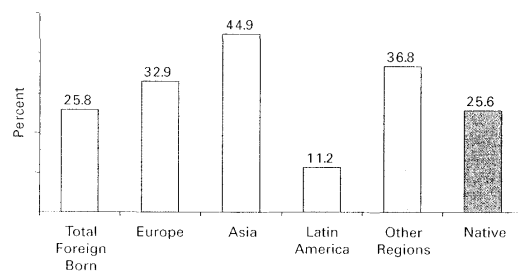
At the same time, the new immigration contains large numbers of poorly schooled, semiskilled, or unskilled workers, many of whom are in the United States without proper documentation. In 2000, over 22 percent of all new im-

FIGURE 1
Percent Distribution of Foreign-Born by World Region of Birth, 2000



Source: Current Population Survey, March 2000, PGP-3, U.S. Census Bureau

FIGURE 2
Percentage of Population with a Bachelor's Degree or Higher, by Region of Origin, 2000



Source: Current Population Survey, March 2000, PGP-3, U.S. Census Bureau

migrants in the United States had less than a ninth-grade education (see Figure 3).

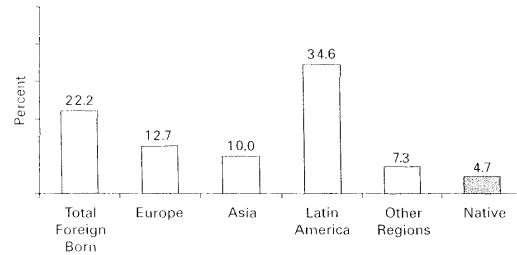
These are workers, many of them from Latin America, drawn by the service sector of the U.S. economy, which seems to have an insatiable appetite for foreign folk. They typically end up in poorly paid jobs that lack insurance and basic safeties. Unlike the low-skilled factory jobs of yesterday, the kinds of jobs typically available to low-skilled immigrants today do not hold much realistic promise for upward mobility.¹² These immigrants tend to settle in areas of deep poverty and racial segregation (Orfield, in press). Concentrated poverty is associated with the "disappearance of meaningful work opportunities" (Wilson, 1997, p. 1). When poverty is combined with racial segregation, the outcomes can be devastating — regardless of immigrant or native-born status — as observed by Massey and Denton:

No matter what their personal traits or characteristics, people who grow up and live in environments of concentrated poverty and racial isolation are more likely to become teenage mothers, drop-out of school, achieve only low levels of education, and earn lower adult incomes. (1993, p. 3)

Globalizing Youth

Immigrant children are the fastest growing sector of the U.S. child population (Laudale & Oropesa, 1995). Roughly one in five children in the United States today lives in an immigrant-headed household (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). By the end of the 1990s there were roughly three million foreign-born children and 11 million U.S.-born children of foreign-

FIGURE 3
Percentage of Population (25 Years and Older) with Less than Ninth-Grade Completed, by Region of Origin, 2000



Source: Current Population Survey, March 2000, PGP-3, U.S. Census Bureau

born parents (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Immigrant children are now present in substantial numbers in school districts throughout the country. In California, for example, the number of English-language learners (ELL) jumped from fewer than 500,000 in 1985 to about 1.5 million a decade later (Rumbaut, 1995). They now make up over 20 percent of the California school population. While California leads the nation in terms of numbers of immigrant students, no area of the country is untouched by immigration. Nationwide, there are now over 3.5 million ELL youth enrolled in U.S. schools.

In the New York City public schools, approximately 48 percent of all children come from immigrant households (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Immigrant children are highly diverse in terms of language — over one hundred different languages are represented in New York City schools — country of origin, ethnicity, religion, and socioeconomic background. Although immigration tends to be highly concentrated in a handful of states (California, New York, Florida, Texas, and Illinois), immigrant youth are found in all areas of the nation and in diverse school systems. For example, today nearly 40 percent of all schoolchildren enrolled in Dodge City, Kansas, come from immigrant backgrounds (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

In the last few years there have been a number of studies examining the adaptation of immigrant children in schools. The data suggest a complex picture. In broad strokes, we can say that immigrant children today fit a trimodal pattern of school adaptation. Some immigrant children seem to do quite well in school, surpassing native-born children in terms of grades, performance on standardized tests, and attitudes toward education (Kao & Tienda, 1995). Other immigrants tend to overlap with native-born children

(see Rumbaut, 1995; Waters, 1999). Yet others tend to achieve below their native-born peers (Kao & Tienda, 1995; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Rumbaut, 1995; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995; Vernez, Abrahamse, & Quigley, 1996). Perhaps not surprisingly, the children of today's highly educated immigrants tend to perform better in schools than the children of less skilled immigrant workers, especially those from Latin America (see Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

In general, studies examining patterns that lead to school success tend to emphasize "the ideologies of opportunity" and "cultures of optimism" that motivate immigrant parents to migrate (Gibson, 1988; Kao & Tienda, 1995; M. Suárez-Orozco, 1989; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995; Tuan, 1995; Waters, 1999). Some scholars have argued that successful adaptation among immigrants may relate to the patterns of cultural, economic, and social capital they are able to deploy in the new land (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Other scholars more specifically single out immigrant "cultural values" said to promote educational success (Sue & Okazaki, 1990). Yet others suggest that some immigrant families succeed by developing culturally specific strategies that inculcate their children against the hostilities and negative attitudes they encounter in the new culture (De Vos, 1992). Other studies note that successful immigrant families and communities are able to maintain social control by orienting their youth away from various negative interpersonal and cultural aspects of the host culture (Zhou & Bankston, 1998). This line of work suggests that immigrant parents who are able to maintain their own cultural patterns of social sanctioning and who actively resist a whole array of dystopic cultural practices and beliefs in the host country — specifically attitudes toward authority, discipline, homework, peer relations, and dating — tend to have children who are more successful in schools.

Scholars working in the area of immigrant school underachievement have explored a variety of relevant factors. Some have examined the structural barriers to advancement facing many poor immigrants of color today (Orfield, in press). Poor, low-skilled immigrants of color have few options other than to send their children to schools located in drug-, prostitution-, and gang-infested neighborhoods.¹³ All too many schools attended by poor immigrant children today can only be characterized as sites overwhelmed by a "culture of violence."¹⁴ Many newly arrived immigrant youth find themselves deeply marginalized in toxic schools that offer inferior education. These schools affect the opportunities and experiences of immigrant children in several immediate ways: they tend to have limited resources, classrooms are typically overcrowded, textbooks and curricula are outdated, and computers are few and obsolete. Many of the teachers do not have credentials in the subjects they teach. Clearly defined tracks sentence students to noncollege destinations. For example, lacking English skills, many immigrant students are often enrolled in the least demanding or competitive classes, which eventually excludes them from courses needed for college.

These schools generally offer few (if any) Advanced Placement courses, which are critical for entry in many of the more competitive colleges. The guidance counselor-student ratio is impossibly high. Because the settings are so undesirable, teachers and principals routinely transfer out in search of better assignments elsewhere. As a result, in many such schools there is little continuity or sense of community. Children and teachers in these schools are often preoccupied with ever-present violence, and morale is often very low (see Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

Other researchers have focused on the sociocultural and linguistic practices involved in the schooling of children in poor and highly segregated inner-city schools — the schools in which many newly arrived immigrants, especially those from the Afro-Caribbean and Latin American regions, tend to enroll (Trubka, 1989). Yet others have carefully examined the devastating consequences of racism on the long-term trajectories of immigrants of color. Sociologist Mary Waters (1999), for example, considered transgenerational changes in attitudes toward schooling and opportunities in the new land among Caribbean immigrants as they endured persistent forms of American racism. Carola Suárez-Orozco (2000) examined how newly arrived immigrant children become keenly aware of negative stereotypes about them. These studies suggest that immigrant optimism and faith in the educational system as the route to status mobility may diminish over time and across generations — especially among those subject to persistent forms of symbolic and structural violence.

The issue of variability in school adaptation and outcomes among groups has received some attention in the scholarly literature. In a series of well-known works, John Ogbu and his colleagues have argued that in a number of settings “immigrant minorities” tend to perform better in schools than non-immigrant — or “involuntary” — minorities (see Gibson & Ogbu, 1991; Ogbu & Simons, 1998). However, to date there has been little systematic attention to changes over time as different groups of immigrant youth adapt to U.S. schools.

Yet some recent data suggest an unsettling pattern in need of further robust empirical and theoretical treatment: Among immigrants today, length of residence in the United States seems associated with *declining* health, school achievement, and aspirations (see Kao & Tienda, 1995; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Rumbaut, 1995; Steinberg, 1996; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995; Waters, 1999). In other words, acculturation today seems to lead to detrimental health, more ambivalent attitudes toward school, and lower grades.

In the area of immigration and health, for example, we find a number of counterintuitive results. Immigrants, while they tend to share a number of “at-risk” characteristics, such as high rates of poverty and segregation, tend nevertheless to be healthier than their non-immigrant counterparts (Hayes-Bautista, in press.) Immigrant youth also tend to be healthier than their non-

immigrants peers. A recent national study of health among 20,000 randomly selected U.S. teens reveals an alarming trend:

Foreign-born youth experience fewer physical health problems, have less experience with sex, are less likely to engage in delinquent and violent behavior and are less likely to use controlled substances than native-born youth. Findings of health deterioration rather than improvement were remarkably consistent. Among foreign-born youth, statistical analysis showed the longer the time since arrival in the United States, the poorer was the adolescents' physical health and the greater the likelihood of engaging in risky behaviors. Specific health measures analyzed were general health, missed school due to health or emotional problems, learning difficulties, obesity, asthma and health risk behaviors involving sexual intercourse, unprotected sex, delinquency, violence and substance abuse. ("Health and Well-Being," 1998, p. 3)

Latino youth paid an especially high price for acculturation. Foreign-born Mexican youth, for example, were less likely than native-born Mexican American youth to be obese, suffer from asthma, have had sex, or have engaged in violent or delinquent acts. In the area of schooling, Steinberg (1996) reports the findings of a national survey of over 20,000 teenagers:

Foreign-born students — who, incidentally, report significantly more discrimination than American-born youngsters and significantly more difficulty with the English language — nevertheless earn higher grades in school than their American-born counterparts. . . .

The more Americanized students — those whose families have been living here longer — are less committed to doing well in school than their immigrant counterparts. Immigrants spend more time on homework, are more attentive in class, are more oriented to doing well in school, and are more likely to have friends who think academic achievement is important.

The adverse effects of Americanization are seen among Asian and Latino youngsters alike (that is, within each of the two largest populations of immigrant youth in this country), with achievement decreasing, and problems increasing, with each successive generation. Instead of finding what one might reasonably expect — that the longer a family has been in this country, the better the child will be faring in our schools — we find exactly the reverse. Our findings, as well as those from several other studies suggest that becoming Americanized is detrimental to youngsters' achievement, and terrible for their overall mental health. (pp. 97–98)

In an ambitious study of over five thousand immigrant and second-generation students in San Diego, California, and Dade County, Florida, sociologists Alejandro Portes and Rubén Rumbaut (2001) found that "US nativity and long term residence among the foreign-born increase English skills but significantly lower grades. . . . These findings strongly suggest that second-generation children gradually lose their achievement drive with increasing acculturation" (p. 239). In a different voice, the Reverend Virgil Elizondo, rector of the San Fernando Cathedral in San Antonio, Texas, articulates the same point: "I can tell by looking in their eyes how long they've been here.

They come sparkling with hope, and the first generation finds hope rewarded. Their children's eyes no longer sparkle" (quoted in Suro, 1998, p. 13). While the pathbreaking work of Portes and Rumbaut (2001; see also Rumbaut, 1995), as well as findings by Steinberg (1996) and Kao and Tienda (1995), independently report similar findings, more sophisticated longitudinal and, especially, interdisciplinary data are needed to explore this urgent issue.¹⁵ What is perhaps most alarming about the new schooling and health data is 1) they seem to affect all major immigrant groups, and 2) they reveal that the work of acculturation today tends to produce "dystopic" rather than "utopic" results (M. Suárez-Orozco, 2000). While many immigrant children do brilliantly in school, others over time seem to display more negative adaptations (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

Concluding Thoughts

Globalization links traditional urban issues such as immigration, race, segregation, and poverty to broader transnational formations. It is indeed the globalization of capital — along with the emergence of new communication and information technologies and transportation networks — that is largely behind the largest migratory wave in U.S. history. Immigrants — and especially their children — are now important actors in the new global stage.

The preponderance of evidence suggests that some immigrant children, especially those originating in families with more education, resources, connections, and skills, will indeed thrive in the era of globalization. These immigrant youth are outperforming native-born children not only in terms of grades, but also as winners of the nation's most prestigious science competitions (two of the three top Intel Science prizes in March 2000 went to immigrant youth) and as freshmen in the nation's most exclusive colleges. These highly educated and skilled youth are likely to move rapidly into the more desirable sectors of the global economy, generally bypassing the traditional transgenerational modes of immigrant status mobility.¹⁶

There are, however, reasons to worry. Substantial numbers of immigrant youth began enrolling in public schools when large inner-city districts were in deep crisis — some near collapse. Many of these schools are overpopulated and understaffed. Qualified teachers are needed, and the best teachers often leave as soon as they can (Orfield, in press). Bilingual education, eternally controversial in the United States, has faced a head-on challenge in California — the state most heavily affected by immigration.

In many schools that immigrant students attend, there is little teaching and learning going on (M. Suárez-Orozco, 1989). The dominant lessons tend to be about discipline ("management") and social control. Many of the routines the students are subjected to can only be characterized as mindless and pointless. The little teaching that goes on is neither culturally relevant to

the immigrant students' backgrounds nor pertinent to the realities of the global culture and global economy these youth will eventually have to face. Consequently, unacceptable numbers of immigrant youth, especially those coming from poor backgrounds, are leaving school before acquiring the tools needed to navigate today's bitterly competitive global economy.

Globalization and Education: The Research Agenda

The analysis of globalization requires the development of a robust new research agenda. I suggest three especially promising areas of future work with immigrant children: globalization and work, globalization and identities, and globalization and belonging.

I claim that globalization simultaneously manufactures homogeneity and difference. The globalization of markets is predicated on the homogenization or "McDonaldization" of taste. Globalization demands the manufacturing of predictable tastes and habits. More broadly, global capitalism thrives by enforcing a regime that selects for the convergence of skills and competencies. Whether in Lagos, Lima, or Los Angeles, the basic skills needed to thrive in the global economy are in fundamental respects the same. These include communication, higher-order symbolic and technical competencies, and habits of work and interpersonal sensibilities that are common in any global urban setting.¹⁷ Will the selection for the convergence of competencies and skills obliterate other cultural differences? Will the powerfully homogenizing market forces undermine meaningful differences in the emotional or expressive realm of culture? Work is about making the self and (re)making the world. In a world where the same skills, competencies, and habits will be needed, just what will it mean to be Nigerian, Peruvian, or American? We need better theoretical and empirical work in this critical area.

Globalization also generates difference. It drives millions of ethnically marked people to cross national and cultural boundaries. Furthermore, immigrants to nearly all advanced post-industrial societies arrive into societies thoroughly dominated by a globalized cultural rights regime. The "politics of recognition" (see Taylor, 1992; Taylor & Gutmann, 1994) and the "culture of multiculturalism" (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001) are now globalized discourses. They are generating extremely complex new identity formations. The Mayaspeaking youth that today crosses the southern border of the United States is destined to become a "Latina." That is what her census-taker will call her, the label she will check when she enrolls in school, the social lens through which most Americans with whom she comes into contact will view her (see C. Suárez-Orozco, 2000). Immigrant children of color are quickly socialized into America's racial regime.¹⁸ Indeed, the entry into American identities today is via the culture of multiculturalism (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). One experiments, names, and performs

American identities by crafting a hyphenated self. Many important questions are relevant to an understanding of the realities new immigrants will face. How do phenotypically — but alas, not culturally — Black new immigrants respond over time and across generations to the ever-charged folk racial binary in the American urban setting? How does a Dominican child respond when she suddenly discovers she is “Black” in the American sense of the term? Will the new immigrants, by sheer force of their number, finally break the binary logic of American racial regime? What happens in a Mexican immigrant family when the daughter tells her parents, “I’m Chicana”? Does the panethnic “Asian” label resonate with an immigrant child from China? How do these transformations in racial and ethnic self-identities affect, if at all, the schooling of children? Since, all things being equal, Americanization now seems to lead to dystopic adaptations (e.g., obesity, diabetes, drug taking, lower grades), are there protective features in the crafting and performing of hyphenated identities? Is an immigrant youth who identifies herself as Haitian more likely to do better in school than one who self-identifies as African American? Why would it matter, in terms of schooling outcomes, if a Spanish-speaking Dominican youth identifies as African American or Latino? While a number of scholars have looked at these important questions (see Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Waters, 1999), more interdisciplinary work is needed in this area.

We need better theoretical and empirical work to examine the vicissitudes of identity formation in the era of globalization. Erickson’s model is a good place to start (Erickson, 1968), but because it was the product of another historical moment, it will require some fundamental rethinking. The idea that there is a single, coherent, and continuous “identity” that is the product of a series of crises unfolding in a unilinear, stage-specific process of change can no longer explain the lived experiences of many, if not most, children.¹⁹ The most promising work in this area will pay close attention to the construction and performance of multiple identities. DuBois’s work on “double consciousness” will be an essential point of reference to those interested in multiple identities and globalization.²⁰ The claim that those who can achieve multiple identities, indexed by multilingual and multicultural sensibilities, may be best suited to thrive in the post-national space sounds almost banal by its obviousness (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

The final area of concern pertinent to a research agenda for understanding youth in the new global stage relates to the issue of belonging. What happens to the sense of belonging in a post-national world where both fortunes and personae are tied to global processes? For large numbers of people in the world today, belonging is deeply fragmented. A person’s work self may belong in a given locality, but his religious self is often somewhere else. For example, millions of Mexican immigrants today work in the United States, but their ritual persona — the sense of self derived by the performance of re-

ligious and secular rituals — is achieved in countless little towns and big cities south of the border when they return “home” every December to make the proper religious offerings.²¹ So where do they “belong”? In such a world, it no longer makes sense to talk about belonging in the old “either/or” binary — either one is “Mexican” or “American.” For many today, the issue is managing the complexities of belonging both “here” and “there.”²²

During the 1960s, there was a concentrated research effort on urban issues such as race, poverty, and education. Since the 1980s, a time when immigration to U.S. cities was intensifying, there has been an erosion of progress in basic research on urban issues. By now, globalization has made the old agenda of urban studies increasingly irrelevant. Likewise, in the field of immigration, much of the literature is anachronistic. This is in part because the conceptual apparatus still in vogue is a remnant of an earlier era of immigration studies — the era that tracked the adaptation and assimilation of European immigrants to the United States.²³ Globalization requires the calibration of new analytic tools (see Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001.)

Immigration will continue to be a powerful vector of change. We need a better understanding of immigration and education qua globalization. We need a major research agenda to examine the long-term causes and consequences of global immigration dynamics. We need better theoretical understandings of multiple paths taken by immigrants, especially children, in their long-term adaptations. We need more interdisciplinary dialogue. We need an ambitious comparative research agenda, as Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas now face similar global predicaments. This Special Issue of the *Harvard Educational Review* is a step in the right direction.

Notes

1. Some scholars seem to use the term *globalization* interchangeably with such terms as *transnationalism* or *post-nationality*. Others use globalization to examine themes that in earlier scholarship came under the rubric of “development” or “world systems” theory. Still others use the term as proxy for *imperialism* (see Bauman, 1998).
2. It can also be suggested that “New York culture” is alive in Puebla, Mexico, via the cash and “social remittances” — that is, the social practices and cultural models immigrants acquire in the new setting and back home. For more on the idea of social remittances, see Levitt (in press).
3. There is a long history to the anthropological involvement with the study of cultural forms and dispersal across time and space. Much of the early literature privileged the study of “culture contact” and “cultural borrowing” via trading, invasions, or conquest. Franz Boas’s early efforts, which resulted in the firm establishment of American anthropology as a major scholarly discipline in the early decades of the twentieth century, centered around theoretical debates over the “diffusion” (vs. “multiple invention”) of cultural forms (such as a fishing hook, a folk-tale motif, or a kinship term) across distinct “culture areas.” This work was critical to the dismantling of earlier extravagant and racist theories of stages in the cultural evolution of societies (see M. Suárez-Orozco, 1994).

4. For a series of journalistic reflections on globalization and the economy, see Friedman (2000).
5. A rough formula: a million people in the diaspora translates to about a billion dollars in remittances sent home every year. This helps explain the new-found interest among Mexican politicians in cultivating ties with their brothers and sisters living in the United States. The old adage "all politics is local" is now somewhat anachronistic.
6. As per the Schengen agreement, there are no longer internal border controls among European Union member states. Hence, a French citizen needs no passport or visa to travel to Spain and vice-versa. While internally Europe has become borderless, external controls — that is, keeping out would-be migrants from outside Europe — have intensified.
7. Globalization reveals a series of rich paradoxes. As it homogenizes tastes and habits it also generates differences — for example, when enormous numbers of immigrants are channeled into new national space, such as Maya-speaking Guatemalans in the United States, Spanish-speaking Dominicans in France, and Filipinos and Chinese in Japan.
8. A second paradox of globalization is that as it unites it deeply divides the world between those who can access and manipulate the new technologies and those who are left behind; "stuck," so to speak, in local contexts (Bauman, 1998).
9. Why? As Zhou and Gatewood (2000) explain, "Globalization perpetuates emigration from developing countries in two significant ways. First, . . . capital investments into developing countries transform the economic and occupational structures in these countries by disproportionately targeting production for export and taking advantage of raw material and cheap labor. Such twisted development, characterized by the robust growth of low skilled jobs in export manufacturing, draws a large number of rural, and particularly female workers, into the urban labor markets. . . . Second, economic development following the American model in many developing countries stimulates consumerism and consumption and raises expectations regarding the standard of living. The widening gap between consumption expectations and the available standards of living within the structural constraints of the developing countries, combined with easy access to information and migration networks, in turn create tremendous pressure for emigration. . . . Consequently, . . . capital investments in developing countries have resulted in the paradox of rapid economic growth and high emigration from these countries to the United States" (p. 10).
10. Globalization has ushered in a new era in the course and management of armed conflicts. As various "new wars" (i.e., drug wars, ethnic wars, and "dirty" wars) are becoming globalized, they are deeply destabilizing entire regions. The Colombian drug war has taken on hemispheric proportions, and with the escalation of U.S. involvement, the refugee flow throughout the region continues to grow (Suárez-Orozco & Pérez, in press).
11. See Saxenian (1999). I am thankful to Professor Michael Jones-Correa of the Department of Government at Harvard University for alerting me to this important new study.
12. See, for example, Portes (1996), especially pages 1–15.
13. In the course of the ethnographic work of the Harvard Immigration Projects (see Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001), one of our research assistants found boys who sneak out of school at noon to watch pornographic films at a shop across the street from their school. Many of the schools in our research site are dilapidated and unkempt. Violence is pervasive. In an elementary school, a young girl was found raped and murdered on school premises. In another, an irate parent stabbed a teacher in front of her students. In yet another school, just days after the Columbine incident, a cherry bomb was set off as one of our research assistants was conducting an interview. In many schools there is tremendous ethnic tension. In one of our sites, students regularly play a game they call "Rice and Beans" (Asian students versus Latino students) that frequently deteriorates into physical violence. At many sites immigrant students report living in constant

- fear; they dread lunch and class changes, as the hallways are sites of confrontation and intimidation, including sexual violence.
14. An ethnographic study of a number of immigrant schools in Miami found that three factors were consistently present in schools with "cultures of violence." First, school officials tended to deny that the school had problems with violence or drugs. Second, many of the school staff members exhibited "non-caring" behaviors toward the students. Third, the schools had lax security measures (see Collier, 1998).
 15. These largescale studies, while important, are limited 1) by the cross-sectional nature of the data, 2) by relying largely on self-reports, an especially problematic strategy when working with immigrants (see Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001), and 3) by failing to triangulate data.
 16. By "transgenerational modes of immigrant status mobility" I mean the pattern in which the third generation does substantially better in terms of education and economics than the second generation, which in turn has done better than the first generation. See M. Suárez-Orozco (2000) and Waldinger and Bozorgmehr (1996).
 17. Immigrant parents are very much aware that if their children are to thrive they must acquire these skills and sensibilities. Indeed, immigration for many parents represents nothing more, and nothing less, than the opportunity to offer their children access to these skills and interpersonal talents. Indeed, we have yet to meet an immigrant parent who tells us that he does not want his daughter to learn English or to acquire the skills and work habits that will prepare her for a successful career, whether in the United States or "back home."
 18. Immigrant children are also socialized into class and gendered regimes (see Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).
 19. There are indeed few complementarities in the social worlds youth must navigate today. The "average" youth enrolled in the Los Angeles Unified School District crosses multiple epistemic, linguistic, and political spaces every day. He is likely to have breakfast in Spanish with his parents, listen to hip-hop music with his African American classmates in the bus to school, and hear about the New Deal in Standard English from his "White" social studies teacher.
 20. W. E. B. DuBois's eternal words convey well the meaning of this longing: "[The American Negro] would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face" (1999, p. 11). *Both/and* are the key words here.
 21. I owe this idea to Paul Hernandez, a doctoral candidate in anthropology at Harvard, who is writing his dissertation on this important topic.
 22. For a theoretically sophisticated approach to the study of multiple belongings and multiple identities, see Falicov (in press).
 23. For an overview of theories of assimilation based on earlier waves of immigration, see Alba and Nee (1998), Gordon (1964), and Park and Burgess (1969).

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