

## Ethnic Identity and Schooling: The Experiences of Haitian Immigrant Youth

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LARGE-SCALE IMMIGRATION, A PHENOMENON THAT is actively blurring and challenging our constructions of nation, state, and identity, is a global event. Estimates suggest that around the world today there are more than 130 million immigrants and refugees. Societies worldwide are being transformed in remarkable ways as a result of these unprecedented changes in the world population, and even the United States, with its long-running history of immigration, is being stretched in new ways (M. M. Suárez-Orozco 2001). In contrast to the first large wave of immigration (roughly between 1880 and 1930), during which 80 to 90 percent of immigrants to the United States were Western European, post-1965 immigration has been marked by an increase in immigration from Latin America, Asia, the Caribbean, and Africa, with a decrease in Western European immigration. Thus, although in the middle of the twentieth century less than 15 percent of our population was considered to be “ethnically marked minorities,” currently more than 25 percent of the population is so classified. Demographers have projected that by the middle of this century, approximately half of our population will be “minority”—a term that obviously will need rethinking (C. Suárez-Orozco 2000).

Immigrant children are the fastest-growing sector of the child population (Schmidley 2001) and thus represent a vitally important subpopulation of immigrants. Today, one in five children in the United States is the child of immigrants, and by 2040, one in three children will fit this description (Rong and Preissle 1998). These dramatic shifts are having a profound impact on U.S. schools faced with the opportunity and the challenge of bringing these children to their full potential (C. Suárez-Orozco 2000).

Typically schools are the first setting of sustained contact with a new culture for immigrant children, and academic outcomes are a powerful barometer of current as well as future psychosocial functioning. How immigrant children fare in our schools will, in many cases, forecast their contributions as citizens to our society. While this has long been true, schooling is a particularly high-stakes process in the new economy (M. M. Suárez-Orozco and Gardner 2003).

In this chapter, we examine ethnic identity within the context of schooling, focusing specifically on the experiences of Haitian youth. The Haitian immigrant population in the United States has been estimated conservatively at 500,000 and growing (Frère 1999), and others suggest that the combined population of documented and undocumented Haitian immigrants in the United States is closer to 1 million (Zéphir 2004). Yet there is a dearth of empirical knowledge regarding this group.

Haitians represent an interesting case on multiple levels. Flore Zéphir (2001) aptly demonstrates how race, ethnicity, class, and immigration together have created a daunting set of obstacles for Haitian youth as they try to assimilate into American society. From a conceptual standpoint, black immigrant groups in general have added important complications to our existing understanding of "assimilation" (Glick-Schiller and Fouron 1990; Laguerre 1984, 1998; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Stepick 1993; Portes and Zhou 1993; Rumbaut and Portes 2001; Waters 1990, 1996a, 1996b, 1999). In the United States, where skin color is the most powerful characteristic for social stratification and discrimination (Appiah and Gutman 1998; Glick-Schiller and Fouron 1990; Omni and Winant 1986), black immigrants face particular obstacles as they attempt to become integrated into U.S. society, most notably racism. But there is important diversity within this immigrant category. Among black immigrants, Haitians in particular consistently have been stigmatized and discriminated against by the U.S. government (Glick-Schiller and Fouron 1990). Haitians also are represented disproportionately among the working-class and the poor in the United States, and Zéphir (2001) clearly articulates the impact of socioeconomic status on the development of ethnic identity.

The history of the migration of Haitians to the United States serves as an important backdrop to the story of how Haitians craft identities around class and skin color, though the concept of "race" as it is understood in the United States is foreign to the way they construct the social structure. Haitians have emigrated from Haiti since the colonial era, when the children of enslaved African women and male French colonists were sent to France to be educated (Zéphir 1995). In the twentieth century, Haitian mi-

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gration has been generally characterized as marked by two major waves. The first wave, triggered by the dictatorial presidency of François Duvalier, began in the 1950s and represented the mass exodus of upper-class, professional, and educated individuals and families to the United States, Europe, Canada, and Africa (Glick-Schiller and Fouron 1990; Mintz 1974; Stepick and Portes 1986). These families established themselves in their new countries of origin, and many were able to find employment in the occupational sectors for which they were educated or trained (Buchanan 1983; Woldemikael 1989). In the United States, these families settled primarily in New York and Boston, with a smaller group opting for the Chicago area.

The late 1970s and early 1980s marked the beginning of the second wave. The more recent émigrés were more impoverished than their counterparts who migrated during the first wave (Stepick and Portes 1986). Political upheavals in Haiti in the mid-1980s engendered conditions of traumatic experiences and interrupted schooling for children (Desir 2004), and conditions for living in Haiti became unbearable for many impoverished families who saw the United States as a land of opportunity. The arrival of these new Haitians of lower social status was disturbing to many of the "old" immigrant families who perceived this new group as more vulgar and less educated, and as painting a negative image of Haitians in the eyes of Americans (Buchanan 1983).

In the following examination of ethnic identity in the context of schooling, we will first discuss conceptual and theoretical constructs that help us to understand the complex set of factors implicated in the development of ethnic identity. We then focus on how these constructs have informed our research examining the academic trajectories and outcomes of immigrant youth. Finally, we detail a typology of ethnic-identity styles (C. Suárez-Orozco and M. M. Suárez-Orozco 2001) that helps provide insight into the choices that immigrant youth make regarding academic engagement.

Throughout the chapter, we draw from research we conducted under the umbrella of the Harvard Immigration Projects. The primary study of the projects was the Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation (LISA) study, a five-year investigation of the experiences of newly arrived (1.5 generation) immigrant Central American, Chinese, Dominican, Haitian, and Mexican youth, directed by Carola and Marcelo Suárez-Orozco. Data were collected with a sample of approximately 400 youth in Boston and in the San Francisco Bay Area from 1997 to 2002 (C. Suárez-Orozco and M. M. Suárez-Orozco 2001). From 2000 to 2002, Doucet conducted a parallel

study of U.S.-born (second generation) Haitian immigrant youth called *Communicating Values across Generations of Haitian Immigrants*. Mirroring the methods of the LISA study, Doucet collected interview data with youth, their parents, and their teachers and conducted participant observations in several Boston middle and high schools.

## Contributors to Identity Formation

### *Generational Status*

Country of birth, length of residence in the host country, and age at migration are additional dimensions to be considered in examining the adaptation of immigrant groups to a new context. As Carola Suárez-Orozco (2004) has argued, the challenges faced by the first generation—that is, immigrants who come as adults—are considerably different from those of the second generation. The first generation is concerned primarily with surviving and adjusting to the new context. They may go through a variety of normative adverse reactions following the multiple losses of migration, including anxiety and depression. However, the first generation is protected by several factors. The dual frame of reference by which immigrants can compare their current situation with that left behind allows them to often feel relatively advantaged in the new context (C. Suárez-Orozco and M. M. Suárez-Orozco 1995). Optimism is at the very heart of the immigrant experience; the possibility of a better tomorrow acts as both a tremendous motivator as well as a form of inoculation against encountered frustrations and barriers. Further, first-generation immigrants often are energized by the desire to support loved ones—by sending remittances home to those left behind—as well as by the desire to build the best possible life for their children. While it is not an easy road, it is one with a clear path of identity. Immigrants who come in adulthood maintain a sense of identity rooted deeply in the birthplace. Many expatriates are, of course, quite comfortable in their new homeland. However, they may retain outsider status as the cultural and linguistic hurdles are simply too high to be surmounted within one generation (C. Suárez-Orozco and M. M. Suárez-Orozco 2001). The path for their children—the second generation—is less singular, offering a variety of forks to be taken. For these youth, forging a sense of identity may be their single greatest challenge (Erikson 1968; C. Suárez-Orozco 2004). For Haitian youth, this identity often is crafted under tenuous circumstances. Not only must they contend with ethnic discrimination, but they must also learn the meaning of race in this country.

There is no curriculum for this learning; the information from interactions with members of groups in which their status as “bilingual” students (who may themselves struggle to understand their peers).

### *The Ethos of Reception*

The general social climate, or ethos, of reception of immigrants and their children (Suárez-Orozco 2001). Unfortunately, intolerance is a common response all over the world. Intolerance of color is particularly widespread in countries receiving large numbers of new immigrants (Suárez-Orozco 1996), the United States (Erikson and Tsuda 2003). As today's immigrants in terms of ethnicity, skin color, and religion are subjected to the pervasive social trauma of prejudice (Erikson 1994; Tatum 1997).

The exclusion can take a structural form (from the opportunity structure) as well as an individual form (of disparagement and public hostility). The social ethos of intolerance and racism encourages color intensify the stresses of immigration. The discrimination suffered by immigrants and their children and psychological violence also play a toxic role. Taylor argues that “our identity is partly shaped by the misrecognition of others, and we can suffer real damage, real distortion, if that reflection is not mirrored back to them a confining or demeaning self-image” (Taylor 1994, 25).

Waters asserts that in this “race conscious” society, identity is imposed upon individuals (Waters 1999, 6). She reports that her black West Indian friends, shocked by the level of racism against blacks they arrive expecting structural obstacles (such as housing and promotions), what they find most disturbing is the overt and covert prejudice and discriminatory interpersonal interactions. Although black

tion) Haitian immigrant youth called "Haitian Immigrants." Mirror-Doucet collected interview data with parents and conducted participant observations in high schools.

## Identity Formation

Age in the host country, and age at migration, should be considered in examining the adaptation context. As Carola Suárez-Orozco and M. M. Suárez-Orozco (2001) noted, the experience of the first generation—that is, immigrants—is considerably different from those of the second generation. The adaptation of the second generation is concerned primarily with schooling in the new context. They may go through a variety of losses during the migration process. However, the first generation is provided with a frame of reference by which immigrants can compare their situation with that left behind, allowing them to adjust to the new context (C. Suárez-Orozco and M. M. Suárez-Orozco 2001). Optimism is at the very heart of the immigrant's hope for a better tomorrow, which acts as both a source of strength and a form of inoculation against encountered difficulties. First-generation immigrants often are encouraged by family members—by sending remittances home and by the desire to build the best possible life for their children. If an easy road, it is one with a clear path. Immigrants in adulthood maintain a sense of identity and pride. Many expatriates are, of course, quickly assimilated. However, they may retain outside cultural values. The social and economic hurdles are simply too high to be surmountable (C. Suárez-Orozco and M. M. Suárez-Orozco 2001). For children—the second generation—is less time to be taken. For these youth, forging a new identity is the single greatest challenge (Erikson 1968). For Haitian youth, this identity often is crafted through schooling. Not only must they contend with ethnic differences, but they must learn the meaning of race in this country.

There is no curriculum for this learning; these youth must glean their information from interactions with members of the majority group, from the ways in which their status as "bilingual" students is framed, from their parents (who may themselves struggle to understand it), and of course from their peers.

## *The Ethos of Reception*

The general social climate, or ethos, of reception plays a critical role in the adaptation of immigrants and their children (C. Suárez-Orozco and M. M. Suárez-Orozco 2001). Unfortunately, intolerance for newcomers is an all-too-common response all over the world. Discrimination against immigrants of color is particularly widespread and intense in many settings receiving large numbers of new immigrants; this is true in Europe (M. M. Suárez-Orozco 1996), the United States (Espenshade and Belanger 1998), and Japan (Tsuda 2003). As today's immigrants are more diverse than ever in terms of ethnicity, skin color, and religion, they are particularly subject to the pervasive social trauma of prejudice and social exclusion (Rubin 1994; Tatum 1997).

The exclusion can take a structural form (when individuals are excluded from the opportunity structure) as well as an "attitudinal" form (in the form of disparagement and public hostility). These structural barriers and the social ethos of intolerance and racism encountered by many immigrants of color intensify the stresses of immigration. Although the structural exclusion suffered by immigrants and their children is tangibly detrimental to their ability to participate in the opportunity structure, prejudicial attitudes and psychological violence also play a toxic role. Philosopher Charles Taylor argues that "our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the misrecognition of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves" (Taylor 1994, 25).

Waters asserts that in this "race conscious society a person becomes defined racially and identity is imposed upon them by outsiders" (Waters 1999, 6). She reports that her black West Indian immigrant informants are shocked by the level of racism against blacks in the United States. Though they arrive expecting structural obstacles (such as discrimination in housing and promotions), what they find most distressing is the level of both overt and covert prejudice and discrimination they experience in everyday interpersonal interactions. Although black immigrants tend to bring with

them a number of characteristics that contribute to their relative success in the new setting, for their children, “over the course of one generation the structural realities of American race relations and the American economy undermine the cultures of the West Indian immigrants and create responses among the immigrants, and especially their children, that resemble the cultural responses of African Americans to long histories of exclusion and discrimination” (Waters 1999, 6).

While cross-sectional data have been used to identify this transgenerational pattern, preliminary data from our longitudinal study suggest that among many immigrant youth of color, this process is unfolding at a rapid pace within a few years of migration. In contrast to the white immigrants from Europe in the early 1920s who struggled to transcend social-class boundaries, new immigrants often have to contend with prejudice due to both color and class (Rumbaut 1994). This is a relatively new experience for Haitians, whose social structure is built primarily around class, with skin color playing only a secondary (though arguably important) role in relation to position in the social hierarchy (Zéphir 1996; Doucet, forthcoming).

### *The Social Mirror*

Child psychoanalyst D. W. Winnicott suggests that the child’s sense of self is profoundly shaped by the reflections mirrored back to her by significant others (Winnicott 1971). Indeed, for identity development, all human beings are dependent upon the reflection of themselves mirrored by others. “Others” include not just the mother (which was Winnicott’s principal concern), but also relatives, adult caretakers, siblings, teachers, peers, employers, people on the street, and even the media (C. Suárez-Orozco 2000). When the reflected image is generally positive, the individual (adult or child) will be able to feel that she is worthwhile and competent. When the reflection is generally negative, it is extremely difficult to maintain a coherent sense of self-worth.

These reflections can be accurate or inaccurate. In some cases, the reflection can be a positive distortion. In such a situation, the response to the individual may be out of proportion to his actual contribution or achievements. In the most benign case, positive expectations can be an asset. In the classic “Pygmalion in the Classroom” study, when teachers believed that certain children were brighter than others (based on the experimenter randomly assigning some children that designation, unsubstantiated in fact) they treated the children more positively and assigned them higher grades (Rosenthal and Feldman 1991). It is possible that some immigrant students,

such as Asians, benefit somewhat from positive expectations as a result of being members of a “model minority” at a cost (Lee 1994; Louie 2004; Takashi 2004). It is the negative distortions, however, that most immigrant groups face structural obstacles, not all groups face the same attitudes from a dominant culture. Some groups face negative attitudes—thus encountering a more difficult path than others do. Such is the case with many immigrants from the Middle East (Al-Sayid 2004). Iraqi American Nuar Alsadir, after the September 11, 2001 attacks, eloquently stated, “The world has forced us to stand before the distorting mirror of racism” (Alsadir 2002). The legacy of racism in the United States has made immigrant children most likely to encounter prejudice, black and brown children, whether from the United States, the Middle East, or Africa. For Haitian children, who are surrounded with ethnic discrimination; Haitian children, who are poor people, and the poorest people of the world (Al-Sayid 2001). In *Haiti’s Bad Press* (1992), Robert Taft, in the eighteenth century, the characteristics of Haiti have been painted as dangerous and undesirable.

Facing such charged attitudes that assault the self, minority children may come to expect a hostile response from the dominant society—and most specifically it may lead to the creation of an order of inequality (De Vos and Al-Sayid 2004). W. E. B. DuBois famously articulated this concept as “double-consciousness”—a “sense of always looking through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of other people’s opinion in amused contempt and pity” (DuBois 1903). The expectations are of sloth, irresponsibility, laziness, and the outcome can be toxic. When these reflections are multiplied by a number of mirrors, including the media, the cumulative effect can be devastating (Adams 1990).

Our research suggests that immigrant children face a prevailing ethos of hostility in the dominant society (Al-Sayid 2000). We asked our sample of 400 children and young adults (Chinese, Dominican, and Mexican)—depending on the child’s country of origin, fully 65 percent of the respon-

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such as Asians, benefit somewhat from positive expectations of their com- petence as a result of being members of a "model minority"—though no doubt at a cost (Lee 1994; Louie 2004; Takaki 1993).

It is the negative distortions, however, that are most concerning. While all groups face structural obstacles, not all groups elicit and experience the same attitudes from a dominant culture. Some immigrant groups elicit more negative attitudes—thus encountering a more negative social mirror—than others do. Such is the case with many immigrant and minority children (Maira 2004). Iraqi American Nuar Alsadir, for example, shortly after Sep- tember 11, eloquently stated, "The world shouldn't be a funhouse in which we're forced to stand before the distorting mirror, begging for our lives" (Alsadir 2002). The legacy of racism in the United States is such that the immigrant children most likely to encounter these vitriolic messages are black and brown children, whether from the Caribbean and Latin America, the Middle East, or Africa. For Haitian children, the issue of race is com- pounded with ethnic discrimination; Haitians are known as AIDS carriers, boat people, and the poorest people of the Western Hemisphere (Zéphir 2001). In *Haiti's Bad Press* (1992), Robert Lawless argues that since the eighteenth century, the characteristics of Haitian people, culture, and reli- gion have been painted as dangerous and frightening, creating a historical record in the public imagination of Haiti and Haitians as problematic and undesirable.

Facing such charged attitudes that assault and undermine their sense of self, minority children may come to experience the institutions of the dominant society—and most specifically its schools—as alien terrain repro- ducing an order of inequality (De Vos and M. M. Suárez-Orozco 1990). W. E. B. DuBois famously articulated the challenge of what he termed "double-consciousness"—a "sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity" (DuBois 1903/1989, 3). When the ex- pectations are of sloth, irresponsibility, low intelligence, and even danger, the outcome can be toxic. When these reflections are received in a num- ber of mirrors, including the media, the classroom, and the street, the out- come is devastating (Adams 1990).

Our research suggests that immigrant children are keenly aware of the prevailing ethos of hostility in the dominant culture (C. Suárez-Orozco 2000). We asked our sample of 400 children to complete the sentence "Most Americans think that [Chinese, Dominicans, Central Americans, Haitians, Mexicans—depending on the child's country of origin] are . . ." Dis- turbingly, fully 65 percent of the respondents provided a negative response

to the sentence-completion task. The modal response was the word “bad” for others, even more disconcerting, included “stupid,” “useless,” “garbage,” “gang members,” “lazy,” and “we don’t exist.”

### Social Disparagement and Academic Outcomes

Schools represent one site where all children receive messages from the broader society about who they are. Children of color in particular are subject to negative expectations that have profound implications for their academic performance (Weinstein 2002). Cross-cultural data focused on a variety of disparaged minorities in a number of contexts all over the world suggest that exposure to a negative social mirror adversely affects academic engagement. Furthermore, anthropological cross-cultural evidence from a variety of different regions suggests that the social context and ethos of reception play an important role in immigrant adaptation. Ogbu (1978) has argued that minorities who were originally incorporated against their will through slavery and conquest are more likely to give up on educational avenues as a route to social mobility than are those of immigrant origin who enter a new society voluntarily. De Vos and Suárez-Orozco (1990) have demonstrated that the cultural and symbolic ethos of reception saturated with psychological disparagement and racist stereotypes has profound implications for identity formation of minority and immigrant children as well as for their schooling experiences.

For groups in places where racial and ethnic inequalities are highly structured, such as for Algerians in France, Koreans in Japan, or Haitians in Miami, “psychological disparagement” and “symbolic violence” may permeate the experience of many minority youth. Members of these groups are not only effectively locked out of the opportunity structure (through segregated and inferior schools and by work opportunities in the least desirable sectors of the economy), but they also commonly become the objects of cultural violence. Stereotypes about immigrants—they are inferior, they steal work from natives, and they pose a threat to public safety—justify the sense that they are less deserving of partaking in the dominant society’s opportunity structure.

In past generations, assimilationist trajectories demonstrated a correlation between length of residence in the United States and better schooling, health, and income outcomes (Gordon 1964; M. M. Suárez-Orozco and Paez 2002). While assimilation was a goal and a possibility for immigrants of European origin, resulting in a generally upwardly mobile jour-

(Child 1943; Higham 1975), this altered the lives of new immigrants of color. Further, increasing inequality in the American economy and society is shaping the lives of immigrants (Gans 1992; Portes and Rumbaut 1996; Zhou 1997).

Certainly, a preponderance of evidence suggests that, in addition to such as neighborhood segregation and poverty (Hirschi and Yun 1999), as well as family-level factors such as education and general socioeconomic status, have profound long-term educational outcomes for children. The broader society powerfully structured by “the color line” (DuBois 1908), however, race and color are significant vectors in the lives of immigrants of color.

Stanford University social psychologist Claude Steele, in the face of new theoretical and empirical work on group membership, can profoundly influence our understanding of a series of ingenious experimental studies have demonstrated that under the stress of academic performance goes down on a variety of academic tests. For example, achieving African American university students in a program that the test had proven to differentiate in favor of whites), their performance was significantly lower when they were not told that the test they were taking was for African American groups (Steele 1997). Steele maintains that stereotypes about one’s group prevail, “memberships are reduced to the stereotype” (Steele 1997, 6). In these situations, self-handicapping goes up. This “threat” has a direct, immediate effect on the specific situation and a cumulative erosive effect when continued. He argues that stereotype threat should be seen as a threat to self-esteem and intellectual identity.

How are identity and agency implicated in these outcomes? John Ogbu and his colleagues have argued that in the area of immigration, minority status, as well as socioeconomic status (Matute-Bianchi 1991; Ogbu 1978, 1987) are important. In the work of George De Vos’s comparative studies of immigration, equality (De Vos 1973; De Vos and M. M. Suárez-Orozco 1990) argued that parental and other socioeconomic factors are important; when these factors are controlled for, the results show that immigrants tend to develop cultural mo-

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ney (Child 1943; Higham 1975), this alternative is more challenging for the new immigrants of color. Further, increasing "segmentation" in the American economy and society is shaping new patterns of immigrant adaptation (Gans 1992; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Rumbaut 1997; Waters 1999; Zhou 1997).

Certainly, a preponderance of evidence suggests that structural factors such as neighborhood segregation and poverty (Massey and Denton 1993; Orfield and Yun 1999), as well as family-level factors (including parental education and general socioeconomic status), are significant predictors of long-term educational outcomes for children (Coleman et al. 1966). In a society powerfully structured by "the color line" (DuBois 1903/1989), however, race and color are significant vectors for understanding the adaptations of immigrant youth of color.

Stanford University social psychologist Claude Steele has been at the forefront of new theoretical and empirical work on how "identity threats," based on group membership, can profoundly shape academic achievement. In a series of ingenious experimental studies, Steele and his colleagues have demonstrated that under the stress of a stereotype threat, performance goes down on a variety of academic tasks. For example, when high-achieving African American university students were told before taking an exam that the test had proven to differentiate between blacks and whites (in favor of whites), their performance was significantly worse than when they were not told that the test they were about to take differentiated between groups (Steele 1997). Steele maintains that when negative stereotypes about one's group prevail, "members of these groups can fear being reduced to the stereotype" (Steele 1997, 614). He notes that in these situations, self-handicapping goes up. This "threat in the air" has both an immediate effect on the specific situation that evokes the stereotype threat and a cumulative erosive effect when continual events that evoke the threat occur. He argues that stereotype threat shapes both intellectual performance and intellectual identity.

How are identity and agency implicated in educational processes and outcomes? John Ogbu and his colleagues have done seminal work in the area of immigration, minority status, and schooling in plural societies (Matute-Bianchi 1991; Ogbu 1978, 1987a, 1987b). Inspired by the work of George De Vos's comparative studies of social stratification and status inequality (De Vos 1973; De Vos and M. M. Suárez-Orozco 1990), Ogbu argued that parental and other socioeconomic factors explain only part of the variance; when these factors are controlled for, differences become evident. Immigrants tend to develop cultural models and social practices that seem

to serve them well in terms of educational adaptations and outcomes. Ogbu distinguished between the experiences of immigrant (voluntary) versus nonimmigrant (involuntary) minorities. He posited that involuntary minorities are in a castelike position and have been "incorporated into a society more or less involuntarily and permanently through slavery, conquest, and colonization" (1987a, 258–59). This description can be applied to African Americans.

According to Ogbu, dominant-group members place castelike minorities in positions of denigration and rationalize themselves into thinking that these minorities are biologically and/or socially inferior. The response of castelike minorities to such classification is to reject this denigrated status and to develop their own explanations for caste status. One manifestation of such responses is the development of collective identities and cultural systems that are oppositional to the dominant group's cultural system. In the school setting, black Americans may adopt a stance of cultural inversion whereby being a good student and a high achiever is defined as inappropriate for them because it is characteristic of white Americans (Ogbu 1987a, 1987b).

In contrast, among immigrant (or voluntary) minorities, academic achievement and adoption of the cultural values for success typical of the dominant group are not perceived as giving up any part of one's identity (Ogbu 1987a, 1987b). Immigrants may even be more willing to suffer discrimination and prejudice because they perceive these as a natural reaction to outsiders (Gibson 1988). Unlike involuntary minorities, immigrants perceive school success as necessary to obtain good jobs and wages (Gibson 1988). Rather than adopting a cultural frame of reference that is *oppositional* to the dominant group, immigrants' frame of reference is simply *different* from that of the dominant group. School and school success are not perceived as the property of whites, and conforming to requirements for success in this setting is not seen as equivalent to assimilation into white culture. Instead, immigrant groups often retain their own cultural values and practices but develop an "alternation model of schooling" (Ogbu 1987a, 275), the essence of which proposes that it is possible to simultaneously participate in two different but not oppositional cultures. This framework assumes a certain degree of uniformity within voluntary immigrant groups, such that considerations of immigrant generation and social-class status are missing. We found in our research that members of the dominant culture are not the only gatekeepers to access to educational opportunities in the United States.

### Haitian Bilingual Classrooms:

#### "Haitian on Haitian" Discrimination

Among the demands created by the influx of immigrants from Haiti in the 1980s was a dire need to provide these children with language instruction. Many speakers of Haitian Creole (Kreyol) were recruited as heavy recruiting of members of the Haitian diaspora in the school, even though some of these immigrants served as teachers. Aside from the logical consequence of allowing minimally trained adults to take on this role, a dire consequence has been the negative impact perceived at the hands of their teachers. In the school setting, several school personnel, from guidance counselors to program directors to a school psychologist, have reported that Haitian students in the Boston and Chicago areas are being verbally abused by their teachers with comments such as "you did not belong in the United States," "you should not be taken as an indication that they have a lower working status distinctions that hold me back," "these teachers actively engaged in redrawing the social class and status. The meaning of such comments is 'putting people in their place' so that they do not be confident or overstep their bounds (Bourdieu 1984). This holds significance with regards to social status. Haitian Creole, but because of Haiti's legacy, Haitian Creole has remained an important marker of education (Zéphir 2004). The essential presence of Haitian Creole thus created another source of opportunity based hierarchies.

In her exploration of the differentiated educational experiences for monolingual and bilingual speakers, Bourdieu (1984) found, contrary to expectation, it is not only the parents who resisted attempts to reform Haitian education but also the primary language for instruction. Indeed, the parents' vested interest in acquiring French "because of the social mobility" (190).

One way to understand these practices is to consider the migration to the United States, in that for

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### *Haitian Bilingual Classrooms: "Haitian on Haitian" Discrimination*

Among the demands created by the influx of new immigrants and refugees from Haiti in the 1980s was a dire need for teachers who could provide these children with language instruction. In Massachusetts, native speakers of Haitian Creole (Kreyol) were in high demand. This led to heavy recruiting of members of the Haitian community to be teachers in the school, even though some of these people had no formal training as teachers. Aside from the logical consequences we might anticipate from allowing minimally trained adults to teach in classrooms, one unintended consequence has been the negative treatment some students have received at the hands of their teachers. During the course of our research, several school personnel, from guidance counselors to bilingual program directors to a school psychologist, shared with us their concerns that Haitian students in the Boston and Cambridge public schools were being verbally abused by their teachers with epithets berating their social status (e.g., *abitan, sòt, gwo soulye, moun mòn, restavèk*)<sup>1</sup> and suggesting that they did not belong in the United States, or that being here still should not be taken as an indication that they had transcended their origins. By invoking status distinctions that hold meaning in the Haitian context, these teachers actively engaged in redrawing the boundaries around social class and status. The meaning of such practices can be understood as "putting people in their place" so that they would not become overly confident or overstep their bounds (Buchanan 1983). Language also holds significance with regards to social status in Haiti. All Haitians speak Haitian Creole, but because of Haiti's legacy as a French colony, French has remained an important marker of educational status among Haitians (Zéphir 2004). The essential presence of language in bilingual classrooms thus created another source of opportunity for the re-creation of class-based hierarchies.

In her exploration of the differentiated meanings of French and Kreyol for monolingual and bilingual speakers, Flore Zéphir (1995) argued that, contrary to expectation, it is not only the bilingual bourgeoisie who have resisted attempts to reform Haitian education by using Kreyol as the primary language for instruction. Indeed, the monolingual lower class has a vested interest in acquiring French "because of its symbolic power for social mobility" (190).

One way to understand these practices is to recall the history of Haitian migration to the United States, in that for the first wave of educated, elite,

or middle-class migrants, being Haitian was a source of pride that distinguished them from black Americans, whose marginalized and oppressed status in the United States made them an undesirable reference group (Woldemikael 1989). These Haitians enjoyed the prestige associated with being speakers of French, a language that invokes images of sophistication and refinement, and they relished being nicknamed "Frenchies" (Woldemikael 1989; Zéphir 1995). By contrast, representations in the media of the second wave of Haitian migrants as deprived, godless boat people—concurrent with the steady barrage of images of Haiti as "the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere" and of Haitians as the harbingers of AIDS—shifted Haitian identity from being a source of pride to being a source of shame (Buchanan 1983; Stepick and Portes 1986). It became a matter of self-preservation for members of Haiti's bourgeoisie living in the United States to maintain their distance, both physical and psychological, from the "masses" now arriving on U.S. shores. While in Haiti material wealth was one way for the Haitian upper class to create distance between themselves and the "masses," the U.S. economic structure is such that a larger percentage of the population can amass the "material symbols of high status, such as cars, televisions, stereo sets, expensive furniture, etc." (Buchanan 1983, 14). In response, social markers such as the knowledge of French, a well-known family name, proper upbringing, and good manners take on the functional purpose of determining status among Haitians, even if this differentiation cannot be detected by mainstream U.S. Americans, for whom only one social marker separates "the elite" from "the masses," and that is race.

### Youth Responses

What meanings do youth construct, and how do they respond to this negative social mirror? One possible pathway is for youth to become resigned to the negative reflections, leading to hopelessness and self-depreciation that may in turn result in low aspirations and self-defeating behaviors. The general affect associated with this pathway is one of depression and passivity. In this scenario, the child is likely to respond with self-doubt and shame, setting low aspirations in a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy: "They are probably right. I'll never be able to do it." Other youth mobilize to resist the mirrors and injustices they encounter. Carola Suárez-Orozco (2004) draws a distinction between two types of resistance. The first is a project infused with hope, a sense of justice, and a faith in a better tomorrow. The other form of resistance is eventually overcome by alienation, leading to anomie, hopelessness, and a nihilistic view of the future. In this

case, youth may actively resist the reflection to maintain hope for change or a better future, channeling anger and compensatory self-aggrandizement into behaviors including the kinds of dystopian behaviors associated with gang membership. For these youth, "If you think I'm bad, let me show you just how bad I can be" (Suárez-Orozco and M. M. Suárez-Orozco 2001).

The social trajectories of youth are more varied. Some are able to maintain and cultivate a positive identity, whether they are resigned, oblivious, or resilient. In the social mirror, those who are able to maintain a positive identity, partially inoculated to the toxicity they may encounter, are better able to maintain a sense of pride and self-worth. In these circumstances, their energies are freed-up for more effective day-to-day coping. Some may not only be resilient but may also harness their energy and resources to help others, by volunteering to help others, by actively advocating and mobilizing for social change. Some respond to the negative social mirror by becoming resilient. They can make it in spite of what you think (Suárez-Orozco 2001).

Among our Haitian participants, we found a variety of resistance. Doucet and Desir (2003) found that hope detected among Haitian youth was a result of a critical consciousness about education. In our research, education in the United States as a pathway to success. Over and over again, we heard from our interviewees that "the key to life is school." One of our students, Robert, said "If you study and get good grades, you'll go to college and get a good job." Parents also strongly pushed this belief as the key to helping their children better their lives. In some families, the push for education was a response to the adversities children would face because of their race. Another young man, Johnny, told us, "I respect people especially if you are black. I respect blacks too much." Nonetheless, this same young man said that blacks and Haitians have the same chance of getting a good job. "I work very hard." His mother also displayed a resilience and light through which blacks and Haitians

tian was a source of pride that distinguished them from the marginalized and oppressed status they had. They viewed themselves as an undesirable reference group that they had to distance themselves from. They enjoyed the prestige associated with behavior that invokes images of sophistication and success. They were nicknamed "Frenchies" (Woldemikael 2001). Their presentations in the media of the second world war, godless boat people—concurrent with the time as "the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere"—the harbingers of AIDS—shifted Haitian identity to being a source of shame (Buchanan 2001). It became a matter of self-preservation for Haitians in the United States to maintain their identity, from the "masses" now arriving on the island. Wealth was one way for the Haitian upper class to distinguish themselves and the "masses," the U.S. population. A larger percentage of the population can afford such status, such as cars, televisions, stereos (Buchanan 1983, 14). In response, social markers such as a well-known family name, proper upbringing, and the functional purpose of determining their differentiation cannot be detected by others, from whom only one social marker separates "the white" from "the black" is race.

But, and how do they respond to this negative social mirror? One pathway is for youth to become resigned to hopelessness and self-depreciation, leading to self-deprecating behaviors. The other pathway is one of depression and passivity. Youth are likely to respond with self-doubt and a sense of helplessness. A kind of self-fulfilling prophecy: "They can't do it." Other youth mobilize to resist the negative social mirror they encounter. Carola Suárez-Orozco (2001) has identified two types of resistance. The first is a sense of justice, and a faith in a better tomorrow. The second is eventually overcome by alienation, self-doubt, and a nihilistic view of the future. In this

latter case, youth may actively resist the reflections they encounter but are unable to maintain hope for change or a better future. Without hope, the resulting anger and compensatory self-aggrandizement may lead to acting-out behaviors including the kinds of dystopic cultural practices typically associated with gang membership. For these youth, the response is one of, "If you think I'm bad, let me show you just how bad I can be" (C. Suárez-Orozco and M. M. Suárez-Orozco 2001).

The social trajectories of youth are more promising for those who are actively able to maintain and cultivate a sense of hope for the future. Whether they are resigned, oblivious, or resistant to the reflections in the social mirror, those who are able to maintain hope are in fundamental ways partially inoculated to the toxicity they may encounter. These youth are better able to maintain a sense of pride and preserve self-esteem. In these circumstances, their energies are freed-up and mobilized in the service of day-to-day coping. Some may not only become focused on their own advancement but may also harness their energies in the service of their communities by volunteering to help others, by acting as role models, or by actively advocating and mobilizing for social change. In this scenario, youth respond to the negative social mirror by being goaded into "I'll show you I can make it in spite of what you think of me" (C. Suárez-Orozco and M. M. Suárez-Orozco 2001).

Among our Haitian participants, we found evidence of these two types of resistance. Doucet and Desir (2003) have proposed that the sense of hope detected among Haitian youth was constructed from the development of a critical consciousness about education as the vehicle for success, or, more specifically for the Haitian children who were the focus of our research, education in the United States as the vehicle for success. Over and over again, we heard from our interviewees that "the most important thing in life is school." One of our students, Rodney,<sup>2</sup> stated, "If you stay in school and get good grades, you'll go to college and you'll be able to get a good job." Parents also strongly pushed this belief in the primary role of education as the key to helping their children build a successful life in this country. In some families, the push for education was understood in the context of the adversities children would face because of their race or ethnicity. As another young man, Johnny, told us, "They (Americans) don't really respect people especially if you are black. I don't think the white people like blacks too much." Nonetheless, this same young man believes Americans and Haitians have the same chance of getting ahead, "but Haitians have to work very hard." His mother also displayed an awareness of the negative social mirror through which blacks and Haitians are viewed, stating, "Discrimina-

tion exists in school. White kids have priority," further nothing that, "as blacks, we work hard, so I trust and respect my children and am their friend."

While this kind of lucid understanding of the obstacles to education that racism presents was a motivating factor for some, for others it brought on feelings of anger and/or helplessness. Joseph, another of our participants, was sure about the importance of school to one's future. When asked what advice he would give to a cousin who just arrived to the United States on how to be successful, he answered, "Go to school and learn." But he also felt the brunt of discrimination at school: "Most of the time when black students go to the office for issues with white students, the black students are always at fault." In Joseph's case, however, there was not as strong a sense that his family was fully aware of the issues he was dealing with in school, and so they were not able to provide the same kind of support that Johnny's family was. As the eighth child in a family of nine, Joseph faced a particular set of challenges due to his parents' age and failing health, and the seeming absence of support from his older sisters. Yet these two cases illustrate an important discovery in our exploration of the issues surrounding the hopes and dreams of Haitian immigrant youth. That is, children who seem most able to hang on to the hope that an American education will be their ticket to success have an important combination of awareness of the racism and discrimination they will face, learned both in the social curriculum of the "peer classroom" and sometimes in the home, and adequate support mechanisms, whether in the home or from outside sources, such as mentors or strong after-school programs. Those youths who are never able to shatter the image reflected to them by society's mirror, whether because they internalize it or feel overpowered by it, are those whose dreams "shrivel like raisins in the sun" due to a lack of strong personal determination and/or social support.

### Identity Styles: Pathways and Adaptation

Carola Suárez-Orozco and Marcelo Suárez-Orozco (2001) define a typology of identity styles that recognizes the incredibly fluid nature of ethnic identification among youth. Identities and styles of adaptation are powerfully linked to context and social mirroring. The identity style chosen by a young person has implications for adaptation to the new society, including schooling experiences. In some cases, the identity that is forged is highly focused on the culture of origin, with coethnics as the primary point of reference. In some of these cases, an identity that is adversarial to the dom-

inant culture may emerge. Alternatively, youth may embrace total assimilation and complete identification with American culture. And for some other youth, a hybrid identity incorporates selected aspects of both the culture of origin and American culture is forged. Within the same broad category, youth may go for her own way, resulting in various styles of adaptation along the spectrum.

### Coethnic Identities

Some immigrant-origin youth maintain a strong connection to their culture of origin. They may do so because they have limited opportunities to interact with other groups in the host culture. Or they may understand that a group with which they identify is even more disparaged than they are as immigrants. In some cases, immigrant individuals may distinguish themselves from the host culture in an attempt to ward off further disparagement. In conducting her research with second-generation youth, Portes (2001) found that those youth who had retained their French accents because they felt it distinguished them from other youth. In contrast, her participants who were born in the United States, those who migrated at younger ages, those who migrated critical of African American culture and did not associate with African Americans.

Other youth of immigrant origin may construct identities around rejecting—after the fashion of the dominant culture. Portes observes, "As second generation youth find their social status blocked, they may join native youth in taking an adversarial stance toward middle-class youth and present urban pathologies" (Portes 1993). These youth may see themselves structurally marginalized and may choose to respond to the challenges to their identity style of adaptation (Vigil 1988). These challenges are similar in ways to that of other marginalized youth, such as many inner-city, poor African Americans. In some cases, gazing back to previous waves of immigration and disenfranchised second-generation immigrants, and Polish American adolescents demon-

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inant culture may emerge. Alternatively, youth of immigrant origin may embrace total assimilation and complete identification with mainstream American culture. And for some other youth, a new ethnic identity that incorporates selected aspects of *both* the culture of origin and mainstream American culture is forged. Within the same family, each child may adopt his or her own way, resulting in various siblings occupying very different sectors of the spectrum.

### Coethnic Identities

Some immigrant-origin youth maintain a largely coethnic focus. Some may do so because they have limited opportunity to make meaningful contact with other groups in the host culture. Others may be responding to an understanding that a group with which they may have extensive contact is even more disparaged than they are as immigrants. Hence, Caribbean-origin individuals may distinguish themselves from African Americans in an attempt to ward off further disparagement (Waters 1999; Zéphir 1996). In conducting her research with second-generation Haitian youth, Zéphir (2001) found that those youth who had migrated at high school age and who thus retained their French accents bore these as a point of pride because they felt it distinguished them from African Americans. Compared to her participants who were born in the United States or who had migrated at younger ages, those who migrated as young adults were far more critical of African American culture and made conscious efforts not to associate with African Americans.

Other youth of immigrant origin may develop an adversarial stance constructing identities around rejecting—after having been rejected by—the institutions of the dominant culture. Princeton sociologist Alejandro Portes observes, "As second generation youth find their aspirations for wealth and social status blocked, they may join native minorities in the inner-city, adopting an adversarial stance toward middle-class white society, and adding to the present urban pathologies" (Portes 1993). Immigrant children who find themselves structurally marginalized and culturally disparaged are more likely to respond to the challenges to their identities by developing an adversarial style of adaptation (Vigil 1988). These children of immigrants are responding in similar ways to that of other marginalized youth in the United States, such as many inner-city, poor African Americans or Puerto Ricans. Likewise, gazing back to previous waves of immigration, many of the disparaged and disenfranchised second-generation Italian American, Irish American, and Polish American adolescents demonstrated a similar profile.

Among children of immigrants who gravitate toward adversarial styles, embracing aspects of the culture of the dominant group is equated with giving up one's own ethnic identity (Fordham and Ogbu 1986). Like other disenfranchised youth, children of immigrants who develop adversarial identities tend to encounter problems in school and drop out, and they consequently face unemployment in the formal economy. Among youth engaged in adversarial styles, speaking the standard language of the host culture and doing well in school may be interpreted as a show of *hauteur* and as a wish to "act white" (Fordham and Ogbu 1986). Navarrette recalls the taunts from his less successful peers: "They will call me 'Brain' as I walk through hallways in the junior high school. . . . They will accuse me, by virtue of my academic success, of 'trying to be white'" (Navarrette 1993, 260). When adolescents acquire cultural models that doing well in school is symbolically viewed as an act of ethnic betrayal, it becomes problematic for them to develop the behavioral and attitudinal repertoire necessary to succeed in school.

One of our Haitian participants, Anne-Marie, articulated the difficulty of being in a college preparatory track while the majority of her Haitian friends were not. When asked if her friends helped her in school, she responded, "No. They're not doing anything I'm doing. Where I am is too different from where they are. We have different classes, different work, different interests." And though she tried both to pursue her academic interests and remain connected to her Haitian peers, there were tensions: "I sometimes feel like I have to sit with Haitians, even if I don't want to, because otherwise they would talk and say that I am ignoring them."

The children of immigrants who are not able to embrace their own cultures and who have formulated their identities around rejecting aspects of the mainstream society may be drawn to gangs. For such youth, in the absence of meaningful opportunities, gang membership becomes incorporated into their sense of identity. Gangs offer their members a sense of belonging, solidarity, protection, support, discipline, and warmth. Gangs also structure the anger many feel toward the society that violently rejected their parents and them. Although many second-generation youth may look toward gangs for cues about dress, language, and attitude, most remain on the periphery and eventually outgrow the gang mystique after working through the identity issues of adolescence. Others drawn to the periphery—and even to the epicenter of gangs—are disproportionately represented in the penal system. The gang ethos provides a sense of identity and cohesion for marginal youth during a turbulent stage of development while facing urban poverty and limited economic opportunity, ethnic-minority status

discrimination, lack of training and educational institutions of school and family (Vigilante). While many adversarial youth may locate themselves within their immediate neighborhood, an extreme nationalism or radicalism. Algerian youth in France and arrested on suspicion of being involved in the attack on the American embassy in Paris. In 1992, Daoudi said, "I became aware of the existence of all those potential 'myselfs' who have become subcitizens just good for paying pension for only two choices left for me, either to sink or to react for about six months . . . or to react against the overwhelming unjust conditions." Clearly, adversarial styles quite severely affect the opportunities of immigrant-origin youth who are drawn to them because of poverty, inequality, and discrimination.

### *Ethnic Flight*

At the other end of the spectrum, some children of immigrants, identifying most strongly with their cultures, identify themselves as "ethnic" (Berry 1997). Taking ethnic flight, identifying most strongly with their culture, is a comfortable spending time with peers from their own culture with their less-aculturated peers. For the children of immigrants, standard English serves not only an instrumental purpose but it also becomes an important symbol of identification with the dominant culture. Among these youth, such as a route for individualistic self-advancement and psychologically move away from the ethnic group.

Often this identification with the new culture is a result of the weakening of ties to members of their own culture. People all too frequently are alienated from their own culture if they may have little in common or may feel inferior to them. While they may gain entry into the mainstream culture, they still have to deal with discrimination and exclusion.

Even when they do not feel a sense of identification with their peers, they may find their peer group could be interpreted as "ethnic betrayal."

who gravitate toward adversarial styles, the dominant group is equated with (Fordham and Ogbu 1986). Like other immigrants who develop adversarial stances in school and drop out, and they in the formal economy. Among youth speaking the standard language of the host may be interpreted as a show of hauteur (Fordham and Ogbu 1986). Navarrette recalls: "They will call me 'Brain' as I walk through school. . . . They will accuse me, by 'trying to be white'" (Navarrette 1993). Cultural models that doing well in school as ethnic betrayal, it becomes problematic and attitudinal repertoire necessary to

ts, Anne-Marie, articulated the difficulty to track while the majority of her Haitian friends helped her in school, she resented anything I'm doing. Where I am is to have different classes, different work, different Haitian peers, there were tensions: with Haitians, even if I don't want to, be and say that I am ignoring them." Those who are not able to embrace their own cultures, their identities around rejecting aspects drawn to gangs. For such youth, in the cities, gang membership becomes incorporated. Gangs offer their members a sense of support, discipline, and warmth. Gangs are a model toward the society that violently rejects them. Many second-generation youth may lose their language, and attitude, most remain drawn to the gang mystique after work. Others drawn to the peripheral areas—disproportionately represented—provide a sense of identity and coherence. This is a turbulent stage of development while facing economic opportunity, ethnic-minority status

and discrimination, lack of training and education, and a breakdown in the social institutions of school and family (Vigil 1988).

While many adversarial youth may locally enact delinquent behaviors within their immediate neighborhood, an adversarial stance may lead to extreme nationalism or radicalism. Algerian-born Kamel Daoudi was raised in France and arrested on suspicion of being part of an al-Qaeda plot to blow up the American embassy in Paris. In an essay sent to TV network France 2, Daoudi said, "I became aware of the abominable social treatment given all those potential 'myselfes' who have been conditioned to become subcitizens just good for paying pension for the real French. . . . There are only two choices left for me, either to sink into a deep depression, and I did for about six months . . . or to react by taking part in the universal struggle against the overwhelming unjust cynicism" (Sciolino 2002).

Clearly, adversarial styles quite severely compromise the future opportunities of immigrant-origin youth who already are at risk of school failure because of poverty, inequality, and discrimination.

### *Ethnic Flight*

At the other end of the spectrum, some children of immigrant origin shed their cultures, identifying most strongly with the dominant mainstream culture (Berry 1997). Taking ethnic flight, these youth may feel most comfortable spending time with peers from the mainstream culture rather than with their less-aculturated peers. For these youth, learning to speak standard English serves not only an instrumental function of communicating, but it also becomes an important symbolic act of identifying with the dominant culture. Among these youth, success in school may be seen both as a route for individualistic self-advancement and as a way to symbolically and psychologically move away from the world of the family and the ethnic group.

Often this identification with the mainstream culture results in the weakening of ties to members of their own ethnic group. These young people all too frequently are alienated from their less-aculturated peers; they may have little in common or may even feel they are somewhat superior to them. While they may gain entry into privileged positions within the mainstream culture, they still have to deal with issues of marginalization and exclusion.

Even when they do not feel a sense of hauteur toward their ethnic peers, they may find their peer group unforgiving of any behaviors that should be interpreted as "ethnic betrayal." It is not necessary for the child of

an immigrant to consciously decide to distance himself from his culture. Among some ethnic groups, merely being a good student will result in sanctioning by peers. Accusations of "acting white" or of being a "coconut," a "banana," or an "Oreo" (brown, yellow, or black on the outside and white on the inside) are not infrequent (Fordham and Ogbu 1986).

In an earlier era of scholarship, this style of adaptation was termed "passing" (De Vos 1992). While there were gains for the children of immigrants who "disappeared" into the mainstream culture, there were also hidden costs—primarily in terms of unresolved shame, doubt, and self-hatred. While passing may have been a common style of adaptation among those who phenotypically "looked" like the mainstream, it is not easily available to today's immigrants of color who visibly look like the "Other." Further, while ethnic flight is a form of adaptation that can be adaptive in terms of "making it" by the mainstream society's standards, it frequently comes at a significant social and emotional cost.

Among Haitians, the term for youth who adopt this identity style is "undercover Haitians." Zéphir (2001) describes them in this way:

Undercover second-generation Haitian immigrants go to great length [*sic*] to conceal any trace of their Haitian identity directly associated with Haiti. They endeavor to camouflage as much evidence of their origin as they can. For them, Haiti and Haitians are symbols of shame and embarrassment and are constant reminders of a difficult past that must be discarded. Undercover Haitian youth believe that there is absolutely nothing to be gained from claiming any sort of Haitianness. On the contrary, they are convinced that it is an invitation to be ridiculed, to be labeled, to be marginalized, and to be excluded altogether from meaningful participation in American life. (99)

Haitian youth born in the United States who choose to go undercover often identify as African Americans, while those who migrated later in life and thus still carry an accent claim to be from Canada, France, or some other French-Caribbean country. In our studies, we did not have occasion to interact with young people who were in denial of being Haitian altogether, though Doucet had difficulty recruiting U.S.-born participants in certain schools, partly because some students chose not to identify as Haitian or Haitian American.

### ***Transcultural Identities***

In between the coethnic and ethnic-flight gravitational fields, we find the large majority of children of immigrants. The task of immigration for

the children is crafting a transcultural identity that fully fuse aspects of two or more cultures. In so doing, they require them to choose between cultures and to develop an identity that incorporates traits from both additive elements (Falicov 2002).

For those of Latino origin, this state is called "Spanglish." He defines "the root of the problem" as being. It is displacement from one place to another, which one feels at home in both places. Spanglish is the state of belonging to two cultures, and not being confused or hurt by the identity challenge of youth of immigrants. The task requires crafting new cultural forms that bridge their own and foreign. These children develop competencies that become an integral part of their lives.

Among youth engaged in bicultural schooling, social strictures and patterns of social control in school are viewed as competent. They maintain a degree of legitimacy. Like their parents, well in school are viewed as competent. They have a sense of who they are. These youth are seen by members of their own ethnic group as well as by employers, colleagues, and friends of other ethnic groups. In recent years have demonstrated a link between bicultural pathways and academic outcomes (Gibson 2002). These studies suggest a pattern that immigrants who develop bicultural identities are the most successful.

Many who successfully "make it" in the United States have made sacrifices that loved ones have made to get to this country. Rather than wishing to distance themselves, youth come to experience success as a result of their sacrifices. At times, they experience a sense of the deprivation their parents endured in order to move to the new land. Success in school serves not only the individual's self-advancement and independence, but also, importantly, the expressive function of making a contribution by "becoming a somebody." To "make it" means to contribute by "giving back" to parents, siblings, and members of the community.



We view the transcultural identities as the most adaptive of the three styles in this era of globalism and multiculturalism. They blend the preservation of affective ties to the home culture with the acquisition of instrumental competencies required to cope successfully in the mainstream culture. This identity style not only serves the individual well, but it also benefits the society at large. It is precisely such transcultural individuals who Stonequist argued would be best suited to become the "creative agents" who might "contribute to the solution of the conflict of races and cultures" (Stonequist 1937, 15).

By acquiring competencies that enable them to operate within more than one cultural code, immigrant youth are at an advantage. These styles of adaptation are highly context dependent and fluid. An immigrant youth might first gravitate toward one style of adaptation. Over time, as she matures and as her context changes, she may be drawn into new attitudes and social behaviors. The unilinear assimilationist model that results in styles of adaptation we term ethnic flight is no longer feasible. Today's immigrants are not unambivalently invited to join the mainstream society. The rapid abandonment of the home culture implied in ethnic flight almost always results in the collapse of the parental voice of authority. Furthermore, lack of group connectedness results in anomie and alienation. The key to a successful adaptation involves the acquisition of competencies that are relevant to the global economy while maintaining the social networks and connectedness essential to the human condition. Those who are at ease in multiple social and cultural contexts will be most successful and will be able to achieve higher levels of maturity and happiness.

## Conclusion

Given that today nearly 80 percent of the new immigrants are of color emigrating from the "developing world"—Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia (Edmonston and Passel 1994; Fix and Passel 1994)—a pattern of racialization and adversarial identity formation within the school context is deeply concerning. In our increasingly globalized world, education becomes ever more crucial for functioning (M. M. Suárez-Orozco and Qin-Hilliard 2004; Bloom 2004). Formulating identities that allow the individuals involved to move fluidly from context to context becomes critical to future functioning as a global citizen.

As educators, we have a responsibility to place the tolerance—and even celebration—of cultural differences at the very core of our educational agenda. Such an "end" could serve to provide a core meaningful educa-

al narrative that "envisions a future . . . of conduct, provides a source of authenticity, continuity of purpose" (Postman 1995, 5). This is not only in those who already reside in the United States, but also among the widely diverse newcomers who are entering the country. We must allow newcomers to retain their cultural roots and origin while facilitating their entrance into the mainstream. We must help them to successfully navigate in our multicultural world, preparing them to be global citizens.

## Notes

1. Peasant, uneducated, unrefined, hillbilly, etc.
2. Participant names are fictitious.

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tional narrative that "envisions a future . . . constructs ideals . . . prescribes rules of conduct, provides a source of authority, and above all gives a sense of continuity of purpose" (Postman 1995, 5–6). Tolerance must be fostered not only in those who already reside in the receiving context but also among the widely diverse newcomers who are sharing the new social space. We must allow newcomers to retain a sense of pride in their cultures of origin while facilitating their entrance into the new milieu. Preparing youth to successfully navigate in our multicultural world is essential to preparing them to be global citizens.

## Notes

1. Peasant, uneducated, unrefined, hillbilly, servant.
2. Participant names are fictitious.

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## Ethnic Identities of Moroccans in Belgium and the Netherlands

PHILIP HERMANS



### Moroccans in Belgium and the Netherlands,<sup>1</sup>

IN BELGIUM AND THE NETHERLANDS,<sup>1</sup> a region of northwestern Europe, Moroccans are one of the largest immigrant groups. In 2004, the largest immigrant groups in Belgium were Moroccans and Surinamese. In 2004, the largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands were Moroccans and Surinamese. In both countries, most Moroccans live in the bigger cities; both capitals (Brussels and Amsterdam) as Antwerp, Rotterdam, and Utrecht. Moroccan immigration from northwestern Africa started in the 1960s, when both countries opened up their borders because of labor shortages. The first generation of Moroccans was composed of Berbers from the north of Morocco, and many had a high level of formal education. They were employed as Moroccan guest workers, as they were a common phenomenon. Only gradually did they realize that their immigration meant that it took a long time before general migration and integration<sup>3</sup> policies and laws from Morocco was halted in the 1970s. Moroccan migration laws was introduced progressively, and Moroccans still immigrate every year to Belgium and the Netherlands. In this way, a first generation