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> "It's the kind of spat that flares thousands of times a day in schools all over the country. But at Public School 34 in Queens Village, Assistant Professor Nancy Miller's ghastly way of handling a minor scuffle between two Haitian fourth graders has sparked fury. According to parents and students, Miller, who is white, chose to punish all 13 Haitian pupils in the school's only fourth-grade bilingual class--even though just two were involved in the March 16th incident. She ordered all 13 to sit on the cafeteria floor, then made them use their fingers to eat their lunch of chicken and rice, while the other students watched.
>
> "In Haiti, they treat you like animals, and I will treat you the same way here," several students recalled Miller saying.
>
> Some of the punished fourth graders were so humiliated they began to cry. A few begged Miller for spoons to eat…..
>
> One of those punished was Woosevelt Isac. His father, Sony Isac, noticed the boy was upset that night. "He was almost crying", Isac said yesterday. "I asked him what was wrong. Then he told me, 'They put me sitting on the floor. They put me to eat with my hands.' I couldn't believe it."
>
> -Juan Gonzalez, NY Daily News
>
> April 12, 2005[1]

The coming of age process for any adolescent or teenager is a pivotal and challenging life course experience. In the case of the children of immigrants, this process of negotiating identities, beliefs and practices of home, school and neighborhood is all the more complex. Second generation immigrants must negotiate a multiplicity of worlds: that of their parent's country of origin and the specific geographical sector of America in which they settle. This process is all the more difficult when second generation immigrants have to face an identity loaded with negative cultural baggage and an ambiguous social status. As seen in the case of Haitian students at Public School 34 on Queens, NY, the poor context of reception of immigrant parents translates into real moments of discrimination that cause social-psychological trauma and "identity trouble" during the formative years of a youth's

[1] New York Daily News Article: "Queens School Disgrace: Outrage as Haitian Kids Have to Eat like Animals"

life (Smith 2008; Stepick 2001). Consequently, this paper will examine the acculturation process of second generation Haitian immigrants in multi-ethnic black area in Queens, New York where Public School 34 is spatially located. Specifically, this research will focus on the process of intergenerational mobility experienced by the children of Haitian immigrants and the ways in which it relates to their ethnic identity, racial background and experiences in social institutions.

Segmented Assimilation and the Second Generation

The sociological literature has long ago departed from a traditional assimilationist perspective that posits that the second generation will leave their parent's home country practices and beliefs behind and become full members of the dominant white middle class (Gordon 1964). The segmented assimilation model outlines the myriad of integration pathways and outcomes of second-generation immigrants (Alba 1999; Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, and Haller 2005; Portes and MacLeod 1996; Waters 1994; Zhou 1997). Portes and Zhou (1993) coined the term "divergent destinies" when describing the growing disparities between the outcomes of immigrants of color in the United States. Segmented assimilation theory outlines what determines the segments of American society that second-generation groups will integrate into. The theory unpacks the competing factors of social mobility: human and social capital, modes of incorporation (context of reception and discrimination), geographical settlement and economic resources. A group's incorporation, the ways in which different immigrant groups are received through policy, public reception, and the socioeconomic makeup of preexisting co-ethnic community dictates the socioeconomic structure of recent immigrants, their networks, communities and, ultimately, the relationship between the parents and their children. In this context, discrimination matters:

experience with differential treatment in places of learning, work, and play are strong determinants of an immigrant groups ability to integrate into respective segments of American society (Rumbaut 2001).

The segmented assimilation theory proposes comprehensive, but not deterministic, pathways of acculturation: *selective acculturation, dissonant acculturation and consonant assimilation*. In *selective acculturation*, second-generation youth are able to keep some of the beliefs and practices of their parents' country of origin, while integrating into American life on some levels. Because the immigrant youth are able to retain respect and connections to their parent's cultural and social practices, and simultaneously navigate the "American" sector of their lives, they are believed to have an edge in the education and occupational mobility process*. Consonant acculturation* occurs when immigrant youth are learning and navigating the American lives alongside their parents. Therefore, this similar pace of integration allows parents to sympathize with their children's shifting lives and identities in school and community. This relationship is complicated, however, by the immigrant child's increasing awareness of racial and ethnic discrimination and unfavorable psycho-social adaptation patterns. In *dissonant acculturation*, immigrant youth depart from the cultural beliefs of parents and home country and adopt oppositional behaviors in an effort to integrate and find acceptance in the American sector that they want to integrate into.

In traditional discourses, black immigrants (Afro-Caribbean and Haitian immigrants) are often theorized as falling in the dissonant acculturation category because of interactions of neighborhood effects, lower socioeconomic status and adoption of the contested notion of "oppositional cultures" or reactive ethnicities (Portes, Fernandez-Kelly,

and Haller 2005). This may be the story of some, but not all black immigrants. The diversity of the black immigrant population complicates this simple understanding of black immigrant trajectories (Kasinitz 2008b).

Second Generation Haitian Immigrants: Possible Pathway?

Black second generation immigrants, based on a combination of racial, class, neighborhood effects have been said to be on a fragile path that is leading them to *downward assimilation*[2]. Black immigrant parents must confront and integrate into alleged "underclass" black communities, where battles between the home and the "streets" (drugs, gang violence, poor schools) further complicate the trajectories of the black immigrant second generation (Waters 1994). Other scholars, however, put forward a contrasting view, where black immigrants in places like New York and Miami are experiencing upward mobility and integrating into old and burgeoning black native middle class communities (Kasinitz 2008a; Kasinitz 2008b). These communities are said to have "real resources", which provide social and cultural capital to second generation black immigrants and therefore, accelerates their transition into and success in various social, educational and occupational institutions.

Second generation Haitian immigrants, on the other hand, have an interesting, uni-dimensional position in this discourse. Academic work on this population, particularly in

[2] According to Kasinitz, Mollenkompf and Waters(2004) interpretation of the segmented assimilation literature, second generation immigrants are said to either "assimilate into mainstream America(white) middle class culture, remaining within an ethnic or immigrant enclave culture, or embracing a native minority oppositional culture and identity. They see the first two paths as leading to upward mobility and generally positive outcomes for the second generation. The last path leads to downward mobility, with anti-social behavior"(395). Clearly, this interpretation relegates native blacks to one class, low income/poor which will be problematized in this paper.

the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), Haitians are said to be an at risk population (Stepick and Stepick 1990). They are experiencing "identity trouble", which is defined as the difficulty Haitian youth experience when publicly identifying themselves as Haitian because of a historically negative reception from black ethnic groups and other racial groups (Stepick 2001). Rumbaut and Portes (2001) and colleagues have concluded that:

> "Haitian immigrants in southern Florida have suffered not only from a generally hostile governmental reception but from widespread social and labor market discrimination as well. Combined with the low average human capital of the first generation, this has produced what is arguably the most impoverished immigrant community in the region…the process of assimilation of the Haitian second generation inexorably leads into black America, as mainstream society fails to make any distinction between immigrant and native blacks and discriminates against them in equal fashion. Given their poverty, Haitian immigrants seldom join the African American middle class but instead settle in close proximity to the most downtrodden sectors of the native minority. In Miami's inner city schools, Haitian-American youths are regularly exposed to patterns of acculturation inimical to educational achievement and upward mobility. Surrounded by a weak ethnic community, only parents and families stand as barriers to socialization into this path" (305).

According to this account of Haitian immigrants, we see that the integration process of second generation immigrants is unfavorable. However, a limit of the literature on second generation immigration, in general, is that it makes sweeping group comparisons that do not account for the differences within ethnic groups, either regional or along class lines (Kasinitz 2008a).

The Haitian community of interest in this study departs from traditional monolithic depictions. This Haitian community resides in a less traveled section of the muti-racial and multi-ethnic New York metropolis. The area is middle class, residential and socially mobile. Their location and socioeconomic makeup inspires a new way of questioning and assessing the social integration of second-generation Haitian immigrant, which is traditionally,

conducted with poor/working class immigrants in Florida and Brooklyn, New York (Stepick 2001; Zephir 2001). Therefore, this is a good setting to test how socioeconomic and class resources of immigrant parents are related to identity and aspirations among their children and the mechanisms that mediate this relationship, if any.

Conceptual Framework:

This study is unique because of its potential empirical contribution to discussions of immigrant integration. The research site is the Eastern New York City, known as Jamaica , Queens; a place heavily populated by immigrant and ethnic communities of mixed socioeconomic status.

The important characteristics of the Haitian immigrant community in Jamaica, Queens are as follows (See Tabes 1-3 for further detail):

a. The human and social capital of the first generation Haitian community is relatively high, as are their economic resources (professional jobs, high incomes, and home ownership).
b. Reside in a mixed Afro-Caribbean, Haitian and African American suburban area.
c. The second generation attends prestigious private schools and better performing New York City public schools.

With these demographic characteristics and previous work on Haitian immigrants in mind, the driving question of this empirical work inquires: What kinds of are the aspirations, attitudes, and beliefs of Haitian second generation youngsters? What type of identities are they taking on? Are middle class Haitian parents able to pass on middle class

aspirations and attitudes to their children? What kinds of aspirations are they developing? And what is, if at all, the relationship between aspirations and identities?

According to the segmented assimilation models, class background, value systems and acceptance of parental background, determines the integration paths second-generation immigrants (Bankston and Zhou 1997; Neckerman, Carter, and Lee 1999; Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997). As demonstrated in Figure 1., there are a myriad of possibilities in the case of this Haitian youth population. They could adopt middle class values and behaviors of parents, however, identify as non-Haitian immigrant. For example, the second generation youth in this study could identify as black immigrant, African American, etc and embrace middle class values around education, aspirations and mobility. Therefore, identifying with parent's country of origin may not be necessary for advancing in American society. The other possibility is that second generation Haitian immigrants will identify with their parent's country of origin but will be poor-working class, and will not embrace middle class life narratives. Therefore, the pathway for social mobility for these youth is the structural institutions of education, which can potentially select them out of "downward assimilation". The final possibility is that the youth in this study do not identify with their parent's country of origin and do not have a middle class values and practices around education and social mobility. These youth are in the most problematic position and are set up on a pathway of dissonant acculturation and 'downward assimilation'.

(Figure 1.):

Identify with Parent's Country of Origin

Yes **No**

Yes	*Selective Acculturation*	Local Acculturation?

Middle Class Values

No	*Low Resources* *Ethnic Community*	*'Downward Assimilation'*

I will test this selective acculturation hypothesis. According to my hypothesis, middle class aspirations are related to identification with the parent's country of origin. Middle class values will be operationalized through youth educational aspirations, values and belief systems around social mobility. Adoption of parents' immigrant background will be operationalized as how youth self-identify in everyday interactions with peers in school and neighborhood.

Hypothesis:

Considering the segmented assimilation model, we can come to some conclusions about what to expect from second-generation Haitian immigrants in Queens, NY. Based on past literature on middle class immigrants (Lee 2004) and Haitians (Nicholas, Stepick, and Stepick 2008; Zephir 2001) the middle class status of the community and the parent sample, the unfavorable context of reception experienced by the Haitian community and identity trouble, the second generation's residence and/or ties to the Haitian ethnic community through the enclave, and high achievement aspirations, I hypothesize *that the second*

generation immigrants in this sample are on a pathway of experiencing selective acculturation.

The pathway to selective acculturation unfolds when youth identify with their parent's country of origin and have a shared value system as their parents around education and social mobility (middle class values). Based on the social stigmas placed on Haitian identity, I expect that youth will experience racial and ethnic based discrimination. This experience with discrimination is likely to create tensions between Haitians and other black ethnic groups and perhaps create barriers to Haitian youth perceiving commonalities across ethnicity and identifying and integrating into African American and West Indian communities. In order to test these hypotheses, we examine qualitative data on ethnic identity and aspirations of second generation Haitian individuals in a black middle class area of Queens, New York, their family structure, ties to the Haitian ethnic community, social interactions in school and other social institutions and the relevance of class for this immigrant second generation's experiences.

Methodology:

In 2000, New York City's Haitian community consisted of approximately 160,319 across the metropolitan area, with clusters of settlement totaling 74,512 in Brooklyn and 34,699 in Queens (Census 2000)). The vast majority of Haitians and their children reside in Brooklyn, New York. This population is largely working class and lower middle class and reside in Flatbush and Crown Heights areas. The more professional and affluent Haitian population occupy brownstone homes in Park Slope and single family homes in Midwood and Canarsie (Zephir 2001).

Further east on Long Island exists a more middle class Haitian population who has migrated to Queens and Long Island in search of better living standards, homeownership and better schooling for their children. Settlement of the Haitian community in this area of Queens began as early as the 1970's. The first settlers were middle class and professional Haitians who were a part of earlier Haitian migration waves to the United States (Zephir 2001). They moved either straight from Haiti, Florida or shouldering immigrant communities in Brooklyn and Manhattan. Today's Haitian community in Queens is heavily concentrated and exists within a larger Afro- Caribbean and African American area, with a rich socio-cultural history and pockets of immigrant enclaves (see Appendix A).

According to the New York City Department of City Planning (2000), this area falls into Community District 13 (see Appendix for geographic and demographic detail). Respondents were chosen from this Southeastern Queens area, which is comprised of defined but intermixed neighborhoods such as Cambria Heights, Rosedale, Laurelton, Queens Village and bordering sections of Long Island such as West Hempstead. This site

was chosen because of its high concentration of black immigrants particularly middle income, and home owning black immigrants. Haitians are the second highest population of foreign born in this district. Recent reports have noted that household incomes in this section of Queens have exceeded that of whites, a rare national phenomenon (Roberts 2006). The eastern Queens area is a former Irish- Italian Catholic and Jewish area. The white flight phenomena in the mid 20th century created a predominately black, racially segregated community. The area was succeeded by a burgeoning black middle class and is historically one of the most socially and culturally rich black areas in the New York Metropolitan area[3]. In recent years, its black immigrant population has grown in presence and socio-political influence.

This study draws upon a qualitative methodology consisting of in depth interviews, a focus group, key informant interviews and participant observations with immigrant youth and their parents. Teenagers born of first generation Haitian immigrant parents who are either American born, or have resided in the U.S. for more than approximately 4 years were the target sample. Interviews were conducted with parents in order to frame the family's migration and socioeconomic history. Twelve youth interviews and 10 parent interviews were conducted, totaling coverage of 12 Haitian families. The ages of the second generation youth respondents ranged from 14-18 and the gender break down is 8 females and 4 males. The youth in the sample were a mixture of 1.5 and second-generation Haitian immigrants, born in the U.S. of at least one immigrant parent, or born in Haiti with at least 4 years in the U.S. One focus group with 5 youth and 7 open-ended and informal interviews with key informants were also conducted. Key Informants included community leaders such as two

[3] Greater Jamaica Development Area .http://www.gjdc.org/

Catholic priests, 3 youth group leaders, one community organization director and one school teacher.

The project's sampling was conducted mainly through a public school, Christian and Catholic Churches, community organizations in the area, and snowballing. Contact was initially made with youth during or after scheduled weekly group meetings. Second generation respondents were recruited with the help of youth group leaders in each of these sites. Since the target population of this study is under the age of 18, acquisition of parental consent and youth assent was required in order to conduct interviews. Since this was a 'vulnerable population', I recruited respondents from scheduled youth group meetings in churches and in schools. There were no refusals when recruiting, although non-responses to follow up contact with child and parent through telephone calls to the home did occur. Interviews were conducted in respondents' place of residents or public venues such as cafes and restaurants. If initial interest in participation was expressed by youth, contact was made with parents to acquire consent to interview the child and one parent in the household.

Observations were conducted in respondents' homes, youth meetings in church and school and in community organizations. In respondent's homes, I was attuned to the interactions between siblings and parents as it related to language use, cultural practices, and obedience. Also, I was interested in the ways in which cultural beliefs and/or practices manifested in interactions and the physical makeup of households. I carried out these observations during the interview process in homes of respondents. I was also invited to family gatherings in the homes of respondent's relatives and used these situations for

further observation of child parent dynamics. In youth meetings, I sought to understand the texture of interactions between youth of different ethnic groups, particularly as it related to Haitian youth. In community organizations, I observed the ways in which staff interacted with the Haitian immigrant clientele and the documents left for distribution and information sharing in the office.

Since students were recruited from specific religious and educational institutions, and this is a non-random sampling procedure, this is acknowledged as a shortcoming of this research. The evidence in this project tells the story of a small segment of the Haitian second generation youth who are in school or attend religious organizations. Therefore, this sample may emphasize the importance of these organizations in the lives of second generation Haitian youth in this area and of their families. Referral interviews were conducted, and may also introduce bias into the sample because youth and families tend to have similar and shared characteristics that may skew variation in this sample. There are a larger number of females in the sample, but much work was done to recruit the number of males who were in the study. This bias in the sample was dealt with by limiting this project's ability to speak to the experiences of the general population of students in this middle class community who may not attend school or church or were not at church or community organizations or school during recruitment days. Further research on this topic will attempt to include a more diverse sample of students.

Social and Economic Background: (See Table 1.-3. for detail)

Parents had an array of professional degrees and occupations in medicine, business, and entrepreneurial jobs. This was a highly educated group and the majority are

homeowners. There was a smaller presence of parents with just high school degrees/certificates and working class/service occupations. These households were renters in middle-income neighborhoods. Parent jobs were both located within and outside of the black immigrant enclave of Cambria Heights. There were parents who worked within the Haitian ethnic enclave as community organization directors and parish secretaries, an entrepreneur who worked from home, and a business analyst worked in central city Manhattan.

The sample contained a mixture of two parent and single parent households with an average of two children residing with them. There was one case of a child living with their grandmother, but this was due to recent domestic conflict within the immediate family household. In this special circumstance, an interview was conducted with one parent (the mother), although her daughter lived in a separate residence with her grandmother. This separation was recent, and this seemed like the appropriate methodological choice because the respondent was raised with her parent up to the age of 16 and therefore, did much of her social learning in her primary home. Otherwise, there was a presence of transient grandparents[4] who lived in the households of several of the families interviewed during several points throughout the year.

The majority of youth in the sample were U.S. born. All youth respondents were born of first or 1.5 generation Haitian parents. A minority of youth were born in Haiti, but

[4] Much like trends in transnational immigration, many parents reported that their parents migrated from Haiti, or other U.S. locations during the year. Therefore, there was a presence of grandparents in the immediate family household at various points throughout the year. There was great variation, however, between the lengths of stay of the grandparent's (one week to half a year). This is likely to affect the children's ethnic identity and Haitian language capability. This also has implications on discipline within the home and the social resources available to the family.

have lived in the U.S. for more than four years. Youth with less than four years in the United States were excluded from the sample because of their limited experience and interactions in formal institutions being looked at in this study. All respondents attended high school, many in the latter part of their high school careers, with a roughly even amount attending private (5) and public school(7). School choice was dictated both by class, perceptions of private and public school education and location. Some parents who resided in Western Long Island demonstrated an interesting pattern. They resided in neighborhoods with better performing schools in the city, but still chose to send their children to private schools outside of their counties' boundaries, causing longer commutes. This was an effort to provide their children with what they perceived to be a better, more disciplined and necessary private education. Parents with children in local Queens public high schools in residentially mixed communities believed that their area public schools were just as good as any schooling institution and believed their child could acquire a good education in any school they attended, even if it had a reputation for violence and low academic performance. Parents in this sample believed very strongly in the value of education, but used different avenues to provide what they perceived as the best education for their children according to their economic means and belief in their child's academic capabilities and discipline.

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Table 1. Haitian Family Sample-Demographic Characteristics (2008-2009)

	Age	Gender	U.S. Born	Parent SES/ Home-Ownership	Parent Occupation/ Education	Two Parent Home	School Type	Grade	GPA	Siblings
Family 1	17	F	Yes	Middle-Middle Class/ Yes	Medical Lab Technician/ B.S.	No	Public	12th	85%	2
Family 2	17	M	Yes	Low Middle Class/No	Retail Manager/A.S.	No	Public	12th	83%	19
Family 3	16	M	Yes	Middle-Middle Class/Yes	Respiratory Therapist/ A.S.	Yes	Public	11th	80%	2
Family 4	15	F	Yes	Middle-Middle Class/Yes	Registered Nurse/ A.S Nursing	No	Private	10th	87%	1
Family 5	17	F	Yes	Middle-Middle Class/Yes	Bank Credit Analyst/B.B.A	Yes	Private	12th	91%	1
Family 6	17	F	Yes	Middle-Middle Class/ Yes	Parish Secretary/ B.A.	Yes	Private	12th	91%	2
Family 7	17	F	Yes	Middle-Middle Class/Yes	Child Care Business-Owner/B.A.	Yes	Private	12th	96%	4
Family 8	17	F	Yes	Middle-Middle Class/Yes	Director, Non-Profit/M.B.A.	Yes	Private	12th	85%	3
Family 9	18	M	No	Working Class/No	School Bus Attendant/ High School	No	Public	12th	84%	1
Family 10	17	M	No	Low-Middle Class/No	Retired Nurse/ C.N.A. Certificate	Yes	Public	12th	80%	1
Family 11	14	F	Yes	Middle-Middle Class/Yes	Practicing Nurse/B.A.	Yes	Public	9th	80%	1
Family 12	17	F	No	Low-Middle Class/No	Nurse's Aide/GED & C.N.A.	No	Public	12th	96%	0

Table 2. Demographic Profile of Jamaica, Queens-New York City, 2000

Characteristics	Jamaica, Queens
Number of Tracts	130
Total Population	348,035
Black Population	264, 035
% white	4
% black (total)	75.7
%African American	51.3
%Afro-Caribbean	23.3
%Hispanic (total)	10
%Asian (total)	7.5
%immigrants	37
%recent immigrants	27.6
%other language	23.1
%non-citizen, blacks	14
% home-owners	67
% below poverty line	10.4
% college educated	18.8
% unemployed	9
Median income, total	$49, 382
Median income, white	$38,695
Median income, black	$50,971
Median income, Hispanic	$47,823
Median income, Asian	$52,511

Source: "People and Politics in America's Big Cities", John Logan and John Mollenkopf- Drum Major Institute for Public Policy

Table 3.Demographic Characteristics of Community District 13, 2000

	Community District 13		Queens		New York City	
	Total	**%**	**Total**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
Total Population	196,284		2,229,379		8,008,278	
Total College Grads	31,241	15.9	366,872	16.5	1,446, 833	18.1
Total High Graduates	36,855	18.7	418, 381	18.7	1,289,335	16.1
Individuals b/t age of 15-19	13, 175	6.7	137,692	6.2	520,641	6.5
White Non-Hispanic	36,145	18.4	982,725	44.1	3,576,385	44.7
Black/African American Non-Hispanic	108,244	55.1	446,189	20.0	2,129,762	26.6
Asian Non-Hispanic	20,113	10.2	391,500	17.6	787,047	9.8
American Indian Non-Hispanic	604	0.3	11,077	0.5	41,289	0.5
Other Race, non-Hispanic	2,674	1.4	260,387	11.7	1,074,406	13.4
Non-Hispanic of Two or More Races	8,031	4.1	136,170	6.1	393,959	4.9
Hispanic Origin	20,473	4.1	556,605	25.0	2,160,554	27
Median Household Income	$57, 082		$43, 020		$38, 519	
Median Family Income	$63, 080		$48,729		$42,235	

*Community District 13 encompasses the most eastern section of Queens, that borders Nassua County. Within this district lie Glen Oaks, New Hyde Park, Bellrose, Queens Village, Cambria Heights, Laurelton, Rosedale, Brookville and Springfield Gardens South. The district is bounded by JFK International Airport, Southern Parkway, Springfield Boulevard, Francis Lewis Boulevard and Grand Central Parkway. Within this district, we find a large population of foreign born and native blacks, Haitians comprising the second most populous black foreign born population in the area.

Source: NYC Department of City Planning (2000)

Family: First and Second Generation Connections

In interviews with second generation Haitian youth in Cambria Heights, several answers and questions about second generation acculturation patterns emerged. Consequently, this paper will outline and unpack the findings as they relate to immigrant identity, aspirations and their relationship to selective acculturation patterns. We have outlined the details of the geographical area of study, methodology and relevant social and economic characteristics of the sample. Now, we will unpack in further detail parents' migration history, beliefs and practices and culture. We will then discuss youth, their Haitian identity, class values, perceptions of discrimination and educational aspirations as factors in their acculturation experiences.

Migration and Settlement:

Studies that examine the plight of the second generation are naturally stories about their first generation parents and their migration histories. Reasons for migration, the moving process and the experiences upon arrival tell an important story about family history and the ways this history informs the outcomes of subsequent generations.

The time of arrival of parents to the United States and residence in New York were consistent across the sample, with one exception. The decision to pursue a life in New York was made by their family members , or parents, limiting their agency in the migration process. Parents resided in the United States between 23 to 40 years, with one outlier who

is a recent arrival (arrived 4 years ago). This respondent was included in the sample because she provided a contrasting perspective on the relationship between time of arrival, class dynamics and integration. Parents in this study bordered a first and 1.5 generation status, as many spent a significant amount of time in the American formal high school and post-secondary education system. The consistency in the amount of time spent in the U.S. allowed for a better understanding of a parental generation who experienced the poorest context of reception in their younger years in the United States in the 1980's and the ways in which it relates to their experiences and the outcomes of their children. All parents reported experiencing some form of racial and/or discrimination during their time in the United States, whether racial or ethnicity based from blacks, whites, Latinos and Asians. Most reported experiencing higher levels of discrimination upon arrival, all reported experiencing differential treatment throughout their experiences in the U.S. educational and occupational sectors and some continued to perceive this discrimination in their current lives in workplaces, shopping centers and banks.

One father, Michael, who arrived to the United States in his teenage years noted, "They treated Haitians like dirt. African Americans and Jamaicans would make our lives very hard when we just wanted to go to school to learn. It was very tough. Haitians had to fight for their respect". Antoinette, a mother, who is currently a school bus attendant, but formerly a university secretary in Haiti, claimed that she was a victim of preferences and experienced discrimination in the working world because of her limited English language capability: "I have studied French all my life, and spent all this time in school. But when you come to the United States, and you are not Latino and everything is not translated for you in Spanish, you look like someone who has never read and never written. I have me secretarial

degree and if you give me a book and a test, I can kill it. I get it. I just cannot respond as fast". This sentiment was a general pattern across the parent interviews. Many noted that they were immigrant, but had many more obstacles than Anglophone and Spanish speaking immigrants upon arrival, before they became English proficient and fluent. This, perhaps, demonstrates a preference for certain types of immigrants. They also reported high levels of discrimination at the hands of other immigrants and people of color in places of work, schooling and residence, a reality made possible by New York's racially and ethnically diverse landscape.

Antoinette also provided a more complex understanding of discrimination that echoes middle class and immigrant ideologies found in previous academic work (Lee 2004). Although she understood how odds were stacked against her because of language, racial and ethnic background, she also believed there to be an abundance of opportunities. She believes that the problems of social mobility among Haitians and blacks alike are not merely structural or race issues, but personal ones as well.

"There is no country in the world that is more tolerant than the U.S. It takes everyone. If you have rights, then it will give you rights. If you have rights, they will give you the same rights as whites. You are the one who can cross that trust and make whites treat you different. When you come, it's not easy to see whites throwing trash on the street. Most of the time, it's the blacks killing the blacks, that are killing whites. They are the ones that are making them look at us (blacks) poorly. But the blacks who are doing well, whites respect them. It's because you are doing something wrong that makes them not respect you. There are whites who see you doing well who will smile and encourage you and make use of you, but there are blacks who will not want to see you advance, who will be jealous of you. It's you, not the Americans who are holding you back. You close your own doors".

Here we see two conflicting themes about mobility: acknowledging the restrictive nature of mobility in the U.S and the 'American Dream' narratives of individualism, work ethic, abundant opportunities and success. This sentiment is important in understanding the

tensions experienced by a black ethnic population that confronts discrimination from co-ethnics, other blacks and racial groups, yet continues to perceive the opportunity structure as open and responsive to their hard work. This is in direct contrast to theories that posit that experiences with racial and class barriers discourages senses of mobility and builds "oppositional cultures" (Carter 2003; Lundy 2003; Ogbu 1994; Ogbu and Simons 1998). Social mobility and abundant opportunity in the face of discrimination were emergent themes echoed across the parental sample and were also present among the second generations understanding of personal and structural discrimination and opportunity.

Belief Systems: Shared Values and Parental Control

What are the ways in which the Haitian parents transmit their values, practices, and enact social control over youth? Across the board, when asked how they raised their children in America, parents emphasized the importance of their child respecting their Haitian background and where they came from. This respect was embodied in certain behaviors such as fulfilling educational requirements, respecting the authority of parents, elders, and remaining honest and close (spatially and emotionally) to their families. In terms of schooling, parents placed significant emphasis on schooling and educational attainment. They had high expectations of their children personally and professionally. One parent exclaimed: "If my son could go to school for ten years, he should. There is nothing like the value of education. It is something that can never be taken away from you." These parental expectations translated into the second generations' high aspirations, which will be discussed in later sections.

Overall, with only a few exceptions among my sample, parents emphasized the importance of sharing and transmitting Haitian cultural beliefs and practices to their children, either in the form of moral and class values or food, education, the arts and participation in ethnic group activities. Parents believed that Haitianess entailed that a child should listen to their parents, go to school, excel, and contribute to the advancement of the family and for some respondents, having a healthy fear of God. Dionne, a mother of a 12th grade girl, stated: "All I want is for my daughters to go to school, get good grades, and listen to Mommy and Daddy. They appreciate the hard work that I have done for them. They know that where I come from ,we work very hard and we want our children to grow and be better than us. I want them to obey, stay out of trouble, not let people bring them down, and they must fear God". Culture in the form of food, language, media consumption seemed like a taken for granted reality of everyday way of living. What was a deliberate expression of culture for parents was appropriate child behavior. Parents said that they wanted their children know their origins and understand, that they are rooted so that they are equipped with the self-esteem and skills needed for successful futures. These are patterns rooted in Haitian culture, but are also used to convey notions about middle class status and mobility.

The more subtle representations of cultural exchange were present in language use and the expressions of Haitian cultural artifacts in the home. During observations in the home, it was apparent that children with parents who arrived later in age and/or those in low-middle income category tended to communicate in Haitian with their parents. When I arrived for my interviews with Patrick, a Queens public school student residing in a basement apartment in a house in Cambria Heights that he shares with his sister and mother, the family was sitting in the small-rounded living room watching a Haitian film.

Patrick's mother welcomed me in Haitian and instructed Patrick to help me get comfortable for the interview. The smell of Haitian herbs permeated the home. The interview was conducted in a side room with the sounds of the film filled the background.

Similarly, during an interview with Anice, in her mother's two story brick home in Cambria Heights, I was surrounded by 5'x7' colorful, Haitian paintings and artifacts on the walls. Although, Anice spoke mostly English to her mother, there was a clear presence of Haitian cultural roots and appreciation reflected in the decorative landscape of the home. This was the case for many of the other respondents whose experiences in the home, in the neighborhood and in the church reinforced their Haitian cultural background and a respect for social codes of conduct through language use, Haitian folk sayings and jokes, visible flags and various other co-ethnic interactions made possible by eastern Jamaica, Queens' high population density.

Youth and Individual Identity

Identity:

The empirical goal of this project is to understand how connected the Haitian second generation feel to their Haitian immigrant background, middle class values, and their pathway of integration into a multiethnic and multi-racial New York. Understanding the ways in which youth employ their immigrant ethnic background speaks to their level of selective acculturation. We will examine themes around personal identification with

parental ethnicity and values, the ways in which this identity is expressed in everyday interactions in school, neighborhoods and churches and how this identity is complicated by experiences with discrimination.

According to Model 1. presented in the Analytical Framework of this paper, Haitian youth could either adopt their parents' Haitian background, reject it and adopt other identity ascriptions such as West Indian, African American and black among others. In this paper, we have demonstrated the vested interest that middle class Haitian parents have in their children's education and social mobility and the ways in which they define 'Haitianess' in terms of class mobility, hard work and academic achievement. By compelling youth to feel connected to their Haitian heritage, parents are constructing Haitian identity in ways that it becomes a mechanism for transmitting family and community values around education and appropriate social behavior. If second generation immigrants choose to adopt the cultural identity of their parents, along with their middle class values, they will be set on a pathway to selective acculturation like most Korean and Russian Jewish middle class second generation immigrants (Kasinitz, Mollenkompf and Waters, 2004).

Identifying as Haitian is about self-reflexivity, but also connected to the second generation's sense of Haiti's political and social history. Each teenager in this study stated that they witnessed or participated in conversations about Haiti's history and current situation with family, family friends, in school or outside of school social groups. There was a stark difference in the breadth of knowledge between the children of parents who worked in the Cambria Heights community and those who worked outside of the enclave. The daughter of the Haitian community organization executive director, Tina, was able to cite

specific examples of Haitian history and current political and economic issues; as did the daughter of the Catholic parish secretary. It is difficult to discern whether their extended knowledge is linked to parent's work location/type of work in the ethnic enclave or related to increased discussions about Haiti at home, or just an intrinsic interest in the politics of their homeland. Nonetheless, the importance of parent's place of work and involvement with community has some connections to Haitian youths understanding of their cultural background and identity.

Overall, the youth respondents explained that home and their neighborhoods were important sites of 'Haitianess'. They repeatedly stated that they grew up in very Haitian households, where the food that was cooked regularly and the rituals of everyday life revolved around Haitian culture. There were transmissions of Haitian identity through conversations about Haitian culture via movies, art, conversation and debate over Haitian politics, much of which was observed during visits to homes. Anice stated that "Cambria Heights, it's like little Haiti. There are Haitians everywhere, selling food, working, going to school. I don't really interact with my neighbors much, but I know that many of them are Haitian. It is obvious to me There are other groups like Jamaicans and Trinis and they are cool too". Although only half of the respondents actually resided within the boundaries of the Cambria Heights Haitian enclave, all respondents frequented the neighborhood for shopping, church, volunteering, and play.

Identity in Everyday Interactions:

School, as a socializing institution, is where many youth had to reconceptualize their strong Haitian background vis-à-vis the ethnic and racial diversity in their schools. When

Haitian second generation youth in this study were asked how they defined themselves in everyday interactions, the respondents in one on one qualitative interviews and the focus groups (with the exception of one young girl) either claimed that they were Haitian or Haitian American. Although many were born in the states and others have resided in the states for some time, only one interviewee self-reported themselves as something other than Haitian. This case will be discussed in subsequent sections on identity and discrimination.

In order to create identity distinctions, interviewees contrasted their identity preference with that of friends and peers who identified as American, Black, African American, or West Indian, reinforcing their connection to their Haitian background. This contrast was a strategy of comparing the "in group self" with disconnected other. One young woman from Cambria Heights, Ana, a senior catholic high school student stated: "Many of my friends say that they are Haitian American or American, but I say that I am Haitian…..because I was only born in the United States, but I am Haitian". The general pattern from these interviews is that Haitian youth had little discomfort, whether in private or public school, with reporting and expressing their Haitian heritage. Perhaps, what makes this sample of youth different is their participation in institutions that based on and reinforce their Haitian immigrant identity, a topic that will be discussed later on in this topic.

Anice made it very clear that her mother had specific expectations of her socially and academically and there was a "Haitian way" of being raised. Therefore, her mother, as a form of social control, allowed her to hang out with her friends in her home, under her

supervision. Anice's mother said: "I like for her to bring her friends over, so I can meet them, get to know them. Once I do this, I get to know their parents as well. I often interact with the parents so that we can keep track of the children. I tend to do this more with the Haitian parents who I feel more comfortable with". Here we see an interesting example of the ways in which parental social control is exercised through ethnicity based parental connections. This, in essence, is a type of surveillance system that keeps parents connected to their behavior of their children and is an interesting type of safety net that identifies problems before it is out of the control of the parent.

The relationship between identity and the friendship networks of Haitian youth in this study are also of interest. Many students claimed that their closest friends were either Haitian or of Trinidadian, Jamaican, Guyanese descent. In very few cases, students reported having close friends of Latino, African Immigrant and Asian immigrant backgrounds. Ana further stated that she felt more connected to her Haitian friends because they understood her better: "When my mother acts a certain way, or I am upset about something, my Haitian friends understand what I am going through because our parents are just alike. I don't really have to explain too much because they understand…being Haitian to me means respecting my parents' household, respecting her rules. My Haitian friends understand what I am talking about when I say that my mother is very strict. They understand cause we are not allowed to talk back and do certain things". The emphasis on obedience and reverence expressed in parent interviews was also echoed in interviews with youth, demonstrating the transmittal of values and ideas about appropriate social behavior that seems to be related to friendship formation or at least cohesion among these youth.

Close friendships with other second generation Haitian immigrants is also an important theme because of the formation process. Many respondents claimed that their friendships began in neighborhood churches and schools in early childhood. Tania, a second generation private school attendant and daughter of an Executive Director of a Community non-profit organization states:

> "Most (of my friends) are Haitian, I have some Trini and Jamaica friends. The friends I grew up with, we were raised in the Church and I practically call them my family. We never had a separation issue... We either grew up in church, or we grew up in HAUP(Haitian Americans United for Progress). If you didn't find us, go to one of those buildings and we will be there. I'd say they (friends) are mostly Haitian. You know how every Haitian (parent) knows each other or went to school together, so we are really close to the families. I have friends in other racial and ethnic categories; I wouldn't say that I am close to them".

Here we see an example of the ways in which pre-migration relationships of Haitian parents affect the friendship patterns and close connections between second generation Haitian youth in this community.

Very few students claimed to have close friends who were African American. This pattern was consistent across public and private schools, gender, and class background. This demonstrates the distinctiveness, but not isolated, friendship networks, even in diverse private schools such a St. Francis Prep, along not only racial, but ethnic lines in this sample. Connections and interactions with African Americans along with other racial groups such as Dominicans, whites and Koreans were noted by respondents either through associational contacts in school or through the consumption of cultural mediums. Interactions with African American students were made through organizations in schools. Several respondents claimed to be active members in 'ethnic' clubs at school. These

activities include the African American Heritage Club, the Step Squad and Big Brother Big Sister programs where African American and black Immigrant youth interact. Other interactions with African Americans were made through the consumption of and appreciation for American black youth culture.

For example, Jean, a 1.5 generation public school student claimed that traditionally African American art forms resonate with him more so than that of Haiti. When explaining his connections to Haiti, Jean states: "Do I feel connected to Haiti?. Yeah, I still have family over there that I speak to, and I miss them…yeah…friends, I had a lot of friends over there. The culture, not really. Ever since I was in Haiti, let's take for example the music, I wasn't really into Haitian music while I was over there. Mostly Hip Hop and Reggae (smile), I would say Lil' Wayne, Jay Z, 50 cent". Although we are interested in the ways in which Haitians form their identities in everyday interactions in New York City, we must account for geographically mobile residents. Jean demonstrates that children of immigrants born outside of the United States enter New York City with appreciations for cultural and racial art forms other than their own, which molds their tastes and links to their own culture. In Jean's case, we see an example of how Haitian youth have formed connections to native black music. In observations of respondents, it was also clear that youth were adopting, purchasing and contributing to urban styles of dress with printed hoodies, trendy skinny jeans, retro athletic shoes, prominent accessories that were reminiscent of hip hop/urban culture and styles.

Haitian students did explain having friendship, but not close relations, with West Indians. Their interactions were characterized as respectful, jovial and mutually exciting

and interesting. Linda, a senior at a private Queens' catholic high school, explained: "Yeah, a lot of my friends are Haitian, but I also have friends that are from Jamaica and Guyana. We don't really have too many problems with each other, there are not too many of us in school anyway. We clown on each other, they say Haitians always wear their pants high and we say Jamaicans always are wearing bright colors and crazy hairstyles. But it's all cool, just jokes". When asked about the nature of interactions of Haitians with other Caribbean groups in her private Catholic school, Tania noted: I wouldn't say that they have had a hard time cause …the famous saying "Sak Pase[5]?" everybody knows it, or the little lingo Como Estas[6]? or Wah Gwan[7], it's cool lingo, everybody says it now. It's like a cool thing, like with your friend; you exchange that kind of lingo".

Tania explains that Haitian language is used as a greeting by youth and its use by out-group member is a sign of friendly relations between individuals from different ethnic and racial groups. Linda's interaction with other second generation immigrants from Jamaica and Guyana demonstrates normal 'joking' nature of interactions between teenagers and acceptance across within racial and immigrant group difference. However, these ethnic-specific comments made in informal settings demonstrate that Haitian, Jamaican and other ethnic group appearances and ways of life are clearly defined (although said to be "just jokes") in the imagination of these teenagers. This will be important in the next section when we discuss the attachment of negative stereotypes and stigmas on Haitians by other blacks and the ways in which the Haitian second generation in this middle class community deals with this problematic, but changing, context of reception.

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[5] Haitian term for "What's up" or "How is everything"?
[6] Spanish Term for "How are you"?
[7] Jamaican patois term for "What's going on?" or "How is everything"?

Discrimination and Identity Trouble:

The focus group, key informants and parents provided additional and dissimilar patterns around youth ethnic identity. The selected focus group was with members of a Cambria Heights based Catholic Church youth organization, entitled *Jesus Friends. Jesus Friends* was chosen because it is one of three exclusive Haitian youth groups that meet weekly. The group provided direct access to the second generation Haitian immigrant students who resided in Eastern Queens and bordering West Hempstead, Long Island area. According to key informants in the church, the Sacred Heart Church community began interfacing with a growing Haitian population in the 1970's and 1980's. A separate Haitian youth group was strategically established during this epoch by white ethnic clergy and church administrators.

The church established a separate unit for Haitians to congregate and socialize because of their mistreatment and marginalization based in language, immigrant status, and ethnic/racial difference from whites, Anglophone black immigrations and African Americans. Preferences on the part of Haitians were also a deciding factor for the group's formation (many Haitian parents did not agree with their children attending mid week or late evening meetings because of cultural beliefs about discipline and household respect). Almost three decades later, this group is still in existence. Therefore, membership in this group may not explicitly be for the same reasons of exclusion and protection today. However, many youth in this group are children or relatives of Haitians who experienced this poor reception and social separation in the church and therefore youth may understand

their Haitian background in a more complex way that links present integration and past segregations patterns.

As a result, the Haitian youth group was an ideal setting for a focus group that would spotlight cultural issues. According to qualitative methods scholars, focus groups help us "gain insights into people's shared understandings of everyday life and the ways in which individuals are influenced by others in a group situation" (Gibbs 1997). Focus groups can either inspire candid conversations about sensitive issues or cause individuals to shy away from controversial topics. Fortunately, the focus group session with Haitian second generation teenagers provided data and insight into how second generation Haitian immigrants see themselves and their place in their multiethnic social settings such as schools.

The majority of the students that were interviewed one on one claimed that they were either Haitian or Haitian American however, conversations in the focus group told a different story. The group's conversation focus was what it meant to be a second generation Haitian immigrant in school. Consistently throughout the conversation, students brought up examples of stereotypes of a "typical Haitian" and the ways in which they and their families fit into the stereotypes. Labels included dark phenotype, heavy accents, traditional mores, large facial features, and lack of knowledge of contemporary American style and culture. Not once throughout the conversation were there any positive associations attached to being a Haitian immigrant. These findings are different from themes of 'Haitianess' equating obedience and achievement found in one on one interviews. The youth in this study were not so sociologically different from students interviewed one on one. Therefore, this study

understands the candid and more negative perceptions expressed around Haitian ethnic identity as a result of a focus group setting.

This focus group had a more dynamic and confrontational setting. Respondents had continuous weekly contact which inspired cohesion and comfort with discussing in-group perceptions of co-ethnics. Would this have been different if students interviewed one on one were placed in a focus group setting? I am inclined to believe so because the group setting used a broader question and allowed youth to get in depth in their discussion about what it meant to be Haitian. The interview questionnaire, on the other hand, covered an array of topics connected to Haitian identity and experiences in school, but also focused on other related topics as well. Therefore, the differences in the discussions about Haitian identity in the focus group setting and one on one interviews could be a factor of methodological tools used. Substantively, the perceptions of 'Haitianess' as driven, sacrificing, obedient but also uncultured, unattractive, disconnected from reality of the "mainstream" demonstrates tensions around what it means to be Haitian in the imagination of these teenagers. However, these ascribed characteristics can coexist in the imagination of youth and the larger immigrant community because they are stereotypes created and disseminated for different group purposes either for inclusion or exclusion processes into the community at large. Parents use Haitian identity to bound and transmit their middle class beliefs and values about mobility. Perhaps, out groups, disseminate more negative stereotypes of Haitians because of a poor context of reception and perceived competition over resources. Haitian youth seem to be prescribing to the multiple ideas of being Haitian, some even internalizing and perpetuating the negative stereotypes.

The persistent theme throughout this focus group revolved around a tension

between a) embracing a Haitian identity as it was presented and reinforced at home and neighborhood and b) publicly negotiating the stigmas that continued to accompany this identity in institutions such as school. One focus group member highlighted embarrassment as a factor for "covering up" their Haitian identity. A female member, Tiffany was openly accused by focus group members of misrepresenting herself as Dominican because her light skin gave her the ability to "pass". When asked if she did this, she stated, "People usually think that I am Dominican and I just don't correct them". According to group leader key informants, Tiffany claimed to be Dominican as a strategy to hide her Haitian background in school. Sally, a young girl attending public school in West Hempstead, claimed that stating her Haitian identity in the face of white students presented social awkwardness for her. Sally stated, "I don't tell the white students in my school that I am Haitian, and I had trouble when I was younger with other black girls because I was Haitian". Sally, stated that she had several emotionally disturbing experiences with young Jamaican and African American girls in school during her younger years. She claimed that she had moved on, yet throughout the interview displayed embarrassment and shame. These young women provide confirming evidence that "identity trouble" remains an issue on some level for Haitian immigrants. New York's racial and ethnic diversity makes it possible so that this discrimination and 'identity trouble' happens in interactions with whites as well as other people of color.

Additionally, evidence concerning second-generation Haitian immigrant issues around identity was highlighted in the parent interviews. During one parent interview with Sally's mother, the first incident mentioned in our conversation was Sally's encounter with a young man in school who she claimed "didn't treat her (Sally) different because she was Haitian" and as a result, she began to take a romantic interest in him. The mother, a

practicing Nurse and West Hempstead resident expressed concern for the stigma attached to her daughter's Haitian identity, exclaiming: "I didn't think that this type of discrimination was still happening in schools. I thought that it was something from my time". This parent interview provided unexpected context for the identity experiences of her child and its affect on relationship prospects. Therefore, we see the additional value of parental interviews.

The openness and breadth of discussion about differential treatment of Haitians inspires the following question: What were potential reasons why youth excluded narratives about identity and discrimination processes in one on one interviews? Three potential reasons come to mind: 1. some youth exercised image management in front of an interviewer who is openly of Haitian background, 2. they simply did not want to share more intimate details of their struggles with identity and integration in school, or 3. Youth did not remember these situations during the hour long interview. Furthermore, parent interviews, particularly parents who experienced discrimination and differential treatment in school and the job market based on their Haitian background, noted that the treatment of Haitians by co-ethnic peers was much worse in their day, and has evolved overtime. Oftentimes, parents noted that they were shocked to hear that their children were having any confrontations in school based on their Haitian background. Some exclaimed that they thought time had brought progress between Haitians, Jamaicans and African Americans. Others evoked the recent incident in their Jamaica neighborhood school P.S. 34, where Haitian students were told to eat on the floor.

The temporal and context dimension of these tensions could only simultaneously occur in a racial and ethnic issue in a place like New York. New York's history as an immigrant city is reflected in the white ethnic class of teachers that instruct immigrants of color everyday and is also seen in the ethnic makeup of highly concentrated immigrant neighborhoods and schools. This type of segregated urban social milieu further complicates the experiences of Haitian youth and their identity because most of the conflict and discrimination they experience is at the hands of other people of color. However, regardless of the identity-trouble and discrimination faced by some Haitian youth, the overall sample of respondents embraced their Haitian identity and worked within the framework of the values and beliefs expressed by their parents.

Class and Aspirations:

We now explore the educational and career aspirations of second generation Haitian immigrants. Studies have shown that in comparison to other immigrants of color such as Cubans, Jamaicans, and Koreans, Haitian youth tend to have similarly high educational and career aspirations (Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, and Haller 2005). Findings in this study demonstrate the same pattern. When asked about educational aspirations, youth outlined a range of desired graduate degrees. When asked what degrees they could realistically attain, there was little discrepancy relative to their aspirations. Respondents mentioned financial resources as a possible limitation to achieving their aspired degrees, but did not see it as a formidable barrier to their advancement. Those that did perceive it as a potential barrier did not change their educational and occupational ambitions. Instead, they attempted to reconcile this conflictual reality of their identity and background by pointing to examples of

people who have overcome racial and ethnic discrimination of a different grade, such as second generation black immigrant President Barack Hussein Obama. All youth proposed that they would earn at least one advanced degree in fields of interest[8]. Many did not see their black or Haitian background as a barrier to their advancement. Even in situations when youth suspected that they were treated differently based on their 'Haitianess' or blackness, they believed that they could overcome this resistance with focus and hard work.

For example, Mary, a 1.5 generation student who attended public school, noted that she was discriminated against during the earlier part of her high school career. She was in a school wide competition to enter an advanced academic program. She was rejected by a particular teacher and later on realized that European and Indian immigrants were given the positions, although she believed that she was a higher performing student than others. Today, Mary is in her senior year and is graduating in the top ten of her class of her public school. Since the announcement about her achievement, the same teacher who declined her application for the advanced academic program recognized her with a greeting every time she passed by in the hallway. Prior to this announcement, Mary said that the teacher "never even said a word to me when she saw me in the hallways. But now that she knows that I am a top student, she respects me enough to say hello".

Mary's case of perceived discrimination based on her ethnicity and her willingness to move past it and continue to excel demonstrates a pattern of individualism. There is a strong presence of middle class ideologies and aspirations of progress, individual success, education, mobility and self direction (Kohn and Schooler 1969) that serve as driving

[8] Aspired Degrees in Youth Sample: College, Post Graduate/Professional Degrees
Aspired Professions in Youth Sample: Veterinarians, Doctors, Lawyers, Engineers, Businessmen, Journalists, Community Activists.

factors for youth, despite their brushes with discrimination from peers and authorities in school. This is equally the case for students who experienced some form of discrimination and whom more forwardly comprehended the struggle between agency and structure.

Overall, the youth in this study took on a very individualistic worldview of self-made advancement. In terms of current academic performance, the students in this sample were average and above average students, who attended average performing public high schools in Queens, better performing public schools in Long Island and elite private high schools in Queens and Long Island. This individualistic stance mirrored that of their parents' belief in perseverance, hard work and self-efficacy, perceived traditional characteristics of the middle class (Lee and Dean 2004). My interviews and the focus group indicated no conflict between parents' teachings, based as they are upon Haitian background and the comfortable embrace of "American Dream" ideologies. This relationship, which highlights anticipated class identity and further mobility is free of the complicated nature of personal ethnic identity as a barrier.

An important aspect in the relationship between Haitian identity, cultural capital and aspirations emerged from the data. The Haitian youth in this study seem to identify as Haitian because they suscribed to the positive aspects of that identity and benefited from the social connections that they made with co-ethnics, as a result. This, perhaps, may be cultural capital (the acquisition of cultural beliefs and practices that facilitate interactions and social mobility) at play in this small middle class immigrant community.

Although, in the United States, literature has typically valued the white middle class, the growing diversity of the American population through immigrants and their increasing

fertility(Census 2000) is turning that conjecture on its head. As the segmented assimilation theory outlines, different immigrant groups are integrating into different contexts. In the contexts of this middle class black immigrant and black native population with a strong Haitian presence, it pays to have a cultural identity that provides community, cultural knowledge, solidarity and bolsters social mobility of a group. Therefore, the youth in this study identify as Haitian or Haitian American because they aspire to the advancement and achievement that they see in their co-ethnic middle class peers and parents. Therefore, we see a very close relationship between class, identity and aspirations in this text. However, the following discussion will look at how and why self identification does not tell the entire story about identity and aspirations.

Institutions, Ethnicity, and Integration: The Importance of School and Church

The aspirations of youth in this study signify their desires to either attain a social and economic status equivalent and/or better than their immigrant parents. The connection between these middle class values and Haitian identity were also highlighted once institutions such as the church and schools were examined. Although the sample included students who attended prestigious private catholic high schools in the New York City areas, other students attended relatively poorer performing Queens' schools and Long Island high schools, some of which are better performing metropolitan schools (New York City Department of Education, 2007)[9].

[9] The New York City Department of Education provides yearly progress reports evaluating a schools advancement in four areas: School environment (based on parental, secondary student and teacher evaluations), student performance (graduation rates), student progress (yearly student credit evaluation) and closing the achievement group (how well a school helps the advancement of "high-need" students (http://schools.nyc.gov/OA/SchoolReports/2007-08/ProgressReport_HS_Q470.pdf).

School

Public and private school attendees claimed to have supportive teachers and administrators that helped their in the classroom experiences and academic performance. Many students reported amicable relations with their teachers and believed that remaining respectful, being expressive, and outgoing in the classroom was the reason for this positive student-teacher relationship. Therefore, we see that school, although historically a site of conflict for immigrant youth (Suarez-Orozco 2001), is also perceived as a neutral and/or supportive environment by Haitian youth. This maybe a result of the cultural capital acquired from middle class parents (Dimaggio 1982) which eases their transition into academic environment.The class values passed on to youth by parents who navigated the American and foreign educational institutions placed these youth at an advantage. Parent's were conscious of the types of schools they were sending their children to, what they expected of their children academically and believed that the schools their children went to were meeting the needs of their children and preparing them for the future.

Within school dynamics between students, teachers and administrators also provide a micro-lens into how aspirations and identity interact. Students reported respectful, at least, and close inter-personal relationships, at best, with their teachers and administrators. Many noted that they were happy with the responses from and interactions with a handful of teachers at their school. If there were displeasing incidents in school, students said that they had teachers and counselors that they could turn to. They claimed to be expressive, inquisitive, interested in schooling material, and considerate of in the classroom social codes. Here we see the ways in which the cultural and social capital embedded in students

by middle class parents at play in interactions between teachers and students. This is not to say that students only learned how to be "good" students through parents, but it is reasonable to say that parents were very involved in this learning process through expressions of expectations guised through Haitian identity and desires for success.

Given the extensive literature on student teacher-relations, we see the ways in which non-cognitive/social skills, learned from parents are performed by Haitian second generation middle class youth. Perhaps, teachers, often from middle class backgrounds are receiving these youth in better ways than they would other black youth from lower social and economic backgrounds (Gans 2007). Therefore, these students are at an advantage because of their parents' higher SES and/or expectations. However, future research must question to what extent teacher-students relations are affected by the intersection of black identity, Haitian immigrant status, the well documented phenomena of teachers' low expectations of their black students and student academic trajectories relative to other racial groups (Downey and Pribesh 2004).

Teacher-student relations, school type, and past academic performance affect the control students feel when formulating their academic pursuits. Furthermore, an interesting relationship between identity and school type emerged from respondents who were perceptive and claimed a middle class status. Their understanding of their social worlds as one of class distinction in schooling and integration patterns, where those in private school were sheltered from discrimination from students and teachers in public schools[10].

[10] Tania, when asked why Haitian students at P.S. 34 in Queens Village and others experienced differential treatment at the hands of administrators and students, stated: I am fortunate with my parents, because they have put me in like the best schools that they could be. It's about economic issues too. If you don't have

Students' academic trajectories and school type also emerged as an important issue, beyond student teacher relations. The public school students in this study were more likely to be 1.5 generation immigrants, have English as their second language and attended night school in order to ensure on-time graduation. The additional constraints experienced by Haitian youth who attend public school brings our attention to the sorting of students based on their school type that occurs in urban education (Kasinitz 2008a; Portes and MacLeod 1996; Warikoo and Carter 2009). Despite the variation in the types of schools and perceptions of within school dynamics, and the different barriers experienced by 1.5 generation youth who are still learning English in schools and catching up with their requirements through night school, Haitian youth remain optimistic and motivated by the prospects of their future. This is demonstrated by the similarity in what degrees they would like to achieve and what they believe that they really can attain, given potential financial, institutional and personal constraints.

Church

Schools are not the only site of inter-ethnic exchange and social learning. The Sacred Heart Catholic Church was a recruitment site for this research because of its central location in the Cambria Heights neighborhood. Sacred Heart's location and internal operations demonstrated the churches capacity to bring different ethnic groups together while

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enough money to send your kid to one of the top schools, you deal with what you got. And you put them in a public school and you make the most of it there. I have been fortunate to go to a good school and I have been fortunate to stay out of trouble. I don't live in the bad part Queens, I live in one of the top places in LI, so I haven't had to be in the type of environment where it's affected me. So I am kind of in a peaceful environment where the conflict doesn't directly affect me".

simultaneously creating segregated "safe" spaces for ethnic groups to gather, worship and form solidarity. In the context of the church, we see the importance of the religious institutions in reinforcing identity and class values. The church, specifically the Catholic Church is present in each of these youth's lives. This allows us to examine the church as an important socializing institution for youth. In the Sacred Heart Church, Haitian youth occupy an interesting position. Given historical experiences with cultural differences and discrimination of the Haitian community in black ethnic communities, separate youth groups were formed to serve the burgeoning Haitian youth population. Today, the Haitian specific organizations remain active. More ethnically integrated organizations now have Haitian second generation members. Therefore, we see that Haitians continue to occupy both a self-segregated and newly integrated place in the church. This has implications for the choices youth make to intermingle, build social networks and contacts and eventually cross-cultural cooperation.

The organizational goal of these church youth groups is to mold impressionable youth into productive spiritual and social persons. The youth groups, conducted workshops and meetings around education, civic participation and spirituality. These groups served as sites of reinforcing Haitian and West Indian ethnic identities and most interestingly middle class values around education and social mobility. They promoted contact and exchange between young Haitians young black immigrants through weekly meetings, group projects, and community prayer. Therefore, Haitian second generation youth are not only learning about how to navigate American opportunity structures at home, or navigating multi-ethnic and racial relations just in schools. They are also learning these critical life skills in the church groups they frequent. This is important in understanding the places external to the

home and the relationships outside of the parent and child or student-teacher that provide Haitian youth with ideas about aspirations, identity, and mobility. Future research should examine the role of religion and its institutions in the integration of Haitian immigrants in urban America (Warner 2007).

Identity as an Aspiration Mediator

The relationship between identity and aspirations of second generation youth has been made apparent as we have discussed the various ethnicity specific forms of value teachings from parents to children. Haitian youth are choosing to acculturate into their parents' Haitian heritage. They also attend schools and churches where their identities are reinforced through social exchange, while integrating and adopting African American and West Indians ways of everyday life through consumption of food, culture, behavior, group membership and friendships. It is then difficult to say that Haitian ethnic identity is one thing. Second generation immigrants identify as Haitian, but also have more of a fluid and pro-active identity that heavily interacts and consumes other cultural and social forms outside of the home. Through these interactions and consumption patterns, Haitian youth are learning what it means to be Haitian, West Indian, Black, but are simultaneously learning what it means to be a middle class immigrant and adopting the identity that is best fitting, demonstrating a more complex selective acculturation path.

Therefore, the segmented assimilation model's argument that identifying with parent culture should be proposed as something more complex. I would situate Haitian youth in the center of the Haitian youth identity model proposed in Figure 1. They construct what it means to be Haitian around what their parents have defined as being smart,

respectful, God-fearing, hospitable and obedient. This identity is directly in line with Haitian youth adopting middle class values simultaneously expressed by parents and ethnic settings of neighborhood, church, school and home. Therefore, youth are on a pathway to selective acculturation where they ascribe to their parent's cultural identity and middle class values, but are also integrating into multi-ethnic middle class contexts through friendships, youth groups, and civic participation. It is important to note that the relationship between Haitian youth and other black ethnic groups is a bidirectional process, allowing youth from other backgrounds to also adopt and appreciate Haitian ethnics through personal encounters and cultural learning as well.

Therefore, a future question for this research project is how should we define identity? Is it pre-defined, self described, imposed, or all of the above? Or is it connected to recognition of heritage? Is it a more dynamic, ever-changing and based on what cultural and social behavioral patterns an individual participates in and adopts? Regardless of if we understand Haitian youth as adopting their parent's cultural background, we find that one way in which this background identification gives meaning to the lives of second generation immigrants is through the shared belief that Haitianess inspires middle class characteristics around education, work ethnic, and individual achievement.

However, we must not take this connection between identity and values for granted. This is a constructed reality on the part of parents, made more salient through institutions, and the middle class Haitian community under study. Parents deliberately sent kids to youth group meetings, which reinforced ideas of self-efficacy, obedience and social mobility. The children growing up in this environment, with some level of agency, have chosen to

adopt and believe these social scripts, therefore, making it real in its consequences for their integration and interactions. Therefore, ethnicity is a form of social capital in the lives of middle class second generation Haitian immigrants in Queens, New York.

Conclusion

How do Haitian second generation immigrants understand their ethnic identity? What are their academic and professional aspirations? Is there a relationship between their identity and their life aspirations? If so, what is the nature of this relationship? In the segmented assimilation literature, the discourse outlines the two worlds that second generation immigrant have to navigate (Kasinitz 2004). The negotiation between parents' transnational world and the "American" world in which second generation immigrants live, learn and play in is a complex one, particularly in a multiethnic and multi-racial place like Queens, New York. Haitian youth in this study personally and performatively adopt and hold on to their parents' homeland through language, worship youth groups, and cultural media. Although subscribing to a Haitian ethnic identity occurred among the 16 out of the 17 youth in this study, the young woman who adopted a Dominican instead of Haitian identity demonstrates an interesting outlier.

The cultural baggage that accompanies being "Haitian" was problematic for this young woman's integration into her friendship circles, demonstrating the "identity trouble" historically experienced by Haitians and other stigmatized ethnic groups. However, this young woman simultaneously attended a specific Haitian group while passing as Dominican in her school setting. Perhaps, further research and focus groups will demonstrate that that

Tiffany's strategic management of identity according to context may be the norm, not the exception among Haitian youth.

The perception of discrimination and stereotypes based on Haitian background permeated conversations about how youth understood their first generation co-ethnics. This fact brings to our attention that despite time and progress, stigmas continue to accompany a Haitian identity in interesting ways, but youth are also able to deal with discrimination on adequately comfortable terms, perhaps because of their 1.5 and second generation immigrant status, lack of heavy accents and similar external appearances to other groups. The personal responses to these stigmas are complex, with Haitian youth buying into and even perpetuating the stereotypes around being Haitian. However, most students continued to embrace and adopt their Haitian identity in private and public settings.

Through interviews and observations in the Jamaica, Queens area, it is evident that Haitian youth are also integrating and adopting lifestyles that reflect that of their Jamaican, Trinidadian, Guyanese, and African American peers. Haitian youth are interacting with the practices and the lingo of everyday West Indian life through their consumption of Anansi Jamaican folklore on morality from peers and the continuous contact with dancehall reggae, calypso, soca music and their enjoyment of Jamaican beef patties and stew chicken after a long day at school. Second generation youth are interacting with black racial groups partly by choice, but also because of the persistent segregation of blacks in neighborhood and in schooling settings.

Therefore, it is too simple to say that Haitian youth are just Haitian when they are interacting and adopting appreciations for and contributing to black American styles of dress, music, food and history through cultural forms of Hip Hop culture and African American affinity groups in school. They are negotiating their identities in multiple worlds: They are holding on to home country by ascribing to notions of discipline, culture, and social mobility, but are also fitting into the black immigrant and native black milieu through contact in schools and churches. We see strong evidence of selective acculturation among this population. However, because identity is fluid, we must realize that identifying as Haitian does not cancel out other, more performative identities based on the consumption patterns and weaker friendship networks with other black ethnic groups such as African American, Jamaicans, Guyanese, Trinidadians; because of New York's multi-racial demographics, these exchanges are also occurring to a lesser but still important extent with Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, Russian, Korean, Nigerian, Ecuadorian and Indian peers.

Despite this evidence of interethnic and racial contact and sometimes conflict, Haitian youth remain connected to their parents in symbolic and tangible ways. They continue to adopt strong middle class values about education and social mobility, hard work and overcoming barriers, which have been transmitted through the guise of "Haitianess". The complex identity issues that could possibly affect self esteem and perceptions of the American opportunity structure do not seem to be an immediate reality for Haitian youth. Therefore, the majority of youth in this study are different from poor working class Haitians in locations such as Miami and Brooklyn (Stepick 2001; Zephir 2001) who suffered from "identity trouble" and resisted identifying as Haitian because of a poor context of reception. Perhaps, the middle class status of this group allows them the luxury of ethnicity. The

second generation Haitian immigrants in this sample are also different from African Americans and West Indian immigrants who see themselves as disempowered in a racialized American educational and occupational system. Haitian youth do not see their background as impediments to achievement. This belief and approach was present in discussions with parents. Therefore, we see connections between parent-child ideas about self and society and youth's tangible evidence of mobility seen in their parents' and communities attainment of relatively high levels of income and education

As a result, the aspirations of Haitian youth in this sample are high. For the youth who reside in lower middle income households, their parent's and families were situated in middle class occupations in Haiti which carried over to the United States. For example, a mother who was a university administrator in Haiti now has to work as a school bus attendant and a single mother who was on a pathway to college while in Haiti came to the United States and worked as a home health aide and is today a Certified Nurse's Assistant. Therefore, due to this immigrant "brain waste[11]" the occupational and income level of parent's are not proxies of parent's class values. The parents in this study transmitted middle class values to their children and their children adopted them with excitement and tenacity. Youth in the latter part of their high school careers excitedly discussed the range of colleges that they were applying to and the rigors of the application process. Many sought

[11] It is important to note that parents in this study were situated in families that were middle class in Haiti and were able to translate their human capitol and resources to gain middle class status in the United States. Therefore, the 1.5 and first generation parents in this study experiences with a poor context of reception was perhaps tempered by their pre-existing social resources in home country and ability to translate this status in the U.S., which isn't always the case of immigrants of color who experience "brain waste" once they arrive in the U.S. "Brain waste" is a term used in policy research on immigrants (see http://siteresources.worldbank.org/DEC/Resources/84797-1154354760266/2807421-1183396414833/Brain_Waste.pdf). It refers to educated immigrants in the United States who are unable to translate their human capital into occupational attainment because of a variety of structural factors.

counsel and advice on how to do well in college. Evidently, the youth in this study were excited about the prospects of pursuing higher degrees, meeting new people in out of state college settings and for some, leaving home for a very different world from which they were raised for the very first time.

Will the second generation remain tied to their Haitian identity and will their life chances be protected by their middle class values, status and/or family resources once they confront newer forms of institutional barriers? What remains to be seen is if the aspirations of this group of Haitian youth who are inheriting the city of New York will be realized once they face the realities of the American opportunity structure. This is an important follow up conversation that will provide a telling story about how well American institutions and policies are working to integrate immigrant group like Haitians.

Orly Clerge- Brown University

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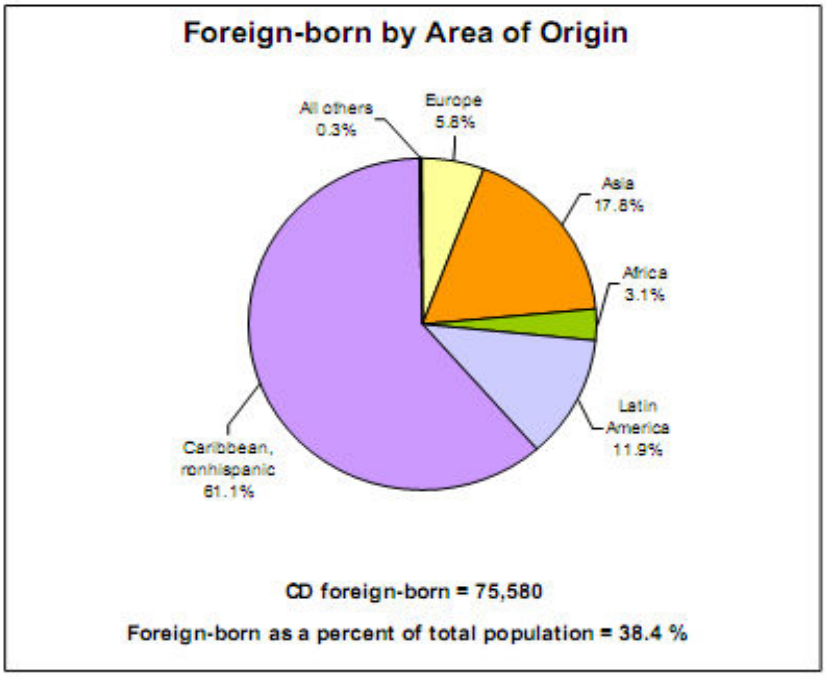
September 21, 2009

Appendix A. Demographic Data

Foreign-born Population
Census 2000
Queens Community District 13



Foreign-born Rank Ordered by Country of Birth

	NUMBER	PERCENT
TOTAL, Foreign-born	75,580	100.0
Jamaica	17,276	22.9
Haiti	12,677	16.8
Guyana	8,121	10.7
India	7,080	9.4
Trinidad and Tobago	4,327	5.7
Philippines	2,329	3.1
Colombia	1,883	2.5
Barbados	1,477	2.0
Dominican Republic	1,467	1.9
Panama	1,154	1.5
All Others	17,789	23.5

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census SF3

New York City Department of City Planning (Dec 2005)

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Appendix B.

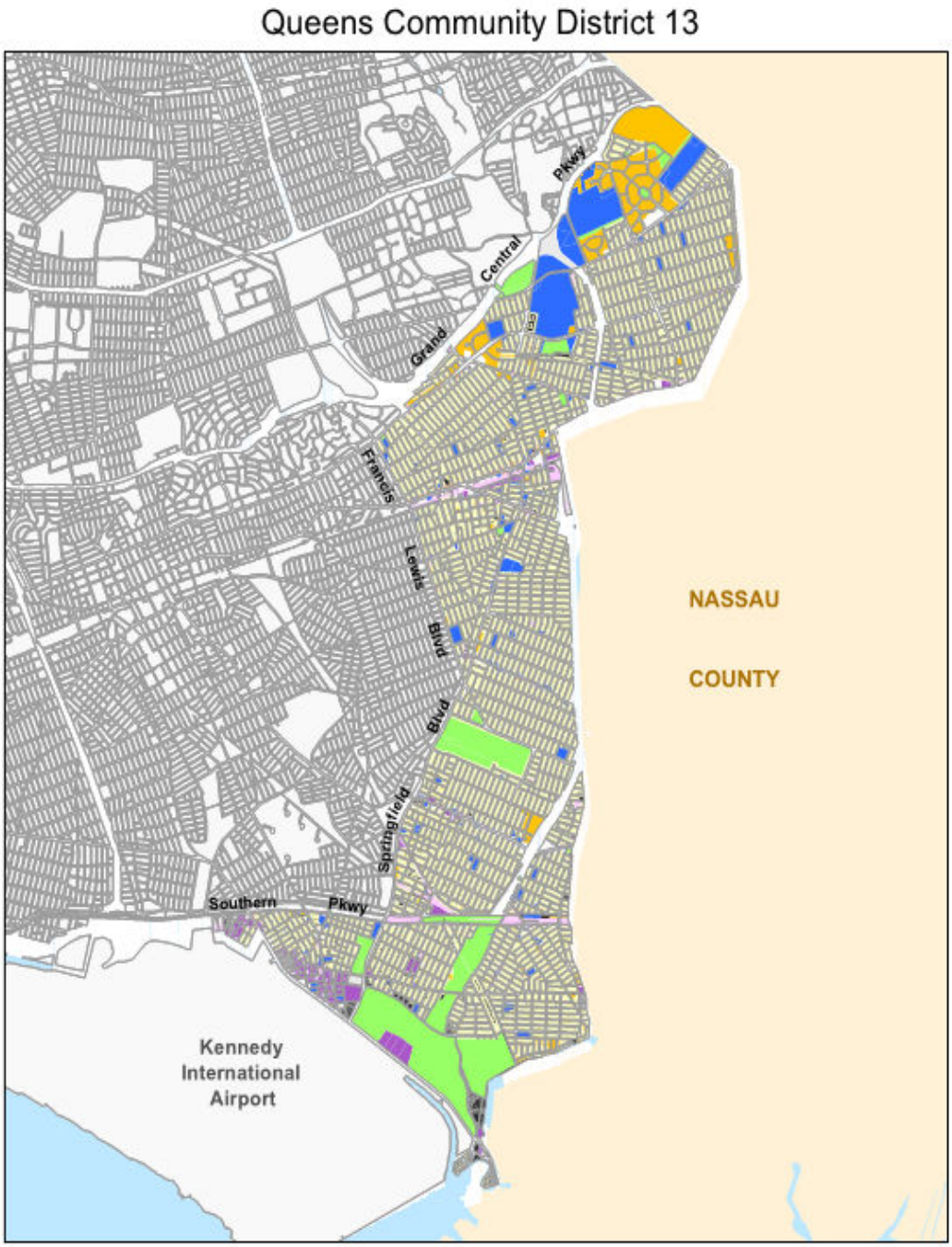
Language Proficiency
Census 2000
Queens Community District 13

	Number	Percent
Total Population 5 Years and Over	184,538	100.0
Proficient in English	162,801	88.2
Not Proficient in English	21,737	11.8
Not Proficient in English	21,737	100.0
Language Spoken at Home:		
French (incl Patois, Cajun, French Creole)	6,835	31.4
Spanish or Spanish Creole	6,716	30.9
Chinese	807	3.7
Tagalog	675	3.1
Italian	654	3.0
Gujarathi	552	2.5
Hindi	434	2.0
African Languages	306	1.4
Urdu	280	1.3
Korean	249	1.1
Portuguese or Portuguese Creole	185	0.9
German	172	0.8
Greek	170	0.8
Polish	135	0.6
Persian	131	0.6
Arabic	107	0.5
All Others	3,329	15.3

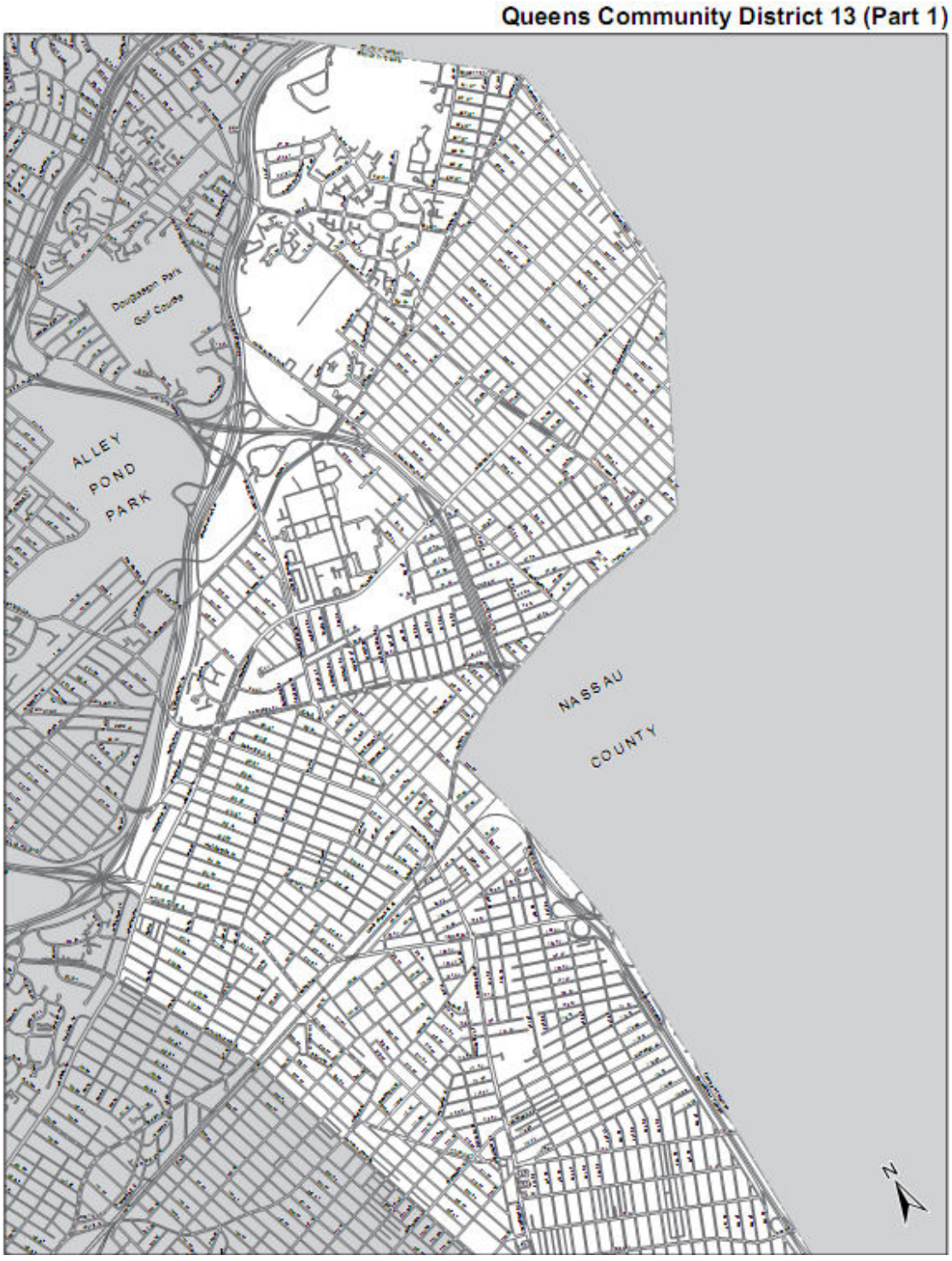
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census Special Tabulation

New York City Department of City Planning (Dec 2005)

Appendix C. Maps



Source: MapPluto


Queens Community District 13 (Part 1)
Douglaston Park
Golf Course
ALLEY
POND
PARK
NASSAU
COUNTY
N

Source: New York City Department of City Planning 2008

Source: New York City Department of City Planning (2008)

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