INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI®

Bell & Howell Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

NOTE TO USERS

This reproduction is the best copy available

UMI

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

RACE-GENDER MATTERS:
SCHOOLING AMONG SECOND GENERATION
DOMINICANS, WEST INDIANS AND HAITIANS IN NEW YORK CITY

By

Nancy Lopez

A dissertation submitted to the graduate Faculty in Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1999

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UMI Number: 9946194

Copyright 1999 by
Lopez, Nancy

All rights reserved.

UMI Microform 9946194
Copyright 1999, by UMI Company. All rights reserved.

This microform edition is protected against unauthorized
copying under Title 17, United States Code.

UMI
300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48103

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

© 1999

NANCY LOPEZ

All Rights Reserved

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

June 15, 1999 — Julia Wrigley

Date — Chair of Examining Committee

June 15, 1999 — Julia Wrigley

Date — Executive Officer

William Kornblum

Michelle Fine

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Abstract

RACE-GENDER MATTERS:

SCHOOLING AMONG SECOND GENERATION DOMINICANS,

WEST INDIANS AND HAITIANS IN NEW YORK CITY

by

Nancy Lopez

Adviser: Julia Wrigley

ABSTRACT

At the close of the twentieth century, women in the United States attain higher levels of education than do men, especially in minority and immigrant communities. This dissertation investigates how race and gender processes, as *lived experiences,* mold the outlooks of minority and immigrant youth toward education. The central questions of the study are: How do racialization processes differ for men and women? How do racial(izing) and gender(ing) processes intersect in the school setting? How have men and women experienced work within the postindustrial economy? And finally, how do home life and gender roles influence how men and women view education?

The primary data for this study come from focus groups, life history surveys (N=66) and follow-up in-depth interviews (N=41) with the children of the largest new immigrant groups in New York City, Dominicans, Haitians and Anglophone West Indians. All participants were young adults, between the ages of 18 to 30. Participation

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

observation in a public high school was also conducted.

This dissertation combines racial formation theory, critical feminist theory, cultural frame of reference theory and segmented assimilation theory to propose the *race-gender experience outlook theory* as a framework for understanding minority and immigrant schooling. In this framework, two concepts are crucial, *race-gender experiences* and *race-gender outlooks*. *Race-gender experiences* are the episodes in which men and women undergo racial(izing) and gender(ing) processes. *Race-gender experiences* can take place in a variety of social spheres, including public space, school, work, and the home. Overtime, repeated *race-gender experiences* affect the way in which men and women view the world. *Race-gender outlooks* are life perspectives on education and how social mobility is attained in the larger society.

The main finding of the study is that both men and women agreed with their parents' views about the importance of an education for attaining social mobility. However, women maintained *optimistic outlooks*, while men had *ambivalent*, but not oppositional, outlooks toward schooling. These differing outlooks were not innate, but were rather an outgrowth of the different experiences men and women had had with racializ(ing) and gender(ing) processes across key social spheres throughout their youth and young adulthood.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Throughout my graduate work I have been blessed with many guardian angels. First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to my dissertation committee, Julia Wrigley, William Kornblum, and Michelle Fine. Julia, thank you sparking my interest in education and for chairing the committee. I am equally indebted to Bill for his insights into community studies and to Michelle for reminding me about the "messiness" of gender and race. In your own special ways, each of you has contributed to my development as a sociologist and teacher.

A special gratitude is due to my second, albeit unofficial committee, Philip Kasinitz, John Mollenkopf and Mary Waters. Working on the Second Generation Project was a wonderful experience. I would also like to thank the staff at the Center for Urban Research, which became my second home during the last four years: John Mollenkopf, Dae Young Kim, Tim Ross, Jennifer Holdaway, Marta Fisch, Melissa Levitt, Charles Swartz, Toni Pole and Victoria Allen. I would also like to acknowledge the support I received from the 1997-98 MAGNET Dissertation Award, GSUC-CUNY and The Jessie V. and W. Clement Stone Foundation.

Special thanks also to some very inspiring people: Ramona Hernandez, Belkis Necos, Ginetta Candelario, Dae Young Kim, Silvio Torres-Saillant, Evelyn Erickson, Tatiana Gutierrez, Jenny Lopez, Silvia Lopez, Laura Ortiz, Heather Dalmage, Robin Isserles, Milagros Ricourt, Nicole Holland, Patricia Tovar, Lisa Farrington, Ivette Estrada, Rhonda Johnson, Maritza Williams, Rosemarie Roberts and Addette Williams. I would also like to thank my family who always gave unconditionally of their love: Maria Lopez, Ramon Lopez, Ramona Lopez, Neyda Gutierrez, Anivelca Lopez, Raymond

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Lopez, Tiffany Montenegro, Azalea Montenegro, Richard Knecht, Carlos Gutierrez, Ricardo Gutierrez, Maria Elisa Pena, Lissette Pena, Oneida Rodriguez, Rosa Pena, Jorge Pena, and Jorge Pena, Jr. and Augustine Romero. Lynn Karrow thank you for the transcriptions. Jennifer Holdaway and Neyda Gutierrez, I am indebted to you for your masterful editing.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge all the people I had the pleasure and pain of interviewing. Thank you for allowing me to enter your lives and share your struggles, triumphs, and inspirations.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Race-Gender: Unraveling the Web 1

Introduction 1
Definitions of Terms 6
Theorizing Minority and Immigrant Schooling 9
- Biodeterministic Theory 10
- Structural Approaches 11
- Culturalist Approaches 13
- Cultural-Ecological Frameworks 17
  - Cultural Frame of Reference Theory 17
  - Segmented Assimilation Theory 22
  - Gender Matters: Ethnic Identity and Family Ideologies 23
    - Ethnic Identity 24
    - Family Ideologies 25
- Critical Feminist Theories 27

Building a Race-Gender Experience and Outlook Theory 30

Chapter 2: Setting and Methods 33

Introduction 33
Quantitative and Qualitative Methodologies 35
Focus Group 37
In-depth Interviews 39
- Surveys and Sampling Frame 39
- In-depth Interviews 45
- Data Analysis 47

Participant Observation at "Urban High School" 49
Multi-data Analysis 53

Chapter 3: Race-Gender Stigma as Lived Experience 55

Introduction 55
Racial Formation as a Framework for Analysis 58
Historical Background 66
Race-Gender Experiences in Public Spaces 69
- Coloring the "Welfare Queen" Myth 70
- Experiencing the "Hoodlum" Narrative 73
- Fearing the Police 77
- Coping with Race-Gender Stigma 80
- Housing the Stigmatized 82

Conclusion 86

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter 4: Race-Gender High School Lessons 88

Introduction 88
"Urban High School" as Emblematic of Unequal Schooling 89
Schooling "Young Ladies" 96
Rewarding Femininity 96
Ignoring Ethnic and Racial Bantering 100
Ethnic Pride and Schooling 101
Schools Back Home 103
Pink-collar Vocational Tracks 106
"Framed" as a Statistic 110
Problem "Boys" 110
Testing and Ethnic Bantering 120
Low Curriculum Tracking 122
Social Critique and "Willful Laziness" 126
Conclusion 131

Chapter 5: Disentangling Race-Gender Work Experiences 133

Introduction 133
Color(ing) and Gender(ing) Urban Restructuring 136
Men's Marginalization 141
"Colored" Job Searches 141
Color Matters on the Job 145
Ethnic Economy Safety Net? 150
Worried Outlooks 153
Women's Ghettoization 157
Networked into Pink Collar Jobs 157
Color(ing) the Glass Ceiling 161
Optimistic Outlooks 166
Conclusion 170

Chapter 6: Gender(ing) in Transition 172

Introduction 172
Women's Gender(ing) 173
Working Mother = Adult Girls 173
Dual Frame of Reference 177
Familism and Social Support 178
On Cloistering and Sexual Policing 181
"Homegrown" Feminism 185
Men's Gender(ing) 190
The Absence of a Dual Frame 190
Streetboys 193

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Becoming a Man 196
Conclusion 201

Chapter 7: Dismantling the "Naturalness" of Race(ing) and Gender(ing) Processes 203

Introduction 203
De-Racing and De-gendering Public Spaces 206
Re-Inventing Race-Gender School Lessons 209
Re-Envisioning De-raced and De-gendered Workplaces 217
Re-Creating Homes 221
Conclusion 224

Appendix A: Chart of Women Interviewed 227
Appendix B: Chart of Men Interviewed 243
Appendix C: Summary of Focus Group Participants 262
Appendix D: Sample Questions from the Life History Survey 263
Appendix E: Sample Questions from the In-depth Interviews 264
Appendix F: 1995-97 Four-Year High School Outcome by Race 265
Appendix G: 1997 Four-Year Cohort Data by Race and Gender 266
Appendix H: 1997 Four-Year Cohort Data Diploma Type by Race and Gender 267
Appendix I: 1996 CUNY Percent Female Undergraduate and Graduate Enrollment by Race 268
Appendix J: 1996 CUNY Degrees Granted, Percentages by Race and Gender 269
Appendix K: 1995 CUNY Undergraduate Household Income by Level 270

Bibliography 271

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Total Number and Percentages of Surveys Conducted by Ethnic Group and Gender 41

Table 2: Distribution of High School Grade Point Averages by Gender in Raw Numbers (and Percentages) 43

Table 3: Total Number of Men and Women who Pursued Postsecondary Training (and Percentages) 44

Table 4: Last Industry Worked In By Gender in Percentages 45

Table 5: In-depth Interview Conducted in Raw Numbers and Percentages By Ethnic Group and Gender 46

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER 1: RACE-GENDER: UNRAVELING THE WEB

INTRODUCTION

At the close of the twentieth century, an unusual gender pattern in educational attainment has surfaced within the United States.[1] Women from all racial and ethnic backgrounds attain higher levels of education than their male counterparts[2] (Rumbaut, 1998; Zhou and Bankston, 1998; Washington and Newman, 1991). Eighty-nine percent of women and 86% of men between the ages of 25-29 had high school diplomas in 1997 (Day, 1998). The number of women enrolled in college has also grown at a faster rate that the number of men. In 1996, there were 8.4 million women enrolled in college, compared with only 6.7 million men, even though there were slightly more college-age men than women in the population at the time.[3] Women also had higher college completion rates, 26% to 29% respectively (U.S. Census Bureau, 1998). As well as outnumbering men in institutions of higher learning, women earn better grades and outperform men on reading and writing tests (Kleinfeld, 1998). They also comprise the vast majority of students in honors classes. Indeed, it is predicted that by 2007, the

---

[1] Among women 25 and over, 82.9 % have earned a high school diploma, and 22.4% have completed a Bachelor's degree or more. For the general population, college completion rates for young women exceeded those for young men, 29% versus 25.6 % among those aged 25 to 29 (Day and Curry, 1998a).

[2] Note that younger cohorts have reached higher levels of educational attainment than have the older cohorts (Day and Curry, 1998b).

[3] This figure includes public, private and religiously affiliated, two- and four-year postsecondary institutions (Lewin, 1998a).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

gender gap in higher education will reach 2.3 million, with 9.2 million women enrolled and only 6.9 million men (Lewin, 1998a).

This phenomenon is relatively new among groups that have been racialized as whites, but women from groups that have been defined as racial minorities have historically reached higher levels of education than their male counterparts. For example, during the 1990s, African American women were twice as likely to obtain a college degree as African American men (Washington and Newman, 1991; Dunn, 1988; Hawkins, 1996; Kleinfeld, 1998; Kim and Sedlacek, 1996, United, 1997). This pattern holds even at the highest degree levels. For example, 63% of Blacks receiving doctorates in 1996 were women.[4]

This gendered pattern of educational attainment is already discernible among the children of post-1965 immigrants from Latin America, the Caribbean and Asia (Rumbaut, 1998; Gibson, 1988; Zhou and Bankston, 1998; United, 1997; Ginorio, 1996; Driver, 1980; Kim and Sedlacek, 1996; Mollenkopf, 1998). In a longitudinal survey of second generation youth from various ethnic backgrounds in California and Florida, young women outperformed men in terms of educational attainment and grade point averages (Rumbaut, 1998). Women also expressed higher career aspirations than did men. Similarly, in the New York City public high schools, where the vast majority (83%) of the student population is defined as non-white, the graduation rate for Black and Hispanic[5] women is higher than it is for men.[6] Moreover, in the late 1990s, at the City

---

[4] Note that these figures include United States citizens only (National Science Foundation, 1996).

[5] The term Latino is used instead of Hispanic because the later has conservative political overtones (Romero, Hondagneu-Sotelo and Ortiz, 1997). The term Hispanic is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

University of New York City (CUNY), women comprised the majority of enrolled Blacks and Hispanics in both undergraduate and graduate programs.[7]

These race and gender patterns in educational attainment raise some compelling issues. In the words of the President of Columbia University's Teacher's College, "we need to be concerned that higher education is losing poor and minority men, that more African American men are going to prison than to college." What accounts for these race-gender variations? How do the intersection of race and gender influence the treatment that minority and immigrant youth receive in the larger society? How do *racialized* and *gendered experiences* mold young people's' *outlooks* toward education?

The objective of this dissertation is to unveil how race and gender, as inextricably linked social processes, produce qualitatively different experiences for men and women in a range of social spheres, including public spaces, school, work and the home. The primary data come from focus groups, in-depth life history interviews and fieldwork in a neighborhood high school. A guiding premise of this study is that *experiential differences* with race(ing) and gender(ing) processes have important implications for how men and women view the role of education in their lives (Sierra, 1986; Hurtado, 1996). To this end, the research explores the intersection of race and gender in the experience of

---

used only when citing previous studies that utilize this term.

[6] In 1996, only 38% of Latinos and 44% of Blacks graduated compared to 69% of Whites and 64% of Asians. Overall, women had higher graduation rates than men, 53% and 43% respectively (Board of Education, 1996). For the Class of 1997, 42% of Black young women graduated compared to 30% of Black men. Likewise, 35% of Hispanic women graduated compared to 27% of Hispanic men (Board of Education, 1997).

[7] In 1996, women comprised 67% of Blacks and 63% percent of Hispanic undergraduates and 70% of Black and Hispanic graduate students at the City University of New York (City University, 1996).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the children of the largest and the newest immigrant groups in New York City – Dominicans, Anglophone West Indians and Haitians. The impact of race(ing) and gender(ing) processes on the educational trajectories of the children of immigrants is important because education remains one of the most important measures of an individual's prospects for social mobility and economic well being in the wider society.

The children of Dominican, Anglophone West Indian and Haitian immigrants provide fertile ground for investigating these processes because these post-1965 immigrant groups shared many commonalties. First, most of these immigrants entered the United States as permanent residents, in contrast to other Caribbean immigrants, such as Puerto Ricans, who are United States citizens, and Cubans, who are considered political refugees.[8] Second, women predominate in Caribbean migration flows among each of these groups (Hernandez, 1995; Foner, 1987; Kasinitz, 1992; Pessar and Grasmuck, 1991; Laguerre, 1984). Consequently, these communities have fairly high rates of households headed by women. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Dominicans, Anglophone West Indians and Haitians are predominantly of African descent but have a range of different skin colors, facial features and hair textures (Torres-Saillant, 1995; Torres and Bonilla, 1995; Grosfugel and Georas, 1996; Waters, 1996). Examination of their racialization and how the process has differed for men and women

---

[8] Another reason why other Caribbean groups, such as Puerto Ricans and Cubans were not included in this study was that the watershed in Puerto Rican and Cuban migration to the United States took place largely during the 1940s and 1950s. In contrast, Dominican, Haitian and Anglophone West Indian immigration occurred in mass after the mid-1960s.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

can shed light on racial formation processes in the United States during the late twentieth century.

This study examines gender and race from a social constructionist perspective, as opposed to an essentialist one (Rosenblum and Travis, 1996). A social constructionist approach assumes that concepts such as race and gender have no meanings beyond those constructed by the society that employs them.[9] Because gender and racial subordination are relational in nature, they may not apply equally to all members of a given category. As explained by Hurtado (1996:124) "a cornerstone of a feminist paradigm is the importance of experience in the definition and acquisition of knowledge." Therefore, it is extremely important to investigate how race and gender as *lived experiences* shape the life perspectives of men and women, and their attitudes, beliefs and understandings of opportunity structures (Hurtado, 1996:viii; Reid, 1996; Landrine, 1996; Leadbeater and Way, 1996; Omi and Winant, 1994; Feagin and Sikes, 1994). This study examines the extent to which the educational attainment of minority and immigrant men and women can be understood in terms of their different race and gender locations.

In approaching this problem, the research draws on theoretical insights from racial formation theory, critical feminist theory, cultural frame of reference theory, and segmented assimilation theory (Omi and Winant, 1994; Feagin and Sikes, 1994; Frankenberg, 1993; Hurtado, 1996; Fine, 1991; Ogbu, 1978, 1974, 1983, 1990; Portes, 1996). The *race-gender experience and outlook theory* the author presents brings these literatures into conversation with one another. This chapter begins with a definition of

---

[9] The essentialist perspective assumes that the concepts of race and gender reflect meaningful differences that exist independently of societal perceptions.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

terms, followed by a summary and critique of the prevailing theories of immigrant and minority schooling. It concludes by proposing the *race-gender experience outlook theory*, which offers a theoretical framework for investigating how young people's understandings of the role of education in their lives is shaped by their *lived experiences* with racial and gender processes in a variety of social spheres.

Definition of Terms

Before beginning the overview of the research on the socio-cultural adaptation and education of minority and immigrant youth, it is important to define the following terms: *second generation youth, minority group, ethnicity, race, phenotype, gender, Caribbean men and women, and West Indians.* For the purposes of this study, *second generation youth* are defined as the United States-born children of immigrants, or foreign-born children who came to the United States before the age of twelve and completed most of their schooling in the United States.[10] The term *minority group* refers to a group of people who experience subordination and inequality in society (Ogbu and Simons, 1998). It is important to note that minority groups are not simply numerical minorities, but groups who have less political and economic power than dominant groups.[11]

---

[10] In the sample, the average age of the second generation young adults who were born abroad was seven. Therefore, the foreign-born youths in the sample had completed the majority of their formal schooling in the United States. (See Chapter 2 for methodology.)

[11] For example, in New York City public high schools, Black, Latino and Asian students comprised a numerical majority of enrolled students, but they are still considered racial minorities.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Ethnicity refers to the distinct cultural background and practices of members of a given national origin, language or religious group (Glazer, 1975; Glazer and Moynihan, 1970). For example, both Russians and Haitians are ethnic groups within the United States, but they have been assigned different racial meanings; Russians are socially defined as members of a racialized majority group (white), but Haitians are racialized as members of a minority group (Black).[12] This has had important consequences for the way in which they are viewed and treated in broader society.

Contrary to the prevailing "common sense" definition, *race* is *not* a biological trait (Chapter 3). *Race* refers to a socially constructed subject position that is historically variable. *Race* is different from *phenotype,* which refers to the features of an individual's physical appearance that are socially defined as indicators of race, including skin color, facial features and hair texture (Haney-Lopez, 1996). *Race* is devoid of any essential characteristics and its defining characteristics are completely arbitrary (Omi and Winant, 1994).

In the United States racial domination has been accomplished through a series of ideological *racial projects* that were operationalized at the macro-level of societal institutions and the micro-level of everyday social interaction (Omi and Winant, 1994). As will be detailed in Chapter 3, *race* is part of "the historically contingent social systems of meaning that are attached to morphology and ancestry" (Haney-Lopez, 1996:14). In practice, the racial meaning that is assigned to a given immigrant group or individual has had major implications for that group's or individual's access to housing,

---

[12] Moreover, most Russians are considered political refugees fleeing a former communist country. Haitians, many of whom are fleeing political violence, are not accorded the same treatment.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

education and job opportunities and for the general treatment its members experience in the larger society (Haney-Lopez, 1996). In a national study of the intersection of class and racial discrimination, Feagin and Sikes (1994) examined the character, range and depth of the discrimination encountered by middle class people who were racialized as Blacks. They conclude that modern racism can be understood as a *lived experience.*

Gender refers to the historical processes by which socially constructed behavior patterns are defined as appropriate for men and women in a given society. Sex refers to biological and reproductive differences between males and females, while gender is a process of assigning difference and meaning to the behaviors a given society believed to constitute the "masculine" and the "feminine" social spheres. Gender differences are historically contingent and continually in flux. For example, during the nineteenth century, men performed most secretarial work because women were considered ill suited suited for mental labor. However, from the early twentieth century, secretarial work was increasingly defined as women's work, and by 1992, 99% of all secretaries were women (Rosenblum and Travis, 1996:304).

It is important to emphasize that race and gender are mutually constitutive and inseparable. They cannot be examined independently of one another.[13] *Race is gendered and gender is racialized* (Omi and Winant, 1994:68). Although race and gender processes are socially constructed subject positions that are relational, they have real material consequences (Roberts, 1997; Omi and Winant, 1994; Frankenberg, 1993;

---

[13] Although this dissertation focuses on the intersection of race and gender, it does not discount the importance of class, sexuality and age in constituting an individual's social location.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Hurtado, 1996; Mullings, 1997; Hill-Collins, 1990, 1996; Fine and Weis, 1998). Race and gender discourses and hierarchies are continually being created and recreated through political, legal and economic institutions. For example, in a critique of racial bias in the dominant discourse on reproductive liberty, Roberts (1997) argues that the liberal American ideal of individual autonomy and freedom from government is primarily concerned with the interests of middle-class women who are racialized as whites. This individualistic discourse is narrowly focused on the right to an abortion, while the procreative "choices" of poor and working class African-Americans are circumscribed through state policies.[14]

In this study, the term *second generation Caribbean men and women* refers to Dominicans, Haitians and Anglophone West Indians as a collective group. Although *West Indians* can refer to people from the whole Caribbean area, in this study it refers exclusively to immigrants from the Anglophone Caribbean, such as Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, etc. (Kasinitz, 1992; Vickerman, 1999).[15]

THEORIZING MINORITY AND IMMIGRANT SCHOOLING

In developing a theoretical framework for this study, the major paradigms of minority and immigrant schooling are clustered into five broad paradigms: (1) biological-determinism (2) structuralist theories (3) culturalist frameworks (4) cultural ecological

---

[14] Roberts (1997) illustrates the way in which the state pressured poor and working class women who received public assistance to use the Norplant contraception, despite its negative effects on their health and reproductive freedom. Roberts advocates for a social justice approach that recognizes that the control of reproduction has historically been a means of racial oppression in the United States.

[15] Although the term West Indian can also be used to refer to all immigrants from the Caribbean, in this study it is used as a heuristic device to distinguish immigrants from the former British Empire, Spanish-speaking Dominicans and Creole-speaking Haitians.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

perspectives, and (5) critical feminist theories. Each of these perspectives provides a unique vantage point from which to understand educational inequality. Although there is significant overlap among some of these approaches, their differences are emphasized here in order to highlight their unique contributions.

Bio-deterministic Theory

Bio-deterministic theory is based on social-Darwinist notions, which assume that biology determines intelligence. Within this schema, groups that have been racialized as minorities are presumed to occupy a subordinate position within the evolutionary process. Intelligence, and educational attainment and inequality are seen not as socially constructed, but as reflecting the "natural" talents of different "biological" racial groups. Early studies of minority student educational failure explained racial differences in examination scores in terms of an assumed genetic inferiority of minorities (Jensen, 1969). In this view, education is seen as a privilege for the "talented." Bio-deterministic studies have consistently essentialized racial and ethnic differences in examination scores as indicators of intelligence (Murray and Hernstein, 1994). More importantly, these bio-deterministic beliefs undergird institutional practices within schools that track students according to "ability" into "smart" or "slow" classes (Durkheim, 1956; Oakes, 1985).

Bio-deterministic perspectives have been refuted on a number of grounds. The first issue that warrants critique is the fallacy of biological races (Ogbu, 1974, 1978; Roberts, 1997; Mullings, 1997). Many scholars have argued that there are no distinct and identifiable biological races (Omi and Winant, 1991; Haney-Lopez, 1996; Rosenblum and Travis, 1996). Nevertheless, contemporary renditions of bio-deterministic theories of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

social inequality thesis have resurfaced. For example, Murray and Hernstein (1994) have argued that genetically based differences in intelligence are responsible for increasing socioeconomic inequality. They maintain that the immutable biological differences in human capital among individuals and groups have contributed to the emergence of a "cognitive elite" and a "cognitive underclass."

Although Murray and Hernstein do not explicitly mention disinvesting from minority neighborhoods, their public policy recommendations would primarily affect groups of people who were racialized as minorities, namely Blacks and Latinos. For instance, they call for the disinvestment of funds from poor neighborhoods because if, as they argue intelligence is innate, then resources should not be "wasted" on the "cognitive underclass." Perhaps their most radical propositions is their advocacy of the redistribution of federal funds to subsidize childbearing by women from the "cognitive elite." Thus, biodeterministic beliefs are part and parcel of the rebirth of a neo-eugenics movement in the United States (Roberts, 1997; Berger, 1999).

Structuralist Approaches

In a critique of bio-deterministic theories, structural explanations locate the root of educational inequality in the class structure of a society. Social reproductionists posit that in capitalist societies, the primary function of schools is to reproduce existing class relations. In this view, educational inequality simply mirrors larger inequalities of social class. Schools reproduce these class inequalities through a variety of mechanisms, including a "hidden curriculum," which prepares youths for unequal positions in life (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Oakes, 1985; Meier and Stewart 1991; Anyon, 1980, 1995). Structural theory makes the important point that educational inequality cannot be

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

addressed adequately until socioeconomic inequality in the wider society is challenged (Orfield, 1994; Anyon, 1997).

One major criticism of class-deterministic structural theories has been that they neglect to examine the importance of racialization processes (Weis and Seller, 1997; Weis and Fine, 1993; Meier and Stewart, 1991; Gonzalez, 1990). In a study of the Chicano educational experience, Gonzalez (1990) shows how Mexican-origin youths have been subordinated within schools in the United States. He argues that schools not only participate in reproducing existing power relationships, along class, race and gender lines, but that they also promote Americanization or assimilation as a way of maintaining political subordination and ideological hegemony. Regardless of the intention, schools as institutions reproduce societal inequality, along class as well as racial lines.

In a similar vein, Meier and Stewart (1991) found that the children of Hispanic immigrants suffer from *second generation discrimination*. *Second generation discrimination* stems from school practices that channel Hispanics into segregated classes and fail to prepare them to assume positions of power in later life (Meier and Stewart, 1991). Meier and Stewart (1991) also found that Hispanic students were more frequently suspended and expelled from school than Anglos (whites). Hispanic students were over-represented in classes for the mentally retarded and under-represented in gifted classes. They conclude that Hispanics who graduated from high school had received an inferior education compared to Anglos (Meier and Stewart, 1991: 204).[16]

---

[16] Meier and Stewart (1991) argue that the representation of Hispanics on school boards, administrations and teachers affects the educational opportunity of Hispanic students.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The last critique of structuralist theories is that they assume that education is the most important mechanism for upward mobility (Orfield, 1994). For example, it has been argued that in the context of an increasingly bifurcated global labor market and continuing unemployment, there is no necessary correspondence between social class and schooling (Apple, 1989, 1985; Weis, 1990a, 1990b; Kanton and Brenzel, 1993). Scholars have argued that as we near the turn of the century, education no longer appears to guarantee upward mobility (Sedlack, 1986; Aronowitz and Giroux, 1993). For example, Anyon (1995) and Sedlack (1986) have argued that educational reformers are misguided if they believe that they can alter the labor market. Another, perhaps more significant, critique of structuralist theories is that they overemphasize macro-level social structures, such as the division of labor, while neglecting to account for variations in human agency.

Culturalist Perspectives

In response to the economic-reductionism inherent in structural theories, cultural theorists have posit that class status does not determine culture and have shifted their focus from the economy to micro-level cultural practices. In this view, culture is autonomous from macro-level institutional structures and guides the social action of individuals within a given community. Culturalist perspectives have examined differences in educational attainment among groups in terms of how youths, as social actors, construct their own "cultures" through ideologies, values and practices. Social actors are not simply pawns of larger economic-structural forces, but actively participate in the formation of complex cultural forms.

There are three branches of culturalist theory: conservative, social reproduction and radical angle. Each emphasizes a different facet of the intersection of culture with

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

schooling processes. Conservative culturalist theories have adopted social-Darwinist notions and assume the existence of hierarchical cultures (Coleman, 1988, 1987, 1990; Chavez, 1992). These studies posit that the cultural background of minorities is deficient, dysfunctional and pathological. They attribute the low academic performance of racial minorities not to biological differences in intelligence but to observed cultural differences in their attitudes towards education. Conservative culturalist theorists conclude that it is cultural deficiencies that have prevented minority and immigrant groups from entering the middle class.

Under the rubric of social reproduction theory, another branch of the culturalist perspectives explain educational inequalities in terms of differences in cultural and social capital among families and peer groups (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984; Willis, 1981; Cookson and Hodges, 1985; Lareau, 1989; MacLeod, 1995; Clark, 1983; Stanton-Salazar, 1997). In a study of the school involvement of working class and upper middle class white parents, Lareau showed that while working class and middle class families both value education, they occupied different class positions and had different cultural resources for monitoring their children's school performance. She discovered that middle class parents were more successful than working class parents in manipulating the school system to benefit their children. Thus, for cultural social reproductionists, parental differences in cultural capital are another way in which social class is reproduced.

Radical cultural perspectives emphasize that the cultural sphere has an emancipatory potential for social change. For example, in an ethnography of working class high school students in Great Britain, Willis (1981) studied two groups of young men, "the ear'oles" and "the lads." The ear'oles were young men who ascribed to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

meritocratic notions about social mobility and conformed to school rules. The lads were anti-conformist and resisted official school policies. In doing so, the lads fashioned an oppositional culture, which effectively condemned them to remain working class. Willis argues that it was youths' own cultures that best prepared them for their working class positions in life.

One major finding of Willis's study was that the cultural domain can become relatively autonomous from structural forces within society. Willis showed that cultural values circulated among peer groups independently of their class positions, and that the cultural attitudes of working class young men could not be directly traced to structural influences or dominant ideologies. Perhaps most importantly, Willis showed that the young men's social critique contained the seeds of resistance to class oppression. Significantly, Willis also found that the young.men's attitudes towards education were linked to gender identity. The lads in his study viewed academic success as a feminine trait and rejected office work because it threatened their sense of masculinity (Willis, 1981; MacLeod, 1995; Sullivan, 1989; Bourgois, 1995). Willis also alluded to the intersection of cultural values with racialization processes. He found that the lads defined their masculinity in relation to the alleged sexual competition for women with their racial "others," namely second generation West Indian young men (Weis, 1990a).

In a similar vein, MacLeod (1995) has explored how peer cultures mold attitudes toward schooling. Through his ethnographic research in a New York City housing project. MacLeod (1995) found that for the Brothers," (most of whom were African Americans and second generation Dominicans and Haitians), a high school diploma did

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

not pay off as much as it did for their white counterparts.[17] However, the Brothers still felt that they had good employment opportunities, especially after the civil rights movement. The Brothers remained firmly committed to the achievement ideology and blamed no one but themselves for their failures in school and in the labor market. MacLeod concludes that the Brothers contributed to social reproduction of their own disadvantage through their adherence to meritocratic principles and acceptance of their subordinate position in society.

In contrast, the "Hallway Hangers," mostly white young men, eschewed the meritocratic notions of social mobility (MacLeod, 1995). Like Willis's lads, they did not believe that education would translate into upward mobility. Interestingly, MacLeod found that the Hallway Hangers paid less of a price for dropping out of school than their Black and Latino counterparts. MacLeod argues that this was in part because the Hallway Hangers had more connections to potential employers through family members (see also Sullivan, 1989) and that they could therefore hold an oppositional outlook toward school and still find jobs. MacLeod concludes that the occupational aspirations of youths from different ethnic groups were shaped their cultural predefinitions.

Although MacLeod's study contributes to our understanding of the role of peer groups and ethnicity in the formation of aspirations for social mobility, he has been criticized for subsuming race under ethnicity and for failing to explore the intersection of whiteness and masculinity. As Royster (1996) explains, the Brothers' adherence to the achievement ideology may be understood as a form of resistance because, in proclaiming

---

[17] MacLeod (1995) noted that the older female siblings of the Brothers were more successful in obtaining employment than their brothers.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

their belief in education, they dismantled widespread stereotypes that cast young urban minority men as anti-academic and oppositional to the larger society. Finally, MacLeod (1995) did not problematize the interviewee-interviewer dynamic in terms of race, gender and class neglected to examine how his status as a researcher who was racialized as white, "colored" and "classed" the conversations he had with the Brothers and the Hallway Hangers.

Cultural perspectives provide invaluable frameworks for understanding the meaning systems created by groups in various racial, gender, ethnic and class locations. MacLeod and Willis both show that social class can be reproduced through the autonomous peer cultures created by youths. However, in giving primacy to culture, these frameworks run the risk of overlooking the way in which racialization processes that occur at the macro-level are embedded in larger societal systems of stratification (Willis, 1981; MacLeod, 1995). Just as bio-deterministic frameworks view intelligence as an immutable biological fact and structural perspectives identify class as the key determinant for predicting schooling outcomes, cultural perspectives tend to essentialize cultures and ethnic backgrounds as keys for understanding educational inequality.

Cultural-Ecological Frameworks

In an attempt to combine culturalist and structuralist approaches, cultural ecological paradigms have analyzed minority and immigrant schooling in terms of the interaction between culture and social structure. Two theories, cultural frame of reference theory and segmented assimilation theory, have investigated this juncture.

Cultural Frame of Reference Theory. One of the most influential cultural-ecological theorists of minority and immigrant education has been that of John Ogbu.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

For Ogbu (1974, 1978), the historical mode of incorporation of a given minority or immigrant group is the key to understanding their educational patterns. Ogbu has expanded Blauner's (1972) typology of colonized and immigrant minorities to delineate four types of minority groups along a continuum. These included, (1) *autonomous minorities* (2) *voluntary minorities* (3) *refugees and migrant workers*, and (4) *involuntary minorities*. Ogbu and Simons (1998) define *autonomous minority* groups as numerical minorities (not racial minorities) that may suffer discrimination, but whose school achievement is not different from that of the majority group, (for example, Jewish immigrants). In contrast, *voluntary minority* groups are those who moved to the United States for a better future but did not experience long-term school performance problems, such as Koreans and Chinese.[18] *Refugees and migrant/guest workers* are immigrants who did not migrate freely, but who did not experience long-term performance problems, such as Cambodians and Haitians. *Involuntary minorities* are groups who were forced to become a part of the United States through a process of conquest, colonization or slavery, such as African Americans, American Indians and early Mexicans in the South West.

Ogbu argues that there are two theoretical dimensions to cultural ecological theories, the system and community forces. In his earlier work Ogbu (1974, 1978) focused on the systemic treatment of minority groups by the dominant society. He found that educational policies and practices towards involuntary minority groups did not prepare them to achieve social mobility. In addition, he also argued that minority youth

---

[18] Ogbu and Simons (1998:164) included groups as diverse as Dominicans, West Indians, Koreans, Chinese and Japanese under the rubric of voluntary minorities. However, this categorization conflates the different histories of each of these minority and immigrant groups.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

have suffered from a *job ceiling,* which has historically excluded African Americans and other caste-like minorities from obtaining employment commensurate with their skills and education. Over time, involuntary minorities developed secondary cultural discontinuities - dysfunctional behavior patterns and attitudes towards education that became part of their identity. According to Ogbu, involuntary minorities, such as African Americans, may say that they value education, but in practice they do not strive to obtain educational credentials because they are aware of the *job ceiling.* Ogbu therefore explains involuntary minorities' disinvestment from education as an adaptation to the unequal treatment they have received.

In his later work, Ogbu (1995a, 1995b) has focused on the role of community forces in shaping the schooling outcomes of minorities and immigrant groups. He has been particularly interested in understanding why immigrant groups who faced discrimination were still able to do well in school and argues that the *cultural frame of reference* – the behaviors considered appropriate for members of a given minority or immigrant group – shapes the attitudes youths have towards education. In this schema, a key difference between voluntary minorities and involuntary minorities is that voluntary minorities have maintained a positive frame of reference, comparing their present situation with that in their home countries (Suarez-Orozco, 1987; Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco, 1995; Ogbu, 1995a, 1995b). Allegedly, voluntary minorities have defined cultural and language differences as barriers to be overcome and they not viewed the adoption of dominant cultural behaviors as detrimental to their group identity. As a result, they have performed exceptionally well in school.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In contrast, Ogbu (1995a, 1995b) posits that involuntary minorities view their cultural differences as markers of a collective identity that is to be maintained (Matute-Bianchi, 1991). Fordham and Ogbu (1986) posit that involuntary minorities who did well in school were often subjected to anti-academic peer criticism, while students who did not receive good grades were not stigmatized by their peers and family (Ogbu, 1991:29; Fordham, 1988). They argue that involuntary minorities feared that their peers would accuse them of "acting white" if they adopted the characteristics of the dominant society in order to achieve academic success. Thus, involuntary minorities had to choose between academic success and maintaining their identity as minority - a choice that voluntary minorities did not face.

Ogbu's cultural frame of reference theory has been widely critiqued (Tyson, 1998; Schultz, 1996). For example, Ogbu and Simons's categorization of Dominicans and West Indians as voluntary minorities, and Haitians as refugees, was problematic on a number of grounds (Ogbu and Simons, 1998). First of all, this classification overlooks the historical neo-colonial relationships that the United States has imposed on third world countries in the Caribbean and Latin America (Torres-Saillant, 1995; Laguerre, 1984; Lopez, 1998; Bogen, 1988). In addition, Dominicans, West Indians and Haitians are experiencing long-term school performance problems in United States schools due to the treatment they have received from the dominant society (Hernandez, 1995; Lopez, 1998; Meier and Stewart, 1991; Fine and Weis, 1998).

Equally troubling is Ogbu and Simons's (1998) assumption that voluntary minority groups as diverse as Koreans, Dominicans and East Indians experience the same type of treatment. Ogbu and Simons (1998) assert that it was the mode of incorporation -

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

a group's history of how and why they became a minority group – not "race," that determined its classification. This assertion is highly debatable on a number of grounds. For example, during the early twentieth century Chinese immigrant groups who were defined as racial others and were racial violence and incarceration, as was the case with people of Japanese descent during World War II (Haney-Lopez, 1996). However, during the later half of the century, the myth of the "Asian model minority" has emerged (Lee, 1997; Fong, 1998). According to this racialized discourse, Asians do well in school because they are "naturally" talented, especially in fields such as math and science. It is also argued that people of the Asian "race" possess superior cultural orientations, and place a special value on education (Lee, 1997). Presumably, the "problematic" minorities (Blacks and Latinos) do not perform well in school because they have less intellectual capacity and lack the superior cultural values of the "model minorities." Clearly, groups are assigned racial meanings in relationship to one another, and the Asian model minority myth was etched against the backdrop of the "problematic" minorities, Blacks and Latinos. In light of this, Ogbu and Simons's (1998) dismissal of the relevance of racialization processes in shaping a minority or immigrant group's experiences in the host society is a significant weakness.

The last shortcoming of Ogbu's (1995a, 1995b) framework is that he assumes that the mode of incorporation and views about social mobility among minority groups are undifferentiated by gender. Ogbu (1978) notes that, historically, African-American women have been more employable than their male counterparts, but he does not explore how racial and gender stratification in the labor market overlap and influence male and female notions about job ceilings and outlooks towards education.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

However, in her later work, Fordham (1996) alludes to the ways in which race and gender intersect in the formulation of youths' attitudes towards education. In an ethnography of African-American high school students in Washington D.C., Fordham (1996) found that there was more peer pressure on African-American young men to forgo school achievement than there was on their female counterparts. Allegedly, some African-American men did not do well in school because they feared that their peers would question their heterosexuality (Fordham, 1996).

Segmented Assimilation Theory. Segmented assimilation theory emerged in an effort to explain the "divided fates" or the multiple educational and labor market trajectories of the children of post-1965 immigrants (Gans, 1992; Portes and Zhou, 1993; Fernandez-Kelly and Schauffler, 1994; Kao and Tienda, 1995, Perlmann and Waldinger, 1997; Portes and MacLeod, 1996; Portes and Rumbaut, 1990; Rumbaut, 1995). Acknowledging that assimilation can mean upward or downward mobility, segmented assimilation theorists were interested in uncovering which sector of United States society a given immigrant group would assimilate into.[19] Portes and Zhou (1993) have argued that the United States currently has a pattern of segmented assimilation, or multiple ways in which immigrant groups are incorporated into distinct sectors of the United States society. They suggest three distinct paths. First, a given immigrant group may assimilate into white mainstream middle-class society and experience upward mobility. Second, a group may assimilate into the racially stigmatized lower-classes and experience downward mobility. Finally, a group may carve out an alternative route, whereby it

[19] For Dominicans living in Washington, DC, assimilation into the larger Black community translated into upward mobility (Candelario, forthcoming).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

preserves its immigrant identity and experienced upward mobility. Portes and Zhou (1993) posit that the type of assimilation a given ethnic group undergoes depends largely on its mode of incorporation, its color, and its place of residence, as well as its social networks and the cultural capital of its respective ethnic communities.

Segmented assimilation theory has been instrumental in dismantling conservative theories, which assumed that losing ethnic distinctiveness and conforming to mainstream cultural practice was a prerequisite of inter-generational upward mobility. For example, Gibson's (1988) study of Punjabi Sikh high school students in California illuminated how the selective preservation of immigrant culture enhanced the upward mobility of the second generation. To explain this phenomenon, Gibson (1988) developed the concept of "accommodation without assimilation." Gibson (1988:186) posits that the adaptation patterns of Punjabi Sikh students were shaped not only by the objective realities of their subordinate position and unequal opportunities, but also by their subjective evaluation of their immigrant status and their chances of getting ahead in society. The acquisition of skills in the majority group's language and culture led them to successful participation in both the new and the old cultural system. Thus, Gibson (1988) concludes that schools should cease forcing immigrant students to adopt the dominant culture and devalue their home cultures. Instead, she advocates the adoption of school policies that respect immigrant youths' home cultures and promote accommodation without assimilation (Delgado, 1992; Lopez, 1997).

Gender Matters: Ethnic Identity and Family Ideologies.

Gender roles, societal expectations about appropriate behavior for men and women, have a profound impact on youths' perspectives on ethnic identity and family

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ideologies. However, the prevailing theories of minority and immigrant schooling have traditionally examined immigrant and minority groups through the ethnicity paradigm, as genderless individuals. In other cases, where gender is included as a variable, only young men are considered (MacLeod, 1995; Willis, 1981; Sullivan, 1989). However, a growing number of empirical studies point to how gender matters in the schooling of minority and immigrant youths (Waters, 1996; Zhou and Bankston, 1998; Gibson, 1988). In this vein, this literature has honed in on gender differences in terms of ethnic identity and family ideologies.

Ethnic Identity. In a study of ethnic identification processes among West Indian and Haitian high school students in New York City, Waters (1996) found the emergence of three distinct ethnic identities, (1) African American (2) hyphenated American, (for example, Haitian-American), and (3) immigrant identity, (for example, Jamaican). One gender difference that Waters noted in this study was that West Indian and Haitian men perceived their ethnicity in terms of dichotomies, such as African-American or Jamaican. In contrast, the young women in the study had multiple ways of defining themselves, such as Haitian-American, African-American and Haitian. Furthermore, second generation West Indian and Haitian young men were more likely to report experiencing vicious racial discrimination in social interactions with whites, especially with the police. Waters (1996) suggests that these experiences may lead boys to develop a more rigid oppositional identity than girls, and she therefore concludes that whereas "acting white" may become an issue for young West Indian and Haitian men, it may not be a point of contention for the women. Thus, gender plays an important role in shaping the meanings attached to ethnic identity (Waters, 1996).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Research on Latinos has also shown that gender is a salient predictor of ethnic identity and language retention. A comparative study of second generation adolescents in San Diego and South Florida found that Latina women were more likely to adopt a hyphenated identity (Rumbaut, 1996). On the other hand, young men again tended to identify themselves in terms of dichotomies, as either American or in terms of their national origin (Rumbaut, 1996). This appeared to be the case among specific ethnic groups. Among Mexicans, men were also more likely to adopt a Chicano identity, while women opted for a more pan-ethnic identity, such as Mexican-American. For example, Matute-Bianchi (1991) found that students who identified as Chicano perceived higher levels of discrimination than did those who identified as Mexican American. Moreover, Matute-Bianchi found that academic success was more likely among Mexican-oriented youth than among the non-immigrant Chicano/Cholo youth. The Mexican-oriented girls in Matute-Bianchi's study had more educational success than any other group. Nevertheless, Matute-Bianchi (1991) concludes that success or failure in school among immigrant and minority youths does not correlate neatly with a "less acculturated/more acculturated" continuum of ethnic identity. Rather, immigrant youths' multi-faceted identities speak to a more complex, interactive set of phenomena that revolves around perceptions of opportunities for social mobility.

Family Ideologies. Strict social control of young women appears to be one of the defining features of immigrant communities across ethnic groups. In an ethnographic study of the Mexican immigrant community in New York City, Smith (1994) found that more women than men attended college. Smith argues that this was due in part to the rigid social control of over young women in the Mexican community. Furthermore,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Smith noted that the young women were dynamic participants in community-based activities and organizations, which helped them to maintain a protective immigrant identity, as opposed to a more oppositional minority identity.[20] Likewise, Gibson (1988) found that Punjabi Sikh parents limited most of the social interaction of girls to the realm of the family. Waters (1996) also suggests that strict social control of West Indian and Haitian young women protected them from the peer pressure that young men were exposed to.

Parental attitudes toward the type of education deemed appropriate for young men and women have an important influence on the education of their children. For example, the Punjabi Sikh parents in Gibson's (1988) study exhorted young women to secure a marriage first, and then to continue with their postsecondary studies. Although these parents promoted education for all their children, they valued higher education more for boys than for girls. Similarly, among Koreans, Kim (1993) found that parents maintained high aspirations for all their children, but daughters were given more flexibility than sons in terms of choosing less prestigious careers (Brandon, 1991). In each of these cases, the educational expectations of the parents were gendered and clearly influenced their children's understandings of the role of education in their lives.

However, gender transitions in immigrant and minority homes are multifaceted and at times contradictory (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Zhou and Bankston, 1998). In a study of second generation Vietnamese youth in New Orleans, Zhou and Bankston (1998) provide an analysis of the multi-generational gender transitions in traditional Vietnamese

---

[20] Portes and Schauffler (1996) postulated that the greater seclusion of second generation young women contributed to the fact that girls were more likely to retain the parental language than were boys of similar socioeconomic backgrounds.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

homes and focus on the issue of whether traditional values have advanced or inhibited the education of young women. They found that young women earned higher grades than their male counterparts. They concluded that the Vietnamese community's orientation toward upward mobility forced changes in traditional gender roles, which in turn led second generation Vietnamese women to subvert traditional gender roles. However, one limitation of Zhou and Bankston's study is that when exploring issues of gender, they only explored the issues related to young women's education.

Critical Feminist Theories

A growing number of critical theorists are focusing their energies on unearthing the multiple ways in which the social processes of race, gender and class intersect in contradictory and "messy" ways in the lived experiences of rac(ed), class(ed), and gender(ed) social actors (Fine, 1991; Fine and Weis, 1998, Weis, 1990a, 1990b; Mehan, 1992, 1996). In an attempt to demystify the "naturalness" of race, ethnicity, gender and class hierarchies, critical theorists are engaged in unpacking ideologies and cultural representations that reproduce power relationships in the existing world.

Certain research sites, such as schools, have provided strategic spaces for critical theorists. For example, in *Framing Dropouts*, a critical ethnography of a predominantly Latino and Black New York City public school, Fine (1991) illuminates how adherence to political rules and bureaucratic regularities undermined the education of urban youth. According to Fine (1991) low-income minority and immigrant youth were "framed" as the cause of high dropout rates, crime and teenage pregnancy, while the structural roots of these problems, such as poverty and racism, were largely ignored. Fine unearths three ideological fetishes, which contributed to the "dropout problem." The ideologies of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"universal access," "good intentions," and the "naturalness of the public-private dichotomy" circulated in public schools and were used to design policies that contributed to the belief that the drop out problem was "natural." By unearthing the multi-faceted social critique of oppressed populations, critical theorists aim to foster linkages among various social movements and resistance(s).

Critical theorists also caution that not all forms of resistance are emancipatory (Willis, 1981; Aronowitz and Giroux, 1993; Weis, 1990a, 1990b). For example, the dropouts in Fine's (1991) study fashioned a scathing critique of racial and class oppression in the larger society, but their critique evaporated shortly thereafter. Fine (1991) argues that it was the responsibility of policy makers, activists, researchers and educators to rechannel students' social critique, and to expose, interrupt and transform the "naturalness" of the dropout phenomenon. In this way, schools can serve as sites of transformation for teachers, students, parents and communities that seek to empower themselves in order to bring about social change.

In a multi-city study of the effects of deindustrialization on Black, Latino and white young adults, Fine and Weis (1998) examine how poor and working class men and women, in the same economic plight, managed to see the world through entirely different eyes during the 1990s. Asking where young adults place blame for their troubles, they found that the social critiques of these youths were marbled along racial, gender and class lines. African American men wove a critique that perceived institutionalized racism, such as police harassment, as the central cause of their economic troubles. In contrast, the white men in the study blamed their employment woes on affirmative action policies. They believed that they were the victims of "reverse discrimination" polices, which

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

unfairly advantaged minorities. Furthermore, although many of the white women were the victims of domestic violence, they rarely voiced a critique of men and the family. Instead, they tried to maintain "stable" homes, which they discursively contrasted with the "broken homes" of minority communities. In contrast, the Black and Latina women criticized the state bureaucracy and sought refuge in the family. These women also expressed an unwavering faith in God. One noteworthy finding of Fine and Weis' study was that while the Black and Latina women in the study expressed unbridled optimism in the face of daunting obstacles, the men tended to be more doubtful about the future (Fine and Weis, 1998:229). In short, the social critique that emanated from working class and poor youth was shaped by their social positions and lived experiences as racialized and gendered collectivities.

Critical feminist theorists have also suggested that minority women actively resist their marginal status in the larger society through their *positionality* - the emergence of knowledge from their particular social locations as gender, racial, ethnic and class minorities (Hill-Collins, 1990; Zavella, 1987; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Hurtado, 1996). For instance, in *The Color of Privilege: Three Blasphemies on Race and Feminism*, Hurtado (1996) argues that the gender oppression faced by women of color is fundamentally different from that faced by white women. These differences produced qualitatively different experiences. Hurtado posits that the differences in the feminism of white women and women of color stems from their differing relationships to white men; white women are *seduced* into compliance because they were needed to "reproduce" the next generation, while women of color experience racial, gender and class oppression through *rejection* because their labor is used to maintain the status quo (see also Ammott

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and Matthaei, 1991; Roberts, 1997). Hurtado concludes that this is why Chicanas and other women of color have sought to dismantle gender oppression in their homes by embracing their families and cultural heritage, rather than by divorcing themselves from the men in their communities. Thus, the *experiential differences* between white women and women of color stem from their distinct relationships to power structures. An important question remains: How do the experiences of minority men and women with oppression differ from one another, and how do these experiences shape their worldviews and outlooks toward education?

BUILDING A RACE-GENDER EXPERIENCE AND OUTLOOK THEORY

The theoretical perspectives discussed above have made important contributions to our understanding of the multi-faceted dimensions of minority and immigrant schooling processes. However, with the exception of critical feminist theories, the prevailing theories of minority and immigrant schooling have traditionally assumed that gender and race are discrete "variables." Thus, the intersection of gender and race can provide a rich analytical foci.

As the literature review demonstrates, it is important to unearth the ways in which the views men and women hold about the role of education in their lives are related to their *lived experiences* as racialized and gendered bodies in the wider society (Feagin and Sikes, 1994; Hurtado, 1996; Lorde, 1996; Frankenberg, 1993; Omi and Winant, 1994; Hill-Collins, 1990, 1996; Morrison, 1992). Therefore, the central questions of this study are: How do racialization processes differ for men and women? How do racial(izing) and gender(ing) processes intersect in the school setting? How have men and women experienced work within the restructured economy? And, finally, how do changing

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

gender roles influence outlooks towards education? The answers to these questions will add significantly to our theoretical understanding of educational inequality.

This study explores the extent to which race and gender social locations shape the ways in which men and women are treated and their perceptions of opportunity structures. It employs the *race-gender experience and outlook theory.* As will be developed in the chapters that follow, two concepts are central for unraveling experiential differences with race and gender processes, (1) *race-gender experiences* and (2) *race-gender outlooks. Race-gender experiences* are the social interactions that take place in a given social sphere, such as public spaces, schools, work and the home, in which men and women undergo racial and gender processes. Overtime, the cumulative effects of *race-gender experience*s shape men's and women's *race-gender outlooks. Race-gender outlooks* are life perspectives and attitudes about how social mobility is attained.

In an effort to reach a better understanding of how second generation Caribbean youths make sense of the role of education in their lives, the chapters that follow trace their life histories. Chapter 2 details the research methodology of life history interviews combined with fieldwork in a neighborhood public high school. Chapters 3 through 6 compare men's and women's *lived experiences* and *outlooks* based on the race and gender processes they have undergone in a variety of social spheres. Chapter 3 discusses how race and gender intersect in the social interactions second generation Caribbean youth have with strangers in public spaces. Chapter 4 provides a window into how various institutional practices within schools formally and informally "race" and "gender" their students. Chapter 5 examines how the changing postindustrial economy sets the backdrop for the views men and women hold about opportunity structures, and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

illuminates how their experiences at the workplace shape their ideas about social mobility. Chapter 6 looks at the distinct experiences that men and women have with home life and family ideologies. The concluding chapter presents my argument for the *race-gender experience and outlook theory* as a framework for unraveling how *race-gender experiences* shape youths' outlooks toward education. It also highlights the main findings of the study and suggests ways in which *race(ing)* and *gender(ing)* processes may be dismantled.

As the following chapters show, men and women from the same class backgrounds view the role of education in their lives in vastly different ways. This is not because men and women are essentially different but because their worldviews have been shaped by the different *race-gender experiences* they have undergone in various social arenas. By highlighting the intersectionality of race and gender in the schooling of our next generation, this study aims to contribute to our theoretical understanding of minority and immigrant schooling. Although the main focus of this study is on Caribbean youth, the conceptual framework can be useful for understanding the educational trajectories of young adults from various race, gender and class positions.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER 2: SETTING AND METHODS

INTRODUCTION

Since 1965 over fifteen million new immigrants have entered the United States. With the exception of Mexico, which sent the largest number of immigrants to the United States from the Western Hemisphere (3,696,245), the Caribbean produced the most immigrants during the 1980s. The Dominican Republic yielded over half a million immigrants (580,225), followed by Cuba (456,997), Jamaica (417,652), Haiti (275,581), Guyana (179,627), and Trinidad and Tobago (129,618) (Parillo, 1997:426).[1]

New York City, as a main entry point, has attracted about one fifth of all immigrant arrivals in recent decades. Statistics show that the single largest number of immigrants in the New York City area during the 1980s came from the Caribbean Basin (Bogen, 1988; Foner, 1987). According to the New York City Council, Caribbean immigrants were born in the following countries: Dominican Republic (463,222), Jamaica (137,752), (Haiti 133,936), Trinidad and Tobago (109,341), Guyana (100,530), other Caribbean (35,760), Barbados (30,780) and Grenada (20,064).[2] Overall, a third of immigrants in New York were born in the Caribbean (Waldinger, 1996:50). It is also

---

[1] Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Statistical Yearbook 1994, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1990, pp. 28-31. Cited in (Parillo, 1997:426).

[2] Island-born Puerto Ricans totaled 319,229 and Cubans totaled 26,226 (MacMahon, 1998). Although Puerto Ricans and Cubans are Caribbean groups, they are not included in this study because their immigration peaked during the 1940s and 1950s. In contrast, the influx of Dominicans, Haitians and Anglophone West Indians took place after the 1960s. Furthermore, Puerto Ricans are United States citizens and Cubans entered the country as political refugees.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

significant that women dominated migration flows from the Caribbean (Foner, 1987; Kasinitz, 1992; Pessar and Grasmuck, 1991; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1999; Grasmuck and Grosfuguel, 1997).

There is already a burgeoning literature on the migration patterns and labor market participation of the first generation, and there is now a growing interest in exploring the educational trajectories of their children – the second generation (Hernandez, 1995; Foner, 1987; Kasinitz, 1992; Pessar and Grasmuck, 1991; Grasmuck and Pessar, 1996). However, studying the second generation has proven to be a formidable task. For example, the elimination of the question on the nativity of parents in the 1980 and 1990 Census has preempted the possibility of studying the second generation through Census data (Hirshman, 1994).[3] Furthermore, because the watershed in Caribbean migration began in the mid-1960s, the second generation only began to enter their young adulthood during the 1990s.[4] Previous studies of the second generation have therefore been limited to adolescents (Portes, 1996; Rumbaut, 1997; Gibson, 1988).

Another difficulty is the lack of existing educational databases on second generation Caribbean youth. For example, the New York City Board of Education places all students into five monolithic "ethnic" categories – American Indian, Hispanic, Asian,

---

[3] These data only allow for the assessment of socioeconomic variables among first generation immigrants.

[4] A database of information on second generation young adults aged 18-32 is being compiled by the Center for Urban Research as of 1999. It draws on a random sample survey of second generation youth living in the New York metropolitan area (N=3,600). Surveys are being followed-up by in-depth interviews with 15% of the sample (N=540). Six strategically positioned ethnographies in different neighborhood communities will be conducted in 1999-2000. As a research assistant for this project, the author conducted in-depth interviews.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Black and White. Yet these broad groupings include an array of nationalities, with different histories, socioeconomic status, cultural practices, modes of incorporation, citizenship status and phenotypes. They obscure differences that are crucial in shaping the very experiences this study seeks to understand. For example, in a national study of residential segregation, Massey and Denton (1994) found that lighter-skinned Hispanics were able to move into middle class neighborhoods.[5] Conversely, Hispanics who were darker-skinned, especially those of African phenotype (who include the vast majority of Dominicans), are unable to "pass" for whites and experience the residential segregation to which African Americans have historically been subjected (Schill, 1998).

QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGIES

Quantitative data from survey research can provide important information about individual outcomes on certain measures, including marital status, labor market participation and educational attainment. However, although surveys allow for the creation of representative samples of the population under study and provide snapshots of individuals' life experiences, they often force participants to choose responses from categories determined by the researcher. Moreover, surveys generally lack *experiential depth* and do not capture the life history of participants. As a result, they do not produce data that enables us to examine the texture, range and meanings embedded in an individual's life course (Wacquant, 1997). For instance, national surveys, such as the census and National Education Longitudinal Survey (NELS-88) do not capture the

---

[5] For example, while post-1959 Cuban immigrants were predominantly of European phenotype, subsequent immigrants arriving the 1980s and 1990s included a growing number of people of African descent. There is growing evidence that these more recent second generation Cuban youths are experiencing the same educational problems as other groups of African phenotype (Rumbaut, 1998).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

contextual, real life, everyday experiences of the individuals and families interviewed. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, surveys are usually ahistorical and tend to essentialize race and gender, rather than examining the processes that create these categories.

In contrast, qualitative approaches rely primarily on the researcher's skills, as an empathic observer, to collect detailed descriptions about the character, range and depth of participants' experiences. The qualitative researcher aims to uncover an individual's own narrative about his or her life experience and outlook. Qualitative techniques generally include participant observation, ethnography, in-depth interviews and focus groups. Where a survey may simply record an event, such as high school graduation, an in-depth interview seeks to understand the significance of this event in the life course of the individual or the community under study. Although qualitative methods provide rich contextual data, a common limitation is that only a small number of cases can be studied in this intensive fashion.

Both the paucity of quantitative data sets on second generation Caribbean groups and the need to examine the life course and *lived experiences* of second generation youths led the author to rely on qualitative methods. Data are drawn from three distinct sources: (1) focus groups (2) in-depth interviews, and (3) strategically positioned participant observation in a New York City public high school located in a Caribbean neighborhood. Data were collected in different stages and each provided the basis for the next stage of data collection. For example, the themes that emerged from the focus group in fall 1995 were used to design the survey for spring 1997 and the interview guide for the in-depth interviews in fall 1997. After the survey and in-depth interview data were analyzed, the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

themes that emerged from the in-depth interviews were explored in the contained setting of an urban public high school in spring 1998. Focus groups and in-depth interviews concentrated on identifying differences in the experiences and outlooks of men and women, while fieldwork in a public high school sought to uncover how, if at all, institutions such as schools "raced" and "gendered" students through informal practices.

FOCUS GROUPS

The focus groups, surveys and in-depth interviews utilized in this dissertation were part of the "Immigrant Second Generation in Metropolitan New York" project conducted by the Center for Urban Research at the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York. The principal investigators for the project were Professors John Mollenkopf, Philip Kasinitz and Mary Waters. Over a period of four years (1995-99), as a research assistant for the project, the author facilitated focus groups, participated in the design of the survey instrument, conducted and transcribed in-depth interviews and conducted data analysis.[6]

Two focus groups, one with Dominicans and the other with West Indians and Haitians, were conducted with college students attending the City University of New York (CUNY) during December 1995. Focus group participants were selected randomly from a list of enrolled second-generation students at CUNY campuses.[7] The focus groups served two purposes. First, they helped fine-tune the survey instrument by providing a forum for pre-testing themes about the socio-cultural adaptation and schooling experiences of second generation Caribbean youth in New York City. Second,

---

[6] The analysis that follows is solely the author's interpretation.

[7] Focus group participants were selected randomly from a phone list of enrolled second generation CUNY students (N=1,537).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

since these focus groups were conducted with CUNY undergraduates, they also allowed us to explore educational issues particular to working class urban college students living in New York City.

Focus groups were conducted in a classroom at the City University of New York. They lasted about two hours and included questions about migration, education, family, work, ethnic identity and discrimination. Focus groups were tape-recorded and transcribed. The researcher moderated the focus group on Dominicans. Other members of the research team moderated the focus group with West Indians and Haitians. There were five participants in the Dominican focus group, three women and two men. In the second focus group, there were two West Indian men, one West Indian woman and one Haitian woman. All participants were aged between 18 and 30. Each participant was given $10 dollars for participating in the focus group. (See Appendix C for a summary of the focus group participants.)

The analysis of focus group transcripts revealed many important themes that were eventually incorporated in the survey instrument. For example, the second generation Caribbean youth spoke about the neighborhood transitions that had occurred in their communities during the 1970s through the 1990s. "White flight," or the abandonment of the urban areas for the suburbs by white residents, followed by increased residential segregation and pockets of gentrification, "colored" the memories of many of the participants (see Massey and Denton, 1994). Other important issues were men's negative experiences with the police and their discourse of ethnic pride as resource for contesting negative stereotypes about their groups (Fine and Weis, 1998). In contrast, women spoke about the prominent role of family in their lives. Changing gender roles were also a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

central theme in the narratives of the women. Both men and women also spoke about the importance of educational opportunity programs in terms of gaining admission to college. The focus group participants' accounts of growing up in New York City provided invaluable leads for our next task - designing survey and in-depth interview instruments.

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

Surveys and Sampling Frame. Schulman, Ronca and Bucavalus, Inc. (SRBI), a survey firm based in New York City, conducted face-to-face, in-home, surveys with 18 to 30 year-old second generation Caribbean youths during the fall of 1996 and the spring of 1997.[8] The sampling approach was door-to-door knocking in block-level census tracts with high and low concentrations of a given ethnic group.[9] The SRBI interviewers who canvassed the census tracts were second generation Caribbean young adults who were familiar with these neighborhoods. These face-to-face surveys took between two to three hours and were conducted in participants' homes. All survey participants were given $25 dollars for their participation in the study.

We employed the life-history calendar method for the survey because it served as the most effective way of collecting detailed retrospective information about several different aspects of an individual's life course.[10] The 110-page survey covered parental

---

[8] As stated in chapter 1, *second generation Caribbean youth* are United States-born children of immigrants or foreign-born children of Dominicans, Anglophone West Indians and Haitians, who came to the United States before the age of twelve and completed most of their schooling in the United States.

[9] One Dominican woman and one West Indian man who participated in the survey were obtained through random digit dialing of telephone exchanges within census tracts that had high concentrations of each of these groups.

[10] This methodology was designed to uncover processes of transition, rather than just noting the schools the participants had attended.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

migration, schooling history, work history, racial and ethnic identity and political participation. It also covered: basic socioeconomic data, such as the current household composition and family background of the participant; information about the respondent's parents, including background, socioeconomic status, occupation and educational attainment; details about family structure from the respondent's birth, and at age six, twelve and eighteen; and information about siblings and partners, and children. In addition, we traced participants' residential history, including all the neighborhoods lived in from birth until the time of the interview. (See appendix D for sample survey questions).

The survey included a roster of all the schools the participants had attended from preschool to graduate school, as well as questions about grade point average and majors. The next step was an inventory of the employment history of each participant, as well as their social networks and how they obtained each job. We inquired about the race, ethnicity and gender of respondents' co-workers and supervisors, and whether they had ever been promoted or experienced racial or sex discrimination on the job. We also asked about wages and benefits and their reservation wage - the lowest wage they would work for, as well as their aspirations and expectations for the future.

The last section of the survey focused on the socio-cultural adaptation of the young adults. It included questions about the respondent's racial and ethnic identity, foreign languages spoken and the number of times they had visited their parents' home country. It also covered their religious background, and views on family and gender roles. The remaining questions in the survey addressed issues of political participation and social critique.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In total, 66 second generation Caribbean young adults were surveyed, 31 women and 35 men. (See Appendix A for a detailed profile of the women interviewed and Appendix B for the men.) Respondents included 27 Dominicans, 22 West Indians and 17 Haitians. The following tables summarize the frequency and percentages of surveys completed by ethnic group and gender.

Table 1: Total Number and Percentages of Surveys by Ethnic Group and Gender

Ethnic Group	# Male	% Male	# Female	% Female	Total #	Total #
Dominican	12	44%	15	56%	27	100%
West Indian	15	68%	7	32%	22	100%
Haitian	8	47%	9	53%	17	100%
Total	35	53%	3`	47%	66	100%

The average age of the women surveyed was 21 and the average age of the men was 22. In the survey, 55% of women were born in the United States compared to 51% of the men. As mentioned in the introduction, the average age upon arrival for both men and women who were born abroad was seven, indicating that they had received most of their schooling experiences in the United States.

In terms of household structure, a higher percentage of men (86%) lived with their parents than did women (65%). None of the men was married, but 13% of the women were.[11] Sixteen percent of the women and 11% of the men were living with partners. Twenty-six percent of the women reported having children, compared to only 17% percent of the men.

---

[11] This figure included a woman who had just obtained a divorce at the time of the survey.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

All of the participants in the study can be classified as working class and poor.[12] However, because these households often contained multiple low-wage earners, they had moderate household incomes. For example, the average household income was $34,615 for the women, and $42,935 for the men.[13] Ten percent of the women surveyed were receiving some form of public assistance at the time of the interview.

In terms of phenotype, all the Caribbean participants were of varying dark complexions and of African phenotype. Across all groups, second generation Caribbean men and women reported that other people sometimes thought that they were African American. None of the lighter-skinned Dominicans, Haitians and West Indians could "pass" for white. However, a few of the lighter-skinned Dominicans said that other people thought that they were Puerto Ricans. Likewise, some of the lighter-skinned West Indians and Haitians said that other people thought they were Puerto Rican or Dominican. Conversely, darker-skinned Dominicans said that people sometimes thought they were Haitian or Jamaican.

Analysis of the survey data revealed differences in the educational attainment of the men and women in the sample. As expected, women attained higher grades, expressed higher aspirations, and completed higher levels of education than their male counterparts.

---

[12] A larger survey conducted by the Center for Urban Research, GSUC, CUNY (1999-2000) allows for an examination of class differences within ethnic groups, as well as across ethnic groups.

[13] Middle class is defined as a family of four with a household income of between $50,235 and $100,471 (New York, 1998).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 2: Distribution of High School Grade Point Averages by Gender in Raw Numbers and Percentages

Grades	Total Men (% in parentheses)	Total Women (% in parentheses)
A (93-100)	1 (3%)	2 (7%)
A-/B+ (89-92)	7 (20%)	3 (10%)
B (83-88)	6 (18%)	10 (33%)
B-/C+ (79-82)	5 (15%)	6 (20%)
C (73-78)	12 (35%)	4 (13%
C-/D+ (69-72)	12 (9%)	4 (17%)
D (68 or lower)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Total	34* (100%)	30* (100%)

*N = 35 men (missing = 1) and 31 women (missing = 1)

Fifty percent of the women had grade point averages of B or better in high school, compared to only 41% of the men. Furthermore, at the time of the survey, less than a quarter of the women was still enrolled in high school (23%) compared with over a third of the men (36%). In terms of postsecondary schooling, 77% of the women, but only 63% of the men, had pursued educational training beyond high school. (This included not only college, but also vocational institutions, the military and the police academy).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 3: Total Number of Men and Women who Pursued Postsecondary Training (Percentage in Parentheses)

Percent	Male	Female
College or Vocational Training	22 (63%)	24 (77%)
Still Enrolled in High School or no Postsecondary Training	13 (36%)	7 (23%)
Total	35 (100%)	31 (100%)

Once at college, women continued to outperform men. Strikingly, thirteen percent of the women had obtained BA degrees but none of the men had done so.[14] Women also expressed higher educational aspirations, with two-thirds expressing the desire to earn a graduate degree, compared with only a third of the men.

In the labor market, the women were concentrated in traditional service sector pink-collar work, such as clerical jobs (33%) and sales (30%). Another cluster of women (27%) worked in public sector jobs, such as health care services.

---

[14] All but one of the four women who obtained BA degrees had taken over six years to complete their undergraduate studies, largely because of financial problems.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 4: Last Industry Worked in by Gender in Percentages

Last Industry Worked In	Women	Men
Professional - Managerial	0%	0%
Professional - Assistant	7%	9%
Clerical	33%	3%
Services - Sales	30%	15%
Services - Blue-collar	0%	37%
Public Sector – Management	7%	3%
Public Sector – Assistant	20%	15%
Manufacturing	0%	3%
Entrepreneur	0%	3%
Marginal Informal Economy	3%	12%
Total	100%	100%

Over half of the men (52%) had worked in the service sector, but they were concentrated in traditional male-dominated work, such as security and stockboy (37%), with a smaller concentration in sales (15%). Less than one-fifth of men (18%) had worked in the public sector, compared to almost a third of the women. Similarly, four times as many men as women had worked in the informal economy (12% compared to 3%).

In-depth Interviews. During the fall of 1996 and the spring of 1997, the author conducted follow-up, face-to-face, in-depth interviews with 41 of the 66 second generation Caribbean young adults who participated in the survey.[15] In total, 20

[15] The author conducted all but three of the in-depth interviews with Caribbean

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dominicans, 12 West Indians and 8 Haitians participated in the in-depth interviews. All interviews were conducted in English with the exception of two Dominican participants who elected to speak in Spanish. In addition, detailed field notes were taken about the condition of the homes and the neighborhoods visited. Each participant was given $25 dollars for taking part in the study.

Table 5: In-depth Interviews Conducted in Raw Numbers by Ethnic Group and Gender

Ethnic Group	# Male	% Male	# Female	% Female	Total #	Total #
Dominican	10	40%	11	60%	21	100%
West Indian	6	50%	6	50%	12	100%
Haitian	5	62%	3	38%	8	100%
Total	21	49%	20	51%	41	100%

Participants were selected for the in-depth interview with a view to keeping a good mix of age and gender. This allowed us to examine gender differences in outlooks towards education and compare older (over 24) and younger (18-23) cohorts. In addition, an effort was made to interview people with varied educational trajectories, (college graduates versus high school dropouts) and different employment status (unemployed versus full-time employed)

Following the life-history format used in the survey, the in-depth interviews delved into participants' residential history, migration history, family history, schooling biographies, work trajectories, changing gender roles, occupational aspirations, expectations, political views, household composition, experiences with racial and sexual

participants.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

discrimination and social critique. (See Appendix D for a sample of in-depth interview questions.) Unlike the survey, the life history calendar in-depth interviews provided a space in which participants could describe their experiences in the different spheres of their lives (Freedman, 1988). The in-depth interviews allowed for the examination of the processes of personal change over the life course, from infancy to young adulthood, and showed how men and women deciphered the role of education in their lives.

Data analysis. During any qualitative interview, the interviewer-interview dynamic affects the kind of data collected. The race, gender and class location of the interviewer and the interviewee *always* shape the conversations that take place. The author is a United States-born Dominican woman in her mid-twenties who was raised in a poor, working-class family in New York City. Thus, the interviewer-interviewee dynamic took the form of a friendly conversation between co-ethnics.[16] To cite an example, during the interviews participants often said "you now how it is. You know how they see us." This indicated that participants viewed the researcher as an insider to the community.[17] Indeed, many of the second generation Caribbean participants said that they felt very strongly about participating in the study because the images of their respective communities within the wider society have been negative.[18]

---

[16] Not only did Dominican participants view the researcher as an insider, but West Indians and Haitians said they did so too.

[17] This is not to say that non-Caribbean researchers would have been viewed as outsiders. Nevertheless, it is imperative that researchers discuss how they navigated the insider-outsider borders and how this is reflected in their data collection and analysis.

[18] Some participants also indicated that they were especially eager to participate in the study because they hoped that it would be used to help their communities.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The analysis of the in-depth interview transcripts proceeded in three steps. The first reading focused on themes particular to the participant's personal circumstances, such as migration, discrimination, vocational schooling, pink collar work, college transition and the college "revolving door" phenomenon.[19] Participants' human agency, personal biography and macro-level societal processes, such as the restructuring of the labor market, were viewed as mutually constitutive. The interview was read a second time for themes specific to the ethnic group, such as translating for family members, bilingual education, ethnic bantering, stigma, and ethnic pride. The third and final reading searched for themes specific to men and women across all groups, such as a double standard in child-rearing practices, gendered aspirations, perceptions of job ceilings, discrimination, coping strategies, race and gender experiences in the workplace and shifting gender roles in the home setting.

In-depth interviews were coded for themes that shed light on the intersection of race and gender in the *lived experiences* of the respondents. Among the codes used were: definition of schooling, folk theory of success, perceptions of job ceilings, aspirations, expectations, ethnic identity, racial and gender discrimination, familism, social networks, teacher-student interactions, college transition, gender roles and social critique. Extensive segments of the in-depth interviews are included in the text of the study in order to allow second generation Caribbean youths to speak for themselves about their experiences (Fine and Weis, 1998:14).[20]

---

19 The term "revolving door" refers to the phenomenon whereby students enter college but are unable to finish because of financial and academic constraints.

20 Interview quotes were not edited unless absolutely essential for the sake of clarity.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AT "URBAN HIGH SCHOOL"

The last stage of data collection involved strategically positioned field work in an public high school in a Caribbean neighborhood. The in-depth interviews provided dense retrospective data on the life course of particular young adults, but the information was self-reported and limited to what participants actually remembered doing while in high school. Participant observation in a neighborhood public high school provided a unique window into how second generation youths actually behave in the high school setting, as well as how formal and informal institutional practices may impact men and women differently.

"Urban High School" was selected because it is located in a large and burgeoning immigrant neighborhood.[21] The author's interest in this high school dates back to preliminary research she conducted there in 1994 on the high attrition rate of Dominican students. This research pointed to the different ways in which men and women talked about the role of education in their lives (Lopez, 1998). Participant observation at Urban High school was intimately tied to the larger neighborhood context and allowed for the exploration of residential segregation, job networks and social services in the community at large. This type of community-based study would not have been possible in a commuter school attended by immigrant youths from different parts of the city.

Urban High School is representative of the schools attended by most second generation Caribbean youths in New York City. It is, *de facto*, a hypersegregated school in terms of race and class, and it suffers from many of the problems that afflict the city's

---

[21] Field work at "Urban High School" was not part of the Second Generation project and was conducted by the author as an independent project. The names of schools and participants in the study have been changed to preserve their anonymity.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

public schools (Massey and Denton, 1994). Only 52% of the teachers were fully licensed and permanently assigned to this school. While the teacher population is predominantly white, the student population of nearly three thousand is overwhelmingly Latino (90%), and mostly Dominican.[22] The remaining student population, which is categorized as Black, includes second generation youth from Haiti, the Anglophone West Indies and Africa.[23] The enrollment of Asian and whites students is less than 1%.[24] Almost two-thirds of the students receive free school lunch, indicating that they come from very low-income families. About 25% of the students are immigrants who entered the school system during the last three years and over half of ninth and tenth graders are overage for their grade.

Only a quarter of Urban High School's students graduate within the traditional four years it usually takes to earn a diploma. Among graduates, less than one percent received the academic Regents Diploma in 1998, while 6% received the General Equivalency Diploma. In addition, 85% of the students who graduated planned to attend college, but almost half of class of 1998 was still enrolled, and another quarter had dropped out. In short, Urban High School was an ideal site for exploring the changing policies and conditions confronting second generation Caribbean youth who attend public schools in poor and working class neighborhoods.

---

[22] In New York City, 10,000 of the 75,000 teachers in the public education system have not been certified to teach, compared to 500 for the rest of the state (Molotsky, 1999).

[23] Although the Board of Education of the City of New York categorizes Dominicans as Hispanics and West Indians as Blacks, Dominicans and West Indians are often indistinguishable from one another in terms of phenotype.

[24] During the course of field work the author never encountered a single white or Asian student at Urban High school.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

To uncover how school practices have been gendered and racialized, the author observed classroom interactions among teachers and students on a regular basis. Social studies classes were selected because they offered more opportunity for participation and discussion than traditional Math or Science classes.[25] The researcher regularly observed four mainstream social studies classes for three days a week over a five-month period in the spring of 1998: (1) two Economics courses for seniors taught by Mr. Green (2) an American History course for juniors taught by Ms. Gutierrez, and (3) Mr. Hunter's Global History class for sophomores.[26] Each of these classes had between 25 and 30 students, with even numbers of young men and women. Only Mr. Green's Economics classes had unequal gender proportions. In his first class, less than a third of the class was female. Conversely, in the second class, only a third of the class was male.[27] This skewed gender balance in the classroom proved quite useful for examining how race and gender intersect in the school setting (Chapter 4). Mr. Green was a self-described biracial man who was white in terms of phenotype. Ms. Gutierrez was a second generation Latina who could not "pass" for white in terms of phenotype and Mr. Hunter was a white man. These teachers were in their late twenties and he/she had been teaching for less than five years.[28]

---

25 The author choose to observe gender neutral classes, such as social studies because these subjects are not stereotyped as classes for young men (woodshop) or young women (secretarial studies).

26 The author did not observe bilingual classes because they would most likely contain recent arrivals, rather than second generation students.

27 The author asked Mr. Green why there was such a gender imbalance in his class, but he said that he did not know.

28 The majority of the teachers at Urban High School had been there for less than

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Although no interviews were conducted with students at Urban High School, the author made extensive field notes regarding young men's and women's behavior in the classroom, including their interactions with each other, and with teachers, college advisors, security staff and military recruiters. She also attended a few classes that were held in makeshift trailer classrooms. Informal interviews were conducted with the principal, assistant principal, vocational program administrators, teachers, college advisors, bilingual teachers, Special Education teachers, security guards and guidance counselors. Although these informal interviews were not tape-recorded, extensive field notes were taken during and after the interviews. The author also attended a variety of after-school events, including Parent-Teacher Association meetings, staff development meetings, special speakers engagements, school trips to museums and graduation ceremonies. By the end of the fieldwork, three notebooks had been filled with notes about informal discussions and social networks observed during class time, in school hallways, in the women's bathrooms and in the lunchroom. These notes were then entered into the author's home computer for further analysis and coding.

The analysis of field notes focused on racial and gender processes that took place within the classroom setting, as well as the racial and gendered dimensions of larger institutional practices. Specifically, analysis focused on the nature of student-teacher interactions, with particular emphasis on how these social interactions were "colored" and "gendered." For example, one of the questions was how the pedagogical styles employed by teachers encourage or hinder social critique among students. In addition, the observation of classroom discussions and interactions allowed the researcher to

---

five years. The teacher "revolving door" phenomenon was increasingly common in overcrowded under-supported neighborhood schools (Lopez, 1998).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

uncover the differences, if any, in the behavior of young men and women in the classroom in terms of participation, handing in homework and interactions with each other. Equally important was the nature of the interactions between teachers and their male vs. female students. The final step in the analysis of field notes honed in on how institutional policies treated men and women differently, if at all.

MULTI-DATA ANALYSIS

This study focuses on the multiple ways in which race and gender are *lived experiences*, which shape the life perspectives of men and women toward education. The major strength of this study is that it uses multiple data sources to understand how race and gender processes are mutually constitutive. However, the study also has its limitations. As previously mentioned, neither the survey nor the in-depth interviews used random sampling. The participants were selected from 1990 census tracts that had high and low concentrations of immigrants from a given ethnic group with the result that the sample was bias toward participants who resided in areas with a high concentration of their respective ethnic groups. A more representative sample would have included individuals who lived in suburban communities.

Another limitation of this study was that Urban High School did not contain a diverse sample of Caribbean immigrants. A school with an equal number of students from the Dominican Republic, Haiti and the Anglophone West Indians would have been preferable, but given the residential patterns among Caribbean groups from different language backgrounds, it was not possible to find one. Dominicans tend to live in Manhattan whereas West Indians and Haitians reside in Brooklyn. Initially, the researcher had planned to conduct participant observation in two neighborhood high

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

schools, one in a Dominican neighborhood and the other in a West Indian and Haitian neighborhood. However, letters and phone calls to principals in the West Indian and Haitian neighborhood high schools produced no response. The only principal who responded (at all) to the research proposal was the principal at Urban High School.

The researcher chose to conduct field work at Urban High School, a predominantly Dominican school, for several other reasons. First, Dominicans were the single largest national origin immigrant group from any foreign country in New York City during the 1980s. Second, Dominicans have the highest rate of poverty among any ethnic group or immigrant group in New York City. In addition, Dominicans experience the same type of residential segregation faced by other Caribbean and Black groups (Schill, 1998: Waters, 1997). Finally, the author's previous familiarity with the neighborhood and her fluency in Spanish were advantages (Lopez, 1998).

This study offers an in-depth analysis of the *lived experiences* of second generation Caribbean youth growing up in New York City from the 1970s through the 1990s. It details the indivisibility of race from gender in understanding the schooling of minority and immigrant youths. The next chapter begins by unveiling how *race-gender experiences* in public spaces begin to shape both men's and women's outlooks towards education in fundamentally different ways. Unless otherwise noted, all interview quotes cited come from the forty-one in-depth interviews conducted with second generation Caribbean young adults, ages eighteen to thirty. When excerpts are drawn from the focus groups or participant observation at Urban High School, they are noted as such.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER 3: RACE-GENDER STIGMA AS LIVED EXPERIENCE

> *If you put on the news, anyone who does anything bad, if he's not Black, he's Hispanic and that makes us look bad. It makes us look shameful. You watch the news and you see that when any white guy does something, you won't see their face. They might just say it and that's all. But if it's a Dominican, a Hispanic, a Black, they put him on for about two minutes, so that you can know him.*
> [Orfelia, 20 year old Dominican woman]

INTRODUCTION

The cover story of a 1998 issue of the *New York Times Magazine* provides an important insight into the processes of assigning racial and gender meanings to young people in the United States (Aroch, 1998). Through a collage of photojournalistic accounts, the article depicts a "diverse" group of thirteen year-olds across the country.[1] Although it does not directly mention race once, hegemonic views of "white" middle class, normal youths are counterposed to those of "dysfunctional" racial minorities, namely Blacks and Latinos.

The juxtaposition of an "urban underclass" with "mainstream" America involves gender as well as race. In one photograph, a thirteen-year-old Latino boy displays a rabbit "gang" tattoo on his arm. He is smoking something that appears to be a cigarette, but that could easily be taken for an illicit drug. Another two-page spread depicts two Latino teenagers clad in baggy pants and white T-shirts kicking and punching another young man during a so-called "gang initiation" rite. In direct contrast, their white counterparts are depicted as "normal" teenagers who merit emulation. The young white

[1] There were no images of Asian youths.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

men in these photo-essays are portrayed as true "Americans" who at the tender age of 13 start their own businesses. They are also depicted as politically conscious, generously performing charity work and volunteering at non-profit organizations. Unlike their Latino counterparts, who are represented as criminals who violently prey on one another and turn to illicit drugs for recreation, the young white men's sports include getting tans during spring break and horse-backriding.

The girls in this article are represented quite differently from their male counterparts. Two images of white teenage girls emerge - the hyperfeminine princess and the intellectual. The privileged "princess" worries excessively about her appearance and the latest fashions. To be sure, one two-page spread depicts blonde, blue-eyed girls in halter dresses, curling their hair and putting on lipstick as they prepare to go out to a party. The second image is of frumpy academic super-achievers. Tomboyish, no nonsense, in T-shirt and jeans, they had another obsession - their college entrance examination scores.

In contrast, the images of Black and Latina girls are portrayed in less menacing ways than their male counterparts. One two-page spread featured a group of African American and Latina teenagers posing in school uniforms (white shirts and navy skirts) against a backdrop of lockers in their high school hallway. In the so-called "gang initiations," Latina girls are appear only as "props." The sole picture of a "super-achieving" African American young woman is that of a muscular wrestler in a gym locker room.[2]

---

2 The only African American man in the article was represented as a young man who "controlled" his anger through participation in sports (Aroch, 1998:34).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

As these examples show, ideological representations of race, gender and sexuality are central to the social construction of racial and gender hierarchies. In all the examples, "mainstream" white Americans are defined in relation to dysfunctional, "underclass" racial minorities. When racialized and gendered bodies are defined in relation to one another they become more than simple stereotypes or prejudices. They become part and parcel of the urban policy debates that have dominated the national discourse over the last few decades (Moynihan, 1968; Lewis, 1965; Murray, 1984; Mead, 1986; Katz, 1989). For example, the portrayal of Black and Latino men as criminals looms large in the collective consciousness (Anderson, 1990; Feagin and Sikes, 1994). As a result, men of African phenotype are subjected to more police surveillance than their white counterparts. In short, as explained by Hill Collins (1990), racial representations become "controlling images" that are used to justify contemporary policies regarding urban youth, criminal justice and education (Hill Collins, 1990; Omi and Winant, 1994; Hurtado, 1996; Roberts, 1997; Lubiano, 1992).[3]

This chapter examines how second generation Caribbean youths have been assigned racial meanings in public spaces and, more importantly, how these processes differ for men and women. On a theoretical level, racialization processes are explored as *lived experiences* (Omi and Winant, 1994; Feagin and Sikes, 1994; Frankenberg, 1993), in which individuals are assigned racial and gender meaning during the course of social interaction. This chapter argues that an examination of the distinct racialization processes men and women are subjected to in public spaces is the first step in understanding their outlooks toward education.

---

[3] For critiques of the "underclass" thesis see Katz (1993) and Massey and Denton (1994).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This chapter begins with an overview of racial formation theory as a framework for analysis, followed by a brief discussion of the historical incorporation of Caribbean groups into United States society. The remainder of the chapter draws upon the life-history interviews and focus groups to describe the range and texture of race and gender processes in the lives of second generation Caribbean men and women. It shows that the racialization processes of Caribbean communities entailed gender-differentiated stigmatization. While second generation Caribbean men have been defined as potential criminals, their female counterparts have been racialized as sexual objects. These distinct *race-gender experiences* begin to shape the life perspectives of men and women in fundamentally unexpected ways.

RACIAL FORMATION THEORY AS A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

In the United States' racial landscape, without a racial identity, one has no identity (Hacker, 1992; Omi and Winant, 1994, Sanjek and Gregory, 1995; Farley, 1984). In spite of the progress that has been made since the 1960s Civil Rights Movement, during the 1990s race continued to be a fundamental organizing principle within American society. Despite the ubiquity of racial dynamics in every aspect of institutional, cultural and political life, there is no consensus about the definition of race. Traditionally race has been defined in one of three ways, (1) race as biology (2) race as culture (3) race as a socially constructed system of oppression. In order to uncover the racializ(ing) and gender(ing) processes that second generation Caribbean youth experience in their daily lives, this study employed the third definition of race.

The biological definitions of race in the United States can be traced back to the initial conquest of the Americas (Omi and Winant, 1994). Rooted in social Darwinist

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

assumptions about the evolution of superior "races," biodeterministic theorists presumed that innate genetic differences between people of different phenotypes, comprised distinct hierarchical biological "races." It was only in the later half of the twentieth century that biological definitions of race have fallen out of public favor were discredited by social scientists. However, some recent research has re-adopted this paradigm to argue that the existence of biologically distinct races has resulted in genetically distinct groups of people who possess immutable amounts of intelligence (Murray and Hernstein, 1994).[4]

During the 1980s and 1990s, essentialist definitions of race were part and parcel of the public policy discourses on poverty and race. For example, as discussed in chapter 1, Murray and Hernstein (1994) argued that public resources should be reallocated to subsidize the birth of the "cognitive elite". Interestingly, at the same time that eugenic movements have resurfaced, sterilization technologies continue to be implemented in racially stigmatized communities. For example, in *Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction and the Meaning of Liberty*, Roberts (1997) documented how racialized and gendered "public" policies have historically curtailed the reproductive rights of poor and working class women who are defined as racial minorities, such as African American, American Indian and Latina women.

A second approach to studying racial dynamics arose initially as a direct critique of biological definitions of race. Studies operating under the ethnicity paradigm

---

[4] Biological definitions of race seep into people's everyday practices (Roberts, 1997). For example, hypothetically an individual may refer to herself as half white, a quarter American Indian and a quarter Japanese. While this person could identify herself in a number of ethnic terms, if this person were of unambiguous African phenotype, she would be subjected to the "one drop rule." Accordingly, an individual with "one" drop of African blood has been historically defined as Black in United States legal codes (Davis, 1996; Haney-Lopez).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

embarked on documenting the different cultural practices of ethnic groups, in terms of their language, values, religious beliefs, foods and other aspects of everyday life (Gans, 1962).[5] The ethnicity paradigm also viewed groups of different phenotypes in terms of their political consciousness (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970; Glazer, 1975; Kasinitz, 1992). Essentially, ethnicity theorists treated the "race" or "color" of a given immigrant group, as secondary to their more significant "ethnic" or cultural backgrounds (Perlmann, 1988; Portes, 1996; Park, 1950; Gordon, 1964; Gans, 1962).

In terms of the second generation youth, ethnicity theorists have generally focused their energies on uncovering how the cultural characteristics of a given immigrant group has facilitated or stunted their process of becoming American. Initially it was argued that ethnic groups would eventually assimilate or blend into one another, such that their cultural practices and beliefs would become indistinguishable from those of the larger society (Park, 1950; Gordon, 1964). Alternatively, in a pluralistic society, ethnic groups may participate in the economic and social institutions of the larger society, but still retain their ethnic distinctiveness and a sense of difference overtime (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970; Glazer, 1975).

In a departure from the presumption of mainstream assimilation theorists, segmented assimilation theorists challenged the notion that assimilation into the American "mainstream" was a straight-line process that unquestionably lead to upward mobility (Chapter 1). They pointed out that for some groups the assimilation process could lead to downward mobility. For instance, segmented assimilation theorists argued that Black immigrants who assimilated into the African-American subculture may adopt

---

[5] For a review of the ethnicity paradigm, see Omi and Winant (1994), Chapter 1.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

an oppositional stance towards mainstream America (Waters, 1996; Portes and Zhou, 1993; Gibson, 1988; Waldinger, 1996).

The ethnicity paradigm has been critiqued primarily because it was based on the experiences of European immigrants (Steinberg, 1981; Omi and Winant, 1994; Waters, 1990; Sanjek and Gregory, 1994; Lieberson, 1980; Blauner, 1972; Ogbu, 1978, 1974). Accordingly, African Americans, Irish, Italians and Puerto Ricans, were considered to be immigrants that faced the same type of discrimination, opportunities and constraints. Therefore it had been argued that these groups would eventually reach the "American dream" of upward mobility, if only they acquired the proper values and cultural assets. Critiques of the ethnicity paradigm maintain that racially stigmatized minority groups have historically had very different experiences that other immigrant groups who were of African phenotype. Furthermore, the segmented assimilation theory does not explore to how immigrant groups have been assigned racial meanings that are gendered in the shifting racial and gendered hierarchies of United States society.

In their groundbreaking work on the social construction of race, Omi and Winant (1994) unveil the trajectory of racial formation processes in the United States during the 1980s and 1990s. Using Gramsci's (1971) notion of hegemony, which examined how dominant social actors acquire the consent of subordinates, Omi and Winant (1994:55) defined race as "a concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies." Therefore, racial formation processes can be viewed at two distinct levels, (1) macro-level processes - social action rooted in the large institutions of the larger society, and (2) micro-level processes - social action performed in the everyday social interactions of individuals within that society. Race is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

not simply an unchanging status, but it is the combination of an individual's or group's *lived experiences* in the political, economics and cultural spheres of a given society.

A useful concept for understanding the social construction of racial hierarchies in the United States was Omi and Winant's (1994) notion of *racial projects*. Omi and Winant argued that racial subordination is accomplished through a series of hegemonic ideologies:

> An alternative approach is to think of racial formation processes as occurring through a linkage between structure and representation. Racial *projects* do the ideological "work" of making links. *A racial project is simultaneously an interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial dynamics and an effort to reorganize and redistribute resources along particular racial lines.* Racial projects connect what race *means* in a particular discursive practice and the ways in which both social structures and everyday experiences are racially *organized*, based upon that meaning (Omi and Winant, 1994:56).

As documented by Omi and Winant (1994), the United States is replete with racial projects, both large and small. An example of one of the most successful racial projects was the ideology used to maintain African slavery throughout the Americas. The belief that bodies of African phenotype (dark skin and so-called "African" facial features and hair texture) are a biologically distinct species has been quite enduring. Consequently, throughout the Americas, people who are defined as having African heritage are subjected to an unique form of stigma and social exclusion in the wider society (Lieberson, 1980; Hacker, 1992; Massey and Denton, 1994; Feagin and Sikes, 1994; Steinberg, 1981, 1995; Sanjek and Gregory, 1994; Wrigley, 1999). Thus, *racial projects* accomplish the work of both signifying and structuring social groups (Omi and Winant, 1994). Historically situated racial and gender processes and constructs are not simply stereotypes, but are politically damaging representations that have real material

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

consequences in terms of resource allocations in the criminal justice system, education, housing and health care and other institutions (Haney-Lopez, 1996).

What if we just stopped talking about race? Omi and Winant (1994) cautioned that simply removing the word "race" from our discourse will not make the fundamental relationships of power, subordination and contestation disappear. For instance, during the 1980s and 1990s the new code words for "racial others," include terms such as "inner city," "welfare mother," and indeed "CUNY student."[6] Although these terms do not make overt references to specific racial groups, they are impregnated with racialized social meanings that are widely understood to signify racially inferior groups. These new proxies for race have become part of the 1990s backlash against the civil rights movement (Steinberg, 1995; Omi and Winant, 1994). Therefore, relationships of domination, subordination and contestation do not simply whither away when one stopped talking about it.

One area that Omi and Winant unearthed as meriting further research was an examination of the intersection of race and gender as *lived experiences*, both at the macro and micro-levels:

> It is crucial to emphasize that race, class and gender are not fixed and discrete categories and that these "regions" are by no means autonomous. They overlap, intersect and fuse with each other in countless ways ... In many respects race is gendered and gender is racialized. In institutional and everyday life, any clear demarcation of specific forms of oppression and difference is constantly being disrupted (Omi and Winant, 1994: 68)

---

6 During the 1990s, the City University of New York (and open admissions at institutions of higher learning) has been under siege. In this debate, it is argued that CUNY must improve it reputation and deny admissions to students who fail to pass "objective" entrance examinations.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

As explained by Omi and Winant (1994), race is lived through class, religion, nationality, gender, sexuality identity and region.

Similarly, Feagin and Sikes (1994) found that in the United States people who were racialized as Blacks were not exempt from racial discrimination, regardless of their class status. Hard work and personal achievement did not protect middle class Blacks from discriminatory experiences in their everyday lives, especially when they entered "white" spaces, such as expensive restaurants. More importantly, Feagin and Sikes argue that, African Americans' experiences with everyday forms of social rejection and discrimination were not only humiliating and stressful, but they had a lingering effect that shaped their life perspectives (Chapter 1). Although Feagin and Sikes did not explore how these experiences with discrimination among African Americans varied by gender, they did provide a provocative framework for analyzing the contours of racializ(ing) processes at the micro-level of everyday social interactions. A number of critical race theorists and feminist scholars have also examined how race and gender are social constructions that are experienced differently by men and women (Sierra, 1986; Hill-Collins, 1990; Hurtado, 1996; Fine and Weis, 1998; Frankenberg, 1993; Lubiano, 1992; Haney-Lopez, 1996; Crenshaw, 1996).

Before examining the historical incorporation of Caribbean immigrants into United States society, it was important to define the following terms: *stigma, stereotype, discrimination and race-gender experiences.*

(1) *Stigma* refers to a socially constructed mark of social disgrace. Stigmatized groups of people are less powerful in society and they are always seen first and foremost in terms of their stigmatized category. For example, within the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

United States immigrants who have any identifiably "African" phenotypes, such as black skin, facial features or curly hair texture, are viewed as distinct from, and inferior to people who are lighter-skinned and have European features (Patterson, 1997; Fanon, 1982). In any given society, stigmatized groups are automatically disqualified from full social acceptance in that society (Goffman, 1964). Therefore, a stigmatized status is always negative.

(2) *Stereotypes* are simplistic and often politically damaging generalizations about a social group. Stereotypes are used to categorize the individual members of a given racialized group and treat them accordingly. They may be positive or negative. For instance, a common stereotype in United States society during the 1980s and 1990s was that people who are racialized as Asians are considered to be model minorities who excel in mathematics and science (Lee, 1997).

(3) *Discrimination* refers to the differential treatment accorded to an individual or group based solely on ascribed characteristics, such as sex, religion, or skin color. One example of *discrimination* occurs in housing, wherein federally funded agencies have used race to funnel people into particular neighborhoods and housing complexes (Myrdal, 1944; Massey and Denton, 1994; Oliver and Shapiro, 1995).

(4) As described in Chapter 1, this study also uses the term *race-gender experiences* to refer to the social interactions, in which individuals undergo racial(izing) and gender(ing) processes. For example, episodes in which

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

youth who are of non-white or African phenotype are treated as intellectually inferior in schools, is an example of a *race-gender experience.*

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Caribbean immigrants in the United States share a common history of European colonization, the importation and enslavement of African populations and subsequent United States economic and political hegemony over their sending societies. During the conquest, a racial order based on the economic exploitation of indigenous peoples was justified in terms of the inferiority of the "natives." After the decimation of indigenous populations, African slaves became the main source of labor in the plantation economies that emerged within the Caribbean and throughout Latin America. Thus, the vast majority of Caribbean immigrants are the direct descendents of African slaves.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century and continuing to the present, the United States replaced European economic and political powers in the Caribbean. A legacy of United States military occupations, attempted annexations and economic exploitation ensued. For example, during the 1870s, the United States attempted to annex the Dominican Republic to the United States. Congressional debates over the proposed annexation were laced with concerns about the "dubious" racial origins of Dominicans and their contested border with the neighboring Haitians (the first Black republic of the Americas), and it was not surprising that the attempt was aborted. In keeping with the "backyard" status of the Caribbean, the United States spearheaded military occupations in Haiti from 1915-1934, the Dominican Republic from 1916-24 and 1965-66, and Grenada in 1983.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This military presence in the Caribbean was coupled with the increased penetration of United States capital into the region. In due course, millions of peasants were displaced from their traditional forms of production. For example, by the time United States troops withdrew from the Dominican Republic in the 1920s, entrepreneurs from the United States controlled 80% of the sugar-producing land (Black, 1986). In addition, the 1983 Caribbean Basin Initiative, which consisted of an assortment of economic development programs designed to entice foreign capital, left much of the Caribbean economically dependent upon the United States. Thus, the massive migration of Caribbean immigrants to the United States can be understood as a product of the United States' neocolonization of the Caribbean region (Rumbaut, 1994; Nelson and Tienda, 1985, 1997; Oboler, 1997; Romero, 1997).

> The same original social relations established by conquest of the Southwest were part and parcel of transnational processes that were replicated throughout the Greater Caribbean Basin. These processes established social structures beyond the Southwest into which all Latinos in the United States find themselves inserted. It is on the basis of these relations that a Latino national minority is emerging (Robinson, 1993:45).

In light of the nature of United States-Caribbean relationships, Caribbean immigrants, as well as other colonized minorities, such as African Americans, American Indians and Puerto Ricans, may be viewed as neo-colonial subjects of the United States in the late twentieth century (Massey and Denton, 1994; Grosfuguel and Georas, 1996; Robinson, 1993; Blauner, 1972; Flores, 1997; Gilroy 1993; Klor, 1997).

Historically in the United States, whether an immigrant group is defined as racially Black or white has had important consequences in terms of housing, schooling and labor market opportunities (Massey and Denton, 1994; Feagin and Sikes, 1994;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Steinberg, 1981, 1995; Sanjek and Gregory, 1994; Grosfuguel and Georas, 1996; Candelario and Lopez, 1995; Torres-Saillant, 1995; Zephir, 1996; Waters, 1996; Haney-Lopez, 1996). Since the founding of the United States through the end of the twentieth century, the relational inferior position of "Blackness" has been defined in opposition to "whiteness" (Fordham, 1996; Fine, Weis, Powell and Wong, 1997). In this hierarchy, "whiteness," is defined as inherently superior to the primitiveness and backwardness of "Blackness" (Haney-Lopez, 1996). While European immigrants, such as the Irish and Italians, were subjected to negative stereotypes upon entering the United States, they were never defined as the direct descendents of African slaves. Therefore, class, not color, mediated the social mobility of European second generation young adults. In contrast, the inferior racial status of the children of immigrants who were of African phenotype did not simply evaporate across generations (Feagin and Sikes, 1994). Ever since the institution of African slavery within the United States, people of dark skin color or African phenotype have been relegated to the status of inferior racial "other" (Goffman, 1964; Grosfoguel and Georas, 1996; Fordham, 1996; Kasinitz, 1992; Waters, 1997).

Much of the existing literature on second generation immigrants has examined their experiences in terms of their ethnic or cultural differences, specifically focusing on how these youths were, or were not, becoming "Americans" (Zhou and Bankston, 1998; Portes, 1996; Gibson, 1988). However, a handful of researchers have pointed to the important role that racialization processes have played in the incorporation of immigrants from the Caribbean (Vickerman, 1999; Zephir, 1996; Kasinitz, 1992; Laguerre, 1984; Vickerman, 1999; Waters, 1994, 1996; Grosfuguel and Georas, 1996; Rodriguez, 1994).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

For example, Kasinitz's (1992) study of the emergence of a West Indian identity among first generation immigrants from the former British empire found that West Indians in the United States were labeled as Black, independently of how they identified themselves ethnically. According to Kasinitz (1992:33), "all persons of any known or discernible African ancestry, regardless of somatic characteristics, are considered "black" and have been subjected to all of the social and legal disadvantages that this implies." Dominicans, who tend to have more African heritage than any other Spanish-speaking Caribbean group, may be subjected to even more racial discrimination based on skin color than lighter-skinned Latinos (Torres-Saillant, 1995; Rodriguez, 1994; Grosfuguel and Georas, 1996; Torres and Bonilla, 1995; Eschbach and Gomez, 1998; Parillo, 1997; Candelario, forthcoming).

RACE-GENDER EXPERIENCES IN PUBLIC SPACES

One place to examine the lived experiences of second generation Caribbean youths is in public spaces, such as the street, stores, the media and housing (Feagin and Sikes, 1994). Feagin and Sikes (1994:37) cite the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which stipulates that "all persons shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of goods and services, facilities, privileges, advantages, and accommodations of any place of public accommodation…without discrimination or segregation on the ground of race, color, religion or national origin." They argue that this has not been the experience for middle class African Americans when they enter traditional "white" spaces, such as restaurants, department stores, on public streets and in places of recreation. Although they do not focus on the differences in men's and women's *lived experience* of racialization, Feagin and Sikes point to the prevalence of "hate stares" encountered by African Americans in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

public spaces. One of their most important findings is that these glances from strangers are not merely inconvenient. They have a significant psychological impact on the worldviews of African Americans as individuals, and on the community at large (Feagin, 1995; Feagin and Sikes, 1994; Waters, 1999).

In the in depth interviews for this study, both men and women described experiences in which they were stigmatized because of their race by police, by store owners, realtors, bank officials, and business people, and by strangers in the street. However, there were important differences in the way that men and women were treated during these interactions. In turn, these racialized and gendered experiences affected the way that men and women viewed their social environment and the opportunities open to them. In short, upon entry to the United States, Caribbean immigrants are confronted with the rigid United States racial(ized) and gender(ed) social structure.

Color(ing) the "Welfare Queen" Myth

Women's experiences with racialization processes stem from the stigmatized representations of their sexuality. Nicole, an eighteen-year-old West Indian woman who grew up in Brooklyn, describes social interactions in which she feels strangers assign racial meaning to her as a young woman of African phenotype:

> *What I hate about the United States is how people view African Americans up here. Mainly, they think that all African American girls go out, get pregnant at a young age and live off welfare. So it is really hard for me when I'm on the street with my little sister because everybody is looking at me. I don't want them to think I'm some girl who just went out and sleeps around. So, I tell my little sister in a loud voice "We're going to see Mommy now!" I make it obviously known that she is not my daughter. And even my little sister plays along because she starts screaming: "I want my Mommy! I'm going to tell Mommy!"*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

These experiences provided Nicole and her baby sister with their first lesson on where they fit into the United States racial pyramid. For them, mere glances from strangers in public spaces are impregnated with multiple racial and gender meanings which cast dark-skinned women primarily as sexual objects (Feagin and Sikes, 1994:105). The "welfare queen" myth emerges as one of the many stigmatized narratives that permeates the lives of women of African phenotype (Candelario and Lopez, 1994, 1995; Roberts, 1997; Lubiano, 1992). According to this hegemonic narrative, racial minority women are considered prone to become immoral teenage mothers who have numerous children out of wedlock at the expense of hardworking taxpayers (Murray, 1984; Mead, 1986).

Such experiences affect the way that individuals view the role of education in their lives. In their life histories, female respondents linked racial and gender stigma to the importance of attaining an education. For example, Cristina, a twenty-one year old Dominican woman who participated in the CUNY focus groups, commented:

> *Ever since I came to the United States I kept hearing all these bad things about Dominicans. Drugs and welfare. And it's so unfair! Because a few do bad things that's all you hear. You never hear about Dominicans winning scholarships and excelling in business. That's part of the reason I finished high school and I am now going to college. I want to change that image. I want to be a writer so that people can know that I am a Dominican writer.*

For Cristina, pursuing an education was a way of "proving the racists wrong"- a way of contesting negative stereotypes about Dominicans as lazy people, drug dealers or welfare mothers (Fordham, 1996). Women channeled the anger they felt about these stigmatizing narratives by actively working to contradict racist images of them as dysfunctional and immoral girls and pursuing an education (Lorde, 1996). Thus, racially stigmatized minority urban women often carved their identities and life perspectives against the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

backdrop of narratives that stigmatize them as sexual objects (Leadbeater and Way, 1996).

During the 1990s, in the latest edition of the welfare queen story, Dominicans were regularly featured in the mass media as abusers of the welfare system, along with other stigmatized minorities, such as African Americans and Puerto Ricans (Candelario and Lopez, 1995). Women responded to these stigmatizing narratives by articulating a biting social critique. Over a cup of coffee at her kitchen table, Ivonne, a Dominican woman who lives in Manhattan, remarked that some of her European immigrant neighbors received food stamps and public assistance even though they were business owners, but they were never featured in the news as welfare queens. Immigrants who are racialized as white are viewed as deserving poor, while immigrant groups who are considered racial "others" are cast as immoral and undeserving in the mass media (Sexton, 1997; Stepick, 1992; Katz, 1989, 1993; Piven and Cloward, 1993; Candelario and Lopez, 1995). Indeed, immigrants from the former Soviet Union have the highest rates of public assistance usage of any immigrant group (Candelario and Lopez, 1995).

Second generation Caribbean women also maintained an ongoing social critique of funding cuts to education. Mayrse, a Haitian woman, echoed the sentiments of many women:

> *I believe that one of the issues that the Mayor [Giuliani] refuses to pay attention to is education. I mean they are raising tuition on college students and then telling them to stay off the streets. They don't have the money to go to school, so what do you expect them to do? I believe that the government tends to overlook that. Also, there are a lot of abandoned houses around the neighborhood. Simple things like just keeping the neighborhood clean, they tend to worry about other things more than the important issues.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Maryse's comments illustrate the social critique and resistance emanating from working class racially stigmatized communities (Feagin and Sikes, 1994). Continually blamed for the ills of society and relegated to substandard living conditions and social services in their neighborhoods, second generation Caribbean youths wonder why cuts are being made to the public university system. They feel that these cuts are targeted against them as minorities because they have come precisely at time when large numbers of working class and poor minorities and immigrants are enrolling in college (Fine and Weis, 1998). Second generation Caribbean men and women alike also voice their worries over the growth of prisons, while disinvestment from education continues unabated.

Experiencing the "Hoodlum" Narrative

While women feel that they are seen as sexual objects, second generation Caribbean men feel that they are viewed by the world as potential criminals. In the mass media, Caribbean communities are constantly portrayed as drug havens. Washington Heights, a predominantly Dominican neighborhood in Manhattan, has been depicted as the drug capital of the world in local newspapers (Halbfinger, 1999; Rohter and Krauss, 1998)[7] and West Indian and Haitian neighborhoods have been also "framed" as centers of the drug industry. In essence, the national and local narrative has scripted men of African phenotype as potential criminals and drug dealers. [8] The racialization of dark-skinned men as "hoodlums" was the quintessential racial project of the "war on drugs" of the 1980s and 1990s.

---

7 *New York Times*, May 7, 1998.

8 In 1998, a New York advertising firm circulated a memo warning clients that specialized in marketing to Black and Latino communities that they should want to market to "prospects not suspects." Saturday, May 16, 1998. *New York Times.* B1.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The larger society derives its impression of minority communities through images depicted in the mass media that portray them as dysfunctional, exotic and the cultural antithesis of the invisible "normal" white community. Wacquant (1997) has described the stigmatization of poor minority communities as a process of assigning "symbolic taint" and "territorial stigmatization." Janet, a Dominican woman who grew up in Washington Heights, recalled how students at the predominantly white out-of-state college she attended perceived her neighborhood:

> *When I went away to college, there was a stereotype drawn of what Hispanics were like and I remember enlightening the group because they were ignorant. They had this image of Harlem being the drug capital of the world and Washington Heights being right there behind it. They'd say. "I'd never go to New York." Or they'd say "You come from New York? How do you survive? They thought it was like a guerrilla camp or something where people were constantly shooting at you.*

For Janet what was most appalling was that many of her college peers had never been to these communities, but had "learned" about minorities through the media.

The stigmatization of racial minorities in the mass media is reinforced by research on the urban underclass, which creates an image of urban minority communities as jungles (Bourgois, 1995). Feagin and Sikes have argued that "much of the media and scholarly work has been devoted to white perceptions of Black men as threatening and the justifiability of that perception" (Feagin and Sikes, 1994:74).[9] These racialization processes become building blocks of the perception of reality in the wider society.

The life histories of male respondents in this study are peppered with episodes in which they experienced the "hoodlum" narrative in their everyday interactions with

---

[9] Saturday, May 16, 1996. *New York Times*. See also *The New York Times* front page articles on May 10th and 11th, 1998 entitled: "Dominican Drug Traffickers Tighten Grip on the Northeast."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

people in public spaces (Roane, 1999). For instance, Andres, a twenty-four year-old Dominican man, who was enrolled in the Police Academy, offered his views on how Dominicans were seen in the New York City political-economic culture:

> *According to whites we are all criminals and sell drugs. Unfortunately they talk about it in the newspapers. If I were a white person reading newspaper articles about Dominicans getting busted all the time, I would start to think the same thing.*

Men pointed to the role of the media in reproducing and disseminating negative representations about them as racial minority groups. According to Joaquin, a nineteen year-old Dominican man:

> *Once you're born and you're a Dominican, or you come into this country, or you're born into this country and you're not white, you become a statistic. White people look at you and say, "Oh, he's going to end up in the streets" or "We have to help him" or "we have to watch out for those kind of people. He will probably come inside a store and steal a candy bar. They always look at you that way.*

Social rejection and face-to-face discrimination were realities that young men with any discernible African phenotypes experienced on a daily basis. Not only were they subjected to "oversurveillance" in their neighborhood stores, but some storeowners actually demanded that they leave the store altogether. Denzel, an eighteen year old West Indian man, recalled that as he entered a convenience store in his Brooklyn neighborhood of Crown Heights, an Asian storeowner bolted in front of him and yelled: 'No, no, no! Get out! Get out! We don't want you in here!" Denzel responded by yelling back: "I have money! I don't want to steal your cheap bubble gum!" and stormed out of the store.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

At other times, men reported being subjected to physical attacks from security personnel in stores. Paven, an eighteen-year-old West Indian man, painfully recalled one such incident:

> *The security guard kept following us. And my cousin was like, "Why are you following me for, man?!!! I am not gonna steal your shit! I could buy whatever I want!" And then the guard just flipped out. The guard grabbed him or something. I think you're not allowed to do that but it happens.*

Members of the dominant group did not exclusively hold this "hoodlum stereotype". To be sure, the men in this study also spoke about the discomfort they felt when women, across racial and ethnic lines, immediately clutched their purses and walked away from them when they saw them on the street.

Taxi drivers also showed blatant discrimination toward Black men, who recalled countless times when they had to walk home in the pouring rain because no cabs would stop for them, especially if they were in groups of three or four. In other instances, men recalled that taxi-drivers forced them to pay in advance and then left them several blocks away from their destinations because they feared that they would mug them. Women noted having problems with taxis most often when they were in the company of men.

Time and time again, second generation Caribbean men spoke about being treated with suspicion, resentment and in some cases fear by strangers in public space. These episodes of stigmatizing and racializ(ing) social interactions left an imprint on their life perspectives. Men's everyday encounters with negative stereotypes and experiences were painful reminders that they were not truly accepted by the wider society.[10] The

[10] *Freak (1997)* a one man semi-autobiographical play by John Leguizamo, poignantly narrated how Latino identity was stigmatized in the larger society. Leguizamo's larger point is that Latino actors are often confined to acting in roles that

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

psychological costs to the individuals and groups subjected to this type of experiences include repressed rage, humiliation, frustration, resignation and depression (Dovidio and Gaertner, 1986). More importantly, these experiences become part of individual and collective outlooks toward life and toward opportunity structures in the larger society.

Fearing the Police

In part because of the "territorial stigmatization" of their neighborhoods and ethnic groups, intensive police surveillance of minority communities has become commonplace and normalized in racially stigmatized minority and immigrant communities. Studies have documented the way in which men of African phenotype are subjected to intensive police surveillance (Anderson, 1990; Waters, 1994; Fine and Weis, 1998). For example, in a study of West Indian and Haitian high school students in New York City, Waters (1994, 1996) found that young men were more likely to say they experienced racial discrimination and police harassment than were women. Similarly, MacLeod (1995) found that Black/Latino young men living in a Manhattan housing project were also periodically questioned by police officers. In a study of poor and working class urban youth, Fine and Weis (1998) found that all the African American men in their sample reported incidents in which police had stopped them. These young men were frisked for no apparent reason other than the color of their skin and their gender.

This study found a similar pattern. John, a twenty-five-year-old Dominican man who grew up in Washington Heights, Manhattan, said that police officers routinely drove around in his neighborhood looking for criminal suspects. The officers would take

---

cast them as prostitutes, drug dealers, or criminals, thereby reproducing stigmatizing images of these communities for entertainment.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

snapshot pictures of young people who were sitting on park benches or standing in front of their apartment buildings. Not surprisingly, men living in these communities spoke of living in constant fear of any type of interaction with the police that might lead to police brutality (Roane, 1999). For instance, on his way home from school one night, Mark, a West Indian man who lived in a housing project in Brooklyn faced a scenario that echoed the experiences of many men:

> *That night I was the only Black person who came out of the train station. As I exited, the police approached me and started questioning me about a shootout that had just occurred. I explained I was in college and they finally let me go.*

Mark, and other men of African phenotype, feared this "mistaken identity" because they might be jailed and have to put up bail money if they could not give a satisfactory explanation of their whereabouts (Anderson, 1990). When asked how he felt about these interactions, Mark admitted that he is extremely angry when he is stopped by the police for questioning simply because he looks "suspicious." He recognized, however, that this was not the first, nor probably the last time, it will happen. In fact he recalled another occasion when police officers even came to his apartment to interrogate him:

> *Another time, the police came knocking at my door in the projects, and they said that I robbed somebody and my dad looked at them like they were crazy. I was in the house all day. My dad said, "Get out and stop talking foolishness and leave," and finally they left.*

When queried about the safety of his neighborhood in a Brownsville housing project in Brooklyn, Mark replied: "The police are the only people I fear when I'm walking down the street." In order to protect himself from the "hoodlum stereotype," Mark carried his college identification card. The threat of police brutality was an ever-present issue in the collective consciousness of these men.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Second generation Caribbean men also learned, painfully, that their class status did not exempt them from racial stigma. Sam, a twenty-six-year-old Haitian man, who is a small business owner and has moved to a suburb of New York City, described an interaction that many middle class men of African phenotype endure on a daily basis:

> *I was driving and I didn't come to a complete stop at a stop sign. The police officer had me get out the car and he wanted me to get on my knees. I told him, "I'm not going to run, you have all my paperwork. If I were to get on my knees in front of another man, I don't think I could actually ever look my father in my face, knowing that you could have a gun to my head and you could practically kill me. I couldn't be a man anymore if I do that." And finally he was like, "Okay, then just have a seat."*[11]

According to Sam, it did not matter what kind of car he drove, the combination of his dark skin, dreadlocks and gender was used by police officers to categorize him as "suspect" even when he traveled abroad. "Racial profiling" – the use of phenotype, as a proxy for potential criminality – is common in federal and state investigations in New York and New Jersey (Wilgoren, 1998).[12] Indeed, a manual used for police training across the country stated that, "Jamaicans/Rastafarians have been known to operate and transport narcotics in the following types of vehicles..." and suspicious cars "may display the Ethiopian flag ... red, yellow and green, Jamaican paraphernalia."[13]

---

[11] In 1999 one police officer pleaded guilty and another police officer was convicted for the 1997 beating and sodomy of Abner Louima, a Haitian immigrant while he was in police custody. This from of police brutality can be interpreted as an emasculation ritual.

[12] The emasculation ritual Sam describes has historical origins. During slavery and post-emancipation, many African American men were castrated.

[13] "Police Training Manual is Criticized." *The New York Times*, Wednesday, March 17, 1999. B5.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

While many men in this study reported having negative interactions with the police, none of the women reported being stopped and searched by the police.[14] When asked why this was so, Cassandra, a twenty-seven year old Dominican woman who lived in Inwood, Manhattan, offered her insights:

> *I think it has to do with my sex because often, especially here, I see a lot of police officers around my neighborhood checking out women. They like to check out women, especially when they are driving around in their cars or when they are on foot patrol.*

Cassandra added that at times when she is walking in her neighborhood, white male police officers have directed sexual comments to her and her younger cousin. Sexual harassment in the form of comments and gazes from male police officers appeared to be among the reasons why women in this study said that they also did not trust the police (Fine and Weis, 1998). Again, women's racially stigmatized identity was linked to negative images about their sexuality.

Coping with Race-Gender Stigma

Second generation Caribbean men and women talked about devising different strategies for dealing with the gendered "symbolic taint" that accompanied them throughout their daily social interactions. For instance, Mark said that he always walked into stores wearing a walkman to distract himself from the "hate stares" and "oversurveillance" that he was subjected to on a daily basis (Feagin and Sikes, 1994). Other men dealt with the discrimination by walking into the stores with cash in their hands, in order to "prove" that they had a right to be there.

---

[14] In addition, although women had little personal experience with police officers, they spoke about numerous incidents in which their brothers, husbands and male friends had experienced problems.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Women's *race-gender experiences* were somewhat less confrontational than those the men were subjected to. While men had vivid accounts of blatant face-to-face discrimination in stores, women spoke about dealing with more "discreet" forms of discrimination in upscale department stores. Women said that they sometimes coped by making jokes or dismissing the discrimination they were subjected to as ignorance. Marie, a bubbly nineteen-year-old Haitian college student who grew up in East Flatbush, Brooklyn, chuckled as she explained how she dealt with racism:

> *When you go to department stores to buy clothes, they constantly have people watching you! No matter what store you go to. For example, all of a sudden a store employee has to fix something that is in your aisle. I love that one! Sometimes we will make jokes like "Did you put it in your pocket?" Jokes like that. It's not funny but it is so true.*

Women recalled that sales personnel sometimes reminded them that the products they were looking at were "expensive," intimating that they would not be able to afford such costly items. In some cases, salespeople simply ignored them because they thought they were not really going to buy anything. While women recalled incidents in which they were subjected to oversurveillance in department stores, they seldom involved physical confrontations. Thus, in comparison to their male counterparts who were sometimes violently reminded of their racially stigmatized positions, women were reminded in more "subtle" ways.

Because men and women are assigned different types of racial stigma, sometimes couples would try to circumvent the discrimination they anticipated towards men of African phenotype by having the woman act as a bridge. Jahaira, a thirty-year old Dominican woman, who lived in Flushing, Queens, said that when she was out late in midtown Manhattan with her partner, a Black Panamanian man, and they were trying to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

hail a cab, he had to stand away from her. She would have less trouble because as a woman by herself, she would appear less threatening.

Housing the Stigmatized

The sense, expressed by so many respondents, of belonging to a group that is stigmatized and sometimes feared, is compounded by the stark contrast between the physical living conditions in minority communities and those of more affluent white neighborhoods. In a national study of the contours of racial segregation across the United States landscape, Massey and Denton (1994) found that African Americans and of African phenotype experience extremely high degrees of residential segregation and that they are the only groups that continue to do so (Chapter 1). Similarly, a 1998 study by New York University Law School found that immigrant and minorities of African phenotype continue to live in segregated, overcrowded, substandard housing in New York City (Schill, 1988). Specifically, 34% of Dominican, 22% of Caribbean and African and 27% of African Americans were living in apartments that suffered from rat infestation, lack of water or heat and no kitchen or bathroom. In contrast, European immigrants from similar class backgrounds were able to obtain better housing. The report concluded that racial discrimination plays an important role in the housing conditions of immigrant and native-born communities of African phenotype (Mydral, 1944; Massey and Denton, 1994; Sanjek and Gregory, 1994; Lieberson, 1980). Thus, the way in which a given immigrant group is racialized in the United States has had an important influence on their access to housing (Fine, Weis, Powell and Wong, 1997; Nelson and Tienda 1985; Massey and Denton 1994; Steinberg, 1981, 1995; Takaki, 1994;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Ringer and Lawless, 1989; Hacker, 1992; Sanjek and Gregory, 1994; Amott and Matthaei, 1991; Williams and Kornblum, 1994).

The Caribbean youth in this study all reported that their neighborhoods were in total disrepair and that they did not receive the same type of social services, including transportation, sanitation and schools, that were available in communities that were racialized as white. Denzel, the eighteen-year-old West Indian, who grew up in Crown Heights, Brooklyn explained:

> *In my neighborhood Crown Heights, Brooklyn, it takes twenty minutes for a train to come, but when I went to Bay Ridge, the white neighborhood, a train comes every five minutes. And the streets are cleaner! Also Jews have the mayor under their control. The government gives them better transportation and everything. It is more for them. Better schools, housing.*

Everyday, as they walk through their neighborhoods and attend dilapidated and overcrowded schools, second generation Caribbean youth discover that they could not count on the same resources readily available to groups who are racialized as whites. As previously mentioned, second generation youths, especially men, reported that some cab drivers refused to take them to their destination because they considered those neighborhoods too dangerous.[15] The neighborhoods visited during field work for this study confirmed that the housing and services available to immigrants are "colored" (Hurtado, 1996; Oliver and Shapiro, 1995; Massey and Denton, 1994; Ogbu, 1978; Wacquant, 1997).[16]

---

[15] In *Race Matters* (1990) Cornel West discussed experiencing problems hailing a cab because was a Black man.

[16] During the course of fieldwork in Caribbean neighborhoods in Brooklyn and Manhattan, the author noted that some of the outdoor train stations even lacked lighting.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Although the vast majority of the youth who participated in this study lived in poor and working class communities, two young people interviewed for this study who had tried to move into middle class white neighborhoods recalled that they encountered some roadblocks. Jahaira, the Dominican woman who worked as a research assistant at an investment bank remembered some of her frustrations over finding an apartment:

> *We tried to go through a real estate agency and for some reason they would showed us (Black Panamanian partner) the ugliest apartments. It wouldn't be like up here, it would be closer to Ridgewood in the area where I "belonged." It was weird! The type of apartment that I would pay for ... I told them I'm not going to pay any more than $800 rent. I can't afford to pay more than that. Even $750 is rough. But they could have done better than that.*

Jahaira eventually found an apartment in Flushing on her own (without her partner) as she was walking in the neighborhood scouting for "apartment for rent" signs.

Similarly, Sam the Haitian business owner, reflected on the troubles he experienced when he tried to buy a cooperative apartment in a predominantly white neighborhood:

> *I was making enough money to buy the coop in cash and they wouldn't let me in. This was in Flushing, Queens near Union Turnpike. It was an all white area, mostly Jewish. I had the proof of the loan but the people in the coop were not cooperating. They basically didn't tell me that but they didn't give me certain paperwork the people giving me the loan needed – the prospectus - so they could see the property's value. And the people that were going to give me the loan said, "Look, save yourself some problems, forget about this coop. You want another coop someplace else, fine. As long as they abide by our rules, we'll give you the loan. But these people don't want you in this place."*

Sam eventually purchased a home in a predominantly Black middle class community on Long Island. Wilson (1987) has posited that the Black middle class can escape discrimination and the plight of the urban ghetto. However, the deliberate concentration

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of blacks into "certain" suburban areas illustrates how residential discrimination continued to be a powerful problem for racially stigmatized groups regardless of their class backgrounds (Massey and Denton, 1994).

In the course of starting his own business, Sam also had to contend with a range of other publicly humiliating experiences. For instance, in order to deal with the discrimination that he confronted from wholesalers, Sam sometimes asked a white male friend of his to place his phone orders for him because he had a "white" sounding accent:

> *It's really interesting to have my [white] friend Tom around because a lot of experiences that I've had, he would never really be able to relate to until he's been with me and he sees what I go through with police harassment and discrimination. When we go out I tell him, "First of all, Tom, you're with me now, you're no longer white. You're black now. And you're a traitor, so you're even worse."* [17]

Feagin and Sikes (1994) found that the use of a white sounding voice was a coping strategy that many Blacks used to navigate the racism in their everyday lives. Similarly, the race-gender experiences that second generation Caribbean men contend with on a daily basis in the course of their social interactions tell these youths something about how they are viewed by the larger society and affect their views about the openness of the opportunity structure. Sam, who did not plan to pursue a college education, gave a scathing critique of racial discrimination in the United States, saying, "police officers, bankers and the people who give mortgage loans - those are your gangsters." In short, the negative experiences second generation men and women have had in public spaces have a cumulative effect, as they begin to "color" their views of mobility within the United States.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CONCLUSION

In examining the schooling of second generation youths, segmented assimilation theories have tended to emphasize the cultural differences between groups, such as the differences in the values and social capital of their families and communities. This research breaks away from the reduction of race to a dimension of ethnicity by investigating the differences in the ways in second generation Caribbean are assigned racial meanings that vary by gender.

While there were language and other cultural differences among Dominicans, West Indians and Haitians, these groups are racialized in very similar ways. Through a series of social interactions with strangers, second generation youth begin understand how they are viewed in the larger society. Since the majority of Caribbean immigrants are of discernible African phenotype, they are socially defined as members of a racially stigmatized race. Men found themselves painted as potential criminals, drug dealers and muggers. However, women narrated experiences where they were viewed as exotic, sexually available and immoral. While men often encounter violent or aggressive treatment from whites, women meet with more subtle forms of discrimination.

Politically damaging representations of urban minority youth in the media contribute directly to the negative stereotypes men and women have to contend with in public spaces and these common sense "truths" permeate every aspect of their lives, from friendships and housing to schooling and jobs (Wacquant, 1997; Roberts, 1997). As we shall see in the following two chapters, *race-gender experiences* begin to sculpt men's and women's views about schooling in fundamentally distinct ways. For instance,

---

[17] Feagin and Sikes (1994) found that the use of a "white" sounding voice was a painful strategy that middle class Blacks have developed to circumvent some

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

women spoke about the importance of attaining an education in terms of contesting widely held stigmatizing narratives about their immorality and sexuality as urban minority women. Men, on the other hand, respond to racial stigma by expressing some skepticism about education as a route for upward mobility for them.

---

discrimination (Dalmage, 1996).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER 4: RACE-GENDER HIGH SCHOOL LESSONS

> Schools still matter even more than TV in telling us who we are and who we can be" (Meier, 1995:10).

INTRODUCTION

On a glorious, bright morning in June 1998, graduation ceremonies were underway for Urban High School seniors. The services were held in a majestic gothic cathedral located in an upper middle class white neighborhood - miles away from the dilapidated housing and urban blight of Urban High School's neighborhood.[1] Dressed in their finest clothes and with their tickets in hand, several generations of family members, including parents, siblings, grandparents and godparents were beaming as they entered the church to see their loved ones receive their high school diplomas. Perched in the balcony of the cathedral, the author had a bird's eye view of the ceremony. To the tune of the of all-too-familiar "pomp and circumstance" graduation march, young men draped in blue caps and gowns escorted young women in white caps and gowns down the aisle of the cathedral. Towards the end of the line, parents, mostly mothers, could be heard murmuring, "Oh look at that, there are more girls than boys!" Indeed, several rows of young women had to be paired up with each other.[2] This begs the question of why more

---

[1] The graduation ceremonies were probably not held in the school auditorium because it was in deplorable condition. It had broken windows and chipped paint, and pigeons regularly flew around from corner to corner.

[2] In fact, more men (55%) than women were enrolled in Urban High School. The only student to earn a Regents academic diploma was also a woman.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

women are graduating than men? How do formal and informal institutional practices within schools "race" and "gender" students?

To understand why, among minority communities, women attain higher levels of education than men, it is important to examine the race and gender specific experiences of both men and women within schools. This chapter examines how men and women are treated within the high school context and how this treatment affects their outlook towards education. High school is a very important site in which to explore the race(ing) and gender(ing) of second generation youths because school experiences shape their views about the dynamics of social mobility in the larger society.

The first part of the chapter describes Urban High School, with a focus on how ordinary day-to-day school practices are racialized and gendered. The second part of the chapter explores the experiences of women, and the final segment those of men. It shows how, as municipal schools become more overcrowded and authoritarian, minority men are increasingly viewed as problematic and treated as such. Young men more than women tend to have negative interactions with teachers and other school personnel and they respond to the low curriculum tracks by engaging in "willful laziness." Conversely, schools practices reward "young ladies" for conforming to their gender roles, contributing to their good relationships with teachers. Nevertheless, women were tracked into sex-typed vocational tracks. Although women also had a scathing critique of the education available to them, they remained firmly committed to their education.

"Urban High School" as Emblematic of Unequal Schooling

Unprecedented conditions of poverty and the new urban ecology formed the backdrop for the incorporation of second generation youth to United States urban centers.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In spite of the progress made after the civil rights movement, racial and class segregation in the United States increased proportionately during the 1990s (Orfield, 1994; Massey and Denton, 1994). In a national study of residential segregation, Massey and Denton (1994) found that African Americans (as well as immigrants of African phenotype) are residentially segregated. Residential segregation has historically concentrated disadvantage in the poorest neighborhoods, with the result that overcrowded and dilapidated school buildings have become commonplace in the vast majority of minority neighborhoods in New York City (Kozol, 1996).

In so far as the synergy of increasing urban poverty, racial segregation and disinvestment from education at the end of the twentieth century is unparalleled, the schooling of today's second generation Caribbean youths cannot be compared to that of earlier immigrants (Katz, 1993; Wilson, 1996, 1987). The social and political landscape is qualitatively different. When, the children of European immigrants entered the public school system during the post-World War II economic boom, public investment in education was considered a national imperative. However, during the 1980s and the 1990s, immigrant communities have faced a political-economic culture that has consistently disinvested from public education (Fine, 1994; Anyon, 1997; Waters, 1997). Second generation Caribbean youth have entered the New York City public schools at a time when public education as a basic human right is being questioned, and the public discourse is promoting the privatization of public schools (Fine, 1994).

Urban High School is emblematic of what Anyon (1997) refers to as "ghetto schooling"--the grossly inferior education available to minority and immigrant youth from poor and working class backgrounds. It is a neighborhood zoned high school

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

located in an area that experienced intensive immigration from the 1970s through the 1980s. Housed in a four-story building erected at the turn-of-the-century, Urban High School was originally intended to accommodate approximately two thousand five hundred students. In the late 1990s it had a student population of about three thousand. To accommodate the overflow of students, twenty-eight makeshift orange trailer classrooms have been squeezed into the baseball field located behind the main school building.

During the last three decades, one can literally witness (and in some cases smell) the decay of New York urban public schools. Urban High School was no exception. Both inside and outside, the building appeared to be falling apart at the seams. Scaffolding enveloped the entire building. Sections of the roof regularly collapsed and pigeons could be found flying around in the auditorium and hallways, sometimes making their nests in the stairwells. The "girls'" bathrooms in the main building were quite unsanitary. Although there was no graffiti on the pink-colored walls, the toilets and sinks did not work.[3] In the trailer classrooms, only one unisex bathroom stall served approximately forty students. (Ironically, the facilities in the trailers actually appeared more sanitary than those in the main building. [4]When queried about the possibility of moving to a habitable school building, Mr. Perez, the school principal lamented, "there is no public will to build new schools."[5] The infrastructure problems that plague Urban

---

3 The teachers' bathroom was in the same deplorable condition.

4 Not once in the course of fieldwork did the author find a student smoking or doing drugs in the stairwells or in the bathroom."

5 However, new school buildings have been constructed for the elite public high schools in New York City, such as Stuyvesant High School.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

High School are endemic throughout the public school system and seriously undermine the education of minority and immigrant youth (Kozol, 1991, 1996).

Beyond the decrepit conditions of the school building, one of the most striking aspects of Urban High School was the ubiquitous security presence.[6] All students had to enter the main building through a smaller side door because the main entrance was boarded up. Upon entering, they had to pass through state-of-the-art full-body metal detectors and video cameras that were staffed by half a dozen security guards, peace officers and police officers.[7] With the exception of a white male police officer, almost all of the uniformed security guards, peace officers and plain-clothed security aides were African American and Latino men.[8] The head of security explained that one of the reasons they began using metal detectors and requested a police officer on campus was that their school was among the most overcrowded in the city. In 1998 Urban High School had a 6% suspension rate, the city average, so it was not among the city's most violent schools.[9] As on many school campuses, overcrowding had resulted in tighter security.

Increased security is turning urban high schools, which are supposed to be institutions of learning, into spaces in which urban minority youth, particularly young men, are humiliated and criminalized through searches and other demeaning encounters

---

6 See Devine (1996) for an exploration of the ways in which the increased security presence in schools changes the atmosphere.

7 Students often complained that the metal detectors searches kept them from getting to their morning classes on time.

8 Only two security officers were women and they were African American.

9 However, Urban High Schools rate of incidents (5%) was slightly higher than the city average (4%).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(Pastor, McCormick, and Fine, 1996; Rosenbaum and Binder, 1997). Urban High School security guards interact with students constantly through the day. During the five minutes that students are given to change their 40 minute period classes, security guards with bullhorns are positioned at the corners of the hallways, yelling, "Move it!" Long after students are quietly seated in their classrooms, teachers have to compete with the noise coming from security guards' walkie talkies, as they patrol the corridors and stairwells.[10] The prevailing assumption that poor and working class minority youths are prone to aggression has resulted in the normalization of this "symbolic violence" against them in urban schools nationally (Stanton-Salazar, 1997).

Security measures in the trailer classrooms were even more extreme. Ninth graders, all of whom were housed in the trailers, were required to wear school uniforms (blue shirt and beige pants) or face penalties, including having their identification card confiscated and losing their lunchroom privileges. (Only students with swipeable identification cards were permitted access to the overcrowded lunchroom located in the main building.) Not surprisingly, school administrators, students and teachers colloquially referred to the trailer park as "Riker's Island" (a jail located in New York City). The stigmatized status of Urban High School as a "dangerous" school was ever present in the collective consciousness of students and teachers alike. For instance, Mr. Perez, the principal and Ms. Romero, the assistant principal, expressed their interest in

---

[10] Toward the end of the semester, another security-like presence walked the school corridors. Military recruiters, mostly Black and Latino men, arrived to give classroom presentations to high school seniors.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

this study because they wanted to let people know that Urban High School was not an unsafe school.[11]

On the first day of fieldwork, Ms. Romero, a middle-aged veteran Latina teacher gave the author a tour of the high school, as students' conversations peppered the hallway in a mixture of English and Spanish. Young men usually greeted each other by touching (not shaking) hands, while young women kissed each other on the cheek. On a number of occasions, teachers (mostly whites) stopped students in the hallway and scolded them for speaking in Spanish.[12] In contrast, Ms. Romero greeted students in Spanish and English. However, at other times she reprimanded students, particularly young men, for wearing baseball caps in the school building. In one such instance, Ms. Romero asked a security guard to chase a young man who ignored her request to remove his hat. As we made our way to the department office, the author queried Ms. Romero about classrooms that were filled with students, but had no teachers. Ms. Romero explained that at the beginning of every semester there was always a shortage of teachers.[13] She added that almost a third of the teachers in the social studies department were new recruits.

---

[11] In addition, both the principal and assistant principal felt that as a second generation Caribbean woman, the author could serve as a "role model" for Urban High School students.

[12] At the day-long teacher workshop at Urban High School, many teachers expressed their belief that students should only speak English while they were in school. Indeed, during the course of fieldwork at Urban High School, the author received a number of frowns and disapproving glances from some white teachers because she often spoke in Spanish with Latino/a teachers (Lopez, 1997).

[13] At a later date, at a departmental meeting, Ms. Romero urged teachers to volunteer to teach "p.m. school." These afternoon classes were offered for students who needed to make up credits that they were missing.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The Social Studies Department Assistant Principal's office served as an office for over two dozen teachers. During their "free" periods, these teachers were huddled elbow to elbow, cramped into a space designed to comfortably accommodate perhaps two to four people. Without access to a computer, they bubbled-in attendance sheets, planned lessons, organized school trips, graded tests, advised students and, in the few minutes that remained, tried to eat their lunches. On a number of occasions, teachers sat in each other's classes, just so they could have a place to sit and prepare their next lesson. Teachers were working under dreadful conditions, and students must also have received the impression that their education was neither valued nor expected to amount to much. Even the most school-oriented students and student-centered teachers would have had difficulties contending with these structural constraints of residential segregation, concentrated poverty and overcrowding (Anyon, 1997; Waters, 1997).[14]

> Youngsters learn their place in the social order and develop a set of responses to their placement that are hard to dislodge. They form "an attitude" toward work, adults, the larger public setting, and what counts and what doesn't on the basis of schools (Meier, 1995:10).

---

[14] Newspaper articles and television broadcasts regularly portray high school dropouts as self-destructive pathological individuals who choose to leave school. A 1997 television news commercial aired by a New York local cable station illustrates the normalization of structural inequalities in education. In the commercial, a white elementary school principal in a predominantly immigrant neighborhood in Queens is shown making her way through makeshift classrooms in hallways, closets and bathrooms. After praising the principal for learning every child's name, the female reporter proclaims, "They still learn!" Another 1996 news story hailed a young Black man who gained admission to an Ivy League College in spite of being homeless and living in the suburbs. These kinds of commercials stem from the meritocratic discourse, which maintains that in spite of poverty, overcrowding, homelessness and racial discrimination, anyone can be successful in the United States - if they try hard enough. Regardless of intent, these brief news stories left the structural roots of inequality – increasing poverty, segregation, overcrowding, authoritarian pedagogy, curriculum tracking and undemocratic practices -- unchallenged (Fine, 1991).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Now, we turn to the many and sometimes contradictory lessons young men and young women "learn" about who they are and who they can be based on their experience in poor and working class high schools.

Schooling "Young Ladies"

Rewarding Femininity

Schools as institutions operate at three distinct but inter-related levels, the official, the pragmatic and the cultural levels (Willis, 1981). Officially, schools are democratic institutions that help youths to assume their adult roles in the broader society. Therefore, school manuals state that their objective is to prepare youth for postsecondary studies, as well as for entry into the labor market. However, at the pragmatic level, in the name of the "common good," (Fine, 1991) some schools may funnel students into grade equivalency diploma programs or vocational programs (Lopez, 1998; DeLeon, 1996).

At the cultural level of everyday school practices and beliefs, gender(ing) and race(ing) takes place through institutional practices (Thorne, 1993). As working class and poor overcrowded urban public schools became more authoritarian, they begin to prize so-called feminine traits, such as conformity, silence and passivity (Anyon, 1980; Fine, 1991; Grant, 1992). In this context, second-generation Caribbean youth who attended racially segregated, overcrowded schools are taught informally that being a good student is related to social behavior, rather than academic achievement (Grant, 1992). One example is Rosy, a nineteen year-old West Indian woman enrolled at the City University of New York. Rosy, who had been an average student throughout high school, reminisced about how her grades improved dramatically when she conformed to her gender role:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *My math teacher was my favorite teacher because she pushed me a lot. She knew I could do more than I was doing. I was playing around a lot during my second year in high school and my math teacher really kept behind me. I used to dress real boy! With a hat on backwards and everything! She would say, "You know, Rosy, you can be a lot more if you just apply yourself and dress like a young lady." So I did. By her telling me all this, she kind of changed my whole attitude. And I just changed. I graduated with a B+ average in high school.*

Rosy, like other women in this study spoke about having had good relationships with teachers who believed in her potential. When asked if she ever experienced problems with teachers, Rosy was perplexed: "Me personally? I was a really good student and very quiet," indicating that she equated her own silence with being an exemplary student (Sedlak, 1986). Given that grades sometimes measure how much students follow school rules, at some overcrowded authoritarian schools, to be a "good student" means to simply be quiet and "ladylike." Women are generally seen as less menacing than their male counterparts even if they misbehave. Therefore, Rosy's grades improved as she learned to conform to her gender role and behave like "a young lady."

Past research has shown that school practices reinforce gender and racial inequality in many subtle ways. For example, in a study of Black and white elementary school girls, Grant (1992, 1994) concluded that the gender and racial order in the classroom nurtured Black and white girls to develop different aptitudes. Grant found that whereas classroom experiences encouraged African American girls to perform emotional labor and develop their social skills, white girls were encouraged to develop their intellectual capacities and pursue high-paying, high prestige occupations. In this environment, Black girls may be socialized to pursue service-oriented jobs. On the one hand, white girls learned to assume that they will dominate nonwhite women in the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

workplace (Hurtado, 1996). Thus, informal social practices within classrooms socialized white and Black girls to occupy dominant and subordinate positions in the larger society.

Unlike the men, who were hard-pressed to describe a single positive relationship with a teacher (with the exception of gym teachers), second-generation Caribbean women spoke of having a good rapport with their teachers. For example, Maryse spoke fondly about one of her high school teachers:

> *There are certain teachers that you go to and they just put the work on the board and whether you do it or not they really don't care because, like they always say, it's not their education. They are still getting paid. That's what certain teachers said. There was this one particular teacher, he took very much interest in what we did. He also prepared us for college. He would give us college books to read. It was an English class. He would make us do certain college-level work. He would make us write essays and research papers like college students would do.*

Studies have found that teachers favor young women because teachers think that they are smarter and they like being around them more and hold higher expectations for them (Kleinfeld, 1998, 1999).[15] As a result, young women receive more positive messages than men.

During the course of classroom discussions at Urban High School, women consistently expressed higher aspirations than men. When Ms. Gutierrez asked her students to discuss their plans for the future, the words of one young woman resonated with the high aspirations of the second-generation Caribbean women in this study. Beaming with a mixture of pride and restraint, Lissette replied: "I want to go to college to

---

[15] This may be due in part to the fact that the majority of teachers in the United States (excluding colleges and universities) are women (73 %) (Rosenblum and Travis, 1996:304)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

be a lawyer and become a strong independent woman." On several visits in the college office, the author noted that there were always more women present than men.[16]

Participant observation in the classroom setting revealed that women were institutionally engaged in their schools. They handed in homework more consistently than did men and they were more active participants than were men. In Mr. Hunter's sophomore year global studies class, young women (while outnumbered by young men three to one) were the most active students. One morning, Yocasta, one of Mr. Hunter's favorite students, who usually sat in the front row of the class and was always prepared, boasted that she did her homework because she wanted to earn an A: "I'll do a report if that's what it take to get a 99." In addition, more women than men volunteered to head cultural organizations in the school. They spearheaded the organization of the junior and senior proms and they team-taught classes. Thus, it appeared that women were not interested in doing enough just to pass their classes. They strove for academic excellence and they were proud to verbalize their efforts to study and earn good grades.

Besides good grades, women's good relationships with teachers sometimes materialized into bridges to job opportunities (Chapter 5). In-depth interview transcripts revealed that teachers seemed to more readily recommend women for jobs and internship programs than they recommended men. As we shall see in Chapter 5, women talked about obtaining office work through their teachers and school programs, and by the time they left high school they had obtained more experience than the men in the formal labor market.

---

[16] Research has shown that Latinas also have higher aspirations than have Latino men (Ginoro, 1996). In addition, among West Indian high school students living in England young women also excelled over young men (Driver, 1980).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Ignoring Ethnic and Racial Bantering

Upon entry to the United States, both second-generation Caribbean men and women were made painfully aware of the stigmatized and marginalized racial status of their respective ethnic groups (Chapter 3). Therefore, one facet of the school adaptation processes that many second-generation youth encountered was ethnic teasing. However, it appeared that men and women coped with this badgering in distinct ways. For instance, Rosy the West Indian woman, remembered dismissing ethnic teasing as jealousy:

> *When I was in elementary school they used to call me names because I was West Indian. Some students would say: "You are all coconuts or something like that." I would say: "Hey, I'm proud to be one." I think it is just an envy thing where they are just jealous that they are not from the Caribbean.*

Other West Indian women recalled being stereotyped as snobbish by their peers. This was partly because some West Indians spoke English with a slight British accent. Dominican women also reported ignoring ethnic bantering. According to Cassandra, a twenty-seven year-old Dominican woman who grew up in Washington Heights, Manhattan:

> *Even when I was a child, whenever people would say negative things about Dominicans, I always said, "I guess you haven't seen much of the world." I just pictured that person as being very limited in terms of their knowledge and ideas about the whole world. That's how I see it.*

It appears that ethnic bantering among women seldom led to fights because they tended to resolve disagreements in non-confrontational ways. This approach to conflict resolution was intimately related to women's notions of gender-appropriate behavior.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In contrast, the Haitian youths in this study recalled that they were often felt isolated and were subjected to cruel ethnic teasing.[17] For example, Maryse, recalled how she coped with the anti-Haitian sentiments at school while she was growing up:

> *The things that used to go on, especially in the junior high school I went to! They used to beat up Haitians. I was lucky because I was never in ESL class (English as a Second Language). I was in an American class. Although I came here at the age of five, my first language was English. I learned how to speak English. So that separated me from the rest of the Haitians, but I used to see what happened to them, especially around Halloween. They used to beat them up! Therefore, when I was growing up I used to be afraid to say I was Haitian. I used to say I was from the Caribbean, but not Haiti. But now that I'm an adult, it's not a problem for me.*

As explained by Maryse, some Haitian women attempted to shield themselves from violence by camouflaging their ethnicity from their peers. As Creole speakers, with no other reference groups in the United States, Haitian students were sometimes subjected to violent ethnic teasing and physical attacks at school and in their neighborhood.

Ethnic Pride and Schooling

As discussed in the introductory chapter, some of the literature on minority education has alluded to the presence of an oppositional identity among stigmatized minorities (Fordham and Ogbu 1986; Gibson, 1988; Portes and Zhou, 1993; Matute-Bianchi, 1991). This literature argues that minority youth are not doing well in school was because they have adopted an adversarial stance that equates schooling with losing their identity as minorities and "acting white" (Ogbu, 1995a, 1995b; Fordham and Ogbu, 1986). Fordham (1996) has postulated that boys experience more pressure to reject

---

[17] Several of the Haitian men reported that some teachers directed anti-Haitian remarks to them.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

school achievement because their peers may question their sexual orientation if they appear to take school too seriously (Waters, 1996).

However, some studies have just began to challenge the assumption that African Americans do not do well academically because they fear being accused of losing their identity. In a study of African American adolescent female high school students, Schultz (1996:534) found that the notion of "acting white" was non-existent.[18] Instead, the young women believed that it was foolish for them not to try to do well in school (Solomon, 1990). Similarly, Tyson's (1998) study of African-American children in a southeastern city also found that academically successful Black elementary school students were not ostracized by their peers for achieving academic excellence. Rather, the students strove to be "smart."

The second generation youth in this study recalled that their academically successful co-ethnics were viewed with pride in their schools. When asked whether they had ever heard of any academically successful co-ethnics being accused of "acting white," respondents were perplexed. Maryse explained that she had never heard of this phenomenon:

> *Not in the school I went to, kids were not saying that. I see it on TV. It's ridiculous to say that to get an education means to sell yourself short, how are you selling yourself short if you get an education? I don't get that.*

---

[18] Anti-intellectualism extends across racial and class lines, as evidenced by words such as "nerd" and "geek."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The explanation that minority youth do not do well in school because they fear losing their identities was not relevant for the second generation Caribbean youth in this study.[19] Men and women alike affirmed that being academically successful was a cultural trait of each of their respective ethnic groups. Indeed, co-ethnics who did well in school were seen as role models and cited as a source of ethnic pride.[20] Katia explained that her academically successful peers in high school were viewed in a favorable light:

> *They actually applauded you. If you were getting a certain average or whatever, people would say "Wow! I'm proud of you." They were like, "Wow! You're making a difference because most of us, we don't make those kind of grades. You're going to make it!" I knew a couple of people like that. You just had to applaud them.*

The second-generation Caribbean youth in this study did not see academic success as incompatible with retaining their ethnic identity. They explained that their parents had migrated to the United States, not only to improve their work opportunities, but more importantly to provide their children with educational opportunities that were unavailable in their home countries.

Schools Back Home

Given the fact that many Caribbean parents migrated to the U.S. in order to improve their children's educational opportunities, one paradoxical finding of this study

---

19 Although in Ogbu and Simons (1998) have defined Dominicans and West Indians as voluntary minorities and Haitians as refugees, this study has defined them as colonized minorities (Blauner, 1972). As explained in Chapter 3, the author's categorization of Dominicans, West Indians and Haitians as colonized minorities stems from the historical neo-colonial relationship the United States has maintained with Caribbean nations since the early nineteenth century.

20 Only a few of the students had ever heard of references to "acting white." They mentioned that they heard of these terms on television programs or vicariously through their African-American teacher's stories about growing up during what Fordham (1996) called the "second emancipation," the post-civil rights era.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

was that many youths believed that they had received a more rigorous education in the Caribbean. Although the average age of the foreign-born youth in this study at the time of arrival was seven, a handful of them had completed a few years of schooling in the Caribbean. In addition, a few U.S.-born Caribbean youths, especially Dominicans and West Indians, had been sent to schools in their home country for short spells of one to three years.[21] These youths not only felt that they had been exposed to a more solid curriculum in their respective home countries, they also mocked the low-level curricula that they were offered in the United States. Janet, a thirty year-old Dominican woman who was born in the United States but completed two years of high school in the Dominican Republic, laughed when she explained the difference between the two school systems:

> *In the Dominican Republic it's harder and more demanding! It's not like, read pages five through seven or an open book test, like they do here in the US. Over there, you had to get up in the class, close your book and recite, summarize what you learned -- in your own words -- not what you memorized from the book. And they had tests, pop quizzes every other day. It was really hard! It's not as easy as it is here.*

Nicole, who had attended elementary school in Jamaica, had a similar critique:

> *The exams up here [in the US] are so easy it is unbelievable! And I wonder how people fail! For real! Down in Jamaica, there's this thing called CSC (I forgot what it stood for). You have to take all your subject classes. You have to choose a profession, say you want to be a nurse or you're doing the sciences or whatever. When you go to high school, you pick out what you really want to focus on. You have geography, you have history and whatever and you're going to take at least seven or eight subjects in school. And you have to take all of them and you have to pass all of them in order to pass the grade.*

---

[21] None of the Haitians participants in this study said that they were sent back to Haiti for their studies.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Second generation women's critique of the education system in the United States raised some interesting questions. Did their parents not migrate to the United States mainly because they wanted to offer their children better educational opportunities than were available in their home countries? This paradox can be understood in terms of how Caribbean youths were racialized in the United States context. While it is true that in the United States education is available to everyone, historically, immigrant groups that are defined as racial minorities, especially those of African phenotype, have been consistently funneled into substandard segregated schools that offer little or no preparation for college-level work (Ogbu, 1978).[22]

In contrast, in their home countries, Caribbean youth were neither racialized as minorities nor segregated into low-level curriculum tracks.[23] Sheri-Ann, a West Indian CUNY student who participated in the focus group, offered her insights into this vexing contradiction:

> *There is something about the educational system here in the United States, especially in those formative years, from kindergarten, first, second and third grades. There is something that is missing here that I got there in the Caribbean. I remember when I came here I got skipped a grade because I was more advanced than the other children my own age. And now I have an eight year-old brother who is in school here, and the things that he does now, I was doing when I was six. So the systems are geared totally differently and I think it I would like my children to be raised in that kind of educational system in the Caribbean at least at first.*

---

[22] In New York City public schools, whites and Asians have graduation rates of 70% and 66% respectively, Blacks and Latinos have the lowest graduation rates, 44% and 38% (Board of Education, 1995).

[23] However, it is important to note that universal public education is not available to everyone in many Caribbean countries.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Sheri-Ann's concerns about the quality of minority education in the United States were provocative. One of the ways in which the education of second generation Caribbean youths and other minorities is undermined is that they are offered a substandard education in the United States, beginning with the "formative" years. By the time students who have been subjected to an inferior curriculum reach high school, they have been exposed to very little preparation for college-level work, and most schools attended by racial minorities do not even offer college preparatory tracks (Oakes and Guiton, 1995; Lopez, 1998; Oakes, 1985; Anyon, 1997; Bowles and Gintis, 1976). In short, second generation Caribbean youths are racialized as minorities in the United States and therefore schooled as inferior students (Anyon, 1997).

Pink-Collar Vocational Tracking

School practices (re)produce racial and gender inequalities by using race, class and gender as markers to track students within schools, even within *de facto* segregated schools (Fine, 1991). Whereas Asian students may be stereotyped as college-bound "model minorities" who excel in mathematics and science, their Black and Latino peers are often stereotyped as academically inferior and steered into vocational tracks (Lee, 1997; Meier and Stewart, 1991; DeLeon, 1996; Attanasi, 1994). For example, Katia, a nineteen year-old Dominican woman who attended a high school in the historically immigrant neighborhood of the Lower East Side in Manhattan, alluded to the racial dimensions of curriculum tracking:

> *At my high school you would not see a single Chinese person in ESL (English as a Second Language), but Dominicans were in ESL eleven! Easy courses like low level math. Even though many of the Chinese were immigrants, they are taking chemistry. They're making it to private elite colleges. Dominicans go to community colleges. Not universities. I was kind of disappointed at my high*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *school graduation because I didn't see that many Dominicans receiving awards or making speeches. It was all Asians. You would be so surprised because our school is mostly Hispanic, Dominican.*

Katia aspires to become a pediatric registered nurse. However, she was struggling with a C average at a community college because she had not taken biology or chemistry classes at her high school. Since the vast majority of stigmatized minority students received low-level academic preparation, they have a difficult time reaching their professional goals, regardless of how high their aspirations might be (Waters, 1997).

Another dimension of tracking was related to sex-segregation. For instance, women spoke about being placed in pink-collar vocational tracks.[24] Among the "majors" that many second-generation Caribbean women were funneled into during their high school careers was secretarial studies. Thelma, a twenty-one year-old West Indian woman who was a B student throughout high school, reminisced about her experiences in vocational classes:

> *In secretarial studies, they teach you shorthand and how to take notes. It was kind of easy to take notes because I took a lot of notes in shorthand. My teacher taught grammar and the use of punctuation. It was very integrated in secretarial studies and you had to know it. You lose points for putting a comma in the wrong place. It was amazing to me. Although I didn't know what a research paper was, I knew where to place my commas! So, it was hard for me in college. In high school we didn't have any research paper or anything like that. They didn't challenge us at all.*

Although Thelma had been an honors student throughout high school, in her secretarial program she had been poorly prepared to deal with college level work. Consequently, shortly after beginning her undergraduate studies at a four-year college at CUNY, Thelma was unable to maintain satisfactory academic progress and she was asked to

---

[24] In a study of Punjabi Sikh students in California, Gibson (1988) also noted that young women were concentrated in vocational tracks.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

leave. How was it that Thelma, and other low-income minority women learned "where to place their commas" and were placed in "honors" classes and received "good" grades, but they were never taught how to write a research paper? Clearly, "honors" classes are not equal across public schools, and many working class and minority students who are placed in them and receive good grades do not necessarily get the same level of education available at the predominantly white, middle and upper class public schools in New York City.

Vocational tracking, although well intentioned on the part of school administrators, undermined the dreams of minority and immigrant youths. For example, another high school program that prepared poor, minority and immigrant women for pink-collar work was the Cooperative Education Program (COOP). Students in the COOP program alternated between classes and work on a bi-weekly basis. In addition to being graded on their classroom assignments, COOP students also received grades for their work performance, including opening mail, answering phones, data entry and filing papers. Diana, an eighteen year-old Dominican woman who was still enrolled in high school, giggled as she described the gender composition of the COOP program:

> *In my first period business class there are a lot more girls! There were like thirty-five girls and about three guys. In my second period stenography class there were no guys. Not one guy!*

When asked about the gender breakdown of the program, Ms. Smith, a veteran teacher of twenty years and the COOP coordinator at Urban High School, exclaimed: "of course there are more girls, than boys! The girls are much better workers!" Ms. Smith later admitted that this gender mix was gradually changing because the COOP program was being informally restructured to serve as a safety net for students deemed "at risk" of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

dropping out, most of whom were young men. In any event, these pink-collar vocational classes prepared young women for work only at the lowest levels of the service sector.

The last vocational program that women mentioned participating in was another traditionally female-dominated field - nursing. A number of the women who were funneled into these programs aspired to become registered nurses (RN). However, the nursing classes that women participated in also led to dead-end jobs on the lowest rungs of the health-related industries. Marie, a nineteen year-old Haitian woman elaborated on her career goals:

> *I always wanted to study nursing. Ever since I was little, in our family, they wanted us to go into nursing or become doctors and lawyers. So I wanted to be a nurse because I learned that in high school. I had so much fun in the nursing classes because they taught you a lot. They taught you vital signs and CPR. I never knew that was very important until I looked it up. And you had to learn it to be a nurse, so I took it. They showed you how to do CPR on a baby and the Heimlich Maneuver. I got a certificate for nursing. I took the test and I passed it so I was a certified nursing assistant.*

Some researchers have speculated about the ability of second-generation youths to tap into the job networks of their immigrant parents (Waldinger, 1996; Pessar and Grasmuck, 1991; Kim, 1999; Waldinger, 1996). First generation Haitian and West Indian women have traditionally worked in the health. However, given the low academic preparation that many second-generation Caribbean youth are exposed to, it is unlikely that they will be able to follow their mothers into professional positions within the health industry (Foner, 1987; Kasinitz, 1992). In Marie's case, making the leap from nurse's assistant to registered nurse would be a challenging feat, largely due to the shoddy preparation she received at her high school. But although she is earning only a C average at the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

community college, Marie remains firmly committed to her dream of becoming a registered nurse.

Second-generation Caribbean women who attended high schools that offered pre-professional programs also felt that their preparation was inferior (Valli, 1988). One example was Sedare, a nineteen year-old Haitian student, who had received A's throughout high school, but was attending a paralegal vocational school:

> *They said my high school had a preprofessional program law program. They said it was a law school. A law school! Ha! There wasn't anything about law! They only offered one class about law and it was the shortest class. They didn't do anything about law! Nothing at all!*

Sedare's comments gave voice to the scathing critique women had of the inferior education they had received in high school.[25] Although women are institutionally engaged, it does not mean that they do not experience oppression (Stanton-Salazar, 1997). The reality is that they are still subjected to an inferior education and are often woefully underprepared for college-level work. Although women had received relatively good grades, at times because of their "good" (feminine) behavior in high school, their high aspirations are undermined because they were offered ghettoized and gendered low curriculum tracks throughout their educational trajectories.

"Framed" as a Statistic

Problem "Boys"

Under conditions of extreme overcrowding, urban schools have resorted to authoritarian principles that have created, enforced and reproduced racial and gender

---

[25] In addition, during the many visits of military representatives to senior classes, young women were the first to express skepticism about the promises of early retirement and educational funding that recruiters boasted about if they enlisted.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

codes through their institutional practices (Thorne, 1993). In a critical ethnography of an urban public high school, Fine (1991) poignantly detailed how school policies "framed" and "silenced" poor and working class racial minorities.

> Public schools have historically managed social contradictions by sorting and tossing the bodies of students and by obscuring evidence of those discarded. But unlike in the past, the bodies of those discarded in the 1990s are today quite publicly paraded. Their bodies are not represented as the products of urban decay, but are framed instead as the *causes* of crumbling urban economies, crime, inadequate housing, unemployment, drug abuse, teenage pregnancy and racial/class discrimination (Fine, 1991:229).

The "framing" of urban minority youth as "problematic" has many racial and gendered overtones. For example, during the 1990s, the New York City mayor campaigned aggressively for the right of police officers to gain access to public high schools' yearbooks as a way of apprehending potential criminals. Given that the New York City public school system was predominantly Black and Latino, this demand can be interpreted as a *race-gender project.* In other words, by intimating that potential criminals attended New York City public high schools, government officials (regardless of their intention) discursively linked urban minority youths, especially dark-skinned males, to criminal activities. Despite local opposition from parents and community leaders, police officers finally gained control of the security operations at all New York City public schools in the fall of 1998.

The men in this study had to contend with qualitatively different experiences than did women in the high school setting. School practices "framed" them as problematic students and potential juvenile delinquents who must be controlled. This gendered and racialized "framing" was revealed in the classroom setting (Fine, 1991; Pastor,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

McCormick, Fine, 1996). For example, Mr. Green's Economics class for seniors at Urban High School provided an interesting window into the race-gender dynamics in many public schools.[26] Of the thirty seniors enrolled in his third period class, three-quarters were young men. The classroom was so crowded that all the desks were pressed up against each other. In addition, textbooks for the course did not arrive for about two months. One morning, seconds after the bell rang, Mr. Green locked the door shut and announced: "You will have exactly seven minutes to complete this quiz. Please take off your hats."[27]

While students were completing the quiz, Mr. Green inched his way down the aisle checking for homework, often walking over desks in order to get to the next row. Disappointed at the number of students who did not hand in their homework, Mr. Green remarked, "Students this is unacceptable, only a handful of you have submitted your homework. Many of you will lose points for not handing in homework." One young man in the class called out: "How come you didn't used to give us homework last year?" Mr. Green retorted: "You guys quiet down! Do you want to be here? I suggest that you follow the rules," pointing to the blackboard. A large piece of cardboard stapled over the black board listed "Mr. Green's rules for success:"

1. *Be present every day.*
2. *Be in your seat when the bell rings.*
3. *Homework is due at the beginning of class.*
4. *Do not wear hats, walkmans, or beepers.*
5. *Be quiet and attentive when some one is speaking.*
6. *Do not bring food or drinks to the classroom*
7. *Raise your hand and wait to be recognized before speaking.*

---

26 Mr. Green was a self-identified bi-racial man who was phenotypically white. He was in his late twenties and always wore a shirt and tie to class.

27 Students usually kept their coats because they did not have lockers.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

8. *Be prepared for school.*
9. *Treat faculty and other students with respect.*

Exactly six minutes later, Mr. Green warned, "Okay students, you have one minute," and seconds later added, "Okay students, time is up. Put your pens down. Put your names and pass them forward. If I see you writing I will take points off." Mr. Green's classroom often felt like a very controlled environment that had a definite inviolable time schedule. Although Mr. Green was well-intentioned, his pedagogical style was quite authoritarian and alienating. He was another example of a committed, but overworked teacher who had to work within the confines of an institutional structure that was resistant to change.

During the classroom discussions, Mr. Green inadvertently, "framed" minority young men as potential drug and crime "statistics" (Fine, 1991). On one occasion he began class by asking students to talk about the problems that existed in contemporary society. Students called out, "Crime, drugs, pollution." Mr. Green continued, "Is crime directly or indirectly caused by poverty?" Leo, a male student replied, "Drugs are a way to escape from reality; therefore we have a drug problem. But poverty doesn't necessarily cause crime. People come from New Jersey, buy their drugs and what kind of life do they lead?" Leo commented that white suburban youths came to minority neighborhoods in New York City to purchase drugs, but they were not poor. Likewise, Jose, chided: "I read about a study in the newspaper that states that 40% of 'weedheads' are in the 'inner city,' but 60% are from the suburbs!" The rest of the young men clapped and cheered Leo's and Jose's comments.[28] Noticeably upset, Mr. Green responded: "Students, I don't

[28] Many times students made comments in Spanish during class and Mr. Green reiterated that no Spanish was to be spoken in his classroom.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

need the heckles. You need to raise your hands." Instead of encouraging his students' social critique, he responded in a textbook fashion, "In an indirect way poverty can lead to drugs." Flustered by the "symbolic taint" that was cast on his community, one young man muttered under his breath, "Just because you're poor doesn't mean that you use drugs." Given that the majority of the young men at Urban High School are from poor and working class immigrant and minority families, the young men in Mr. Green's class were understandably upset by his comments.

Time and time again, Mr. Green's laudable attempts to encourage classroom discussion were undermined by his authoritarian pedagogy. He appeared to promote participation only if students agreed with him. Nevertheless, Jose continued the debate above by saying, "Many of the people who engage in crime do not have drugs." Again, the rest of the class applauded. Oblivious to his students' social critique, Mr. Green continued to press them to agree with his prescriptions: "What is the broad social goal of the minimum wage? Come up with alternative methods." After a deafening silence, which can be interpreted as form of resistance to the racialization processes that had taken place in the class thus far, Mr. Green offered another textbook solution: "Tax breaks to employers who create jobs." After another pause, Viscaino, a young man offered, "train people for higher skilled jobs." Other students clapped and Viscaino took a bow and looked at his friends. Jose chided, "What good is job training if the jobs are not there?" Mr. Green reproached, "There is a demand for skilled workers, such as actuaries. They make over hundred thousand dollars a year." Lionel rejoined, "You have to understand that there are people out there who have an education but who still sell drugs because the jobs are already taken by people out there who have experience."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Again, men made constant references to their belief that there a *job ceiling* was working against them.

The men in Mr. Green's economics class were making biting references to job ceilings, racism and police brutality that were often muffled by an authoritarian pedagogy fixated on maintaining "order" and promoting a unidirectional conversation. Missing an opportunity to foster transformative dialogue, Mr. Green proceeded with the lesson for the day and talked about policymakers' efforts to raise the minimum wage in order to address crime and drugs (Freire, 1985). Meanwhile, the social critique emanating from students was stunted.

The gender balance of the class had a visible effect on Mr. Green's social interactions with students. Mr. Green was always on guard for his third period class, which was comprised of mostly men. However, his demeanor changed almost instantaneously during his fourth period class, where the majority of the students were women. Mr. Green described these two classes being like night and day.[29] One morning, just as Mr. Green began to take attendance in his fourth period class, Juan, a Dominican young man, knocked on the door in order to be let in.[30] While Juan was signing the late book, Mr. Green demanded that he remove his hat. Juan refused and asked why Mr. Green had not asked the women in the class to remove their hats. (Indeed four women were wearing hats.) Angrily, Mr. Green replied, "Ladies can wear it because it's fashion!" Unscathed by Mr. Green's insistence, Juan replied, "I'm fashion too Mr.

---

29 For instance, at Urban High School, school rules stated that no student may wear a hat in the school building. However, this rule was strictly enforced for young men, but never demanded of young women.

30 As previously mentioned, Mr. Green kept the door locked after the bell rang.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Green." At that point, Mr. Green was noticeably irate and threatened to send Juan to the principal's office, but Juan would not budge. Finally, Mr. Green glanced at the author, then back at Juan, and reluctantly asked the women to remove their hats. Juan then finally obliged. Before the end of the class, however, the 'ladies' (but not Juan) had their hats back on, without a word from Mr. Green. Shortly thereafter, Juan stopped coming to class. Later that month the author found him in the college office. When asked why he had stopped coming to class, Juan said he left because he had "problems" with Mr. Green. Given the rac(ed) and gender(ed) ways in which school rules and policies are implemented, it was not a surprise that Latino and Black men comprise a disproportionate number of students who drop out, are discharged, expelled and tracked into low-level curriculum tracks, including special education.[31]

The next month in the same class, Jenny, the class clown who, like Juan, sometimes came in late wearing a baseball cap, joked about Mr. Green's resemblance to television comedian Pee Wee Herman. Of course, the entire class burst out laughing, including Mr. Green. In disbelief, a young man turned to another young man sitting behind him and whispered, "Imagine if we had said that, he would have kicked us out of the class!" While participant observation revealed that young women "misbehaved" less often than men, teachers, regardless of gender, were generally more lenient towards young women who broke school rules because teachers do not feel physically threatened

---

[31] On one occasion, the author observed a ninth grade special education global social studies class taught by Mr. Jimenez. He was a bilingual Latino teacher who like the security guards, walked around with a walkie talkie attached to his hip. The class consisted of fourteen students, of whom only four were young women. The teacher's aide, a middle aged bilingual Latina teacher, who was assigned to the classroom, spent most of her time talking to one young man in the front, while the Mr. Jimenez tried to discuss ancient civilizations with the rest of the class.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

by men. For instance, teachers appeared to be more understanding of young women who were absent from class, came in late, or did not hand in homework, than they were towards young men. Ostensibly, teachers did not view women's transgressions as "problematic" or as threatening as young men's.

The informal ways in which security practices are enforced at Urban High School are illustrative of the "gender" and "race" of security measures at many poor and working class urban schools. For instance, security guards admitted that they seldom dealt with altercations involving young women. They even joked that they are not allowed to even make physical contact with female students who had been involved in fights. According to school policy, only female security guards were allowed to make physical contact with female students.[32] In contrast, male security guards were allowed to chase, man-handle and apprehend the male students. In addition, the security officers' comments insinuated that whereas women were involved in frivolous fights, men were involved in more "serious" fights. The head of security at Urban High School said that men were involved in fights that had to do with "property," such as jackets, caps and backpacks, while young women were involved in fights over "jealousy." The informal institutional practice was to police the men but not the women. There were only two female security guards in the entire school compared to over two dozen male security personnel, and although officially security guards were supposed to protect and patrol all students, in practice they were only patrolling the young men. In due course the problematic student was "profiled" as a male. Therefore, women's high school experiences can be described as a

---

[32] During the fieldwork, the author learned of one fight involving young men who were in the special education program. The police officer who was stationed at the school arrested the young men who were involved in the fight. The security guards involved in the incident spoke angrily about pressing charges against the students.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

process of institutional engagement and oppression and men's experiences can be described as institutional expulsion.

Despite popular perceptions about the unfair advantages that men enjoy in the school setting, schools place boys (especially minority men) at more of a disadvantage than girls, especially among minority communities (Kleinfeld, 1998, 1999). It appears that as schools have become more authoritarian, officials may begin to view minority masculinity, including male working-class cultural forms such as baggy clothing and baseball caps, as "adversarial." This in turn contributes to the higher frequency of misunderstandings men have with teachers, security and other school personnel, as well as their higher drop out rates. The narratives of the young men who participated in the in-depth interviews were laced with stories about constant problems with teachers. For example, Deren explained why he disliked school:

> *The worst part about high school was that some teachers and security guards had bad attitudes and things like that. The way they would treat you! They'd treat you like a kid. They wouldn't treat you like an adult. Some teachers spoke you so low [condescending] like you're stupid, like you're low and they are all so intelligent. They always thought of you as a kid and you're always going to be a kid.*

Similarly, when asked about his relationships with his teachers Reynaldo, a Dominican man, echoed the sentiments of many of the men: "All of them were problems. Some of them made my life impossible! They used to say that I was a pain in the butt." Likewise, Jose, a Dominican man, born and raised in Washington Heights, Manhattan recalled that: "In the fourth grade, the teacher hated me, so I used to talk back to her every day." Over and over again young men recalled having problems in school.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In some cases, young men's negative interactions with teachers culminated in larger disciplinary actions involving other school administrators. This was the case with Denzel, an eighteen year-old West Indian man, who recalled having "spats" with teachers who regularly sent him to the dean's office. Recollections about these negative interactions were largely absent from women's experiences. Given the different treatment that men and women received, it was no surprise that although the school enrollment at Urban High School was predominantly male, women comprised the majority of the top ranked students.[33]

Even young men who received above-average grades recalled having difficulties with teachers. Mark, a West Indian man who maintained a B average throughout high school, said that he was kicked out of class by his social studies teacher because, "She just had a bad attitude. She gave us hell so we gave her hell." Other men who had received good grades in high school refused to revisit the painful memories of the "problems" they had had with teachers. Such was the case with Shawn, a twenty-five year-old Haitian man who said that he preferred not to talk about the problems he had experienced in the past with teachers. Men seldom talked about feeling attached to their schools.

The few men who attended Catholic schools recalled that some school officials also viewed their race as a "problem." Sam, a Haitian man who attended a Catholic junior high school, remembered how he learned about racism at an early age. In Sam's words:

---

[33] Urban High School was predominantly male because they young men were most like to comprise those students who were enrolled beyond the traditional four years of high school.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *Mr. DeMaggio, the Catholic school principal, treated us like animals. He didn't treat us like kids. He told our class stuff like, 'You all should try to go to a school where there is more of your kind.'*

For Sam, this was a painful reminder of the fact that his dark-skin "tainted" him as a problematic student, even before he had even set foot in his school. These "lessons" left a significant impression on men's outlooks. For example, Sam explained that he did not plan to pursue postsecondary education because he felt that the only way he would gain respect in this country was through opening up his own business and making money.

Second generation Caribbean men also spoke about the lack of academic support they received from teachers in their schools. For example, Vicente, a Dominican CUNY student who participated in the focus group, explained:

> *My high school counselor told me I was not made to go to college. That's when I was slipping and my grades were low. I was like, "Why are you telling me this? I want to go. Let me find out on my own." So my counselor was not really supportive. My parents wanted me to go to school. But I really didn't have a teacher that was saying "go to school." So you have to give yourself support and not depend on other people.*

Minority young men in particular have been mostly likely to believe that teachers did not encourage them to pursue their goals (Kleinfeld, 1998). Washington and Newman (1991) found that Black men were given less praise for their work in school and were more likely to be diagnosed as retarded or emotionally disturbed. In addition, teachers tend to discriminate against young men who misbehave, so that late maturing boys are more likely to be tracked into low-level curriculum programs (Kleinfeld, 1998).

Testing and ethnic bantering

One common problem that emerged among men was their involvement in fights, especially in junior high school. The men in the study described these confrontations as

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

stemming from male rites of passage, which they referred to as "testing" (Chapter 6). Testing or proving their masculinity can be understood as the process of establishing their gender identity, that young men from all racial, ethnic and class backgrounds undergo during their adolescence (Chapter 6). For example, Alejandro, a Dominican man born and raised in Washington Heights, Manhattan, recalled that "being a Dominican" in junior high school was dangerous because you would have to endure being picked on and being called "platano" (plantain) by your peers. Alejandro asserted that his sisters never had to go through this ordeal because "they are not tested in the same way because women are pretty and feminine. It's different for girls." Alejandro added that some of the same young men who engaged in fights with him would attempt to date his sisters.

Another issue that contributed to fights among the men was ethnic bantering. As previously mentioned, second generation Haitians reported virulent ethnic teasing that in many instances resulted in violence. Perry, who at the age of eighteen, was still enrolled in the tenth grade, recalled that when he was in elementary school and junior high school all he ever heard "in his ears" was "dirty Haitian, stinky refugees, boat people, butt scratchers, AIDS's carrier." Consequently, Perry became involved in a number of fights, which culminated in several suspensions from school for weeks at a time.[34] While women dealt with ethnic teasing by ignoring it or by hiding their ethnicity, men sometimes coped by engaging in physical confrontations.

---

[34] Wyclef Jean, a Haitian hip-hop musician, refers to the stigma faced by Haitians in his album "Carnaval," "When I went to school, Americans used to curse me. They used call me black boy, they called me little Smoky. The way they talk, I see they're uncivilized. They way they talk, I know they don't know God." Quoted in New York Times, Saturday, March 28, 1998, B1.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Low Curriculum Tracking

In 1998, the New York Civil Liberties Union filed a federal lawsuit against New York State for discrimination against minority students in public schools (Hernandez, 1998).[35] Whereas previous cases, such as the one filed by the Campaign for Fiscal Equity in New York City, focused solely on the issue of unequal funding, this lawsuit used students' academic performance as evidence of discrimination. It pointed to the fact that students in predominantly minority schools were twice as likely to be taught by unlicensed teachers, twice as likely to drop out and a third less likely to earn a New York States' highly competitive Regents high school diploma than were white students. They also argued that, historically, minority students have received an inferior education. They have been taught by a large number of uncertified teachers, placed in low-level curriculum tracks, housed in unsafe, overcrowded and broken-down buildings and given inadequate and out-of-date textbooks. Among the solutions posed by the Civil Liberties Union were that the state insure that minority students receive equal access to fully licensed teachers and courses that helped them earn honors diplomas.

The 1980s and 1990s backlash against equal opportunity programs at institutions of higher learning has trickled down to the elementary school level. In this debate, access to elite public high schools has been constructed as a racialized property right for deserving students (Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995). Subsequently, affirmative action programs that aimed at rectifying historical and contemporary forms of educational discrimination have been framed as "racial preferences." In this discourse, high test-scoring white students "lose" spots in highly competitive schools to low-scoring

---

[35] In this lawsuit, minority schools were included if they had a minority enrollment of 80% or more. The lawsuit excluded New York City.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"unqualified" minorities, most of whom were Blacks and Latinos (Lewin, 1998b). Embedded in this discourse are bio-deterministic assumptions about intelligence and the intimation that any minority student (i.e., Black and Latino) who gained admission to an elite school was by definition inferior to any of the white students who were not accepted (Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995).

In the political assault on public schools, students and teachers have become scapegoats for larger structural inequality (Fine, 1991; Aronowitz and Giroux, 1993; Weis, 1990a, 1990b; Apple; 1996). Beginning in the fall of 1998, all incoming students were required to pass statewide Regents examinations in order to graduate. Not surprisingly, then, system-wide resistance from many teachers has met the implementation of "tougher" standards for graduation. For example, at Urban High School, teachers' uneasiness over the introduction of these standards were palpable during a day-long staff development workshop on the new "standards." At one point during the morning plenary session, a middle-aged white male teacher burst out violently, "I'm already working hard! I'm already working hard!" Sharing his frustrations, the rest of the teachers in the audience applauded, while pigeons flew from window to window around the decaying auditorium. Absent from their critique is the acknowledgement that curriculum tracking and unequal resource allocations were some of the mechanisms by which educational inequalities were manufactured, even before students entered through the schools doors.

Interestingly, the younger teachers did not appear to feel personally attacked by the imposition of these new standards, while many of the teachers who had been in the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

system for decades were visibly defensive. In another session at the workshop, an older white female teacher expressed the demoralization felt by many of the teachers present:

> *I personally feel that the English Regents is not appropriate for 'our students.' Albany has ears, our students can write letters, LEP [limited English proficient] students are taking this test! They are not hearing us!*

The question remains, were these examinations not appropriate for her "own" children? (Fine, 1991). This teacher does not even question the fact that these students are given a substandard education before they entered high school. Instead she intimates that her students are not capable of doing advanced coursework.

One of the reasons that curriculum tracking and unequal resource allocations are virtually uncontested in United States public schools is that educational institutions in the United States are premised on the notion of the existence of a meritocracy (Oakes, 1985; Kozol, 1991; Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995; Fine, 1991). Individual students' cognitive abilities are thought to be inherently unequal and one of the primary functions of schools is to foster academic competition among students and "select" and reward those best equipped to benefit from a quality education. In accordance with these principles, students are tested as early as preschool and throughout their academic career. On the basis of these test results and teacher recommendations, students were placed in "honors," "regular," or "remedial" classes.

Among second generation Caribbean youths, there was often downward mobility from the higher tracks to the lower tracks, especially among men. For instance, a few young men reported being placed in the "smart classes" in elementary school, but by the time they reached high school, they had been placed in the "regular" classes. At many

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

low-income schools, "regular" classes translated into low-level tracks. For example, Rodrigo explained:

> *I started out real good, but then I didn't end up good. At the end of my high school years, I ended up mediocre because, I was thinking that I couldn't really do it, I was average.*

Similarly, Jose, a twenty-five year-old Dominican man, who eventually received his GED, had a scathing critique of his "regular" classes:

> *The teachers used to get me sick! I would go to class and they would teach me the same stuff that I already knew, that I learned a year before that. It was boring!*

Since they were exposed to low curriculum tracks, minority youth were often under-challenged in their classes (Woodson, 1972). The dumbing-down of the curriculum for the majority of poor urban youth contributed to their growing disenchantment with the schooling process (Kleinfeld, 1998). Many of the young men explained that they maintained average grades because they were simply bored with the classes being offered. The institutional practice of tracking students largely benefits those who are placed in the higher tracks, and has deleterious long-term effects on those placed in the lower tracks (Oakes, 1985). There is mobility from the higher tracks to the lower tracks but rarely any mobility from the lower tracks into the higher tracks. Nevertheless, tracking continues to be practiced throughout schools across the United States for the "common good" of students (Fine, 1991).

Junior high school, grades seven through nine, was a particularly tumultuous time for many of the men. Coming from smaller elementary schools to larger junior high schools, where anonymity prevailed, men reported many problems. One of the patterns already discernible among second generation Caribbean youth, especially young men, is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that they were "good" students until junior high school. Deren, an eighteen year-old West Indian man who received a General Equivalency Diploma (GED), typified the experience of most of the men: "I was smart in elementary school. I was always doing work, work, work, but in high school, you goof off." Much of this "goofing off" can be understood as a response to the low curriculum tracking that these youths were exposed to.

Another response men had to the dumbed-down programs they were offered was to become involved in a variety of nonacademic activities. For these young men playing sports, "hanging out," and "talking to girls" became the most engaging aspects of high school (Chapter 6). Joaquin, the Dominican man who was attending a Grade Equivalency Diploma Program at a local community college, explained that he had received mostly C's in high school because, "I was there for the basketball." Interestingly, among the few men who had good relationships with their teachers many identified their gym teachers or coaches.

Social Critique and "Willful Laziness"

Men were aware of the fact that they had been schooled in substandard educational facilities. When asked about how they ended up at their respective high schools, young men typically replied, "They just sent me there."[36] Jose, a Dominican man who grew up in Washington Heights, Manhattan and eventually received a general equivalency diploma (GED), had a social critique of how racial and ethnic stratification affected the educational outcomes of minorities and immigrants:

---

[36] In contrast, many of the women spoke about choosing a particular school because they were interested in a specific major, such as business, nursing, and para-legal studies.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *White people have more money, so a Hispanic guy might be smart and everything, but he won't get into a good school. He has to go to the whack school. So that's what messes them up.*

Jose's description of his high school as the "whack" school reveals that he is painfully aware of the unequal schooling he has been exposed to throughout the years. Similarly, Rodrigo, a Dominican man who had been demoted from a four-year college at CUNY to a community college, recalled that he had applied to the elite specialized and public high schools, but had not been admitted:

> *I first wanted to go to the specialized high school because I was doing really well out of the regular people in junior high school. But the problem is that they never put me in a special program. They did not help me enough so that I could have passed the exam to go to the specialized high school. Then they said my second choice was my local high school.*

Fine (1991) has unpacked how the term "public" school actually refers to two different types of educational institution. In poor and working class, immigrant neighborhoods "public" schools are ultra-bureaucratic institutions that educate some youths, but more often alienate them and push them out. In wealthy communities, "public" schools were those that "privilege the already privileged and exclude others" (Fine, 1991:196).[37]

How did young men respond to being tracked into lower level tracks? Their accounts of their low grade point averages in high school were full of self-descriptions of "willful laziness." When asked about why he received C's in high school, Alejandro, the

---

[37] A handful of specialized elite New York City public high schools are accessible only through a competitive entrance examination. An examination of the poverty rates and the racial and ethnic composition of the specialized public high school revealed these patterns of de facto segregation. For example, in 1998 at Stuyvesant high school only 14% of the student population was classified as poor and less than less than 8% were Black and Latino students. Although some of the second generation Caribbean youth in this study had heard about these schools and had even tried to apply, they did not pass the entrance examinations because their primary school and junior high school courses had been deficient.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dominican man who did not plan to continue postsecondary studies, responded: "School was easy; C is all I needed to pass and I never tried to do better. I guess I was just lazy." Young men, more than women, talked about not studying as hard as they should and cutting class. Instead, they said that they were often "chilling" and "hanging out with the fellas" (Chapter 6). "Willful laziness" was men's response to the prevailing assumptions about their alleged academic inferiority.

Even the few men who had earned A's and B's in high school explained their success in terms of serendipity and purposefully not studying (Fordham, 1996; Steele, 1992; Steele and Aronson, 1995; Ogbu, 1995a, 1995b; Willis, 1981; MacLeod, 1995). When asked about how they maintained high grades throughout high school, they typically remarked, "I never studied. I just knew the work." Shawn, a Haitian man, said that he received good grades in high school because: "I had a 'knack' for it. When I listen, I retain the information. I didn't really used to study." Similarly, when asked about how he was able to make a B average one marking period, Reynaldo, the Dominican who was struggling in a community college, replied: "I must have gone crazy." Thus, men's willful laziness can be seen as form of resistance that contributes to their own self-destruction (Willis, 1981).

Men's ambivalent attitudes about the role of education in their lives were also tied to larger social critiques about how the curriculum gave the impression that white men were superior to other groups (Weis, 1990a). In the words of Sam, the Haitian man who received Cs throughout high school:

> *I gave enough to pass. I wasn't interested in what they had to show. I was interested in music. And my idea of music wasn't what they wanted to show me. I'm glad that they taught it to me - the Mozart and the classical music - because now I'm actually*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *interested in it. Or curious about it. And I can appreciate it. But they didn't really teach us about jazz or about pop or the modern music that we listen to today, which was what I was going into at that point and time.*

Sam's criticism also reveals that in typical public schools, minority and immigrant students' cultural backgrounds were deemed insignificant and omitted from the curriculum (Fine, 1991; Aronowitz and Giroux, 1993). When asked about his postsecondary plans, Sam continued:

> *My mother told me, "Look you need to go to college because you need to have something to fall back on." I want to be in the music business and right now it's more on-field training that you need besides the diploma. Well if I go to school to be a doctor and I don't become a doctor, what do I have to fall back on after I spent all that money? That's why I didn't go to the university.*

As indicated in Sam's comments, lurking in the collective consciousness of the young men was the belief that they would fail in their educational endeavors. Throughout their schooling trajectories, they often received subtle messages that intimated that they were problematic youths to begin with and that they would not do well in school. Judging from the low curriculum tracks that they had been exposed to, as well as the dilapidated schools they attended, it is not surprising that many young men expressed doubts about pursuing education as a route to social mobility.

The phenomena of declining grades and low academic attainment among stigmatized minorities has traditionally been explained in terms of Ogbu's (1995a, 1995b) cultural frame of reference theory, and Steele's (1992) disinvestment theory (Steele and Aronson, 1995). In these frameworks, low academic attainment and other oppositional behaviors among involuntary minority groups are seen as responses and adaptations to the stigma faced by Black and Latino men. Likewise, in a study of cultural

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

forms among working class white youth in England, Willis (1981) found that "the lads" were reluctant to accept the idea of a meritocracy. Instead, they produced a culture that actively devalued school a means of upward mobility in British society.

However, the men in this study did not have a forthright adversarial stance toward education. Rather, they held vacillating attitudes. For example, Denzel, an eighteen year-old West Indian man who had a C average and was still enrolled in high school, exemplified the ambivalence expressed by many second generation men:

> *I just try to work on my basketball game and get good enough grades to make sure I am in a good position to get a free ride to college because my mom she can't really afford to send me. She wants to send me but I don't want to put that much pressure on her. If I go to college and I mess up, she will owe people money and stuff, so I try to get a free ride. That way if I mess up and lose the scholarship, I don't lose anything. But if my mom had to pay, I would have to take her money and trust in me. I would feel so bad if I messed up and cost her all that money. That's why I work on my game to get a free ride to college.*

When asked if he thought it was better to work on his basketball skills than his schoolwork, Denzel explained:

> *No, I study too, but not as often as I should. I think it is better if you can get free ride because if you mess up you really lose nothing. You can go back. You get money. But if you take money and you mess up, you can't get any more money because the bank gave money in the past and you lost it, so they won't want to trust you anymore. I think its better to get a scholarship.*

Why does Denzel fear he will "mess up?" At a subconscious level, Denzel may be aware that the education available to him in his local public high school has not adequately prepared him to go to college. Thus, he believes that pursuing a basketball scholarship may be his only hope for admission to college (Steele and Aronson, 1995). Minority young men may place more emphasis on being good at sports and games because

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

curriculum tracking and poor preparation in their local high schools has left them with many doubts about their academic potential (Washington and Newman, 1991). But Denzel's views on education are not "oppositional" as much as ambivalent or vacillating. He recognizes the importance of college, but is unsure whether it is a realistic goal (Ogbu and Simons, 1998; Lopez, 1998; Fine and Weis, 1998). His primary concern centers on the notion he would "waste" his mother's money because he might fail in college. This ambivalent attitude, which was common among the second generation Caribbean men in this study, can be viewed as a consequence of mistreatment in school, rather than as the cause of their low educational attainment (Washington and Newman, 1991; Fine, 1991).

CONCLUSION

This chapter began with the question of how institutional practices in minority and immigrant schools "race" and "gender" men and women. It has shown that although second generation Caribbean youths attended the same schools, they had qualitatively different experiences. Since public schools have resorted to authoritarian methods as a means of controlling students in overcrowded schools, young men, more than young women, have been regarded and treated as adversarial by school authorities. In their everyday school interactions with teachers and other personnel, such as security, men repeatedly recalled having "problems" with their teachers and security guards. In addition, with the sole exception of sports activities, men were not as involved as women in school programs or internships. Nonetheless, men also critiqued the low-curriculum tracks they were placed in and often responded to boredom in school by not studying. "Willful laziness" or ambivalence about the role of education in their lives was men's basic response to the negative treatment they received within the school system.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In contrast, women remembered episodes in which they were exhorted to behave like "young ladies." Unlike the young men, who spoke about having extensive problems with teachers, the women spoke of positive relationships with their teachers. Overall, teachers were more sympathetic toward young women who broke school rules because as "young ladies" they were not seen as menacing as their male counterparts students by school authorities. Women also took pride in their academic excellence and actively strove to achieve their academic goals. Nevertheless, women remembered being tracked into sex-typed vocational programs that funneled into badly paid pink-collar work. Women had a growing critique of the inferior schooling they had been exposed to and they also expressed an unwavering belief in the value of education for them as women (Chapter 6). Whereas women's high school experiences can be described as a process of institutional engagement and oppression, men's experiences can be described as institutional expulsion. The following chapter delves into men's and women's experiences in the labor market and how these experiences further shaped their outlooks towards education.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER 5: DISENTANGLING RACE-GENDER WORK EXPERIENCES

I think that if I'm applying for a job and there's a white person, the job would be given to him because he's white. And that has happened to me in a job that I applied for. It was a job in a lawyer's office. I remember that I applied and then I just kept calling them and calling them and calling them, until one day, I they told me the job was taken. And I knew something was up. They sounded kind of fishy to me. I know it probably had to do with my race because they looked at me funny.
[Peter, 23 year Dominican man]

INTRODUCTION

There is a qualitative difference between the economic opportunities that were available to the children of immigrants in the past and those that are open to the second generation as they enter adulthood today (Katz, 1993; Wilson, 1991, 1996; Portes, 1996; Gans, 1992; Grasmuck and Pessar, 1996; Newman, 1999; Newman and Ellis, 1999; Santos and Seitz, 1992; Stafford, 1985; Waldinger and Bozorgmehr, 1996). The children of turn-of-the-century European immigrants entered an expanding post-World War II manufacturing economy, while the children of post-1965 immigrants are faced with a postindustrial global economy that is largely reliant on services (Harrison and Bluestone, 1988; Sassen, 1991, 1995; Safa, 1995; Waldinger, 1996).

The proliferation of income-generating activities outside the sphere of public regulation has become an integral part of the postindustrial city (Bluestone and Harrison, 1982, Sassen, 1995, 1991). Subcontracting, part-time work and personal services have become the linchpins of restructured urban labor markets. For example, low wage

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

service workers, such as messengers, delivery persons, specialty store service providers and low-wage part-time clerical workers are the new immigrant sweatshop employees of the late twentieth century (Sassen, 1991). The downgrading of work in the growing sectors of the economy has created an environment in which exploitative insecure jobs and the informalization of work arrangements have become integral features of ethnic niches (Kim, 1999; Kwong, 1998; Gilbertson, 1996). Consequently, during the 1980s, the real wages of the average United States worker have declined by 10% as poverty rates have continued to swell (Fine and Weis, 1998:16).

How will second generation youth fit into this new economy? Segmented assimilation theorists have argued that the new second generation may follow one of three paths (Portes, 1996). They may repeat the work trajectories of earlier European immigrants who experienced upward social mobility by assimilating into the mainstream economy. Alternatively, they may reject the low-status jobs of their immigrant parents, but lack the education and work skills to obtain more prestigious work and actually become downwardly mobile. This "second generation decline" (Gans 1992) would mean long-term poverty, disadvantage and downward mobility for the children of immigrants (Grasmuck and Pessar, 1996). The third possibility is that close-knit immigrant communities may provide opportunities for social mobility for some second generation youth (Gibson, 1988; Waldinger, 1996). In this scenario, dense social networks within an ethnic economy may provide an alternative springboard for upward mobility.

One of the limitations of the segmented assimilation paradigm is that it does not investigate the ways in which experiences in the labor market intersect with racial(izing) and gender(ing) processes. Nor does it explore how the actual work experiences of men

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and women inform their views about the role of education in their lives. A restructured economy, the feminization of the work force, and racial and ethnic stratification form the backdrop to the opportunities and constraints second generation Caribbean youth face in the labor market. How do the work trajectories of men and women differ, and how do their experiences shape their views about education and social mobility?

This chapter examines how the work experiences of men and women have influenced their outlooks about the role of education in their lives by analyzing the racializ(ing) and gender(ing) processes they have undergone during their job searches and on the job. The main finding is that women were able to maintain *optimistic outlooks* about the role of education in their lives, while men were worried about their prospects for social mobility. Women were more optimistic partly because, although they were concentrated in traditionally female low-level service positions, they worked largely within the expanding sectors of the economy. Men, on the other hand, were largely confined to low-level sporadic employment in the most marginal economic sectors. In addition, men perceived a *job ceiling* working against them.

The first part of the chapter contextualizes the work experiences of second generation Caribbean youth against the backdrop of a restructured New York economy. The next segment explores men's *marginalization* within the work force and the way in which their experiences with sporadic work shaped their views about social mobility. The last section focuses on women 's *ghettoization* in the labor market, showing that although women are networked into pink-collar work and face racial-gender subordination on the job, these experiences lead them to define education as necessary for upward mobility.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

COLOR(ING) AND GENDER(ING) URBAN RESTRUCTURING

At the close of the twentieth century, New York City is the quintessential postindustrial urban center. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, New York City was a center of industry, but by the late 1960s, manufacturing had entered an irreversible decline. In the 1990s, the leading industries in New York included professional services 20%, public sector 19%, FIRE (finance, insurance and real estate) 12%, trade 15%, manufacturing 12%, business services 6%; and other 16% (Waldinger, 1996:39). In contrast, only forty years earlier (1950), manufacturing had been the leading employer (25%), followed by trade (23%). This shift in the structure of the local economy came about in part because manufacturers relocated to Third World countries, such as the Caribbean, where labor costs were low and labor and environmental regulations almost nonexistent.

Industrial restructuring has brought about significant changes in the occupational structure. According to the 1990 Census, among employed individuals (ages 25 to 64), high white-collar work was the predominant occupation (43%), followed by low-white collar work (34%) (Waldinger, 1996:40). Low blue-collar work (14%) and high blue-collar work (9%) employed far fewer people (Waldinger, 1996:40). This represented a sharp decline in low blue-collar work, which during the 1950s had been the leading occupational sector (30%). While some manufacturing has remained in the city throughout the 1990s, the bulk of traditional blue-collar manual labor has been replaced by white collar service jobs in the corporate, public and nonprofit sectors. From 1977 to 1987, information industries provided 206,516 new jobs; two-thirds of all jobs added during those years (Waldinger, 1996:37). During the 1980s and 1990s, the key economic

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

activities in New York City included the coordination of large organizations and the management of large financial markets (Waldinger, 1996; Mollenkopf and Castells, 1991). New York City was transformed from a center of manufacturing into a corporate headquarters that facilitated the coordination of global economic activities (Waldinger, 1996).

The shift to a service-dominated economy has generated a unique racial, ethnic and gender division of labor in New York City over the last two decades. Sketching the racial and gender contours of New York City's labor market, Mollenkopf and Castells (1991:8) have outlined six distinct occupational groups: the high white-collar professional-managerial group, composed primarily of white men; the low white-collar female clerical working class, which includes a number of minorities; a miscellaneous services sector, comprised of numerous immigrants, both salaried and self-employed; the public sector, which is also stratified between white, immigrant and native black New Yorkers, and has an internal gender hierarchy; the downgraded manufacturing sector, which has a high concentration of male and female immigrant Latino workers; and, on the lowest rung of the labor market, the marginal and informal sector comprised primarily of minorities, especially men.

Minority men have born the brunt of the economic stagnation that has been a side effect of economic restructuring and continued discrimination. Despite the gains in education, the employment of Black men has worsened, especially among the younger cohorts. In 1983, only 45% of Black men aged 16-21 were employed, compared to 73% of whites. These figures do not even include the unknown number of discouraged

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

workers, who have traditionally been excluded from the calculation of unemployment rates.

Three explanations have been offered to account for the racial segmentation of the labor market: the skills-mismatch theory, the hourglass theory, and the ethnic niche theory. Wilson (1987) launched the prevailing skills-mismatch theory, which argues that the chronic unemployment and the low labor force participation rates among African Americans are principally due to the structural changes in the economy and the accompanying social isolation of minority communities (Wilson, 1987, 1996). Wilson (1987) argues that these problems occurred largely because of changes in the supply and demand of labor, and not because of racial discrimination per se. Accordingly, minority men were unable to find stable jobs because they lacked the requisite educational credentials (Wilson, 1987). In other words, if Black men could not find work, it was because they lacked skills, not opportunities.

The "hourglass perspective" maintains that urban centers, such as New York City, have increasingly become "dual cities," comprised of the poor and the rich (Mollenkopf and Castells, 1991; Harrison and Bluestone, 1988). These two cities are not separate, but intertwined and interdependent, and they represent a novel feature of postindustrial economies (Sassen, 1991). The growth of high paying professional occupations has generated a need for a subordinate workforce, with the result that half the workers in financial services are support staff and 13% are in services and maintenance (Sassen, 1991). In short, the hourglass framework maintains that two types of jobs have been created in the postindustrial economy. At the top of the hourglass are the well-remunerated professional jobs in the primary sector, which offer benefits and promotions,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

while at the bottom of the hourglass are the low paying, unskilled, dead-end jobs (Brint, 1991).

The last explanation for the racial, gender and ethnic division of labor in postindustrial urban centers is the ethnic niche theory (Waldinger, 1986).[1] This framework emerged from Waldinger (1996) attempts to explain why immigrants have generally fared better in the New York City labor market than native-born minorities such as African Americans. For instance, in 1990, one-third of African American men did not have jobs, an unemployment rates well above that of immigrants and whites (Waldinger, 1996:55). Waldinger argues that immigrants are able to get jobs over African Americans because immigrants have developed control over occupational niches that shut out groups that are not co-ethnics. In terms of the second generation, Waldinger postulates that their organization will serve as a mechanism for steering people into the labor market.

Each of these perspectives provides a unique framework from which to explore the racial and ethnic stratification of the labor market, and the work prospects of second generation Caribbean youth. However, a major limitation of these theories is that they appear to essentialize race and gender and to subsume race under ethnicity. The skills-mismatch theory assumes that African Americans and other minorities lack education. However, it does not problematize how this is a result of how they are assigned racial meaning. For example, instead of questioning how state policy regarding educational, housing and other public services exacerbate racial inequality by providing an inferior

[1] Waldinger defines an ethnic niche "as an industry employing at least one thousand people, in which a group's representation is at least 150% of its share of the total employment" (Waldinger 1996:195).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

education to groups that are racialized as black, skills-mismatch theory assumes that the state has established a racial democracy. Likewise, the "hourglass" perspective fails to examine why, if the restructured economy provides jobs for those with low skills, minority and immigrant youth, especially men, continue to experience extreme marginalization and suffer high unemployment rates. Finally, the ethnic niche theory neglects the question of how race *and* gender intersect within the labor market in terms of hiring preferences among employers. For instance, although Waldinger (1996) notes that among West Indian immigrants, the ethnic niche employs 44% of women compared to 22% of men, he does not explore how this is related to the different ways in which men and women from minority and immigrant backgrounds are racialized by potential employers.

The dramatic loss of manufacturing jobs, traditionally a mobility ladder for lower skilled men, and the simultaneous expansion of low white collar jobs, which increasingly employ women, have important implications for the way in which men and women regard education. Numerous studies have documented that minority women experience fewer problems in finding work than their male counterparts (Kasinitz and Rosenberg, 1996; Kirschenman, 1997; Kirschenman and Neckerman, 1993).[2] It is noteworthy that "of the ten occupations that will require the largest number of new workers, two - registered nurses and primary school teachers - require college degrees. All the others - janitors, cashiers, truck drivers, and the like - involve skills that can be picked up on the job with little if any schoolroom knowledge" (Waldinger, 1996:16). In other words, the

[2] However, first generation immigrant women have experienced difficulties in obtaining remunerative work in the ethnic economy (Waldinger and Gilbertson, 1994; Gilbertson, 1996).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

jobs that require college degrees are occupations that have been traditionally considered women's work, while those that require minimal training are jobs that are considered men's work. Thus, the postindustrial economy has increasingly created more job opportunities for women, but many of these jobs are traditional female-dominated work that require educational credentials.

MEN'S MARGINALIZATION

"Colored" Job Searches

Against the backdrop of a restructured urban economy, men spoke at length about their vulnerability as stigmatized racial minorities. Although they acknowledged that they had more employment opportunities in the United States than in their parents' home countries, they also believed that times were harder for them because as racial minorities, they faced discrimination even when they applied for minimum wage, entry-level jobs. Richard, a twenty-four year-old Haitian man who had previously worked in a variety of odd jobs, including retail, school cafeterias and the gas company, offered his thoughts about how the restructured economy has affected minority men:

> *Employers tell you 'Oh yes, we were hiring last week, we're not hiring any more. We'll keep your application on file. When we have an opening, we'll let you know.' Yeah, right! I've thought about this and I've spoken to a few people about this. You go to certain job interviews and they turn you down. After you get turned down 6 or 7 times, everywhere you go, all you hear was "oh yeah, we'll keep your application on file," some people get so frustrated they don't even want to go back out there to deal with this BS."*

Richard had been looking for work for over a year, but his attempts had been abortive, and his negative experiences during his job search had left him with a skeptical attitude about the openness of the United States labor market.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

According to the New York State Department of Labor, economic growth in New York has lagged behind the nation as a whole during the last ten years. During the 1990s, the unemployment rate for teenagers in New York City was twice the national average, and it was disproportionately high among minority youth (Griffins, 1994). During the 1980s, the unemployment rate for Blacks, 16-19 years old was 36%, while the Hispanic rate was 33%. In contrast, the unemployment rate for whites was less than half that of Blacks and Hispanics (Griffins, 1994). Increasingly stigmatized minority men may be forming part of a reserve army or revolving labor force that is not able to find stable employment.

In a race conscious society such as the United States, entire categories of people have been ordered into hiring queues by race and gender, with skill-relevant characteristics serving as additional weights (Waldinger, 1996). As they attempted to find work, men began to perceive that potential employers viewed their color as a liability. Peter, a Dominican man, was reminded that potential employers always noticed his color:

> *I will never forget. I went to the Department of Labor and there was a white man who was helping me. And he looked at me and really quickly asked me: 'Can I see your green card? Can I see your green card?' And I looked at him and I said, 'I was born in the United States.' And then he didn't apologize or anything and I didn't like that.*

Again this experience reminded Peter that his dark skin pre-empted him from "looking American." This experience deeply affected Peter's thinking about social mobility in the wider society. Despite the discrimination faced by all immigrant and minorities who are racialized as nonwhites, there is an internal hierarchy with respect to non-whites, in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

which people of any discernible African phenotype are generally ranked lower than other nonwhite groups, such as Asians or lighter skinned Latinos (Lieberson, 1980; Waldinger, 1996). Since Dominicans are a Latino group that is more likely to be of African phenotype than their other Latino counterparts, they may face even more discrimination based on skin color than other Latino groups (Rodriguez, 1994; Torres and Bonilla, 1995; Grosfuguel, and Georas, 1996). Many other men interviewed for the study also told of instances in which they felt that potential employers viewed their color as a problem. These episodes made them doubt that many opportunities were open to them or that they had much hope of upward mobility (Fine and Weis, 1998).

More importantly, researcher have pointed to how employers draw sharp distinctions between women and men employees, especially among those from stigmatized minority communities (Kasinitz and Rosenberg, 1996; Kirschenman and Neckerman, 1993; Kirschenman, 1997). For example, one respondent in Kirschenman's (1997) Chicago-based study of employer discrimination offered his explanation:

> *Whites are not afraid of Black women because Black women have been part of their households for a long time – as the white man's mistress, as the mother of his children, as domestics, as cooks in restaurants and as office cleaners* (Kirschenman,1997:218).

Kirchenman and Neckerman (1993) found that racial discrimination by potential employers contributed to the unemployment of Black men, even in entry-level work. In the United States, the "symbolic taint" attached to men of dark skin has cast them as unstable, uncooperative, dishonest, uneducated and generally unreliable workers in the eyes of potential employers (Kirschenman, 1997; Wacquant, 1997). Thus, whereas potential employers might fear hiring minority men because they have been racialized as

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

problematic workers, they might not have the same reservations about minority women (Kirschenman, 1997; Murguia and Telles, 1996).[3]

As previously mentioned, the changes in the postindustrial economy have created employment opportunities for women, and men are painfully aware of this. An African American man interviewed in Fine and Weis' (1998:29) study of the effects of industrial restructuring on men and women from poor and working class backgrounds articulated this belief:

> *Now it's even harder for a young man to keep a job. You know, a woman's got a better chance of keeping her job than a man do. And that's kind of messed up. The women [have] taken over.*

Likewise, Kasinitz and Rosenberg (1996) found that employers in a Black and Latino federal housing project community in Brooklyn, New York generally preferred hiring women to men. Therefore, African American women have generally experienced fewer difficulties in finding work than have their male counterparts (Farley and Allen, 1987; Ogbu, 1978).

The same dynamic can be found in Latino communities (Hurtado, 1992). For instance, census data show that Latino male employment and earnings are lower than those of white males with the same education, but the racial gap is less pronounced between White women and Latina women, as well as between Black and White women (United States, 1995). Similarly, a cross-national study of West Indian immigrants living in the United States, Canada and England, found that Caribbean had lower occupational

---

[3] Even Black employers' hiring queues appear to disadvantage men (Kirschenman, 1997). This may be part of the reason why Black women were over-represented in the public sector, especially as clerical workers (Epstein and Duncombe, 1991; Waldinger, 1996).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

status than women (Model, 1997). In the eyes of potential employers across the globe, minority women seem to be viewed as more "manageable" than men.

Color Matters on the Job

Men were reminded of their problematic status as racially stigmatized minorities, not only through the difficulties they experienced looking for work, but also while they were on the job. They spoke of being insulted and treated with suspicion because of they were racially stigmatized. Jose, a twenty-four year old Dominican man who grew up in Washington Heights, had held an assortment of jobs, including working as a security guard, maintenance, fast food and in the city's Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP). He painfully recalled the negative experience he had while working temporarily as a stockboy for a major electronics store in New York City:

> *Three days ago, I went to the main store at the electronic franchise where I work to get something for my boss because he needed a piece for a television. And as soon as I entered, the employees at the main store did not know I was from the same store. So, everybody just came up to me looking at me strange, looking at me like I was going to steal something. I was so upset that I yelled: "Excuse me but I work for this store! I came to get a piece for my boss!"*

Although Jose initially dropped out of high school, with the encouragement of his mother and sister, he earned a GED. He does not plan to continue his education, however, and is planning to apply for a job in the sanitation department because he believes that he can find better blue-collar employment opportunities in the public sector. Certainly, these experiences left an important imprint on men's views about social mobility.

Other men reported more blatant forms of racial harassment at work. Steven, a twenty-three year-old West Indian man who had worked off-the-books in an Italian-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

owned ice cream parlor, remembered that his boss sometimes hurled racial epithets at him:

> *One time I didn't put enough sugar in the ice machine and that's the main ingredient. That's what holds the ices together and that also gives the flavor. And my boss screamed at me and called me all types of words. They always call you the negro, nigger word.*

At the time of the interview, Steven was working as a computer systems analyst for a cable company, having previously worked at a number of odd jobs in construction, as an usher and as a stockboy. When asked about the highest level of education that he would like to reach, Steven concluded that educational credentials were not enough to secure social mobility:

> *I know I have to go back to school and so that I can get my college education. You get a little more respect when you have that paper - the college diploma. You use your mind when you get the paper. But, it's just a bragging right. That's all it is. I think that there will always be discrimination.*

Steven had interrupted his undergraduate studies due to financial hardships, but he still planned to return someday to obtain a Bachelor of Arts degree. Yet Steven, like other men in the study, believed that regardless of the level of education he reached, he would be discriminated against in the workplace. These findings contrasted sharply with MacLeod's (1995) study of white and Black and Latino young men living in a New York City housing project. According to MacLeod, the young men in his study believed that being a minority was an asset in the labor market because minorities "benefited" from affirmative action programs (MacLeod, 1995:225). To the contrary, the men in this study felt that their race was a liability in the job market (Fine and Weis, 1998).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In spite of the rising educational levels in minority communities, racial discrimination continues to play an important role in the under-representation of Blacks in the high paying growth sectors (Karsarda, 1983; Bailey and Waldinger, 1991). The legacy of racism has meant that historically education has had less pay-off for stigmatized minorities than for whites (Sleeter and Grant, 1988). During the 1990s, Black men with college degrees earned $798 for each $1000 earned by white men (Hacker, 1996). Wealth disparities were even larger. For example, Blacks with Bachelor of Arts degrees possess 23 cents for every dollar of wealth owned by whites (Oliver and Shapiro, 1995:110). In addition, Black and Latino men who entered semi-professional careers were concentrated in the lowest rungs of these career ladders (Robinson, 1993). In light of these trends, researchers have concluded that whereas whites have careers, Blacks and Latinos have jobs (Feagin and Sikes, 1994).

Since minority men are placed at the bottom of the hiring queue, they are largely confined to the lowest and most exploitative jobs. Consequently, the men in this study had very checkered work histories, with many short spells of employment in odd jobs, such as messenger, delivery and stockboy. Many of the low-level blue-collar jobs they held were not only unstable, but also quite hazardous. For example, Joaquin, a twenty year-old Dominican man who grew up in Inwood, Manhattan, was in-between-jobs at the time of the interview. At his last job, he had worked as a jack-of-all-trades at an elite social club in midtown Manhattan. Although he had no specific job title, he performed an assortment of tasks, including heavy lifting and working as a waiter in the banquet section of the club. When asked why he left this job, Joaquin explained:

> *I got back spasms and I figured out that anybody was going to get back spasms lifting 200-pound folding tables by myself while*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *working without a carry belt. One day I fell down and I hurt my back. I couldn't pay the ambulance. My boss didn't want to call any ambulance, so I had to call my cousin to pick me up. That's why I left. I don't know how I didn't get a hernia!*

With no health insurance or disability coverage, Joaquin was forced to leave because of the unsafe working conditions. Like other men in this study, he had tried, without success, to get unionized blue-collar work in sanitation, construction and sanitation. Stable union jobs, which provided a steady source of employment for earlier poor and working class European immigrants, have essentially withered away in the postindustrial economy (Weis, 1990). Although in the 1990s some immigrant groups have been able to make inroads into the construction industry, it has been controlled largely by European immigrants and their co-ethnics (Waldinger, 1996).

It has been widely argued that second generation Caribbean youths will experience "second generation decline" because they have adopted a "native minority" attitude and lack the work ethic to sustain steady employment (Portes, 1996; Gans, 1992; Ihlandfeldt, 1992; Waldinger, 1996). Allegedly, unlike their immigrant parents, who readily accept exploitative jobs, second generation youths will disdain employment in minimum wage menial jobs, such as maintenance and factory work (Ogbu, 1995a, 1995b; Sullivan, 1989; MacLeod, 1995; Gans, 1992; Grasmuck and Pessar, 1996; Wilson, 1996; Waters, 1999).

The findings of this research challenge this view. Rather than expressing contempt for servile work, the men in this study said they would accept any kind of job (Newman, 1999; Newman and Ellis, 1999). When asked the lowest wage he would work for, Paul an 18 year old Haitian man said, "It doesn't matter to me because I really want

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to get a job. As long as I am getting paid, I'll accept any kind of job." In a study of poor and working class minority fast-food workers in Harlem, Manhattan, Newman and Ellis (1999) also found that youths did not disdain low status jobs such as burger flipping (Newman, 1999; Waters, 1999; Newman and Ellis, 1999).

The more important problem for minority youth, especially men, was that it is hard for them to secure work. Part-time, temporary jobs, such as helping out with a move, handing out flyers, unloading trucks, busboy, packing groceries and making deliveries for grocery stores for "pocket money" were often the only kinds of job men were able to obtain. Paul, an eighteen year-old Haitian man who grew up in Crown Heights, had held a job as a newspaper representative who promoted subscriptions, but that did not last:

> *When I was working for the newspaper, I wasn't getting paid by the hour. It was by commission. If you don't work, you don't get paid. If you get only one order a day - each order was $3.00. Let's say you did five orders a week. Then when they called the person, if they didn't want it anymore, you didn't get paid for that order. At the end of the week you might end up with a check for $3.00.*

Paul had been looking for work for over a year and had applied for entry level work in fast-food establishments, pharmacies and supermarkets without much success.

The decline of the wage-labor economy has translated into the outright deproletarianization of a growing segment of the urban poor (Weis, 1990a, 1990b). This population of peripheral workers is increasingly comprised of minorities, especially young men (Mollenkopf and Castells, 1991; Weis, 1990a, 1990b). Marginalization, or the pushing of groups to the edges of the labor force, leaving them redundant or confining them to the worst jobs, results from a combination of factors, including technological

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

change, racial competition and government inaction (Katz, 1993). It is the temporary nature of the jobs being created in the newly restructured economy, not the quality of the employees or their work ethic, which accounts for the employment troubles of the men in this study. Furthermore, discrimination continues to play a role in the employment problems experienced by men who are racialized as Black, and they are still underrepresented even in unskilled jobs (Kirschenman, 1997:215).

Ethnic Economy Safety Net?

Segmented assimilation theorists suggest that second generation youth who suffer discrimination in the mainstream economy may be able to seek refuge in ethnically-oriented small business (Portes, 1996; Waldinger, 1996). However, the men and women in this study did not appear to be working in the ethnic economy or within an ethnic niche. Among the few Dominican men who had worked as stockboys in Dominican-owned *bodegas* (grocery stores), none expressed an interest in doing this type of work in the future. For example, Reynaldo chuckled when he explained why working in his father's grocery store would not provide him with a safety net:

> *We're not rich. My father owns the bodega just to maintain ourselves, just to keep us going in life. I used to work with my father in the bodega, but I didn't like it because he cheats on me too much! He's always saying that he's giving me a lot of things during the week. Yeah, right! So, when I was working with him at the end of the week, he was like, "Here's your money." Like, $50 or something and I'm like, "Man, I'm working, give me my money!"*

As Reynaldo humorously pointed out, many of the jobs that are being generated in the ethnic economy pay far below the minimum wage and they are exploitative, as well as dangerous (Kwong, 1998). Reynaldo eventually found a minimum wage job in the fast-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

food industry. Although jobs in the ethnic economy could potentially turn into a mobility ladder, this did not appear to be the case among the second generation Caribbean men and women in this study (Hernandez, 1995; Gilbertson, 1996; Hagan, 1998).

The only person in the survey to have opened his own business was Sam, a Haitian man. He had opened a Caribbean restaurant by pooling resources with his parents, who had previously owned a real estate and a taxi business. Sam himself had also worked in his brother's music production business. He elaborated on his motives for opening the restaurant:

> *One cannot make it in this country working for someone else because this is a white man's world. And any racism or discrimination, I'm going to try to break through that glass ceiling. I'll do anything that I have to do. I am my own business owner, I'm twenty six years old and I have a house. The first thing that I did was made sure I was going to have a place to live. I opened up a business and I'm going to put all I can into it to make sure that it is successful.*

Thus, some men felt that they could circumvent discrimination by opening their own business. (Women, as we shall see in the next section, believed that they can overcome discrimination by attaining more education.) For many stigmatized minority groups who face discrimination in the labor market, opening up a enterprise can be a route to upward mobility. Yet, although many of the men in this study expressed an interest in opening their own businesses, the reality was that they often lacked the capital to do so.

Another historical refuge for stigmatized minorities who face discrimination in the private sector has been the public sector. Alejandro, a twenty-three year-old Dominican man raised in Corona, Queens, smirked as he explained why so many of his college peers sought employment in the rapidly expanding prison-industrial complex:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *You see right now a lot of college people are applying for jobs in the police department. But they are not applying because they want to be there, but because that's the job market that was open right now. So, that's where you're going to apply.*

Although Alejandro was enrolled at City University of New York, he planned to eventually enter the police academy. In the meantime, he hoped to find stable employment working as a Spanish-English translator, again in the criminal justice system.[4] Many of the men in this study indicated that they were interested in pursuing public sector work in the traditionally male-dominated fields, such as law enforcement and the military because they felt that they would have a better chance of finding employment in the public sector.

Although public sector jobs have traditionally provided stigmatized minorities with an alternative route into the middle class, these jobs are difficult for parents to pass on to their children because they are largely controlled through certification and civil service examinations. Therefore, these jobs may not be accessible to youths who have been provided an inferior education (Waldinger, 1996). Model (1997) cautioned that success among the children of immigrants, especially Afro-Caribbean youth whose parents were concentrated in the health industry will depend more on "what they know" than "who they know." Similarly, Sullivan's (1989) study of three Brooklyn neighborhoods in the 1980s found that social networks accounted for the differences in the labor market and crime patterns of three groups of men from diverse racial communities. Young white men in Sullivan's study were able to tap into the job networks of their family members, but Black and Latino men did not have such linkages

[4] Ironically, men's employment opportunities in the criminal justice system are premised on the framing of their respective communities as potential criminals (see Chapter 3).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(MacLeod, 1995). Thus, Sullivan (1989) argued that social networks helped whites get jobs over their Black and Latino peers, even if the minority applicants had higher educational credentials (Waldinger, 1996; Stanton-Salazar, 1997).

Worried Outlooks

Second generation Caribbean men agreed with their parents about the importance of educational credentials for obtaining jobs and they sometimes aspired to professional occupations, such as the law. However, they also felt a general sense of vulnerability in the newly restructured postindustrial labor market. When asked whether he felt it had been easier for his parents to find work than it was for him, Mark echoed the sentiments of the men:

> *I'd say times were harder. I'd say it's gotten worse. It's not like back in the eighties. People just had more money, period. They were just better off. Now, most jobs don't pay that much.*

Since men's job experiences were often limited to the lowest level service sector work, such as working in grocery stores or as messengers, they did not have access to potential career paths in the growth sectors of the economy. For instance, in order to support himself during college, Mark had to piece together multiple part-time jobs, which added up to full-time work hours. However, after seven years, Mark had not yet been able to earn a Bachelor of Arts degree. Like many other men, his career goals were unclear. Mark said that he would like to pursue a graduate degree, but he had no idea what type of degree. He also mentioned that he had some friends who earned college degrees, who were unable to find employment commensurate with their credentials, and he admitted that at times he wondered if college might be a waste of time. In short, Mark's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

understanding of his place in the restructured labor market stemmed from his concrete experiences.

As they experienced problems in the labor market, men articulated vacillating views about the role of education in their lives. For instance, Peter, who had attended a four-year college, but been demoted to a community college, said that he planned to return and finish an Associate's Degree. However, when asked about whether he agreed with his mother's advice about the importance of education, Peter expressed ambivalence:

> *First, of all let me say that I agree, but to a certain point. Because if you try, try and try and you don't succeed, then you're not going to make it. It's just not going to be. You can only make it to a certain point. And then you cannot do anything about it. But, sometimes you can get somewhere.*

When asked what advice he would give his future children about how to "make it" and become successful in this country, Peter replied with some resignation in his voice, "as time passes by I will give them advice, depending on the experience that I will go through." Peter's uneasiness about the future stemmed from his negative experiences in the labor market.

The cumulative effects of dealing with social rejection in different spheres of their lives, in public spaces and on the job, lead men, more than women, to wonder about the relevance of educational credentials for them as men from racially stigmatized groups. Reflecting on his parents' advice, Richard, who had also experienced many difficulties in finding stable employment, agreed that education was necessary for upward mobility, but he also had reservations:

> *In a way yeah, I agree with my mom about the importance of an education. But when I see people who can't get jobs, I kind of gave up on that. But, then again, it was good to go to school and get a degree and let it sit there. At least you know you have it, you don't*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *have to go back and do it over. It was good to let it sit there and when opportunities open you can go for it. Eventually, you can be the lucky one.*

Richard had formerly attended a community college, but he left because of financial and academic difficulties. He said that he would like to eventually finish college and become a physical therapist. Although Richard was ambivalent about the value of educational credentials, he, like other men in the study hoped to return to college someday.

Men felt that a *job ceiling* worked against them. Second generation Caribbean men, more often than women, noted that some of their male friends and family members with college degrees had been unable to find employment commensurate with their educational credentials. For instance, Rodrigo explained that one of his male friends had earned a Bachelor of Arts Degree in computer technology, but he was unable to find work and resorted to working as a mechanic with his father. Thus, Rodrigo concluded:

> *I think that in this day and age, you need people in high places. Because imagine, the people from Yale, Princeton, Columbia, all those rich people! They had their mom and dad pay for their education and they had contacts with people in the business world. All the parents had to do was say, 'do me a favor' and they're set. And us, for us it will be much harder. You have to have people in high places in order to get the connections.*

As Rodrigo pointed out, it is extremely difficult for minority and immigrant youth, especially men, who are residentially segregated and educated in substandard schools, to develop supportive relations with institutional agents outside the immediate kinship unit because they are viewed in a negative light in the wider society (Stanton-Salazar, 1997).

Even young men with institutional linkages to the world of work may still face discrimination. Paven a nineteen year-old West Indian man, worried that he might face the same difficulties his older cousin had:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *My cousin, who has a B.A. in accounting, was working as an intern for the number two firm in the City, but out of the ten interns, two were already chosen. Right now he's not working. He quit a job at some bank because they had him photocopying and that really pissed him off. He jokes about it, but I know that deep down inside feels angry. He tells me, "You know what I think about school, what's my philosophy on school now?" I was like, "Forget school because what it has gotten you in four years. Look what you're doing. You're doing nothing!" That's the answer to it!*

While Paven was ambivalent about the payoff a college education would have for him in the future, he was still pursuing an Associate's Degree at a community college. Paven said that he would like to become a corporate executive officer for a major footwear company, but he did not believe that he had much chance and he did not know what he would do instead.

The men in this study were cognizant of their precarious positions in the labor market. Although they did not forthrightly oppose the idea of education, they were worried that may still confront discrimination regardless of the level of education they reached. Their perspective on the relationship between education and social mobility is therefore more appropriately described as ambivalent than as oppositional (Ogbu and Simons, 1998). Fine and Weis (1998:229) also found that men were generally more concerned than women were that educational credentials would not pay off in the future. For Fine and Weis (1998:235) this ambivalence must be understood as "an accurate portrayal of the economic prospects of poor and working class young adults in American in the 1990s." Similarly, the worries that the men in this study articulated were grounded in their negative experiences with gender(ing) and racializ(ing) processes in the labor market, at school and in public spaces.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

WOMEN'S GHETTOIZATION

Networked into Pink-Collar Jobs

The women in this study experienced far fewer problems in finding work than the men did. This was in part because the feminization of the work place and employer preferences have created more opportunities for minority women than men in the growing service sector (Browne, 1999). For instance, the growing industries, such as finance and law, rely heavily on peripheral support staffs that mainly composed of women. To be exact, four out of five people who worked in offices and processed information for businesses and government were women (Epstein and Duncombe, 1991).

In addition, it appears that women have better networks to potential job opportunities (Stanton-Salazar, 1997).[5] When asked about how they found their work, women frequently mentioned ties to teachers, community-based organizations and churches (Rosenbaum and Binder, 1997). Women reported working through the SYEP, and in some cases they were subsequently offered part-time work during the academic year. For instance, 25% of the women surveyed had entered the labor market through SYEP, compared to only 8% of the men.[6]

School-based vocational programs, such as the cooperative education program (COOP), funneled low-income women into traditionally female secondary sector jobs, such as nurse's assistant, secretary, and data entry (Chapter 4). Maryse, a twenty-three year old Haitian woman, had an employment trajectory that typified that of the women:

---

[5] As study of first generation Latina women found that men had better job networks (Hagan, 1998).

[6] This may be in part because the types of jobs offered through this program were traditionally pink-collar jobs, such as childcare and nursing.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Researcher: *How did you obtain your last job as a paralegal assistant?*

Maryse: *It was an internship program through the school.*

Researcher: *Was it a volunteer position?*

Maryse: *No, it was paid. It was basically administrative work like typing and filing. It was a great experience for me, definitely a learning experience. I was working for an architect. My boss actually constructed my school. I really enjoyed working there.*

Researcher: *And before that, in high school, you worked at a hospital part time for about a year?*

Maryse: *For three years. It was administrative work. It was a program through my mother's union that they constructed for the summer for kids whose parents were working through the union. I also worked as a childcare provider through the Summer Youth Employment Program.*

Maryse planned to become a lawyer and was attending a vocational training school for paralegal studies because she had had many financial and academic problems in college. Although she was looking for work at the time of the survey, Maryse was confident that with her office skills and references, she would be able to find administrative employment. At the time of the interview, she was using the school's placement services to find work. Women's optimism resulted in part from her work experiences in the expanding sectors of the economy.

Women consistently identified their school connections as critical stepping stones in their search for employment, and good relationships with teachers sometimes translated into employment opportunities for them (Rosenbaum and Binder, 1997). Janet,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

a twenty-six year-old Dominican woman who received a Bachelor of Arts Degree in psychology, reminisced:

> *I got my current job as the director of fund raising at my former Catholic high school through my principal, who happened to be my eighth grade teacher and thought I was capable. The job that I had prior to this, actually all the jobs that I've ever held have been through people who know me and know that I was probably capable of it. The first job being with my aunt. Then, one of my roommates, when I lived on Long Island, got me the job at the college, in the Bursar's Office. And now this job. So for me, that was how it has been.*

Time and time again, women described having networks to other people who could provide them with employment opportunities.

Family members also provided women with entry into growing sectors of the economy. Yvonne, a 23 year-old Dominican woman, credited her aunts with giving her a valuable "jump start" in the labor market:

> *I started working as a research assistant at an investment firm because my aunt worked here. She actually spoke for me. My aunt once told me, "You know what, the first job you get, try it for it to be a good job and something that can take you somewhere." I never really thought about it, but it's true. My first job was at the brokerage firm and my friend's job was at our local supermarket. My friend is still at the supermarket! We're the same age, went to the same high school and college, had the same upbringing and she's still a cashier at that supermarket! I'm sure that if my aunts didn't have those kinds of jobs I would have been a cashier too, because I didn't know where to start or where to go.*

Although Yvonne entered a low-level traditional pink-collar job, she, like many other women "got her foot" in the door to an economic sector that is expanding. More importantly, perhaps, Yvonne's experience as a research assistant at an investment firm gave her a panoramic view of potential career trajectories in a growing sector of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

economy – an experience many of the men lacked. Sure enough, on finishing her undergraduate studies, Yvonne plans to become an investment banker.

Studies have suggested that teacher linkages to jobs are of particular importance to minority youths (Stanton-Salazar, 1997; Rosenbaum, Roy and Kariya, 1995). Stanton-Salazar (1997:6) argues that "school success, and economic and social integration in society depends upon regular and unobstructed opportunities for constructing instrumental relationships with institutional agents across key social spheres and institutional domains dispersed throughout society." In a study of high school to work linkages, Rosenbaum and Binder (1997) found that Chicago based employers relied heavily on teacher recommendations to find potential workers. They conclude teachers "provide a good channel of access for students and in inner city schools, these students' best chance of getting a job is through their teachers" (Rosenbaum and Binder, 1997:79). Compared to white young men, Black young men are more likely to get jobs this way. However, Black and Hispanic women are the most likely to get jobs through teachers (Rosenbaum, Roy and Kariya, 1995). This study also found that women were far more likely than men to have established supportive relationships with people, such as teachers, who are networked to job opportunities.

Because women generally obtained more work experience in the formal labor market than did men, they acquired better qualifications for further employment. For example, Cassandra, a twenty-seven year-old Dominican woman who was working for city government as a case manager, had compiled an impressive resume over the years. She began accumulating work experience during high school, when she worked as a daycare counselor at a community-based organization through SYEP. During the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

academic year, she also tutored in an after school program. Cassandra took pride in her arsenal of work experience, as well as her job skills and social networks. She boasted that she did not worry about losing her job because she was confident that she would be able to find employment through the contacts she had cultivated. In addition, through their job experiences in the service sector, women acquired many of the "soft skills," such as familiarity with professional demeanor and dress, that are part of the growing service sector industries (Kirschenman, 1997). Hence, by the time they had graduated high school, men's and women's resumes, references, work experiences and contacts were quite distinct. Clearly, these experiences influenced their *outlooks* toward the future.

Color(ing) the Glass Ceiling

The feminization of the work force has had mixed results for minority women (Epstein and Duncombe, 1991; Browne, 1999). On the one hand, occupational shifts have produced vacancies in white-collar work for minority women, most of whom were formerly confined to domestic services and factory work (Ammot and Matthaei, 1991; Waldinger, 1996). As white women moved out of the clerical ghettos and management and professional work, space opened up for minority women in low-level "pink-collar" jobs, such as clerical work (Waldinger, 1996). However, these occupations are often dead-end jobs that offer little possibility of vertical occupational mobility (Goldin, 1990; Drennan, 1991). In an historical analysis of the intersection of gender and education in the welfare state, Wrigley (1992:19) found that while highly educated white women attained professional positions that paralleled men's, less educated minority women

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

remained trapped in traditional female ghettos and did not achieve significant mobility (Bound and Dresser, 1999).

Women narrated countless stories about experiencing social exclusion at work. For instance, Jahaira, a Dominican woman, spoke about feeling isolated from her peers at work:

> *I was working as a research assistant at an investment management firm. This is old money. These were people who invest their money in stocks, bonds and what-have-you. And sometimes they talked about going to the Hamptons [white suburb]. Their house was in East Hampton and they were going to some club. God knows where it is. And it was close knit! It was hard to network with people like that.*

In addition, Jahaira noted that her race *and* gender were always "noticed" at work. Jahaira remarked that some of her co-workers insisted on knowing where she was "really" from. She painfully recalled that one of her white male colleagues constantly made derogatory comments about Haitians in her presence because he thought that she was from Haiti. At her annual company Christmas party, some of Jahaira's white co-workers asked her if she was feeling okay because she was not dancing or talking loud. In their view, all women from the Caribbean were "naturally" wild and colorful party-goers.

Besides the social exclusion and the racial and sexual stereotyping at work, Jahaira explained that "color(ing) and gender(ing)" processes at work had financial ramifications:

> *They expect you to do much more work than your next white counterpart. Same exact job but they expect you to do so much more for less money. I didn't think that existed but it does. It really, really does. I was getting paid like $23,000 a year and this white woman who just started, came in with the same credentials. I'm a college graduate. The only thing that she had that I didn't*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *have was something called a series seven, which you have to get to be a broker. It's a licensing thing. Okay, so that's why she was making $35,000, already. So, when I heard her talking on the phone she was making $40,000 a year. I raised hell and I got a lot of raises quickly!*

The glass ceiling faced by minority women was "colored" in that it was quite different from that faced by white women who were not defined as racial "others" (Hurtado, 1996; Amott and Matthaei, 1991; Higginbotham and Weber, 1999). Through her experiences, Jahaira concluded that if she had been racially defined as a white woman with a college degree, she would have received a higher starting salary and, in her words, "their whole attitude about how they speak to you would change." Instead of being discouraged by the discrimination she experienced at work, Jahaira was resilient and fought back by "raising hell" and not accepting her ghettoization. Instead, she responded by defining education as imperative. Jahaira aspired to pursue a Master's Degree in business administration and finance and become an investment manager.

Women did not merely "accept" the ghettoization they were subjected to at work. They spoke about actively and consistently contesting many of the negative experiences that they were subjected to the workplace that were tied to stigmatized notions about their race and sexuality. For example, Cassandra started working at a major bank as a teller, and then moved to customer service and later to personal banking. After waiting for three years for a promotion to assistant treasurer, she concluded that promotions were color(ed) and gender(ed) processes:

> *I worked in corporate America for six years, at a major commercial bank. And believe me, yes it was very good when you're bilingual, but they use it against you when it comes to promotion time. Oh yeah, they love to have a bilingual person. I had a Spanish-speaking clientele that was from Argentina and*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *Israel and they wouldn't ask for anybody else but me. But when it comes to being an Assistant Manager, which I was already doing the job and I knew everything, somehow it never got to me. I was always the next in line, but they always skipped the line to the next white person.*

As Cassandra noted, her supervisors capitalized on her ability to work with Spanish-speaking clients, but used this skill to ghettoize her into the dead-end work in the corporate hierarchy within the bank. After years of being shuffled around the lowest echelons of the banking occupational structure, Cassandra eventually left the private sector and pursued opportunities in management in City government. Nevertheless, she planned to pursue a graduate degree in psychology.

In a study of professional Black and white women's perceptions of work place discrimination, Higginbotham and Weber (1999) found that Black women were much more likely to believe that they needed to pursue postgraduate work in order to advance their careers than white women. Moreover, while white women were content with their work situations, Black women anticipated moving to a new firm in order to achieve occupational mobility.

Historically, the public sector has provided a refuge for minorities, and especially for women who suffered discrimination in the private sector. A prime example is African American women, who have created a "niche" in public sector work (Bailey and Waldinger, 1991; Browne, 1999). However, although Black women may be concentrated in the public sector, as a group they are still subordinated to whites (Feagin and Sikes, 1994; Higginbotham, 1994). More often than not, minority women are ghettoized into the lowest ranks of clerical occupations. For instance, among college-educated African American women, about one-third are employed in clerical positions (Bound and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dresser, 1999). Another limitation of working in the public sector is that it may translate into less remunerated positions, as it did for Cassandra (cited above). Although the women in this study were able to enter the traditional pink-collar, female-ghettos, such as clerical work or secretarial work, they did not appear to be working in an ethnic niche. In addition, since minority women generally lack seniority, they may be the first to be affected by the continued downsizing and automation of support staff in both the public and private sectors (Epstein and Duncombe, 1991).

Another and perhaps more insidious form of discrimination in the workplace that women spoke about were episodes of racialized sexual harassment (Roberts, 1997; Higginbotham and Weber, 1999). For example, Cassandra explained how she grappled with the "mamasita" stereotype when she was working at a major commercial bank:

> *It's a very shocking thing. It's a constant. They have a stereotype of Dominican and Latina women as mamasitas. I have even had guys ask me, "Are Dominican women as hot as they say they are?" And I say, "Why don't you do me a favor. Take a hot pepper and stick it up yours and see how hot it is!"*

Cassandra added that at times her male co-workers insisted that they knew that Dominican "ladies" liked to be called "mamasita." However, instead of accepting this racial, gender, and sexual oppression at work, women were insubordinate and fought back. The stereotype of Latina women as "mamasitas," that is as sexually available and immoral women, is akin to the jezebel stereotype of African-American women (Davis, 1983). The "mamasita" stereotype is part of the race-gender exoticization and "symbolic taint" of the urban ghetto and its inhabitants (Wacquant, 1997). In this light, women who are racialized as Black and Latina, are cast as "cheap" women who are immoral and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sexually available. These "controlling images" are used to justify the exploitation of racially stigmatized women (Hill-Collins, 1990; Roberts, 1997; Hurtado, 1996).

Racialized sexual harassment may be an even larger problem for women employed in smaller firms. Minority women who work in the secondary labor market are often at the mercy of their male "bosses" from whom they have little autonomy and protection from aggravations. Rosy a nineteen year-old West Indian woman, had worked off-the-books as a secretary for her former male teacher. However, she was forced to leave after her boss consistently barraged her with sexual comments and tried to make physical advances towards her at work. Nevertheless, Rosy, who planned to pursue a graduate degree, responded to her negative experiences at work by affirming the importance of an education for her as a woman. Thus, while women maintained a social critique of racial and gender discrimination in the labor market, they also remained hopeful about the role of education in contesting negative stereotypes about them as "mamasitas" (Fine and Weis, 1998; Lorde, 1996; Leadbeater and Way, 1996).

Optimistic Outlooks

Despite the negative experiences they were subjected to, women were unwavering in their committed to education. For instance, Yvonne, described how she believed she could be successful in this country:

> *Just educate yourself. Don't be afraid of different experiences and do anything that you need to do to get to where you want to be. Even if you have to start at an entry-level position you can work your way up as long as you have determination.*

Yvonne had interrupted her undergraduate studies because of financial difficulties, but from her work as a research assistant, she had gained insight into professional career paths in the world of finance and aspired to become an investment broker. Consequently,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

women, more so than men, articulated clear career goals, such as psychologist, teacher, investment manager and registered nurse. This was because women who had obtained jobs as administrative assistants at law firms or social service agencies learned about high white-collar professional positions, such as social work, law and education. Partly because women had more work experiences in the formal labor market, they begin to see the relevance of educational credentials in a changing labor market.

Women were unwavering in their belief that schooling is the key to obtaining gainful employment and cited examples of other women who had been successful. Marie a 19 year-old Haitian woman who was struggling with academic problems in college, was still firmly committed to education. When asked about how she thought she could be successful in this country she said:

Marie: *I think that if you work hard in school it will pay off. I truly think that.*

Researcher: *Can you give me an example?*

Marie: *Oh yeah, like my aunt, right now. She wanted to be a registered nurse so bad. She was a nurse's aide. She went to school, she just studied, she was in the library everyday, and she went back to college. Now she's a registered nurse and she's really happy.*

Women consistently cited examples of other women they knew who had pursued their education and had been successful. In addition, relatives often proved important in helping young women find jobs. Marie's mother, who worked as a nurse's assistant at a hospital, had helped her find work. Marie had begun working in a hospital during the summers in the SYEP program and she later obtained a job in a private hospital (as an X-ray technician).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Even those women who were ghettoized into the lowest service sector jobs and those who were temporary workers maintained an optimistic outlook about the importance of an education. For instance, Tina, a twenty-one year old West Indian woman, who was working as a nurse's assistant while attending college explained:

> *Education is very, very important. I see people stuck. Like working in these little jobs that I'm taking for granted. For me it's just pastime. I'm not going to stay there. But, for them that's their family support. In my opinion, people can make it by getting a good education and then finding a good job. It takes a while to get where you're going. But, eventually you get there. It's better than just sitting home and staying stagnant and not doing anything. Even if you get your Bachelor's, from there you go on, you do another two or three years, or four years for a doctorate degree. But you still get there.*

Although Tina was working in a low-level job, she expected to finish a graduate degree and become a child psychologist (Newman, 1999; Newman and Ellis, 1999). These findings contrasted sharply with Weis's (1990b) study of the effect of de-industrialization among white working class youth. In that study, Weis (1990b) found that most women still selected secretary as their career goal.

Second generation Caribbean women always discursively linked the importance of obtaining an education to their status as women. Maryse, a Haitian woman who was attending a paralegal vocational school, but planned to become a lawyer, expressed why she though education was crucial for her as a woman:

> *You can be successful through education, hard work and persistence. That's how you can make it in the business world. You have to be educated because you are competing against men.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Although the women in this study often expressed interest in traditionally female-dominated fields, such as nursing, teaching, counseling, psychology and public administration, they perceived these jobs as stepping stones to more professional jobs.

In a study of racial identity among second generation Haitian and West Indian youth, Waters (1996) found that women believed that there were more work opportunities for them than for men. Similarly, in a study of African American students in a southern state university, Dunn (1988) also found that African American college students felt that women completed higher levels of education than men because they believed that there were more jobs for them. Are there really more job opportunities for women in the labor market than for men? Despite women's continued entry into traditionally male-dominated work, the sex segregation of occupations has continued (Reskin, 1993). For instance, 80% of clerical workers were female in 1980, compared with 60% in 1950 (Epstein and Duncombe, 1991:177). These trends have continued in other fields that have been traditionally identified as women's work. In 1992 women accounted for 99% of the secretarial positions, 94% of registered nurses, 99% of pre-school and kindergarten teachers, 89% of telephone operators, 73% of all teachers (excluding colleges and universities) and 87% of data entry staff (National, 1996:304). Moreover, as explained by Fine and Weis (1998:234), "Black women with four years of college who work full time, on average, earn the equivalent of white male high school dropout who works full time. 'Equal' education does not translate across racial/ethnic and gender into equal 'income'." In other words, the ghettoization of minority women into the lowest sectors of the economy allows for little possibility of horizontal mobility

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

for these women. While there may be more jobs for women in the postindustrial economy, these jobs continue to be in ghettoized work, particularly for minority women.

CONCLUSION

In assessing the labor market trajectories of second generation Caribbean young adults, segmented assimilation theorists began with the assumption that different "ethnic groups" possess varying amounts of social capital and assets and they do not examine gender processes (Portes, 1996). In contrast, this chapter is premised on the notion that race processes cannot be subsumed under ethnicity or separated from gender processes. Therefore, this chapter examined the overlap of racializ(ing) and gender(ing) processes as *lived experiences* in the work trajectories of second generation Caribbean youths and argues that their work experiences continue to shape their outlooks towards education.

This study found that men and women have quite distinct experiences in the labor market. Men experienced great difficulty finding work and were *marginalized* in the least secure, temporary, low wage jobs, usually within the informal economy. Continually encountering negative experiences at work and during their job searches, they increasingly perceived a *job ceiling* working against them. In due course, men formulated *worried outlooks* about their employment possibilities. Men's ambivalence about the value of educational credentials for them as stigmatized minorities can be seen as a direct adaptation to the negative experiences that they had had during their job search, as well as in the workplace.

In comparison to the men, women generally reported fewer difficulties in finding work. They tended to be employed in traditional sex-typed work, such as secretarial work and nursing. Although these positions were often in pink-collar ghettos, they did

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

provide women with a window into the potential professional career paths in the growth sectors of the economy, such as education, health and finance. Since many of these positions require educational credentials, women came to link social mobility with education. Thus, women formulated optimistic outlooks about the importance of education for them *as women*.

As seen in the chapter on race in public spaces and in school, men continue to be regarded primarily as "suspects" in the domain of work. Coupled with the negative experiences they have had in schools and in public spaces, men begin to feel devalued and stigmatized. Women on the other hand, were also stigmatized, but they were regarded as better workers than their male counterparts. The next chapter tackles the important question of how a restructured postindustrial economy has impacted gender roles and home life and how these changes influence men's and women's views about the role of education in their lives.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER 6: GENDER(ING) IN TRANSITION

> *In a relationship, the man has to work as equally hard as the woman does in order for it to work. And that's the way I see it. Because there is no man on this earth that's going to tell me, "Go, get up and cook dinner for me, woman!" I'd be like, "Please!" Because whoever my husband was going to be, I'm not cooking for him. If he wants food, let him go cook! Because of the type of career that I'm going to be in, I'm not going to have time to go make some gourmet dish for some man who's sitting down doing nothing! I want to finish school. I want to be financially stable.*
> [Nicole, 18 year old West Indian woman]

INTRODUCTION

The globalization of the economy has brought about striking changes in the gender roles and family structures (Milkman, 1987; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Espiritu, 1997, Mahler, 1997; Lopez-Springfield, 1997; Baca-Zinn and Thorton-Dill, 1994). As more and more women have entered the paid workforce, men are often no longer the breadwinners in their households (Safa, 1995). Furthermore, the restructuring of labor markets and concomitant changes in gender and family ideologies have resulted in a large increase in the number of female-headed households across the globe (Safa, 1995; Hernandez and Lopez, 1997). This chapter explores the ways in which women's increased labor force participation has affected gender roles and family life among Caribbean immigrants in the United States, and how these changes are shaping the attitude of second generation men and women toward education.

Gender, viewed from a social constructionist perspective, is the process through which biological differences between males and females are assigned social significance and used as means of social classification. Unlike sex, which refers to innate biological

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and reproductive differences between males and females, gender refers to the historically variable processes by which roles, norms and expectations are defined as appropriate for males and females in a given society (Lorber, 1994).[1]

The main argument of this chapter is the gendered division of labor in their households plays an important role in shaping their outlooks of men and women toward the role of education in their lives. The first part of the chapter examines how shifting gender roles among women are directly linked to the feminization of the labor force, and details the strict social control, familism and emotional support in the lives of women. The emergence of a feminist critique among second generation Caribbean women is linked to the historical development of feminism among Caribbean women. The second section highlights men's gendering processes. It reveals that men actually occupy a precarious position within the family structure and that their exemption from the adult responsibilities imposed on their female counterparts leaves them deprived of the emotional supports readily available to women. Most second generation men spend much of their leisure time outside of the home or engaged in sports and they are also preoccupied with establishing a firm gender identity. These distinct *lived experiences* lead men and women to develop different outlooks toward education.

WOMEN'S GENDER(ING)

Working Mothers = Adult Girls

In the United States, women constitute the majority of immigrants from the Caribbean. During the 1960s and 1970s, as many as 70% of Anglophone Caribbean and

---

[1] Contrary to the popular perception that only women possess "gender," at any historical point, both men and women are gendered in relationship to one another (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 1999).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

54% percent of Dominican and Haitian immigrants were women (Hernandez, 1995; Kasinitz, 1992; Zephir, 1996; Laguerre, 1984; Pessar, 1987). Since women are often the first to migrate, many Caribbean families have been reconfigured with mothers as the sole economic providers for their families. For example, in New York City women headed 50% percent of Dominican households, 44% percent of Trinidadian households and over 33% of Haitian households.[2] These patterns were seen in our survey sample; 45% of the women and 54% of the men had grown up in households headed by women.

Since the 1960s, Caribbean immigrant women have been concentrated into the lowest echelons of the declining sectors of manufacturing, especially in the garment industry and in low-level service sector jobs, such as home attendant and nurse's aide (Kasinitz, 1992; Pessar and Grasmuck, 1991; Foner, 1987). For instance, 33% of Dominicans, 21% of Haitians and 11% of Jamaicans in the United States live in poverty (Grasmuck and Grosfoguel, 1996). Caribbean mothers' entry into the paid labor force had a palpable effect on the lives of their daughters. While their mothers worked, these girls often had to serve as surrogate mothers to their siblings. For instance, Marie, a Haitian woman, reflected on the adult responsibilities she juggled at very early age:

> *I was nine and my brothers were eight. We used to stay home by ourselves because my mother had to go to work and she didn't have any money for a babysitter. My obligation was to make sure that all my brothers and sisters met in front of the school and waited for each other. Then we used to walk home. My mother was very strict. She would tell us that she was going to call us to make sure that we were home safe. And then I would get dinner started, clean the house and that was how it was.*

Like many other Caribbean women, Marie's mother worked long hours as a nurse's assistant and was seldom home. Because gender role expectations assigned women to the

[2] City University (1995). "Immigration and the CUNY Student of the Year 2000."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

domestic sphere, Marie, rather than her brothers, was responsible for household chores and child rearing (Valenzuela, 1999). Consequently, interviews with women were frequently conducted at the kitchen table or as they prepared meals and washed dishes, or fed and diapered younger siblings.

Ironically, many Caribbean women and other stigmatized minority mothers toil as childcare providers and housekeepers for affluent families, but they may be labeled "bad" mothers because they cannot afford childcare for their own children (Wrigley, 1995; Roberts, 1997). In contrast, middle class European mothers have had the luxury of remaining in their homes because they have had a fundamentally different relationship to power structures, namely white men who earn "family" wages (Hurtado, 1996). Meanwhile, working class minority women have always had to work in the paid labor force in order to maintain their families (Ammot and Matthaei, 1991).[3]

The overlap of racial and gender stratification in the labor force, and the resultant gender-biased division of labor at home teaches women that home-making is hard work. As members of the working class, women clearly differentiated their home experiences from those of middle class European Americans. Katia, a nineteen-year-old Dominican woman who grew up in Inwood, Manhattan, laughed when discussing the differences she noticed between Dominican families in the United States and other American families:

> *For Dominican girls, by the age of twelve, you know how to cook, clean and wash by hand. We had no washing machine, back then. It seems to me that in an American (white) home, a typical one, the*

---

[3] In a study of childcare practices among elite white women in New York City and Los Angeles, Wrigley (1995) found that there is little pressure for high quality government-monitored day care because the privileged class has a choice. Wrigley (1992) warned that private solutions to larger public issues cannot solve social problems.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *mother does everything, while the daughter is out shopping at the mall after school. And, she has her own car and everything.*

As Katia pointed out, working class Caribbean young women cannot count on middle class luxuries, such as washing machines, cars, stay-at-home mothers and credit cards. Katia also said that in typical white middle class families, mothers did not necessarily have to work and could choose to become "ideal stay-at-home mothers."

Because women's gender roles scripted them to assume adult responsibilities at an early age, they were also more likely than men to have served as institutional brokers for their families (Valenzuela, 1999). For example, second generation Dominican and Haitian women spoke at length about translating for their families. Although both men and women viewed translating for their parents as an obligation, gender differences emerged in relation to their feelings about it. Cassandra's feelings echoed the sentiments of many women:

> *Translating for my parents made me feel like an English-speaking brain. It felt good to know that I knew a lot of English.*

Women not only felt proud of these responsibilities, but they felt a deep sense of respect for their mothers in particular. In addition, at an early age women learned how to navigate through a maze of institutions that were unfamiliar to their parents (Valenzuela, 1999; Hooks, 1981; Pastor, McCormick, Fine, 1996; Stanton-Salazar, 1997). These types of experiences were significant because they helped foster a sense of competence and efficacy in the outside work. In due course, women matured more quickly than their male counterparts and they cultivated a sense of responsibility for their families.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dual Frame of Reference

Women told stories that depicted their mothers as the most important figures in their lives and showed how they had developed a sense of themselves against backdrop of their mothers' experiences. Maryse, a Haitian woman, who came to the United States at the age of six, voiced the dual frame held by women:

> *In Haiti, you didn't have that much education. I mean, the education was not as much as over here. Therefore, my mother's goal was for us to get all the education there was out there. I would never disrespect my mother because I know how hard she works for us. There were times when she would break her back for us.*

Maryse's deep respect for her mother, who labored as a home attendant in order to provide for her family, had a strong impact on her views about the role of education in her life. She, and many other women, viewed education as a way of bringing honor to her families and to her mother in particular.

Suarez-Orozco (1987) found Salvadoran youth maintained a dual frame of reference in which they contrasted their present situation with that which their parents had left in the home country. An intense feeling of guilt and obligation toward to a sacrificing mother, along with the dream of ending family hardship, led these young people to emphasize academic success as a means of bringing honor to their families.[4] Similarly, the women in this study consistently assessed their educational and employment opportunities in contrast to their mothers' experiences as uneducated women. Expressing a deep feeling of love and respect for her mother, Cassandra explained:

---

[4] Suarez-Orozco (1987) did not discuss gender differences, if any, between men's and women's dual frame of reference (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco, 1995).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *I see my mother. She always wanted to get a better job, but she didn't speak English. She couldn't read. She couldn't write. So, to me, that was a push for me. I have to do better than that. Not that I didn't want to become my mother, because to me, my mother was the most wonderful person. But, because I didn't want to go through all the obstacles she went through. Right now, I am definitely planning to go back for my Master's Degree.*

Yvonne, another Dominican woman, recalled that her outlook on education crystallized when she learned about her mother's past hardships:

> *What really influenced me was my mother. She was the oldest of the eight children who came to the United States. She was sixteen and all the other ones were much younger, so they went through elementary school and high school here; so they basically grew up knowing more English than Spanish. Then my grandmother and grandfather were working, so it was basically upon my mother to come home, cook, clean and help with the raising of the children. My aunts they got more of an advantage than my mother did and my aunts and uncles have very good jobs today. My aunts have very good jobs. They've gone to college. They've had more opportunities than my mother did. I remember being very young and my aunts would take me to their jobs and I would love the offices. The truth was that's what motivated me.*

The decisions women made about their futures were etched against the backdrop of a self-sacrificing mother. Through assessing their mothers' situations, women were able to evaluate their options regarding marriage, education, family and career plans. Clearly, women's views about the role of education in their lives were intimately tied to their status as women. More importantly, the gender-differentiated experiences that young women have had in their homes provides them with a unique standpoint from which to evaluate their options regarding their futures and work.

Familism and Social Support

In a study of poor and working class young adults in the Northeast, Fine and Weis (1998) found that Latina and African American women were engaged in a quiet

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

revolution, whereby they were pursuing education even more vehemently than did men. Minority and immigrant women have remained optimistic about the future and they have actively pursued education as a way of rebuilding their families (Anzaldua, 1987). Women's optimism may be explained in terms of their commitment to their families. Familism – a sense of affinity, obligation, and closeness to the family, permeated the narratives of the women. "Home" was place where women felt the strong hand of social control and bore the brunt of a gender-biased division of labor, but it was also a "safe space" in which women sought support through woman-centered social relations (Pastor, McCormick, Fine, 1996; Zhou and Bankston, 1998). Janet nostalgically explains:

> *In some ways, I think, Hispanics, in general, tend to be a little bit more on top of their children than white Americans. White Americans tend to be more individualistic. I don't see them having the heart-to-heart talks. In Hispanic families and in my family, if one of us did something, immediately someone would be calling an aunt to tell her. It didn't matter if it was just a bad report card; everybody knew your business. Whereas, I find that in white American families it was a little different. I think there was probably a little bit more affection in Dominican families. We were more touchy, feely - you get hugged a lot more. But I think you also get a lot more sheltering sometimes and you feel caught between two worlds. You have that very strong Dominican heritage and that family influence, but then there was also this very independent, be-on-your-own mentality.*

As Janet described, during family crises in Caribbean families, women take the lead in solving these problems. Aunts, godmother, grandmother and mothers are the nodes in the woman-centered webs of emotional support that second generation Caribbean women were able to draw upon during difficult times. Janet's assertion that Caribbean families are "touchy, feely [spaces] were you get hugged" point to the high level of familism present in these homes. Pastor, McCormick and Fine (1996) posit that "homespaces" that provide emotional support, are not limited to homes, but may include other social spaces

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

found in schools and churches. Growing evidence suggests that another space in which women cultivate webs of social support is the sphere of spirituality and through religious connections to God (Hurtado, 1996; Fine and Weis, 1998; Pastor, McCormick and Fine, 1996). The significance of these "homespaces" is that they may provide women with support to succeed in spite of daunting obstacles.

One space in which women established close ties to their family members was in family gatherings. This was in part because gender roles prescribed women to interact more regularly with their extended kin as young women helped their mother prepare meals, and entertain family members during special occasions (Zhou and Bankston, 1998; Perez, 1996). For instance, Marie explained how "gendering" took place during family gatherings:

> *When we used to go out to a family party, my brothers would just run away and start playing with each other. Or they would start playing ball and they did not really talk to the grown-ups. So my brothers were really shoddy when it comes to speaking Haitian Creole. They try, but they don't speak it because they always avoided family members. Meanwhile, we [the sisters] were always talking with the grown-ups.*

For women, talking with older family members sometimes materialized into close familial bonds and lasting relationships.[5] Marie reminisced about the special relationship she had with her godmother:

> *When we lived in Crown Heights, I remember my godmother. She was my second mother. My godmother would come over, she had five children of her own and every weekend she would come with a big bag of clothes for us. Of course they were hand-me-downs, but they were already washed so we just picked out the clothes we could*

---

[5] Research has shown that women second generation women are more likely to be bilingual than men (Portes and Schauffler 1996). This may be due in part to the fact that second generation women literally spend more time in their homes, interacting with older adult relatives who may not speak English.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *wear. Sometimes on our birthday we would get some money. I just love my godmother!*

Marie, who planned to pursue a career in the health industry, also spoke fondly of another woman whom she admired because she had struggled in college to become a registered nurse.[6] In short, the webs of family ties that women maintained with other family members provided them with emotional supports that were perhaps were unavailable to the men.

On Cloistering and Sexual Policing

One common thread in women's stories about their childhood experiences was that they grew up sequestered in their homes. In spite of the social supports available to women in their homes, they were also stricter social control than their male counterparts. Cassandra explained that while her brothers were allowed to go to baseball games, she was not given the same liberties:

> *I had to come home straight from school. Some of my friends were in young adults clubs, but my mother didn't believe in that. Oh, no!*

Young daughters were sometimes not even allowed to visit their friends' homes. Maryse, a Haitian woman, recalled:

> *We didn't have friends growing up. Not even on the phone could we speak to a classmate. We had to stay out of people's business. After school, we had to hurry up and get home. We couldn't stay for an after school program or latch key programs. If my sisters did, I would have to go and pick them up so that we could hurry home. That's how we grew up.*

---

6 Marie explained that she had a very close relationship with her godmother, such that she felt comfortable talking to her about sex and other personal issues.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

When asked to describe their childhood activities in the street, women responded with bewilderment. They said that they usually tried to stay off of the streets.[7] In effect, the gendered social control of women in second generation Caribbean households resulted in the cloistering of young women from the outside world.

In a study of second-generation Vietnamese students' social adaptation to the United States, Zhou and Bankston (1998) found that young women, unlike young men, were subjected to strict social control and were responsible for more household work than their male counterparts. However, they concluded that strict social control of young women had a positive influence on their education:

> Social control no longer prevents women from acquiring schooling; instead it pushes them toward educational excellence. Paradoxically, it was women - the young people most controlled by traditional Vietnamese expectations - who do better in school. Thus their situation, though inherently undesirable, yields a desirable outcome - academic excellence - that in the long run was likely to subvert traditional Vietnamese patterns of gender roles (Zhou and Bankston, 1998:184).

Thus, Zhou and Bankston argue that Vietnamese traditional culture may have been conservative in intent, but in practice, it had a positive effect in the education of young women in these communities. In other words, young women growing up in such a controlled social environment may come to view schools as the only way out of a difficult situation.

---

[7] Diana, an eighteen-year-old Dominican woman, lived a couple of blocks the researcher's home. However, she insisted that the interview take place elsewhere because her mother was working during the daytime and she did not allow strangers in her home. In contrast, many of the young men interviewed expressed shock and concern that the researcher, a woman in her mid-twenties, entered a stranger's home, especially a man's home, unaccompanied. One young man even warned the researcher about calling from her home phone number when scheduling appointments because caller identification devices identified her home number.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Parents further "protected" their daughters by limiting the amount of time they could spend socializing out the home in the company of young men. Mothers and fathers often warned their daughters that they needed to get an education because of their subordinate gender position. For example, Margaret, a 21 year old West Indian woman who received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Psychology reflected on her parents' advice:

> *My parents would tell me, "You have to work twice as hard because you were Black and you have it even worse because you were a woman." And, I guess it kind of made me want to be one of those women that can be independent without depending on somebody.*

Mothers, in particular, warned their daughters about the perils of depending upon a man for economic support (Washington and Newman, 1991). Rosy, a West Indian college student, remarked that neither of her parents approved of her dating during high school:

> *My father personally, doesn't want any guys around me because he knows how he was when he was younger and he thinks that every male was like that. And my mother, she doesn't want me to get tied down because of what happened to her when she was younger. She doesn't want me to go through the same thing. She had her first child when she was fifteen and married when she was twenty something. So she didn't get a chance to do anything. So she was putting all of that on me.*

Interestingly, Rosy's mother's fundamental concern was for her daughter's long-term independence and happiness, whereas her father was more interested in Rosy's immediate safety and in protecting her from the sexual advances of young men.

Women spoke of deliberately avoiding sexual activity and self-policing their sexual desires in order to ensure that they achieved their educational goals (Tolman, 1996). Nicole, who aspired to become a medical doctor, passionately explained why she did not plan to get married any time soon:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *I have no intentions of letting men screw up my life! I have to finish school. Definitely! Once I'm through with school, I'll be in my thirties. Then, I can think about having a child.*

Nicole was an A-student in high school, and said she was determined not become another "teenage mother statistic." Among women, the intention to delay marriage and child rearing was always discursively linked to the stigmatization of their sexuality and the importance of acquiring educational credentials for dismantling these stereotypes (Chapter 3).

Complicating this dynamic was the larger issue of the traditional role of men as economic providers and women as homemakers. For example, Lidia, a Dominican community college student, explained why she planned to delay childbearing:

> *I don't think I'm ready to have kids. I don't think it's the time for me to have kids. I think I'm too young. I should wait until I graduate from college and have a degree because my child will depend on me. I want to have something to give my child while it was growing up.*

Implicit in Lidia's comments was an acknowledgement that women can no longer depend on a man for a family's economic stability. As a result, some women said that they did not want to have any children, and a few admitted that they had never thought about raising children until we posed the question to them. Avoiding premature child bearing was a theme that emerged in the narratives of women in this study, but not of men. As a break from traditional gender roles, the women's narratives were marked by the assumption that they would assume full responsibility for the well being of their families. These findings contrast sharply with the other studies that suggest that upon reaching adolescence women lose self-esteem and become embedded in a culture of romance (Thorne, 1993).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Homegrown" Feminism

The challenges of the gender-biased division of labor in the household provided women with a critical consciousness from which to understand the role of education in their lives (Pastor, McCormick, Fine, 1996). While women spoke appreciatively of their mothers' sacrifices and courageous efforts to provide for their families in the face of daunting obstacles, they also criticized the double standard that marked the difference between acceptable behavior for men and women. For instance, Marie had some sharp comments about her mother's gendered biased child-rearing practices:

> *Of course, the guys could get away with it. They didn't want to do their homework, they didn't want to do the dishes and they could get away with it. But let me and my sisters decide one day that we didn't want to do it, she will talk to us all night long. My mother would say: "You'll not get married and no man was going to want you." I remember one time my sister didn't do the dishes. It was 2:00 in the morning! My mother went and woke her up! She said: "Get up and go do the dishes!" My sister was dead sleeping and she had to get up and do the dishes.*

Although Marie criticized her mother's double standard regarding household duties, she still expressed a deep respect for her mother and did not blame her for her gender-biased child-rearing practices. When asked to describe how she felt about this double standard Marie elaborated:

> *In one way, it was kind of unfair because my brothers always got away with stuff, but in another instance, I can't really blame my mother because I see where she grew up.*

How can second generation women attack the double standard in their homes, while at the same time remain firmly committed to their families and their communities?

Aida Hurtado (1996) sheds light on this apparently contradictory phenomenon in *The Color of Privilege: Three Blasphemies on Race and Feminism.* Hurtado identifies

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the effervescent feminist critique among minority women as blasphemous because it grows out of love for their community. According to Hurtado, blasphemy involves confronting unpleasant, unvoiced, often ignored social relations that have been suspended for the sake of group survival. For example, Hurtado (1996:77) explains that during Chicano movement during the 1960s which took on the progressive political actions of promoting voter registration, prison reform and the unionization of farm worker, but have not confronted the issue of sexism within the Chicano community. Hurtado explains that "Chicana feminists do not want to separate from the group that simultaneously constitutes their community and oppresses them" (Hurtado, 1996:79). Therefore, minority women sought to dismantle gender oppression in their homes not through divorcing themselves from the men in their communities, but by embracing their families and cultural heritage. These efforts are not seen as condoning male domination, but rather serves as bridges in bringing about the important work of community-building and bringing about social change (Anzaldua, 1987).

Some scholars have suggested that the development of a feminist consciousness among Caribbean immigrant women is a byproduct of assimilation into the American mainstream (Pessar and Grasmuck, 1991; Georges, 1990; Gil and Vasquez, 1996). However, this research suggests that the development of feminist practices among Caribbean women in the United States is a messy and complex process that cannot be explained as a function of assimilation. Rather, these feminist rumblings are rooted in the structural changes in the economy, family structures and culture (Hernandez, and Lopez, 1997).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Women's commitment to independence and egalitarian gender roles were always defined with reference to their mothers' hardships. In due course, women wove a "homegrown" feminist standpoint that was anchored in the lessons they had gleaned their mother's perseverance in the face of daunting obstacles (Momsen, 1993; Senior, 1991; Verene-Shepherd, 1995). Cassandra remembered that as a child she was extremely critical of her father's authoritarian behavior in their home:

> *My father never learned how to cook. My father doesn't even know how to boil an egg! He was so demanding! "The food was too hot! It's too cold! My clothes were wrinkled!" I would say to myself, 'Why can't you do it? You're a person too.' We were always upset about it. I remember when he used to come from work, oh my God! We had to have his sandals waiting for him. All he had to do was give us the look.*

Cassandra's reaction to her home life was imbued with anxiety, anger, fear and love. Although she resented her father's behavior as a *caudillo* (the strongman of the household), she also noted that her mother, despite her wifely submissiveness, was not completely dependent on him for financial support:

> *My mother always used to put in an equal share of the household money because even though she was at home raising us, she never sat down in the house. She was never home waiting for my father to bring the check. My mother was making more money than my Dad. We used to go out and clean apartments together and we used to babysit. I used to go and help her out. She was always doing something. She used to bring in more money than he did. My father never even knew how much.*

Cassandra's mother probably does not view herself as a "feminist" (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994:196). However, her behavior can be described as feminist because it was aimed to produce some degree of self-determination. More importantly, Cassandra clearly respected her mother and spoke fondly of her. It was her mother's resistance to male domination that provided Cassandra with the vantage point from which she made

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

decisions regarding marriage, work, education and career. Similarly, Nicole (the 18 year old West Indian quoted in the introduction of this chapter) explained that her mother separated from her father in Jamaica because he was "lazy." Therefore, it was from observing their mother's resistance to male domination that second generation Caribbean women fashioned their feminist outlooks.

Multiple generations of Caribbean women have engaged in feminist practices that have challenged male domination, and many mothers told their daughters explicitly that they should not depend on men. For example, Diana, discussed how she acquired her feminist standpoint:

> *My mother used to say, "Don't depend on men. Your husband may just leave you and have everything in his name; but, if you get an education, then you'll have something to fall back on because you will have graduated and you'll have a good job and you'll do O.K." My mother would have wanted it to be that way for her, but now she can't do anything about it because she already has kids. She can't work now. She doesn't know English. She didn't have a chance to go to school. But she tells me that equality was the way it's got to be; that it's got to be fifty-fifty. She tells me that I cannot be the way that she is now. Because she's not living the way that she wanted it to be. She's depending on my father and she doesn't like that.*

Caribbean mothers' life choices and experiences and their ability to communicate their feelings about those choices to their daughters have an important impact on the kinds of decisions their daughters eventually make for themselves. When asked about her views on family, marriage and gender roles, Janet explained:

> Janet: *I just have no desire to be married. I think I have a lot more to accomplish and kind of follow through on before I commit myself to somebody.*
>
> Researcher: *Are your ideas somewhat different from those of your sister or your mother?*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Janet: *No, my sister was very career-oriented and actually we get that from my mother. My mother married in part to get out of the house and kind of gave up her dream career to be married. If a woman comes from a strong Dominican family and her family was a big influence on her, she has two choices: either get married, or go to college and get a degree become something. Guys come in and out whenever they want, they can do want ever they want. You'll find that women want to get as independent as they possibly can, otherwise you will have to stay in the house for the rest of your life!*

Janet, like other women, described the emergence of her feminist consciousness in terms of her mother's actions, supporting the view of Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994:195) that changes in gender relations result from experiences in the home rather than from a "modernizing" Anglo influence or the acculturation process.

These feminist patterns are also evident in the home country. In a study of women's labor market participation in the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico and Cuba, Safa (1995) found that women's entry into the paid labor force has translated into greater autonomy within the household. Similarly, in a study of Mexican immigrants in California, Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) states that "it is not feminist ideology but structural rearrangements that promote social change in spousal relations" (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994:196). Thus, among many working class and third world women, adherence to a feminist identity is not a prerequisite of feminist practices.[8]

---

[8] However, Safa also cautioned that the micro-level gains in terms of gender equality at the household-level were undermined at the macro-level. This was because Dominican, Puerto Rican and Cuban women toiled in low wage manufacturing industries that were infamous for their labor abuses and exploitative wages. Thus, while women's entry into the labor force has allowed them more freedom to challenge male domination within their homes, it did not automatically translate into an improved living standard for women at the macro-level.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The development of a feminist consciousness among Third World women is echoed in the growing literature of the Caribbean diaspora (Danticat, 1994; Alvarez, 1997, 1994, 1991). In *Breath, Eyes and Memory,* a novel by Edwidge Danticat (1994), we meet several generations of Haitian women, many of whom had never left the island (Paravisini-Gebert, 1997; Lopez-Springfield, 1997). Facing the ravages of poverty and political oppression, these women express an unwavering sense of hope and maintain high aspirations (DeLeon, 1996). Far from being the passive victims of a male-dominated society, they dream of becoming doctors and engineers. Sophie, the main protagonist, who was born in Haiti but grew up in New York City, shows how Caribbean women have maintained a long legacy of self-determination and insubordination to male domination. Likewise, in *How the Garcia Girls Lost Their Accents* (1991), *In the Time of Butterflies* (1995) and *Yo!* (1998), Julia Alvarez illustrates how the development of a feminist consciousness is rooted in a legacy of island-born Dominican women. Thus, feminist articulations among Third World women can be described as *transnational feminism(s)* that originated in the sending society, and were (re)articulated in the diaspora (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Baca-Zinn and Thorton Dill, 1994; Lopez-Springfield, 1997; Glick-Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton, 1992; Moraga and Anzaldua, 1983).

MEN'S GENDER(ING)

The Absence of a Dual Frame

The men in this study were absolved from the adult-like responsibilities imposed on their female siblings. Men were not expected to perform domestic duties or serve as surrogate parents to younger siblings. When asked about his household responsibilities while growing up, Andres explained:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *We were boys. We didn't have to do much chores around the house. My mother used to take care of the house and do the cooking. When my mother was working she used to have a neighbor come over and stay with us until she returned.*

Men were rarely expected assume childcare responsibilities, regardless of their age. As Andres explained, in a household where there were no girls, another woman, usually a relative or friend was assigned the domestic chores in the mother's absence. This pattern differed from the conclusions in Valenzuela's (1999) study of the role children played in the settlement of Mexican immigrants living in California. He found that while daughters were often expected to play a more active role in helping the family, the eldest regardless of sex had to assume these chores.

Since men were absolved from these chores, they did not compare their present situation with that of their parents, even when their fathers were present. For example, Jose chuckled when explaining that his mother never expected him to perform household duties, but she did teach his sisters:

> *I never washed dishes. I was never expected to wash dishes. But my sisters, my mother showed them to cook. She showed them how to clean the house.*

Men did not personally identify with their mothers' positions as women who are simultaneously mothers, homemakers and low-wage laborers. The gendered division of labor in Caribbean households did not provide men with a dual frame of reference from which to evaluate their choices about marriage, education and career, as it did for women.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The gender(ing) that took place within Caribbean homes reinforced men's traditional views on gender roles and family ideologies. When asked about the differences between how boys and girls were raised, Rodrigo remembered:

> *My sisters had to clean the house and stuff like that. Me, I just had to stay and watch TV. I didn't really have that much responsibility. I'm not good at housework.*

Not surprisingly, Rodrigo smirked when I asked him about his views on gender roles and family ideologies. While he agreed that in a marriage both the husband and wife should work and contribute to the household expenses, he still felt that childcare responsibilities were primarily the responsibility of the wife. Twice as many men as women in the study indicated that they felt housework and childcare were primarily the woman's responsibility in a marriage.[9]

Men also did not speak about serving as institutional brokers for their families. Indeed, several men mentioned that during the few times they did serve as translators for their parents, they felt somewhat embarrassed.

> Rodrigo: *Translating? Well, when I was growing up that was usually my sisters. That was usually their forte. Now, that I'm the only one at home, if they have a phone call or anything that they needed me to help them out with, then I do it.*
>
> Researcher: *How do you feel about that?*
>
> Rodrigo: *It feels OK. But, I mean, they've been here for so many years, I wish they would have learned English by now.*

The meanings men assigned to the task of translating for their families contrasted sharply with women's affirmation that they felt "smart" and proud that they were able to help

[9] In the survey, 44 % of the men compared to 21% of the women felt that in a marriage the wife should be primarily responsible for housework.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

their parents. In addition, men did not talk about having close relationships with family members and lacked many of the emotional supports readily available to their female kin.

Streetboys

The stories of men's childhood activities were peppered with episodes of spending time "in the streets," playing basketball and hanging out with other young men (Diaz, 1997). Freed from the onerous domestic tasks required of their sisters, men had much more leisure time on their hands. Many men seemed to prefer the street to their overcrowded homes. Rodrigo, who at one time shared a one-bedroom dilapidated tenement apartment with his mother, father and sister in the Lower East Side, insisted that we conduct the interview outside, saying "I hate being upstairs cramped up with my parents. I'd rather conduct the interview downstairs in the park." Thus, in spite of the brisk early March weather, Rodrigo's interview was conducted on a park bench, while he greeted his neighborhood friends and kept an eye on his motorcycle. In fact, most of the interviews with men took place in parks, on the street or literally on the run in a car.

Despite parental efforts to protect both daughters and sons from the vices of the street, in practice, men were given more liberties. Another case in point was Denzel, an 18 year old West Indian man who had a C average in high school and was still enrolled in the eleventh grade. As with the other men in the study, scheduling an interview with Denzel was a challenging feat, as he was never home. According to his 15 year-old sister, who always answered the phone, Denzel was outdoors playing basketball and only returned home in the late evening. When asked whether concerns about crime ever kept him from going out, Denzel instead described his family's efforts to safeguard his teenage sister:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Denzel: *My Mom tries to keep her safe. Told her she shouldn't talk to boys. My mom makes sure that if a boy calls and my sister stays on the phone too long, my Mom tells her "get off my phone and do your work because I don't want you talking to boys who can screw up your life." So my sister was protected from the boys element. When I see her talking to a boy, I say "Let me talk to you for a minute. I think you were talking to a bad person." She might give you a hard time but afterwards she leaves him alone and goes about her business.*

Researcher: *So your mom was basically very protective of your sisters, more than with the boys?*

Denzel: *Yeah, because she knows we can take care of ourselves. But with her, she makes sure my sister doesn't get caught up with the boys. My sister, she goes to my high school and has a 93 something average, so right now she can get into any college she wants.*

At the end of the interview, Denzel and his older brother were off to play basketball in the makeshift milk-crate hoops that lined the neighborhood streets. Meanwhile, his younger sister was confined to the home, taking care of their baby sister. Before he left, Denzel mocked his teenage sister, and showed the author a poem she had written about how all men were sexually promiscuous "dogs," whom women should not trust. Seemingly, while young women's views about the future were etched against the backdrop of teenage parenthood and economic independence, these concerns were for the most part absent from men's narratives.

In spite of the greater freedom men enjoyed, they occupied marginal spaces within their homes. Severe overcrowding in many working class and poor Caribbean homes was often resolved by making the living room into a substitute bedroom. In accordance with the principle of maintaining the privacy of the women in the home, the sole bedroom in the apartment was often treated as a woman's space, while the more

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

public living room quarters were designated a male space. This was the case in the homes of Peter, Joaquin, Richard, Perry and Denzel. Denzel and his brother shared a sofa bed in the living room, while his mother and two sisters shared the only bedroom in the apartment. Young men growing up in these overcrowded homes may not want to stay home all day because their bedrooms were public spaces during the daytime. Contrary to popular perceptions of male hegemony in Caribbean households, second generation men from working class and poor backgrounds often occupied peripheral spaces within their homes.

One unifying thread in the narratives of men was their fixation on sports. The makeshift basketball courts, which lined the streets of the Caribbean homes visited, attested to the fact that sports have become a metaphor for masculinity and freedom. For example, Mark, a West Indian man who grew up in a *de facto* segregated housing project in Brooklyn, described the role basketball played during his adolescence:

> *We didn't have gangs. Our housing project just doesn't tolerate gangs. Everybody in our society would stay in touch. My housing project was a close neighborhood, you know, everybody knew everybody, you know. And it was a huge housing project, about 37 buildings or something like that. Everyone knows everybody. There was no purpose for gangs in our neighborhood. Everybody in our project was just oriented to playing basketball. We just liked playing basketball.*

When queried about the drug economy and violence, Mark explained that a young man's fame as a good basketball player preempted him from involvement in drugs. Indeed, Mark reminisced about how his neighborhood community banded together to protect aspiring basketball stars from the ravages of drugs:

> *If some one was good in basketball it was like, "Well, he's going make it, I know he's going to make it, he's going to represent our neighborhood." So, they would take care of him and make sure that he stayed out of drugs and all that. You see, some of the guys in the neighborhood smoked weed. But that's one thing. I never*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *had the peer pressure. When guys smoked weed, they never smoked it around me. Let's say after a game they want to smoke weed or something, they'd go somewhere else with that.*

Mark's description of his housing project suggested that while young men tended to spend more time "hanging out" in the streets than their female counterparts, they did not necessarily engage in illicit drugs or other criminal activities. For example, in a study of New York City public housing projects, Williams and Kornblum (1994) found that young people growing up in housing projects are far from the violence-ridden and dysfunctional communities they are depicted as in the mass media. Instead, they show how urban youths living in public housing projects create spaces where they fashion dreams and hopes for a better life.

Becoming a Man

The quest to establish a firm sense of gender identity - a deep-seated sense of self as "masculine" or "feminine" – became a project that occupied much of men's free time. Young men had a more formidable task before them than their female counterparts, regardless of whether or not their fathers were present. One aspect of men's efforts to fashion a gender identity was actively distancing themselves from their mothers. For instance, many younger men viewed being at home with their mothers as problematic. Steven described why he preferred to work after-school throughout high school:

> *I didn't want to be home. That's one of the reasons I always worked. I didn't want to be there with my mom. I wanted to be out! I didn't want to be there cramped inside the house. Being at work was like freedom, even though you had to take crap. That's why I always worked.*

Men's experience of hanging out in the streets contrasted sharply with women's stories about growing up cloistered within their homes. They boasted that they made every

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

effort to spend as little time as possible at home. When asked why he liked to hang out, Deren smirked and said:

> *Well, that's personal, you know what I'm saying. Street life is very different. I can't explain it. Like us guys, we can't stay home like all day. Like if you stay home, what if they call you mama's boy if you stay home and all that. I want to be outside, I don't want to be home. I don't want to be with my TV at home, I want to be outside, playing basketball, doing something, anything but staying inside, and watching TV.*

Partly due to the gendered division of space in the home, and young men's quest to establish their masculinity, the street became a space where most men spent their free time. Young men "preferred" the streets to their homes because it served as a space in which they were able to construct a sense of masculinity.

Another aspect of proving one's "manhood" was engaging in fights. Men narrated many instances of "testing," in which they were compelled to demonstrate their masculinity by physically defending themselves (Chapter 4). For example, Denzel described the rituals he underwent while in high school:

> *It was rough! Because in junior high school kids try to play hard rocks. They try to act like big men and do bad and stuff. The first day I was in that school, this kid I knew said something that got him in trouble and I tried to stick up for him and he put the whole thing on me so then I had to fight five guys.*

Of course, these episodes of demonstrating one's virility by engaging in fights often translated into problems at school. Haitian men, in particular, recalled many violent incidents at school (Chapter 3). Perry remembered having many negative experiences:

> *They would say "Haitians stink, they don't shower, they don't know how to take care of themselves, they don't know how to do this or that. Sometimes that hurts. A long time ago that's the only thing I used to hear in my ears. That's actually when I would be getting into fights. Getting suspended for like two weeks at a time. If you ignore them, they're just going to keep it up.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Perry's sense of manhood was intimately tied to defending his blemished ethnic identity:

> *The thing I don't like was why some Haitians would lie and say they're Jamaican. I'd look at them and say that's your country, why were you putting yourself down because people call you names? It's important for me to let people know that I'm Haitian. I don't care if they don't want to be my friend.*

Fine and Weis (1998) used Benamayor's (1992:72) concept of cultural citizenship to explain how Puerto Rican men's sense of ethnic pride was intimately tied to their notions of what it meant to be a man who defended his race. Cultural citizenship is a process through which an oppressed people arrive at a common identity and establish solidarity. Thus, stigmatized men's attempt to defend their ethnicity can also be understood as an attempt to be men.

Instead of focusing on postsecondary education, some of the men in the study looked towards a time-honored bastion of maleness – the military - for establishing their sense of manhood. For example, Reynaldo, a Dominican man who was born and raised in Washington Heights, Manhattan, mentioned that he did not plan to go to college:

> *I'm going to the military to see if I can make a man of myself because I like to chill too much. I don't like school that much. I barely made it through high school because I like chilling too much. You know, like hanging out with your friends playing basketball and stuff.*

For Reynaldo, joining the military was the first step in becoming a man and feeling like an adult. While men struggled to achieve a secure sense of gender identity, their female counterparts had long achieved their sense of womanhood. At an early age, women already felt like women because they assumed many adult-like responsibilities in the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

home. In contrast, men had to actively create spaces outside the home to establish their sense of manhood.

Some studies have suggested that men may not want to pursue academic success because they may be accused of being feminine (Bourgois, 1995; Fordham, 1996; Willis, 1981). For example, in a study of African-Americans enrolled in a public high school in Washington, DC, Fordham (1996) found that low achieving men were also preoccupied with their masculinity. These young men measured their manhood in terms of having sexual freedom and not committing themselves to any particular women. In contrast, the high achieving men tended to have only one serious girlfriend. Fordham (1996) also found that some of the high achieving men faced more pressure to reject school achievement because they feared that their peers would accused them of being homosexual.

The men in this study did not define academic success as a feminine trait. However, they did attempt to establish their masculinity through pursuing romantic relationships with women. Men made reference to many episodes of being preoccupied with having girlfriends throughout their adolescence (Fordham, 1996). When asked about the most important aspect of high school many of the men, especially those who had not done well in school, responded: "Chilling, talking to the girls." Some of the men indicated that they sometimes skipped out of classes during high school in order to follow "girls." For example, Sam a self-described "ladies man," admitted that his biggest flaw in life was that he was only interested in women. Sam remembered that he actually transferred to a high school that offered a nursing program because he wanted attend a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

high school that had more girls. Likewise, Steven, who also joked about he decided to attend college because he wanted to chase after one particular woman.

When queried about why they thought that more women in their communities graduated high school than did men, Jose chuckled. According to Jose, men did not view education as seriously as women did because:

> *We were tigueres (tigers).[10] We were chilling in the street all the time. You won't see girls in the corner, especially in Dominican families. They lock down. Then, the only thing the girls can do is open a book and read.*

Men even defended the double standard and boasted that they took an active role in keeping their sisters away from the "boys element." Otherwise, according to some of the men, your sisters might come home "with a belly right in front of you." While men in this study did report that their parents warned them about "getting a girl pregnant," they did not share any of these worries themselves (Vera, 1996). Since men did not see themselves as responsible for childcare, they expressed little concern about becoming parents. Thus, unlike women, men did not talk about delaying sexual activities as a way of securing their future educational opportunities (Chapter 3).

Men also acknowledged that women's higher educational attainment was related to the different ways in which men and women evaluated their futures. For instance, Deren, explained:

> *Girls were more serious than guys are. Guys, we just want to hang out and do other things, but girls are more studious. Girls mature faster than guys do. When guys still wants to play around, girls are already mature. They want to go to school more. They want to learn and they have the idea to look in the future.*

---

[10] In Dominican culture, a *tiguere* is a male cultural form. The English translation of *tiguere* is tiger. A *tiguere* is a man who is quick on his feet, witty, and can fend for himself against insurmountable odds. He is deemed to be a maverick in the art of persuasion. The *tiguere* is also known for his sexual prowess.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Although Deren did not explain why "girls are more serious" about their education than young men are, seemingly, home life is an important part of the reason. Whereas women are expected to be serious and responsible women at a very early age, men are not. This contributes to the different ways in which women evaluate their futures. Men established their sense of manhood by becoming preoccupied with asserting their masculinity through dating and distancing themselves from home life.

CONCLUSION

This chapter began with the question of how changing gender roles influence the outlooks of second generation women and men toward the role of education in their lives and found that gender biased child-rearing practices within the home setting have an important influence. At a young age, second-generation women assumed adult responsibilities and in some cases become surrogate mothers to their younger siblings. This led them to have closer ties to the family and to develop a strong gender identity as women. They also become institutional brokers for their families and felt pride about being able to assist their parents in this capacity. In due course, women developed a dual frame of reference in which they contrasted their own situation with that of their mothers. These experiences provided women with an important vantagepoint from which to evaluate their decisions regarding their futures, leading them to reject early child-bearing and see education as a way of achieving independence.

For several reasons, men did not articulate a dual frame of reference. First of all, gender-biased child rearing practices generally absolved men from many of the adult responsibilities imposed on their sisters. Men also spent many of their adolescent years outside their homes, usually playing sports and they had very weak ties to their extended

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

kin. At the same time, it was clear that for men achieving gender identity was fraught with problems. Whereas women's narratives tied notions of womanhood and independence to education, men discursively linked their feelings of independence and masculinity to work and establishing romantic relationships with women. While women expressed deep concern about the consequences of premature child-bearing, men did not articulate any of these worries. Therefore, as discussed in the preceding chapters, a combination of home life along with racial experiences in schools, at work and in public spaces are important pieces for understanding the puzzle of why women attain higher levels of education than men.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER 7: DISMANTLING THE "NATURALNESS" OF RACE(ING) AND GENDER(ING) PROCESSES

> How is domination a puzzle that can be understood in order to be dismantled, and how were we all players *in relationship* to one another, with different access to power, much of it contextually based and some of it ever present? Our social existence is intertwined, for better or worse, and, whether we live next to one another or not, we influence one another's lives. To be conscious of this *all* the time and to act in relationship to this *all* the time is what will be required to understand fully domination and oppression and to conceive of and construct a world in which race, sexual orientation and gender will not matter and in which we will not know the meaning of class (Hurtado, 1996: 160).

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation began with the question of why women attained higher levels of schooling than did men, particularly in minority communities. Taking a new approach to the issue of minority and immigrant schooling, this study explored the ways in which *race and gender processes* intersect and influence the ways in which minority and immigrant men and women are treated across several social domains. How do racialized and gendered experiences in public spaces mold outlooks toward education? How do racial(izing) and gender(ing) processes intersect within the school setting? How have men and women experienced work within the postindustrial economy? And finally, how do changing gender roles influence men's and women's outlooks toward education?

To answer these questions this study investigated the intersection of race and gender as *lived experience* among the largest second generation group in New York City - the children of Caribbean immigrants from the Dominican Republic, Haiti and the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Anglophone West Indies. A guiding premise of the study was that gender and race oppressions are socially constructed and intertwined. Hence, men and women experienced, perceived and responded to inequality in different ways (Sierra, 1986; Hurtado, 1996; Baca-Zinn, 1994; Hill-Collins, 1990, 1996). The primary data for this study were focus groups, life history interviews and participant observation in a neighborhood public high school.

The proposed *race-gender experience and outlook theory* brought several separate bodies of literature into conversation with one another. Specifically, it relies on key concepts from the racial formation theory, critical feminist theory, segmented assimilation theory and cultural frame of reference theory (Omi and Winant, 1994; Frankenberg, 1993; Feagin and Sikes, 1994; Fine, 1991; Hurtado, 1996; Ogbu, 1995a, 1995b). This framework includes two major concepts, *race-gender experiences* and *race-gender outlooks*. *Race-gender experiences* are the social interactions in which men and women undergo racial(izing) and gender(ing) processes in a variety of social spheres. Over time, repeated *race-gender experiences* have a cumulative effect on the viewpoints of men and women. *Race-gender outlooks* are the life perspectives on education and social mobility. They are an outgrowth of the different experiences men and women have with racializ(ing) and gender(ing) processes. In other words, *experiential differences* with racial(ing) and gender(ing) processes in social realms such as public spaces, at school, at work and in family life, shape the life perspectives of young adults.

The strength of this approach lies in that it focuses on the ways in which race and gender as *lived experience* overlap. This perspective examines how the children of immigrants are assigned racial meanings that are gendered and how these definition

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

become "naturalized" and institutionalized throughout society such that they produce qualitatively distinct *life experiences* for young men and women. While the cultural frame of reference theory and the segmented assimilation theory subsume race under ethnicity, the proposed framework posits that the racialization of second generation youths and its intersection with gender processes is key to understanding their schooling trajectories. This framework also builds on the work of critical feminist theories by fleshing out how education, race and gender processes are braided together.

It is important to highlight that the *race-gender experience outlook theory* emphasizes that there are no *essential* differences between men and women. Rather, the *race-gender outlooks* arise due to differences in experiences, not biology. This *experiential difference* is the outcome of social interactions and structural relationships, not essential differences between men and women (Gilkes, 1996; Hurtado, 1996:26; Weis, 1990a, 1990b; Fine, Weis, Powell and Wong, 1997; Gibson, 1988; Waters, 1996; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1999; Haney-Lopez, 1996; Omi and Winant, 1994; Frankenberg, 1993; Hill-Collins, 1990, 1996; Roberts, 1997, Landrine, 1996; Leadbeater and Way, 1996; Davis, 1983; Fanon, 1982; Lubiano, 1992; Moraga and Anzaldua, 1983). As such, race and gender are not only categories of identity, but also embody social relations and social organizations.

This concluding chapter highlights the main findings of the study and poses some questions for further research. How can the damaging racial(izing) and gender(ing) processes described in the research be dismantled? How can public spaces be de-gendered and de-raced? How can schools take inventory of the informal and formal practices that contribute to the race(ing) and gender(ing) that takes place within their

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

school walls? How can we re-envision alternative workplace arrangements, which dismantle occupational race and gender hierarchies? And finally, how can we re-create the gender(ing) that takes place in the home setting? The answers to these questions have important implications for practitioners, families, communities and youths who are interested in improving the educational experiences of working class and poor urban youths.

DE-RAC(ING) AND DE-GENDER(ING) PUBLIC SPACES

Race is a fundamental organizing principle in the United States (Omi and Winant, 1994; Sanjek, 1994; Steinberg, 1995). Racial hierarchies permeate social structures at all levels, such that individuals and groups who are defined as "white" comprise the top of the racial pyramid, while those who are defined as having one drop of African blood are relegated to the bottom (Davis, 1996). Other groups, such as those labeled as belonging to the Asian or American Indian "races" fall somewhere in the middle of the bipolar white-black continuum. Given this backdrop, the question then becomes, where have the children of Caribbean immigrants been placed in this racial pyramid?

The majority of Caribbean immigrants in the United States could trace their ancestry to populations that originated in Africa. Although Dominican, West Indian and Haitian immigrants are indeed different ethnic groups originating from Caribbean countries with different languages and cultural backgrounds, they are subjected to similar racialization processes. Upon entry to the United States, the overwhelming majority of Caribbean immigrants are defined as members of racial groups that fall to the bottom of the Black/White racial pyramid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The second generation youths in this study lived in neighborhoods that experienced high concentrations of poverty and residential segregation (Schill, 1998). Caribbean neighborhoods have been "symbolically tainted" as undesirable communities (Wacquant, 1997). The racialization of second generation Caribbean youth has been a process of stigmatization. However, this process differs by gender (Lieberson, 1980; Massey and Denton, 1994). Men painstakingly described numerous incidents in which storeowners cast them as muggers, women automatically assumed that they were rapists, and taxi drivers refused them service. These "hate stares" and interactions with strangers taught men that they were not truly accepted and that they were viewed with disdain by the wider society (Feagin and Sikes, 1994). The hegemonic images of dark-skinned men as potential criminals was so powerful that men reported many instances in which they were treated as "suspects," not only by members of the dominant group, but also by their own communities.[1]

The constant threat of police brutality pierced the narratives of men. Men spoke about being constantly being stopped and questioned by the police about crimes simply because they looked "suspicious." Consequently, when asked about whether or not they had any concerns about crime in their neighborhoods, men said that the only people who they feared were the police. Men's repeated negative experiences in public spaces left them with many doubts about the openness of mobility structures in the larger society. In their everyday interactions with strangers, service providers and civil servants, second generation

[1] For example, second generation Caribbean young men said that co-ethnic cab drivers and storeowners also treated them as suspects.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Caribbean men learned that the larger society viewed them with contempt, resentment and in many cases fear.

The racialization of women in public arenas was qualitatively different from that encountered by their male counterparts. Women's racialization stemmed from stigmatized notions of them as exotic, sexual objects. For example, the disapproving looks that women were subjected to in the public area occurred largely when strangers automatically assumed that they were teenage mothers. Through these social interactions, women learned that strangers viewed them as "welfare queens" and sexually promiscuous "mamasitas" (Lubiano, 1992; Mullings, 1997; Roberts, 1997; Espiritu, 1997; Davis, 1983; Hill-Collins, 1990). In an attempt to contest these negative images, women defined education as imperative, seeing it as route to independence and a way to avoid the pitfalls of early childbearing (Leadbeater and Way, 1996).

One important step for bringing about a more egalitarian society is unveiling the modern ideological technologies through which racial, gender and class inequality are institutionalized and justified. Second generation Caribbean men and women all pinpointed the role of the media in creating and circulating negative images of their communities. Racialized and gendered stigmatized ideological representations of urban minority youths have become part and parcel of the national debates on school "safety," and community policing (Hill-Collins, 1990; Roberts, 1997). For example, the racialization of men of dark skin in the media as potential criminals or "suspects" has been used to justify the increased police surveillance of urban minority communities, and these images also fuel the justifications for the rapid expansion of the prison-industrial complex.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The mass media must be held accountable for the dissemination of cultural representations of minority communities that demonize men of African phenotype and exoticize their female counterparts. Regardless of intentions, cultural representations, whether journalistic accounts or social scientific endeavors, are inescapably political, even if they claim to be "politically neutral" and "objective" (Agger, 1998:180). These gendered racial formations reproduce racial, gender and class inequality in the larger society (Haney-Lopez, 1996; Omi and Winant, 1994; Wacquant, 1997). Another necessary part of this process involves unpacking how "whiteness" is simultaneously rendered as normal *and* invisible in the larger society (Fine, Weis, Powell, and Wong, 1997; Frankenberg, 1993). The unveiling of the social processes that create the power differentials among groups that are racialized as "white" "Black" "Hispanic" and "minority people" represents a first step in debunking the "naturalness" of these taxonomies (Chapter 3).

Another way of challenge the "naturalness" of stigmatizing and intersecting racial and gender processes is to dismantle residential segregation. The continued ghettoization of people who are defined as racial "others" facilitates their stigmatization. Thus, For instance, the racial stigma that people of African phenotype have been assigned has its roots in institutionalized racial housing policy (Massey and Denton, 1994). If our aim is to foster a more democratic society, anti-discrimination laws in housing must be strictly enforced. Desegregating housing by race and income must become a national priority that is sanctioned by governmental action (Massey and Denton, 1994).

RE-INVENTING RACE-GENDER SCHOOL LESSONS

Schools as institutions are also not impervious to the racial constructions that occur in the wider society. They relay very powerful messages to young men and women

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

about who they are and who their potential (Meier, 1995). To be sure, the gendered racial stigma that second generation Caribbean youths encountered in public spaces followed them behind their school doors (Meier and Stewart, 1991; Kleinfeld, 1998).

Through their institutional practices many school policies "frame" working class minority young men as problematic students and potential juvenile delinquents who must be controlled and contained (Fine, 1991). One consequence of extreme overcrowding in many urban schools is the reliance on authoritarian principles to maintain "order." Informally some teachers, administrators, and security guards treat minority youths, particularly men as racial others and potential "statistics" – that is "at-risk youths" who will not amount to anything. As a result, a disproportionate number of them are placed in special education classes and they have higher expulsion and drop out rates than female students (Meier and Stewart, 1991). Special education classes have become warehouses for misbehaved boys, especially minorities (Meier and Stewart, 1991; Kleinfeld, 1998). At Urban High School, six percent of students (mostly young men) were placed in self-contained special education classes. The assumption that young minority men are potential troublemakers and the imposition of excessive controls leads them to have poor relationships with school officials. Institutional expulsion characterized the experiences of the men. Consequently, men spoke about having had poor relationships with teachers and security guards.

Aware that they are being warehoused in low-level curriculum tracks and that little is expected of them, men responded with "willfull laziness," expressing their resentment by making no effort to achieve good grades. They admitted that they did not study hard and that they frequently cut class. It is important to emphasize that men did

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

not forthrightly reject the importance of receiving an education for upward mobility, but they did develop *worried outlooks* about the value of an education for them as a stigmatized minority. Men's *vacillating attitudes* towards education can be understood as a consequence of their mistreatment in schools, rather than as the cause of their educational problems (Fine, 1991; Washington and Newman, 1991; Kleinfeld, 1998, 1999).

Although women attended the same schools as their male counterparts, they talked about having qualitatively different experiences than their male peers. As schools became more overcrowded, "feminine traits" such as passivity, silence and obedience were rewarded. Women remembered being exhorted to behave like "young ladies," that is to remain silent and obedient with in school. At the same time, teachers were less threatened by young women, and more lenient if they transgressed school rules. Not surprisingly, women spoke about having favorable relationships with their teachers throughout their academic careers. In some cases good grades were rewards for "good" behavior in class.

In spite of women's congenial relationships with their teachers, they were still tracked into low-level curriculum tracks during high school. Vocational classes, such as pink-collar training programs in secretarial studies, left many women woefully under-prepared for college: whatever its intention, tracking reproduced unequal outcomes among students along race and gender lines (Fine, 1991; Oakes, 1985, 1995).

Nevertheless, women were institutionally engaged with their schools in comparison to their male counterparts. Women maintained high aspirations and took pride in their academic success. They were more active participants in the classroom and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

school activities that were men. They also took the lead in organizing many of the school activities, such as the senior proms, cultural festivities and dances, etc. In due course, women came see education as a way of achieving social mobility and expressed *optimistic outlooks* toward schooling.

If formal and informal schools practices "race" and "gender" students differently, teachers, administrators and policy makers must always be cognizant of the informal gender(ing) and race(ing) that takes place in their institutions (Thorne, 1993). In reality, the inferior education offered to minority and immigrant youths in the United States funnels them into marginal and ghettoized work that jeopardizes their career prospects. For instance, although low-level sex-typed curriculum tracking may be viewed as in the best interest of working class minority and immigrant men and women, in the long-run, these programs undermine their prospects for social mobility (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Oakes, 1985; Ogbu, 1978). Schools should make a conscious effort to track *all* students into "gifted" tracks, beginning in preschool.

Besides tracking, another major problem that must be addressed is the structural overcrowding and chronic under-funding of urban public high schools. Students in poor and immigrant neighborhoods, such as those enrolled at Urban High School, had to contend with many infrastructure and hygiene hazards. Many urban high schools also suffer from chronic teacher shortages. For example, at Urban High School, only half of the teachers were fully licensed and permanently assigned to the school.[2] This meant that

---

[2] The United Federation of Teachers is considering a proposal to prohibit the use of unlicensed teachers in low-income areas.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the rest of the teachers were long-term substitutes were unqualified to teach courses in their subjects.

State officials have responded to the systemic problems in the schools system with erratic short-term solutions, such as recruiting teachers from abroad, providing provisional classroom spaces and touting publicly financed school vouchers for use in private schools as the solution to the ills of public education. Regrettably, substitute teachers and trailer classrooms do not solve the fundamental problems of overcrowding. In addition, it is misguided to divert funding for the purchase of metal detectors and hiring of security personnel, while books and computers are lacking in many urban public schools. At many poor and working class public schools, the need for textbooks and infrastructure renovations are not being met. Indeed, at Urban High School, none of the classrooms observed had textbooks! Under these conditions, minority and immigrant youths learn two lessons. First, their education is neither valued nor expected in the wider society. And second, minority young men learn that they are seen first and foremost as "statistics," who presumed have a propensity to commit crimes.

The call for the privatization of public education is perhaps the most worrisome trend in urban school reform. During the 1990s, the debate on educational reform has centered on the use of publicly financed vouchers in private school (Hartocollis, 1999a, 1999b). School vouchers have been touted as the only roadway for bringing about improvements in the crumbling public school system. However, this political project is problematic on a number of grounds. First, it contributes to the notion that public education is a privilege, rather than a basic human right (Fine, 1993). Secondly, it also shirks responsibility away from state to provide a quality public education to *all* the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

members of society. Thirdly, it depletes funding from already under-funded communities. And finally, this discourse again places the blame on individuals, namely teachers, students and their families, who are allegedly not working hard enough and therefore must be forced to compete for public funding. The more important question remains, why are school buildings crumbling, why are students cramped into overcrowded classrooms without textbooks and funneled into low-level curriculum tracks while metal detectors can be found in their school entrance?

Several steps can be taken in order to improve the educational experiences of both men and women at public educational institutions. First and foremost, the large urban public schools must be restructured. As seen in the life history interviews, the transition from elementary school (grades 1-6) to junior high school (grades 7-9) proved to be one of the most tumultuous periods of an adolescent's life, particularly for young men. Experimenting with combining junior high school and primary schools into one entity could ameliorate this situation. This schooling structure has been quite successful at many parochial and private schools and it could lessen the adjustment transitions for many students.

At the high school level, instead of chopping up the school schedule into slices of 40-minute classes, the school day should be reorganized to have longer periods that met on alternating days (Lopez, 1998). This alternative arrangement could make strides towards facilitating classroom discussions and encouraging the formation of primary groups within classes, instead of outside of the classroom. In addition, this schedule would allow overworked teachers more time to meet with one another and collaborate on their professional endeavors.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

There is ample evidence that points to how large public institutions can be successfully recreated into alternative spaces in which students who were previously defined as "at risk," are turned into scholars, citizens and activists (Meier, 1995; Fine, Weis and Powell, 1997; Fine and Sommerville, 1998; Fine, 1997).[3] One model of what public schools could become is "El Puente Academy for Peace and Justice." Located in the poor and working class Latino neighborhood of Williamsburg, Brooklyn, "El Puente" is one of over a dozen New Vision schools that have sprouted in New York City during the 1990s.[4] Serving as a "puente" (bridge) among a long-standing community based organization, teachers, parents and students, the school's mission includes providing an environment were students can pursue social action, community development and leadership training (See also Meier, 1995). The projects that El Puente's students have spearheaded include, vaccinating the children in the community, operating a soup kitchen, protesting police brutality and rallying against the construction of a toxic waste storage plant in their neighborhood. According to the director, "What's so wonderful about El Puente is that there isn't any break between the school and the community...We are focused on education for liberation that engages our young people, as well as their families and the entire community" (DePommeareau, 1996). El Puente's explicit goal is to build social capital and a sense of empowerment among the 150 students it enrolls is key to their success (Stanton-Salazar, 1997).

---

[3] Small schools are defined as less than 350 elementary and 500 high school, cohesive, self-selected faculty, autonomy, coherent curricular focus; inclusive admissions, and positive behavioral and academic change (Fine and Sommerville, 1998:3).

[4] El Puente eventually plans to become a charter school (Hartocollis, 1999a).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Changes in classroom pedagogy also play an important role in promoting school engagement and academic success. According to traditional pedagogical practices, students have been constituted as empty receptacles who should be ready for the educational "deposits" made by an authoritative teacher (Freire, 1985). However, as explained by Freire (1985) "banking education," where a student records, memorizes and repeats information, without perceiving issues of relative power and contradictions, serves as an instrument of oppression. Therefore, it is extremely important to examine the ways in which the social critique emanating from students, especially young men, is silenced or challenged in the classroom and in the larger community (Fine, 1991; Weis, 1990a).

Critical dialogue and praxis (action and reflection) serves to pave the road to a more democratic learning environment (Fine, 1997; Freire, 1993:66; Delgado, 1992; Cummins, 1993; Aronowitz and Giroux, 1993; Hooks, 1981, 1994). In this endeavor, teachers, administrations, and other schools personnel can either counteract or reproduce power relations between minority students and the dominant society. One example of a transformative teacher at Urban High School was Ms. Gutierrez. Ms. Gutierrez was able to create this egalitarian classroom environment by validating student's knowledge and promoting mutual respect. She encouraged students to pursue their own intellectual interests and welcomed diverse interpretations of historical events such as the industrial revolution. In this manner, she treated students as a co-teachers and collaborators in the educational enterprise. She made every conceivable effort to inspire participation and engagement in her classroom. This often meant stepping outside of the "official" curriculum. In one such instance, Ms. Gutierrez took her juniors on class trips to places

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

such as the "Native American museum," even if this topic was not considered part of the "core" curriculum and would not be included in the New York State Regents Examination. In this type of classroom environment, students felt compelled to participate because they felt like they were a genuinely members of a collaborative community.

At the informal level of student-teacher interactions, teachers must *always* be cognizant of the ways in which they participate in creating or questioning social inequalities along race, class and gender line in their classroom. In doing so, transformative teachers can reduce student alienation and foster a sense of solidarity and community among teachers and students (Freire, 1985; Aronowitz and Giroux, 1993; Fine, Weis and Powell, 1997). Through promoting critical literacy --social empowerment and democratization – transformative teachers can inspire young men and women to participate in their education and promote a language of possibility for a more democratic society (Freire, 1985, 1993).

RE-ENVISIONING DE-RACED AND DE-GENDERED WORKPLACES

At the close of the twentieth century, the postindustrial restructured has created different opportunities and constraints for men and women in the labor market (Ammot and Matthaei, 1991; Mahler, 1997; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Gilbertson, 1996; Waldinger and Gilbertson, 1994; Hurtado, 1992; Kasinitz and Rosenberg, 1996; Kirshenman and Neckerman, 1993; Murguia and Telles, 1996; Waters, 1990; Browne, 1999; Espiritu, 1997). Among the most important changes are the shift from manufacturing to services and the feminization of the labor force (Katz, 1993; Gans, 1992; Bluestone and Harrison, 1982; Mollenkopf and Castells, 1991; Wacquant and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Wilson, 1989; Wilson, 1987, 1996). These trends have had important implications for second generation Caribbean men's and women's entry into the labor force. Indeed, men's and women's experiences in the labor market were quite distinct and often propelled them into quite different employment trajectories.

The men in this study experienced many difficulties securing even entry-level employment. The jobs that men were able to obtain were usually concentrated in the most marginal service sector jobs, such as stockboy, messenger, security and maintenance. Consequently, second generation young men were often "in-between" jobs and frequently worked in the informal economy. Those who were able to obtain work had painful memories of negative *race-gender experiences* on the job (Kirchenman and Neckerman, 1993; Kirchenman, 1997; Kasinitz and Rosenberg, 1996; Kim, 1999). On some occasions, men were treated as untrustworthy employees and potential thieves and they were subjected to verbal abuse and physical exploitation. Through their interactions with supervisors, clients and co-workers, men learned once again that they were viewed in a negative light.

These experiences were added to men's existing reservoir of knowledge about social mobility and lead some men to conclude that they were disadvantaged in the labor market. Men felt that they were held back by a *job ceiling* that worked against them in the labor market (Ogbu, 1978; Waters, 1996). Men frequently mentioned that they had friends and relatives who had earned college degrees in fields such as accounting, who had to resort to working as managers in fast-food establishments because they were unable to secure work commensurate with their educational credentials. In response to these repeated negative race-gender experiences in the labor market, men began to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

formulate *worried outlooks* about their future prospects for social mobility (Waters, 1996; Ogbu and Simons, 1998).

In contrast, women reported experiencing fewer difficulties in finding work. While men's work experience was largely confined to jobs in the informal economy, women's work took place in a more formal work environment, such as medical offices, law firms and finance. Since women tended to work in the growing sectors of the economy, they were provided with a window into potential careers.

Another reason why women experienced fewer difficulties in finding employment was that they had wider social networks (Stanton-Salazar, 1997). Since women generally had better relationships with teachers than did men, they were more likely to be recommended for internships or other resume-enhancing work experiences (Rosenbaum and Binder, 1997). Research has shown that historically employers have had fewer reservations about hiring minority women than their male counterparts (Kirschenman and Neckerman, 1993; Ogbu, 1978). Whereas employers have tended to cast minority men as unreliable and untrustworthy, they have viewed minority women as the "manageable" minority (Kirschenman, 1997; Kasinitz and Rosenberg, 1996; Hurtado, 1996; Mullings, 1997).

Nevertheless, women were still largely confined to ghettoized work in pink-collar jobs in offices. Some women who obtained positions in the growing sectors of the economy, such as finance, spoke about experiencing a "colored" glass ceiling at work. They also said that at times they were subject to racialized sexual harassment from their co-workers, bosses and clients. In response to these negative experiences, women articulated a firm commitment to education as a means of attaining social mobility.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Women consistently cited examples of other women they knew who had pursued an education and had been successful. Overtime, women developed *optimistic outlooks* about the importance of an education for them *as women*. Men's and women's outlooks about social mobility were anchored to their concrete experiences in the work world.

If the goal of policy makers is to reduce the level of race and sex-segregation in the labor market, school-based internships and employment programs have an important role to play. Are school internships preparing women to be secretaries and men to be maintenance service workers? These programs should be vigilant about how (if at all) they counteract or reproduce race and gender stratification in the labor market. Policy makers should evaluate programs such as the Summer Youth Employment Program and the Cooperative Education Program in terms of their success in providing both men and women with substantive work experiences that enhance their skills.

Are employers discriminating against minority men because they are deemed irresponsible and undesirable workers? The demonization of men of African phenotype as undesirable workers has been well documented in numerous studies (Kasinitz and Rosenberg, 1996; Anderson, 1995; Fine and Weis, 1998; Kirshenman, 1997; Kirshenman and Neckerman, 1993). Policy makers should also explore ways to encourage employers to adhere to anti-discrimination policies and prevent informal hiring practices from perpetuating racial and gender stratification. And finally, given the ways in which the racialization of minority women is tied to racially stigmatized notions of their sexuality, it is imperative that particular attention be paid to the "color" of the sexual harassment in the workplace (Hurtado, 1996). In this regard, the sexual harassment that minority women are exposed must also be understood as intersecting with racial discrimination.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

RE-CREATING HOMES

The gendered division of labor in the home setting provided men and women with a very different set of experiences and vantage points, from which to evaluate their options regarding, work, education and family. Female-led migration from the Caribbean has resulted in high rates of female-headed households in the United States. While their mothers worked, second generation Caribbean women assumed adult responsibilities from an early age, caring for children and performing household chores (Valenzuela, 1999). Through identification with their mother's struggles as immigrants, racial minorities and language minorities, women began to evaluate their futures in terms of a *dual frame of reference*, comparing their own situation with that of their mothers. Through this process, they came to identify education as a means of securing social independence and helping their families.

While the home was a source of social support for women, it was also full of contradictions (Lorde, 1996; Hurtado, 1996; Fine and Weis, 1998; Anzaldua, 1990; Fine and Zane, 1989; Fine, 1991; Alvarez, 1996; Weis, 1990a, 1990b). Women appreciated the help they received from their relatives and they also contested the double standard regarding the gendered division of labor in their homes. In due course, women fashioned a "blasphemous" feminist critique (Hurtado, 1996). This feminist critique was blasphemous because at the same time that women respected and understood their mothers' double standard, which granted young men in these households more freedom than their female counterparts, they also criticized it. The women in this study described learning their feminism(s) through witnessing their mother's resistance(s) to male

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

domination, and their feminist articulations can be described as "homegrown" (Lopez-Springfield, 1997; Parvasini-Gerbert, 1997).

Men's experiences with gender(ing) processes at home contrasted sharply with those of their female counterparts, in that they rarely assumed adult-like responsibilities, such as cooking and caring for younger siblings (Valenzuela, 1999). They spent much of their free time outside of their homes, usually playing basketball or other sports. In addition, men also tended to have weak ties to their relatives, and therefore lacked the social supports that their female counterparts thrived on. As a result of these gendering differences, men did not articulate a dual frame of reference, or contrast their situation with that of their parents, even when the fathers were a part of the family life.

Another reason why men held ambivalent attitudes towards education was that for them, achieving a gender identity was fraught with problems. As explained by Anzaldua (1987:84), "men, even more than women, are fettered to gender roles." Second generation men carved their sense of manhood in a number of ways. First, men discursively distanced themselves from their mother's experiences. They openly bragged about preferring to work or hang out in the street, rather than to stay at home with their mothers. Men also attempted to assert their masculinity through relationships and dating. Whereas women talked about not letting men "screw up" their lives, men did not express such concerns. Instead, they described countless episodes of chasing girls throughout their adolescence and young adulthood (Fordham, 1996). Indeed, when asked why they only received average grades in school, men offered two explanations, "I was lazy" and "I was there for the girls." Often, they felt they could establish their manhood through their social relationships with women instead of through their education.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Men's displays of masculinity were not necessarily tied to concrete forms of male domination in the home. Rather, they can be understood as "personally and collectively constructed performances of gender display and so should be distinguished from structurally constituted positions of power" (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994:193; Anzaldua, 1987:84). Indeed, contrary to the prevailing assumptions of male hegemony in Caribbean households, men occupied marginal spatial locations within the home. Furthermore, it is important to note that men in this study did not necessarily view education as a feminine trait as some studies have argued (Fordham, 1996; Bourgois, 1995). Nevertheless, among the men in this study, establishing a sense of manhood was not discursively linked to obtaining an education.

The possibility of building a two-gendered community that is not defined in opposition to one another, but rather speaks to a collaborative effort to build community while working towards elimination gender oppression is a necessary first step in recreating homes (Hurtado, 1996). Are daughters given more adult responsibilities than sons? Parents can also re-evaluate the types of responsibilities they assign to their sons and daughters. In order to alleviate the childcare burden on poor and working class families, government officials can work towards expanding the childcare and healthcare options for poor and working class families. Subsidized childcare can be an important step in improving the lives of many single parent households (Wrigley, 1995). Likewise, child support enforcement is also an important step in helping many of the women (and men) who are struggling trying to provide for their families.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CONCLUSION

The main finding of this study is that *race and gender processes matter* in the schooling of minority and immigrant youths. Racial(izing) and gender(ing) processes in public spaces, schools, the work place, and the home have an enormous impact on the attitudes second generation Caribbean youth form toward education. One important step in disrupting the race(ing) and gender(ing) that takes place across domains of *lived experience* in the larger society is the notion that that racial, gender and class oppression are socially constructed at the micro-level of everyday social interaction, as well as at the macro-level of institutional practices. In order to obliterate systems of oppression, we must *always* be aware of how we were race(ing) and gender(ing) others during the course of our micro-level social interactions, as well as in our macro-level institutional practices (Hurtado, 1996).

Despite claims of objectivity and neutrality, for better or for worse, social science plays an important role in the race(ing) and gender(ing) that takes place in the larger society (Agger, 1998:180). As long as poverty, schooling tracking, residential segregation, overcrowding, racial and gender segregation in the labor market are rendered as "natural" and acceptable social phenomena, social scientists will continue to measure it and describe and thereby normalize its existence. Alternatively, social scientists can aim to uncover how social processes of subordination are created, deployed and resisted. In this manner, we can engage in the important work of demystifying the "naturalness" of race, gender and class subordination and domination in society.

There were many "dangers" in pursuing a research project on why, among minority and immigrant communities, women attained higher levels of education than do

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

men. First, this research question may contribute to an essentialist discourse, which is premised on the myth that women are "naturally" better students. Second, the examination of gender disparities in educational attainment in minority communities may be used to perpetuate the misperception of competition between men and women (Washington and Newman, 1991). Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, the study of the gender gap between minority men and women may encourage the fiction that minority women are prime hires for affirmative action (Washington and Newman, 1991).

These notions are false for several reasons. The gender gap in educational attainment between minority men and women was not just the result of "natural" differences between men and women who are in competition with one another. Rather, these differences reflected the oppressive reality that minority men and women have been treated and racialized quite differently in the larger society. Racialized and gendered patterns in educational attainment speak more about the type of society that minorities and immigrants reside in, than they do about the behavior of the individual minority men and women involved. Nor are men and women in competition; they are members of the same communities (Sierra, 1986; Hurtado, 1996; Washington and Newman, 1991). Finally, this study has shown that far from being the primary beneficiaries of affirmative action, most minority women are ghettoized into the lowest level of the pink-collar sectors (Higginbotham and Weber, 1999; Higginbotham, 1994; Amott and Matthaei, 1991; Baca-Zinn and Thorton-Dill, 1994; Browne, 1999).

This study posits that the micropolitics of day-to-day practices contain the seeds for social change that aims to eliminate social oppression along race, class and gender lines. Although this dissertation focused on public spaces, schools, the workplace and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

family life, as sites where race and gender hierarchies are reproduced, there are countless other social spaces in which to dismantle subordination and oppression, including peer groups, community organizations, religion and spirituality (Fine and Weis, 1998; Pastor, McCormick and Fine, 1996). It is the author's hope that this study will generate new questions and enhance the existing theoretical frameworks, which seek to understand and improve schooling of our next generation. The question that remains is whether or not we want to disrupt the race(ing) and gender(ing) processes and other systems of oppression that have been rendered a "normal" part of our personal lives and societal institutions.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX A: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN WOMEN INTERVIEWED, AGES 18-30

Name and Age	Place of Birth and Age Upon arrival	Schooling Trajectory	Work Trajectory FT=Full-time PT=Part-time	Aspirations and Expectations	Current Marital Status; Individual/ Household Income; Childhood Family Structure
1. Jahaira, 30 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	Dominican Republic, came at age 7; both parents born in the Dominican Republic Grew up in Bushwick, Brooklyn; now lives in Flushing, Queens	BA, economics, public university, B/C average, completed within 6 years; public elementary and junior high school	Research assistant, investment bank, FT; formerly; clerical medical claims, FT; college workstudy, clerical; salesperson, PT; clerical, PT	Would like to finish graduate degree; expects to finish college degree and work as an investment manager; believes she has some chance; if not will attend graduate school	Partner, one child Individual Income: $40,000 Household Income: $40,000, 1 worker Childhood Family Structure: two-parent until age 12 Mother: high school graduate; garment industry Father: autorepair
2. Janet, 26 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	United States, mother born in the Dominican Republic, father from Cuba Grew up in Washington Heights, Manhattan; now lives in Inwood, Manhattan	BA, psychology, private university, A-/B+ average, completed within 7 years; catholic schools, A-/B+ average	Director, school administration, at former high school, FT; formerly bursar's office aide, FT; sales, PT; babysitting, PT; basketball coach in high school	Expects to finish graduate degree and become a psychologist	Lives with roommate, no children Individual Income: $30,000 Household Income: $35,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: high school graduate; health care supervisor Father: high school graduate superintendent

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX A: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN WOMEN INTERVIEWED, AGES 18-30

3. Cassandra, 27 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	Dominican Republic, came age 7; both parents born in the Dominican Republic Grew up Washington Heights, Manhattan; now lives in Inwood, Manhattan	BA, psychology, public university, completed within 9 years, B average; public junior high and high school B average; Catholic elementary school	Management in city government, housing; FT; formerly case manager, mental health clinic, FT; commercial bank, teller, PT; Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP), two summers; math tutor Informal Economy: housekeeping; babysitting; shopping for elderly	Expects to finish graduate degree in psychology; believes she has some chance	Lives with one child; divorced Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: 5th grade, factory-worker, housekeeper Father: high school graduate, factory worker Individual Income: $29,000 Household Income: $29,000; 1 worker
4. Cathy, 19	United States; both parents born in the Dominican Republic Grew up in Bushwick, Brooklyn and Washington Heights, Manhattan; now lives in Ridgewood, Queens	Attending private university, ivy league, double major in business and engineering, A-/B+ average; specialized public high school, A-/B+; public elementary and junior high school	College workstudy, financial aid office, PT; formerly student aide, PT; sales, cashier, PT; summer Youth Program (SYEP), public transportation, 2 summers; cashier; rector, in church, PT	Expects to receive graduate degree; wants to be on the executive board of an engineering company	Lives in college dorm; no children Childhood Family Structure: mother-head Mother: Some grade school, public assistance Father: less than 3 years of college Individual Income: $3,000 Household Income: $10,000; 2 workers

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX A: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN WOMEN INTERVIEWED, AGES 18-30

5. Vanidad, 22	United States; both parents born in the Dominican Republic Grew up in Soundview, The Bronx; still lives there	Attending public university, liberal arts, for 6 years, C average; public high school, B-/C+ average; public elementary and junior high school	Sales, telephone services, PT	Would like to finish graduate degree; realistically expects to finish college; would like to run her own business, but does not think she has much chance; instead expects to work in an office	Lives with parents; no children Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: high school graduate; childcare provider Father: high school graduate; taxi service Individual Income: $10,000 Household Income: $10,000; 1 worker
6. Diana, 18 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	United States; both parents born in the Dominican Republic Grew up in Inwood, Manhattan; still lives there	Attending associate degree program in a vocational school, business administration, B average; vocational public high school; public junior high and elementary school	Unemployed; formerly, office assistant, PT; secretarial, Cooperative Education Program (COOP) Informal economy: decorating for parties	Expects to finish AA degree; want to work in business administration	Lives with mother; no children Childhood Family Structure: mother-head Mother: Some high school, home attendant Father: high school graduate; factory worker Individual Income: None Household. Income: $40,000; 2 workers

APPENDIX A: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN WOMEN INTERVIEWED, AGES 18-30

7. Yvonne, 23 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	United States; both parents born in the Dominican Republic Grew up in Williamsburg and Bushwick, Brooklyn; now lives in Inwood, Manhattan	Attending community college, public university, Business Administration, enrolled 4 years, B average; public high school, B average; Catholic elementary school	Sales research coordinator, investment firm, FT; formerly PT	Would like to obtain graduate degree; Expects to finish a BA; would like to work in investment banking/financial services	Married, no children Individual Income: $20,000 Household Income: $40,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: mother-headed Mother: high school graduate; garment industry; informal economy Father: high school graduate, superintendent, public sector
8. Katia, 18 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	United States; both parents born in the Dominican Republic Grew up in Flatbush and Carnarsie, Brooklyn; now lives in Inwood, Manhattan	Attending, community college, public university, nursing, C average; public high school, junior high and elementary school	Unemployed; formerly clerical, youth services, Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP)	Expects to finish college and become a pediatric registered nurse; believes she has some chance, but if not will become an interior decorator	Single, lives with parents Individual Income: $3,000 Household Income: $10,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: some grade school, garment industry Father: some grade school, repairman in hospital

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX A: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN WOMEN INTERVIEWED, AGES 18-30

9. Crimelda, 28 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted; phone survey was conducted	United States; both parents born in the Dominican Republic Grew up in The South Bronx; still lives there	Formerly attended, community college, public university, business administration, 4 years, B average, 12th grade; grade equivalency diploma (GED); public elementary and junior high school; attended one year of junior high school in the Dominican Republic	Homemaker; formerly, waitress, PT, sales-shoes, PT; sales-clothes, PT; supermarket cashier, summer, FT Informal economy: sales cashier	Expects to finish graduate degree; would like to major in business and work in real estate and become a landlord	Lives with partner, two children Individual Income: $3,000 Household Income: $45,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: mother-headed Mother: 8th grade, informal economy, food preparation Father: building superintendent
10. Orfelia, 20 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	Dominican Republic, came age 6; both parent born in the Dominican Republic Grew up in Corona, Queens; still lives there	Formerly attended public university, social work, B-/C+ average; public junior high and high school, B-/C+ average; some elementary school in Dominican Republic	Homemaker; formerly, teacher's aide, Summer Youth Employment Program, (SYEP); tutor, PT; school internship at a hospital	Expects to finish college degree; does not believe she has much chance of becoming a home attendant	Married, one child Individual Income: None Household Income: $25,000; 1 worker Childhood Family Structure: mother died at birth; dad died when she was 10; raised by aunt Mother: 8th grade, homemaker Father: 8th grade, car attendant

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX A: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN WOMEN INTERVIEWED, AGES 18-30

11. Yvelise, 24 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	United States; both parents born in the Dominican Republic Grew up in Washington Heights, Manhattan; now lives in Inwood, Manhattan	Received certificate in secretarial studies from a vocational school; grade equivalency diploma, public school	Homemaker; formerly Informal Economy: receptionist, medical office, part time; bakery, cashier, PT; clerical, PT	Wants to finish college does not realistically expect to; wants to receive computer training and work as an administrative assistant	Partner, two children Individual Income: $4,000 Household Income: $4,000; 1 worker, public assistance Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: 8th grade, Grade Equivalency Diploma (GED), informal economy, selling cosmetics Father: 8th grade, Grade Equivalency Diploma (GED), garment workers
12. Lidia, 20 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	United States; both parents born in the Dominican Republic Grew up in Inwood, Manhattan; still lives there	Attending, grade equivalency diploma program at private community college, 2 years C average; public high school, average, C; public junior high and elementary school; attended elementary school in the Dominican Republic	Clerical, PT; formerly clerical, police and daycare, Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP)	Expect to finish college; believes she has a good chance of becoming an office administrator.	Single, lives with father; no children Individual Income: $3,000 Household Income: $3,000; 1 worker Childhood Family Structure: Mother, high school graduate; died during childhood; raised by aunt then lived with dad; Father: high school graduate; hotel dishwasher

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX A: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN WOMEN INTERVIEWED, AGES 18-30

13. Dorca, 18 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	United States; both parents born in the Dominican Republic Grew up in Corona, Queens; still lives there	Still attending public high school, C-/D+ average	Cashier, PT; formerly sales manager, PT	Expects to finish college; believes she has some chance of becoming a forensic psychologist; if not will become a sales manager	Lives with parents; no children Individual Income: \$15,000 Household Income: \$40,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: 8th grade, homemaker Father: some high school, chef manager Individual Income: \$15,000
14. Iraida, 19	United States; both parents born in the Dominican Republic Grew up in Corona, Queens; still lives there	Still attending public high school, B-/C+ average	Cashier, FT	Expects to finish high school; does not know what she would like to do ten years from now	Lives with parents; no children Individual Income: \$15,000 Household Income: \$75,000; 3 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: some high school, teacher's aide Father: some high school, truckdriver

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX A: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN WOMEN INTERVIEWED, AGES 18-30

15. Maritza, 18	United States; both parents born in the Dominican Republic Grew up in Williamsburg, Brooklyn; now lives in Bushwick, Brooklyn	Still attending, public high school, C-/D+ average	Missing data; no recorded on work trajectory	Expects to finish college and go into computer science	Lives with parents; no children Individual Income: None Household Income: missing data; 1 worker Childhood Family Structure: mother-headed Mother: some grade school Father: refused to answer
16. Margaret, 21 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	Antigua came at age 6; both parent born in Antigua Grew up in Springfield Gardens, Queens; still lives there	BA, psychology, private university, A-/B+ average; transferred from another private university; Catholic high school, B average; catholic junior high school and elementary	Unemployed; formerly, library assistant, PT; secretary, PT; teacher's assistant, PT; camp counselor, summer	Would like finish graduate degree and become a psychologist; if not will become a writer	Lives with parents; no children Individual Income: $3,000 Household Income: $30,000, 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: missing data Father: MA, high school teacher

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX A: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN WOMEN INTERVIEWED, AGES 18-30

17. Tina, 21 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	Antigua, came at age 6; both parents born in Antigua Grew up in South Ozone Park, Queens: now lives in Springfield Gardens, Queens	Attending private university, liberal arts, B-/C+ average; previously, public university; public high school, B-/C+ average; public elementary and junior high school	Nursing assistant, PT; formerly salesperson, in a variety of large department stores, PT; cashier, large sporting goods store, PT; high school counselor, PT; cashier, fast-food	Expects to finish graduate degree and become a child psychologist	Single, lives with parents; no children Individual Income: $3,000 Household Income: $40,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: AA, Social Worker Father: AA, Vocational School, office associate, health care
18. Thelma, 23 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	Barbados, came at age 6; both parents born in Barbados Grew up in Crown Heights, Brooklyn; now lives in Kingston Village, Brooklyn	Attending pubic university, C average; public high school B average; public elementary and junior high school	Unemployed; formerly secretary, FT; cashier, FT; after school program, PT; dance school assistant, PT Informal Economy: gofer	Would like to finish graduate degree; wants to become a clergywoman	Lives with mother; no children Individual Income: $15,000 Household Income: Missing Data Childhood Family Structure: mother-head Mother: missing data Father: missing data

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX A: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN WOMEN INTERVIEWED, AGES 18-30

19. Denise, 20	United States; both parents born in Barbados Grew up in Crown Heights and Flatbush, Brooklyn; now lives in Flatlands, Brooklyn	Attending public university, liberal arts, B average; public high school, B average; public elementary and junior high school	Unemployed; formerly, cashier in large department store and movie theater, PT; basketball manager, PT Informal Economy: babysitting, FT; filing typing, PT	Would like to finish graduate degree and become a lawyer	Lives with family; no children Individual Income: $3,000 Household Income $75,000; 3 workers Childhood Family Structure: mother-headed; raised by aunt when mother immigrated Mother: Grade Equivalency Diploma, Babysitter Father: Missing data, printer
20. Rosy, 19 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	Trinidad and Tobago, came at age 10; both parents born in Trinidad and Tobago Grew up in Flatbush and Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn; now lives in Flatlands, Brooklyn	Still attending public university, psychology, B average; public high school, B average; private elementary in Trinidad	Salesperson, large department store, PT; formerly secretary, PT; waitress, PT; tutor, PT; waitress, summer while in high school Informal Economy: clerical, secretarial	Would like to finish graduate degree in psychology; if not will do interior decorating	Single, lives with parents; no children Individual Income: Missing Data Household Income: $75,000; 3 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: Junior high school, teacher's aide Father: Junior high school, shipping envelopes

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX A: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN WOMEN INTERVIEWED, AGES 18-30

21. Nicole, 18 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	Jamaica, came at age 12; both parents born in Jamaica Grew up in Jamaica, Queens; now lives in St. Albans, Queens	Attending magnet public high school, A average; private school in Jamaica	Babysitting, unpaid for younger sibling	Would like to obtain medical degree and become a neurosurgeon	Single, lives with mother; no children Individual Income: $3,000 Household Income: Missing data; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: mother-headed Mother: Some College, Nurse's aide Father: Missing data
22. Rhina, 19 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	Trinidad and Tobago, came at age 5; both parents born in Trinidad and Tobago First arrived in Miami, Florida; grew up in Flatbush, Brooklyn	Attending grade equivalency diploma program for mentally and physically challenged; public high school, C average; public elementary and junior high school	Clerical hospital; formerly, clerical, summer youth employment program (SYEP)	Wants to finish college; does not know what she will do in the future	Lives with Grandmother; one child Individual Income: $3,000 Household Income: Missing data; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: raised by grandmother; mother is also mentally challenged; Mother: Missing data Father: Missing Data

APPENDIX A: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN WOMEN INTERVIEWED, AGES 18-30

23. Sally, 19	United States; both parents born in Haiti Grew up in Flatbush, Brooklyn; still lives there	Attending public university, out-of-state; public high school, C average; public junior high and elementary school	Track Meet Official, PT; formerly, Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP), Receptionist, PT Informal Economy: babysitting	Would like to receive graduate degree and become a nurse; believes she has some chance	Lives with parents; no children Individual Income: $3,000 Household Income: $100,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: some college, physical therapist assistant Father: some college, vice president
24. Marie, 19 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	United States; both parents born in Haiti Grew up in Crown Heights, Brooklyn; now lives in Flatlands, Brooklyn	Attending community college, public university, nursing C average; public high school, C-/D+ average; public junior high and elementary school	Unemployed; formerly, nurses' assistant, PT; sales associate, HS, PT; nursing home recreational assistant, PT, high school summer; X-ray technician assistant, private hospital, PT, HS; daycare, Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP)	Would like to finish college and become a nurse; believes she has some chance; if not does not know what she will do ten years from now	Lives with mother, father deceased, no children Individual Income: $3,000 Household Income: Missing data; 1 worker Childhood Family Structure: mother-headed Mother: some college in Haiti, home health aide Father: some college in Haiti, missing data

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX A: **DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN WOMEN INTERVIEWED, AGES 18-30**

25. Uranis, 24	Haiti, came at age 9; both parents born in Haiti Grew up in Queens Village, Queens; still lives there	Attending public university, C average; grade equivalency diploma, public high school B average; public junior high and elementary school	Salesperson, FT; formerly bartender, FT; surveying, PT, HS; cashier, PT, HS Informal Economy: waitress	Would like to finish graduate degree; expects to finish college; ten years from now would like to be a lawyer; believes she has some chance	Lives with one child Individual Income: $20,000 Household Income: Missing Data, 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: Missing data, Factory worker Father: Missing data, Barber
26. Sedare, 19 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	Haiti, came at 6; both parents born in Haiti Grew up in Bushwick, Brooklyn; still lives there	Attending paralegal vocational school, paralegal studies; public high schools, A-/B+ average	Unemployed; formerly salesperson, HS, FT, summer; receptionist, HS, PT	Would like to finish graduate degree; expects to finish college; would like to become a paralegal	Lives with parents; no children Individual Income: $3,000 Household Income: $75,000; 3 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: high school graduate, maintenance, Housekeeping Father: high school graduate; maintenance

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX A: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN WOMEN INTERVIEWED, AGES 18-30

27. Maryse, 21 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	Haiti, came at 3 Grew up in Crown Heights, Brooklyn; still lives there	Attending vocational school, computer specialist certificate; formerly, nursing public university, B average; public high school, B average; public elementary and junior high school	Unemployed; formerly salesperson at large department store, FT; office aide, city government, through summer college internship; receptionist, private hospital, HS, PT; childcare, HS, PT	Would like to finish graduate school and become a corporate executive officer	Married, no children Individual Income: $29,000 Household Income: $29,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: mother-headed Mother: some college, environmental services Father: knows nothing
28. Vicky, 24	United States; both parents born in Haiti Grew up in Jamaica, Queens; Flatbush, Brooklyn; and Philadelphia, PA; now lives in Flatbush, Brooklyn	Certificate, nursing assistant, vocational school; grade equivalency diploma; public high school, C-/D+ average; public junior high school and elementary	Personal care aide, PT; formerly customer service, PT; cashier, fast-food, PT; cashier, PT, food service; cashier, PT	Would like to finish college; expects to do some college; would like to work in a hospital doing x-rays; if not will pursue nursing	Lives with parents; no children Individual Income: $8,000 Household Income: $20,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: some college, babysitting Father: some college, Janitor

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX A: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN WOMEN INTERVIEWED, AGES 18-30

29. Sharese, 19	United States; both parents born in Haiti Grew up in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn and Cambria Heights, Queens; now lives in Bushwick, Brooklyn	Attending certificate program in business administration, vocational school; public high school, B average; public junior high and elementary school	Inventory clerk, FT; fast-food, HS, FT; telemarketing, HS, FT; receptionist, HS, PT Informal Economy: manicures; secretary for paralegal office	Would like to finish graduate degree and start her own business; believes she has some chance; if not will work for a company	Lives with one child Individual Income: $5,000 Household Income: $30,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: mother-headed Mother: high school graduate; receptionist Father: high school graduate; incarcerated
30. Renee, 25	Haiti, came at age 12 Grew up in Flatbush, Brooklyn; still lives there	Attended vocational school, beautician, no Certificate; public high school, C average; public elementary and junior high school	Cashier, fast-food, PT	Would like to complete college and become a nurse	Lives with mother; no children Individual Income: Missing data Household Income: $5,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: women-headed Mother: missing data Father: some college, taxi driver

APPENDIX A: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN WOMEN INTERVIEWED, AGES 18-30

31. Fiola, 18	Haiti, came at age 6; both parents born in Haiti Arrived in Miami, FL then Canada; grew up in Flatbush, Brooklyn; now lives in Queens Village, Queens	Attending in public high school, B-/C+ average	No work in the formal economy Informal Economy: manicures; secretary for a paralegal	Would like to finish graduate degree and become a bus driver	Lives with parents; no children Individual Income: $3,000 Household Income: $15,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: some college, home attendant Father: high school painting, artwork

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX B: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN MEN INTERVIEWED

Name & Age	Place of Birth; Age Upon Arrival; Residential History	Schooling Trajectory	Work Trajectory FT = Full-time PT = Part -time	Aspirations & Expectations	Current Marital Status; Individual/Household Income; Childhood Family Structure
1. Isidro, 21 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	Dominican Republic, came at age 11; both parents born in the Dominican Republic Grew up in Flushing, Queens; still lives there	Attending public university, economics, B average; public high school, A-/B+, average; private school in the Dominican Republic	Bankteller, PT; formerly, fast food, PT Informal Economy: deliveries; sold jewelry	Wants to finish graduate degree and become a financial analyst; believes it is highly likely	Lives with parents, no children Individual Income: $8,000 Household Income: $75,000; 3 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: some grade school, makes cakes; informal economy Father: Missing data, accountant

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX B: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN MEN INTERVIEWED

2. Alejandro, 23 Follow-up interview was conducted	Dominican Republic, came at age 1; both parents born in the Dominican Republic Grew up in East New York Brooklyn; now lives in Corona, Queens	Attending public university, C average; public high school, B-/C+ average; public elementary and junior high school	Unemployed; formerly, shipping, FT; security guard, PT; stockboy, grocery store, PT; volunteer internship, Department of Probation	Wants to finish graduate degree and become a probation officer; believes he has some chance; if not will be a parole officer	Lives with parents; no children Individual Income: $8,000 Household Income: $40,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: high school Father: some high school, stock, supermarket
3. Alfredo, 19 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	United States; both parents born in the Dominican Republic Grew up in Corona, Queens; still lives there	Attending public state university, A-/B+; private out-of-state preparatory school, A average; public elementary and junior high school	Workstudy Tutor, Mathematics; formerly clerk, major bank; stockboy, warehouse; paperboy	Expects to finish graduate degree and become a computer network engineer; believes has some chance	Lives with mother; no children Individual Income: $8,000 Household Income: $40,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: Mother-headed Mother: Some College, factory Father: high school graduate, cable installer, formerly factory

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX B: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN MEN INTERVIEWED

4. Andres, 24 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	United States; both parents born in the Dominican Republic Grew up in Elmhurst, Queens; still lives there; lived in the Dominican Republic during high school	Attending Police Academy; private high school in the Dominican Republic, C average; Catholic elementary school	Full-time police recruit; formerly, salesperson, PT; receptionist, PT; airport security, PT	Does not plan to continue education; wants to become a police officer; if not will open a business	Lives with partner; no children Individual Income: $30,000 Household Income: $45,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: some high school, cashier Father: some high school, electrician
5. Peter, 23 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	United States; mother from the Dominican Republic; father second generation European-American Grew up in Washington Heights and Inwood, Manhattan; still lives there	Formerly attended community college, computer programming, C+/D+ average; previously attended four-year college, public university, computer science, D average; public high school, B-/C+ average; public elementary and junior high school	Disabled because of car accident; formerly, customer service representative, PT; stockboy in book store, PT; college work study, PT; hardware store, PT; dishwasher, stockboy supermarket; cashier grocery store Informal Economy: Unloading trucks for wholesaler, PT; assistant gas station, PT	Wants to finish college; believes he has some chance of becoming a computer programmer	Lives with family; no children Individual Income: $10,000 Household Income: $25,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: Mother-headed Mother: Some college, vocational school, seamstress Father: MA, Teacher

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX B: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN MEN INTERVIEWED

6. Rodrigo, 22 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	Dominican Republic, came at age 2; both parents born in the Dominican Republic Grew up in the Lower East Side, Manhattan; still lives there	Formerly, public university, C average; Grade Equivalency Diploma (GED), Dropped out in 10th grade, public high school; public elementary and junior high school	Security, FT; formerly, elevator operator and assistant to superintendent, PT Off the books: security	Wants to finish college; believes he has some chance; Wants to work in telecommunications and become a computer programmer	Lives with parents; no children Individual Income: $10,000 Household Income: $10,000; 1 worker Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: missing data Father: missing data
7. Reynaldo, 18 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	United States; both parents born in the Dominican Republic Grew up in Inwood, Manhattan; still lives there	Attending public high school, C average; public elementary and junior high school	Retail, beepers, PT; formerly, fast-food food preparation, PT; Informal Economy maintenance; worked at dad's grocery store	Wants to finish law degree; believes he has some chance; if not will enlist in the military and become an aviation mechanic	Lives with parents; no children Individual Income: $3,000 Household Income: $35,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: Grade Equivalency Diploma (GED), factory Father: junior high school, grocery store manager

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX B: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN MEN INTERVIEWED

8. Joaquin, 20 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	United States; both parents born in the Dominican Republic, Grew up in the Upper West Side, Manhattan; lived in Puerto Rico for a year; now lives in Inwood, Manhattan	Attending Grade Equivalency Diploma (GED) Program in a community college; dropped out of high school in Puerto Rico; public elementary and junior high school in the United States	Unemployed; formerly, maintenance in state agency, PT Informal economy: maintenance, carpeting, tiles; mechanic	Expects to finish college and become a video game programmer; does not believe he has much chance; if not will do secretarial work	Lives with mother; no children Individual Income: $3,000 Household Income: $12,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: Mother-headed Mother: Some college, Daycare, receptionist Father: some college, printing, deliveryman
9. Leonaldo, 27	Dominican Republic, came at age 11; both parents born in the Dominican Republic Grew up in Washington Heights, Manhattan; now lives in Soundview, The Bronx	Grade Equivalency Diploma (GED), 12th grade was the last grade attended; C average; public school; private elementary school in the Dominican Republic	Construction worker, FT; formerly Informal Economy: Busboy, FT	Does not plan to continue his education	Lives alone, two-children, do not live with him Individual Income: $20,000 Household Income: $20,000; 1 worker Childhood Family Structure: two parent until 12 years came to US alone, lived with aunt Mother: Some grade school, farmer Father: Some grade School, farmer

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX B: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN MEN INTERVIEWED

10. Daniel, 19	United States; both parents born in the Dominican Republic Grew up in Woodside, Queens; now lives in Corona, Queens	No high school degree; No Grade Equivalency Diploma (GED), 10th grade was the last grade attended; public elementary and junior high school	Unemployed; formerly salesperson, PT; stockboy, PT	Wants to finish college and become an electrician; but if not will open up business	Lives with Mother; one-child, does not live with him Individual Income: $8,000 Household Income: $40,000; 3 workers Childhood Family Structure: Mother and grandmother Mother: some college, Father: Laundromat
11. Orlando, 20	Dominican Republic, came at age 10; both parents born in the Dominican Republic Grew up in Corona, Queens; still lives there	High School Dropout, 12th grade; No Grade Equivalency Diploma (GED), public high school, B average; elementary school in the Dominican Republic	Factory laborer, assembles beepers in boxes, FT; formerly, factory worker, assemble dolls	Wants to finish graduate degree and become computer programmer; does not think he has much chance; if not will be a laborer	Not married, lives with parents, one-child Individual Income: $15,000 Household Income: $75,000; 4 workers Childhood Family Structure: Mother-headed Mother: some high school, hair dresser Father: junior high school, automechanic

APPENDIX B: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN MEN INTERVIEWED

12. Jose, 25 Follow-up in-depth interview was conducted	United States; both parents born in the Dominican Republic Grew up in Inwood, Manhattan; still lives there	High School Dropout, public high school , 11th grade last grade attended, C-/D+ average, Grade Equivalency Diploma (GED); public elementary and junior high school	Stockboy at electronics store, FT; formerly, jail program, street maintenance; fast food, sporadic; Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP). Childcare	does not want to continue education; expects to work as laborer for the rest of his life; wanted to become an architect	Lives with Mother; one-child, does not live with him Individual Income: $10,000 Household Income: $10,000; 3 workers Childhood Family Structure: Mother-headed Mother: some high school, factory Dad: some junior high school, factory

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX B: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN MEN INTERVIEWED

13. Mark, 24 Follow-up in-depth interview conducted	United States; mother born in Jamaica; father born in St. Vincent and St. Grenadine Grew up in Crown Heights and Brownsville, Brooklyn; now lives in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn	Attending public university, business management, C average, 7 years; pubic high school, B average; private junior high school; public elementary	Grocery stockboy, PT and cashier grocery, PT; formerly Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP), maintenance	Expects to finish graduate degree; does not know what he would like to do ten years from now	Lives with partner; one child Individual Income: $20,000 Household Income: $30,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: BA, Teacher aide Father: Some College, Train motorman
14. Mohammed, 18	United States; Mother African American born in United States; father born in St. Grenadine Grew up in Bay Ridge and Flatlands, Brooklyn; still lives there	Attending out-of state public university; public high school, Regents diploma, A-/B+ average; public elementary and junior high school	Full-time college student; has never worked and is not looking for work	Would like to finish Medical Degree and become a cardiac surgeon; expects that he will succeed	Lives in dorm; no children Individual Income: None Household Income: $100,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: office associate, child welfare Father: chief accountant and director

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX B: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN MEN INTERVIEWED

15. Samuel, 19	Jamaica, came at age 11; both parents born in Jamaica Grew up in Crown Heights, Brooklyn; still lives there	Attending private liberal arts college, Computer Engineering, refused grade point average; public high school, A-/B+ average; private elementary; public elementary and junior high school	Workstudy college library, PT; formerly engineering internship in high school	Expects to finish graduate degree and become an engineer	Lives with parents; no children Individual Income: $3,000 Household Income: $12,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: high school graduate, office clerk in entertainment, sports Father: high school graduate, security guard
16. Luke, 23 Phone survey was conducted	United States; mother born in Grenada; father born in Jamaica Grew up in Brooklyn; no recorded information on neighborhood	Attending private university out-of-state; private university abroad; state university; public high school	Communications specialist, health industry, FT; no other recorded work history	Would like to finish graduate degree and work in a law office or firm	Lives with parents; no children Individual Income: $10,000 Household Income: $125,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: BA chief accountant, medical service Father: some college, manager, electronics

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX B: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN MEN INTERVIEWED

17. Owen, 18 Follow-up in-depth interview conducted	United States; both parents born in Guyana Grew up in Carnaise, Brooklyn; still lives there	Attending public university, refused grade point average; public high school, C-average; public elementary and junior high school	Unemployed; No job history in formal economy Informal Economy: Clean up after parties, PT; moving, one time	Expects to finish graduate degree; believes he has some chance; would like to be an electrical technician; does not know what he will do instead	Lives with mother; no children Individual Income: None Household Income: $40,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: Mother-headed Father: high school graduate, Hotel Clerk Mother: high school graduate, case manager, AIDS cases
18. Fred, 21	St. Vincent, came at age 10; both parents born in St. Vincent Grew up in Flatbush, Brooklyn; now lives in Jamaica, Queens	Attending public university, two years, C average; public high school, C average; public elementary and junior high school	Unemployed; formerly, sales associate, PT, clothes; Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP); customer service representative; (SYEP), nursing home	Wants to finish graduate degree and become an Federal Bureau of Investigation agent; believes he has some chance; if not will become a state marshal	Lives with mother; no children Individual Income: None Household Income: $20,000 Childhood Family Structure: Mother-headed Mother: high school graduate, patient care, nursing home Father: high school graduate, policeman

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX B: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN MEN INTERVIEWED

19. Steven, 23 Follow-up in-depth interview conducted	United States; mother born in St. Vincent; father born in Grenada Grew up in East Flatbush, Brooklyn; still lives there	Attending public university, liberal arts , two years C-/D+ average; formerly, private university for one year; public high school C average; public elementary and junior high school	Computer system analyst, FT; formerly construction, PT; usher, PT; stockboy, PT; cashier, PT Informal Economy: icemaker; cashier	Would like to finish college and become a bioengineer; believes he has some chance; if not does not know what he will do instead	Lives with parents; no children Individual Income: $29,000 Household Income: $150,000; 4 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: junior high school, home attendant Father: junior high school, carpentry
20. Paven, 18 Follow-up in-depth interview conducted	Guyana, came at age one; both parents born in Guyana Grew up in Bushwick, Brooklyn; still lives there	Attending community college, liberal arts; public high school, A-/B+ average; public elementary and junior high school	Packing and clerical, PT, off the books; formerly, messenger; construction	Does not want to continue his education; would like to become a corporate executive officer for footwear company; does not believe he has much chance; does not know what he will do instead	Lives with parents; no children Individual Income: Missing Data Household Income: Missing Data; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: nurse's aide Father: some high school, chemical plant

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX B: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN MEN INTERVIEWED

21. Wexler, 30	Jamaica came at age 7; mother born in Jamaica; father born in Cuba Grew up in Flatbush, Brooklyn; still lives there	Attended community college, no degree, Liberal Arts, A-/B+ average; public school, Regents diploma, B-/C+ average; private elementary and junior high school	Administrative assistant FT; formerly data entry, banking; clerical, PT; stockboy, PT	Expects to finish graduate degree; would like to open his own business, restaurant or laundromat; does not believe he has much chance	Lives with mother; no children Individual Income: $25,000 Household Income: Missing Data; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: Mother-headed Mother: some college, maintenance Father: missing data
22. Benjamin, 18	United States; both parents born in Grenada Grew up in Flatbush, Brooklyn; still lives there	Attending Grade Equivalency Diploma (GED) Program; public high school, 11th grade last grade attended, B-/C+ average; public elementary and junior high school	Unemployed; formerly babysitting, informal economy	Would like to finish college and become a music producer for a record company	Lives with mother; no children Individual Income: None Household Income:$50,000; 3 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: some college, nurses' aide Father: some college, electrical engineering technical overseer

APPENDIX B: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN MEN INTERVIEWED

23. Caton, 20	Jamaica, came at age 7; both parents born in Jamaica Grew up in Williamsbridge, The Bronx; still lives there	Attending suburban community college, computer information systems, C average; formerly attended out-of-state community college; public high school C average; public elementary and junior high school	No recorded Job history	Would like to finish graduate degree and become a computer internet graphic artist	Lives with parents; no children Individual Income: None Household Income: $100,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: Associates Degree, Dietary Assistant, AIDS patients Father: high school graduate, Telephone Technician
24. Deren, 18 Follow-up in-depth interview conducted	Guyana, came at age 5; both parents born in Guyana Grew up in Corona, Queens; still lives there	Attending community college, liberal arts, B-/C+ average; Grade Equivalency Diploma (GED), public high school, 11th grade last grade attended, B-/C+ average; public elementary and junior high school	Customer service, retail, PT; formerly stockboy, pharmacy, PT Informal Economy: packing groceries	Would like to finish college and obtain an office job	Lives with parents; no children Individual Income: $6,000 Household Income: $75,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: Grade Equivalency Diploma (GED), homecare, nurse's aide Father: Some college, bookkeeper

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX B: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN MEN INTERVIEWED

25. Kyle, 26	United States; both parents from Trinidad and Tobago Grew up in Flatbush, Brooklyn; still lives there	Still attending community college, liberal arts, A-/B+ average, four years; elite specialized pubic high school, B average; public elementary and junior high school	Office assistant, FT; formerly office assistant, health industry, PT; office assistant, PT Informal Economy: Packing groceries; cashier, grocery store	Would like to finish graduate degree; does not know what type of job he would like to have ten years from now	Lives with parents; no children Individual Income: $5,000 Household Income: $15,000; 3 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: Some college, supervisor, phone company Father: some college, supervisor lumberyard
26. Denzel, 18 Follow-up in-depth interview conducted	Trinidad and Tobago, came at age 10; both parents are from Grenada Grew up in Flatbush, Brownsville, Brooklyn; now lives in Crown Heights, Brooklyn	Attending high public high school, C-average; public high school and junior high school; elementary school in Grenada	Unemployed; formerly handed out flyers, informal economy	Would like to finish some college and become play in a major basketball league; believes he has some chance; if not will become a lawyer	Lives with mother; no children Individual Income: None Household Income: $25,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: Mother-headed Mother: high school graduate Father: some college, supervisor, office

APPENDIX B: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN MEN INTERVIEWED

27. Ralph, 22	Jamaica, came at age 7; mother born in Jamaica; father born in United States Virgin Islands Grew up in Crown Heights, Brooklyn; still lives there	High School dropout, No Grade Equivalency Diploma (GED); last grade attended 10th grade, public high school, C-/D+ average; public elementary and junior high school	Unemployed; formerly, library aide, PT Informal economy: hardware store, PT; help construction, PT; drug workers, PT	Would like to finish college; realistically expects to finish high school; would like to buy and sell cars	Lives with mother; no children Individual Income: $3,000 Household Income: $25,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: Raised by mother's cousin when mom emigrated, then just mother Mother: missing data, clerk Father: BA degree, health inspector in the Caribbean
28. Shawn, 25 Follow-up in-depth interview conducted	Haiti, came at age 10; both parents born in Haiti Grew up in Prospect Heights, Brooklyn; still lives there	Attending pubic university, 7 years, computer science, refused grade point average; public high school, A-/B+ average; elementary school in Haiti; public junior high school in US	Electrical technician, FT; formerly computer technician; cashier, fast-food, PT	Would like to finish graduate degree in computer science or mathematics and run his own software business; believes he has some chance, but if not he will remain a worker	Lives with mother; no children Individual Income: $15,000 Household Income: $15,000; 1 worker Childhood Family Structure: mother-headed Mother: high school graduate, homemaker Father: some college, teacher in Haiti

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX B: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN MEN INTERVIEWED

29. Yosef, 20	United States; both parent born in Haiti Grew up in Crown Heights and Flatbush, Brooklyn; still lives there	Attending community college, undecided, A average; formerly attended vocational training school; public high school A-/B+ average; public elementary and junior high school	Supermarket, PT; formerly Stockboy; Carwash, PT	Would like to finish college and own a restaurant	Lives with mother; no children Individual Income: $20,000 Household Income: Missing data; 4 workers Childhood Family Structure: mother-headed Mother: Grade Equivalency Diploma (GED), Home Attendant Father: missing data
30. Richard, 24 Follow-up in-depth interview conducted	Haiti, came at age 8; both parents born in Haiti Grew up in Prospect Heights, Brooklyn; still lives there	Formerly attended community college, no degree, physical therapy A+/B+ average; public high school B average; public elementary and junior high school; some elementary in Haiti	Unemployed; formerly, school cafeteria, PT; small retail store, PT; large department Store, PT; gas company, meters	Would like to finish college and become a physical therapist	Lives with mother; no children Individual Income: None Household Income: Missing data; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: mother-headed Mother: graduated high school school, health aide; informal economy: babysitting; prepares food Father: some graduate school, librarian in Haiti

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX B: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN MEN INTERVIEWED

31. Gerald, 25	Haiti, came at age 10, both parents born in Haiti Grew up in suburban area in New Jersey; has lived in Flatbush, Brooklyn since his adolescence	Attending community college, 4 years, Liberal Arts, refused grade point average; formerly vocational School, Bank Teller, Certificate; public high school C average; public junior high school; some elementary in Haiti	Driver, mail service, PT; formerly supermarket, PT; driver, meat factory, PT; fast-food, PT; paper delivery Worked in informal economy	Would like to finish graduate degree and become an architect; does not believe this is highly likely; does not know what he will do instead	Lives with parents; no children Individual Income: $20,000 Household Income: $20,000; 1 worker Childhood Family Structure: raised by aunt Mother: deceased during childhood Father: some college, electrical engineer
32. Sam, 26 Follow-up in-depth interview conducted	United States; both parents born in Haiti Grew up in Flushing, Queens; now lives in Long Island, NY	Graduated public high school, C average; public junior high school; Catholic elementary school	Restaurant entrepreneur; formerly studio engineering production manager, FT; stockboy, supermarket, PT; telemarketing, selling newspapers Informal Economy: dog walking; paper route	Would like to finish graduate degree and own a chain of restaurants	Lives with Partner; 3 children (two of the children do not live with him) Individual Income: $50,000 Household Income: $74,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: two-parent Mother: high school graduate, nurses' aide Father: high school graduate, bus driver, taxi driver, real estate

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX B: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN MEN INTERVIEWED

33. Joseph, 19	United States; both parents born in Haiti Grew up in Crown Heights, Brooklyn; now lives in Flatbush, Brooklyn	Attending Catholic high school, B average; private elementary and junior high school	Bouncer, PT; formerly security, PT, high school; ice-cream sales; delivery, PT; painting, PT	Would like to finish graduate; realistically expects to finish college and become an engineer; if not will go into wrestling	Lives with mother; no children Individual Income: $3,000 Household Income: $20,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: mother-headed Mother: MA, nurse Father: some college, car service
34. Perry, 18 Follow-up in-depth interview conducted	Haiti, came at age 10; both parents born in Haiti Grew up in Prospect Heights, Brooklyn; still lives there	Attending public high school, C average; public elementary and junior high school; some elementary in Haiti	Dishwasher, Cooperative Education Program (COOP) in high school Informal Economy: Baby-sitting	Would like to finish college and become a medical doctor; believes he has some chance; if not will become a computer mechanic	Lives with mother; no children Individual Income: None Household Income: $3,000; 2 workers Childhood Family Structure: mother-headed Mother: missing data, fast-food cook supervisor Father: high school graduate, mechanic's aide

APPENDIX B: DESCRIPTION OF SECOND GENERATION CARIBBEAN MEN INTERVIEWED

35. Paul, 18 Follow-up in-depth interview conducted	United States; both parents born in Haiti Grew up in East Flatbush, Brooklyn; Crown Heights, Brooklyn; lived four year in Haiti; now lives in Crown Heights, Brooklyn	Attending public high school, A-/B+ average; private junior high school in Haiti; public elementary schools	Unemployed; formerly newspaper delivery, PT	Would like to finish college and become an agronomist	Lives with mother; no children Individual Income: None Household Income: $5,000; 4 workers Childhood Family Structure: mother-headed Mother: BA, home *attendant* Father: BA, factory worker in Haiti

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX C: SUMMARY OF FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS

All of the participants in the focus groups attended the City University of New York (CUNY). Unless otherwise noted, all participants attended four year colleges. The focus groups were conducted in a CUNY classroom during December 1995. They were tape-recorded and transcribed and generally lasted over two hours.

DOMINICANS

MEN

1. Carlos is nineteen years old and he was born in the United States. He is majoring in liberal arts.
2. Guillermo is twenty years old and came to the United States at the age of five. He is studying business administration

WOMEN

1. Anivelca is twenty-one years old and was born in the Dominican Republic, but was brought to the United States when she was a few weeks old. She is majoring in Political Science and Sociology.
2. Neyda is twenty-year-old and was born in the Dominican Republic. She came to the United States at the age of ten. She is majoring in Media.
3. Oneida is twenty-seven years old and was born in the Dominican Republic and came to the United States at the age of three. She is a graduate student.
4. Cindy is twenty-eight years old and was born in the Dominican Republic. She came to the United States as a teenager. Cindy was attending a community college.

WEST INDIAN AND HAITIAN FOCUS GROUP

MEN

1. Adolf is a nineteen years old and was born in the United States. His parents are from Belize.
2. Kevin is a twenty years old and was born in the United States. His parents are from Guyana.

WOMEN

1. Hazel is twenty-two years old and was born in the United States. She is majoring in pre-law. She lived in her parent's homeland between the ages of three and eight.
2. Evelyn is thirty years old and was born in Haiti. She came to the United States at the age of five. She is a graduate student.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX D: SAMPLE QUESTIONS FROM THE LIFE HISTORY SURVEY

What was the name of the high school you graduated from?

Was that?

- A public school
- Private school
- Parochial school
- Other
- Not sure/Refused

What type of degree did you get, was it a

- Regular Diploma
- Regents diploma
- Not Sure

In high school what was your average number or letter grade?

- A (93)
- A-/B+ (89-92)
- B (83-88)
- B-/C+ (79-82)
- C (73-78)
- C-/D+ (69-72)
- D or lower (68 or less)
- Not sure

Now I'd like to ask you about your first full-time job. Did you have an employer on that job or were you self-employed?

- Had employer
- Self-employed
- Not sure

How many hours a week did you work?

What was your specific job title?

What were your most important activities or duties?

Now I'd like to ask you some political questions. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly agree with the following statements.

Who do you think should be responsible for doing the housework

- Husband Entirely
- Most Husband, Wife Helps Some
- Husband and Wife Equally
- Wife Mostly, Husband Helps Some
- Wife Entirely

Within the past year, did you feel like someone was showing prejudice toward you or discriminating toward you:

		Yes	No	DK	NA
a.	at work				
b.	at government offices, such as city hall, dept. of social services				
c.	buying something at a store				
d.	by the police				

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX E: SAMPLE QUESTIONS FROM THE IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

What was it like to move to the United States? What were the biggest things you had to adjust to?

When you were growing up did you have to do things to help the family [baby sit, cook, clean]? Did this ever interfere with your goals for yourself? How did you feel about this?

Were there differences in the obligations of the men and the women in the family? How were they different? Can you give me some examples.

Tell me about translating for your family when you were younger. Did that make you feel good? Bad? Embarrassed? Can you give me an example. Did you feel it was an obligation?

Tell me about the ways in which [ETHNIC GROUP] raise children differently than other Americans do? Which way do you think is best and why?

What do you consider your race to be?

What is your ethnicity?

What do other people think you are?

Have there been any specific times when you have experienced problems or difficulties from being [ETHNIC GROUP]? Tell me about that.

You mentioned you attended [HIGH SCHOOL]. How did you end up there? Tell me about your experiences there.

In high school your received mostly [grades D's, C's, B's, A's]. Why do you think you got those grades?

Did you have a teacher in any of your schools when you were growing up who took a special interest in you and really cared about what happened to you? Or who caused you real problems for you? Tell me about that.

Some people say that an education will help you find a good job. Others say that whether you have a high school diploma or college degree doesn't matter much these days. What do you think?

Some people say that if minorities do well in school they will be seen as "selling out" or "acting white." What do you think? How were academically successful [ETHNIC GROUP] seen at your school? Were they seen as less [ETHNIC]?

What kind of advice did your parents/family give you about how to "make it" and become successful in this country? Do you agree or disagree with them? In your opinion, how do you believe you can "make it" here? What will you tell your future children? Do your friends agree or disagree with you?

You mentioned that you are currently working as [JOB TITLE]. Tell me about how you got this job? How did you hear about it?

Sometimes people find it necessary to work "off-the-books" in order to pay bills. Have you ever had to do this?

You mentioned that you experience unfair treatment or discrimination at [INSERT SURVEY ANSWERS]. Tell me about that. Why do you think this happened?

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX F: FOUR-YEAR OUTCOMES FOR ETHNIC/RACIAL POPULATIONS AND THE COMBINED POPULATION IN THE CLASS OF 1995, 1996, 1997

ETHNICITY/RACE	GRADUATES	DROPOUTS	STILL ENROLLED
Hispanic			
1995	37	24	39
1996	38	22	41
1997	38	21	41
Black			
1995	43	18	39
1996	44	17	39
1997	43	16	41
American Indian			
1995	53	13	33
1996	46	19	35
1997	45	16	39
Asian			
1995	66	11	24
1996	64	8	28
1997	66	8	27
White			
1995	69	12	19
1996	69	10	21
1997	70	10	20
Combined Population			
1995	48	18	34
1996	48	16	35
1997	48	16	36

Source: Board of Education of the City of New York

This table shows that during the 1990s, Hispanic and Black students had the lowest graduation rates of any racial groups. In comparison, whites and Asians had relatively high graduation rates.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX G: 1997 FOUR-YEAR COHORT DATA BY RACE AND GENDER (IN PERCENTAGES)

RACE & GENDER	% GRADUATED	% STILL ENROLLED	% DROPOUT	% OTHER
Black Women	42 %	31%	17%	14%
Black Male	30%	38%	13%	17%
Hispanic Women	35%	30%	16%	19%
Hispanic Male	27%	35%	17%	20%
Native American Women	43%	14%	17%	9%
Native American Male	53%	39%	11%	18%
Asian Women	63%	19%	6%	14%
Asian Male	51%	26%	8%	20%
White Women	63%	15%	7%	16%
White Male	54%	19%	11%	17%

Source: Board of Education Four Year Cohort Data for the Class of 1997, N=79,788

This table shows that for the class of 1997, women had higher high school graduation rates than their male counterparts, across all racial groups. Conversely, men had higher rates of remaining enrolled beyond the traditional four years of high school.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX H: 1997 FOUR-YEAR COHORT DATA, DIPLOMA TYPE BY RACE AND GENDER (IN PERCENTAGES)

RACE & GENDER	% REGENTS DIPLOMA	% REGENTS DIPLOMA WITH HONOR	% LOCAL HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA	% GED (Grade Equivalency Diploma)	% OTHER GRADUATE	% SPECIAL EDUCATION DIPLOMA	% N/A (Still Enrolled)
Black Women	5%	1%	30%	2%	5%	0%	58%
Black Male	3%	0%	20%	3%	4%	0%	70%
Hispanic Women	3%	1%	24%	3%	4%	0%	65%
Hispanic Male	3%	0%	17%	3%	3%	0%	73%
Native American Women	7%	4%	23%	3%	4%	1%	57%
Native American Male	8%	0%	23%	3%	3%	0%	65%
Asian Women	19%	9%	30%	1%	4%	0%	38%
Asian Male	15%	6%	27%	2%	5%	0%	49%
White Women	19%	7%	31%	3%	3%	0%	37%
White Male	16%	5%	24%	5%	4%	0%	46%

Source: Board of Education Four Year Cohort Data for the Class of 1997, N=79,788

This table shows that for the class of 1997, over five times as many whites and Asians graduate with the academically rigorous Regents diploma than did Hispanics and Blacks.

APPENDIX I: CUNY ENROLLMENT BY UNDERGRADUATE AND GRADUATE LEVEL, RACE/ETHNICITY AND COLLEGE: PERCENT FEMALE

RACE/ETHNCITY	% UNDERGRADUATE	% GRADUATE/FIRST PROFESSIONAL
Black	67%	71%
Hispanic	63%	70%
Asian	50%	49%
American Indian	59%	62%
White	57%	66%

Source: City University of New York. 1996. "CUNY Student Data Book: Fall 1996." 1:103.

This table shows that the vast majority of enrolled Black and Hispanic undergraduates and graduates at the City University of New York are women.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX J: CUNY DEGREES GRANTED, PERCENTAGES BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND GENDER: CUNY AND NATIONAL COMPARISONS, 1994-95

RACE/ ETHNICITY	% Associates Degrees	% Bachelor's Degrees	% Master's Degrees	% Doctoral Degrees
Black	34%	29%	21%	5%
Hispanic	32%	17%	12%	4%
Asian	8%	13%	8%	18%
Native American	.1%	.3%	.1%	0%
White	26%	41%	59%	73%
Percent Female	63%	62%	65%	44%

NATIONAL

RACE/ ETHNICITY	% Associates Degrees	% Bachelor's Degrees	% Master's Degrees	% Doctoral Degrees
Black	9%	8%	7%	5%
Hispanic	7%	5%	4%	4%
Asian	4%	5%	5%	8%
Native American	1%	.6%	.5%	.4%
White	79%	81%	84%	84%
Percent Female	60%	55%	55%	39%

Source: City University of New York. 1996. "CUNY Student Data Book: Fall 1996." 1:173.

Note: Nonresident aliens are excluded from the CUNY and national race/ethnicity percentage distributions. To permit comparison with the most recent available national data, the CUNY data are for the degrees granted in 1994-1995. The national data are from the United States Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Degrees and Other Awards Conferred by Institutions of Higher Education: 1994-95

This table shows that nationally and at CUNY, women are the majority of degree holders at all levels, except the doctorate. Data were not available for examining outcomes by race and gender.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX K: 1995 HOUSEHOLD INCOME OF FIRST-TIME FIRST YEAR STUDENTS BY LEVEL: CUNY AND NATIONAL COMPARISON

Income	Community College	Community College	Community College	Community College	Four Year College	Four Year College	Four Year College	Four Year College
	CUNY	Cumulative	National	Cumulative	CUNY	Cumulative	CUNY	Cumulative
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
< $10,000	10		9		13		6	
$10,000 to $14,999	34	44	7	16	24	37	5	11
$15,000 to $19,999	10	54	6	22	7	44	4	15
$20,000 to $24,999	18	72	7	29	16	60	6	21
$25,000 to $29,999	9	81	9	38	5	65	6	27
$30,000 to $39,999	12	93	16	53	11	76	12	39
$40,000 to 49,000	3	96	14	67	4	80	13	52
$50, 000 <=	4	100	32	100	20	100	48	100

Source: City University of New York. 1996. "CUNY Student Data Book: Fall 1996." 1:177.

Note: The CUNY data are taken from the 1995 Undergraduate Student Experience Survey. National data for public institutions are taken from Alexander W. Austin et. al., "The Freshman: National Norms for 1995" (Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute, Graduate School of Education, University of California, 1995). The national survey asked students for their parent's income, whereas the CUNY survey asked for their household income. In order to maximize comparability, the CUNY data presented here include only those students who reported that they live with one or both parents.

This table shows that the majority of CUNY students come from poor and working class backgrounds.

BIBIOGRAPHY

Agger, Ben. 1998. Critical Social Theories: An Introduction. Oxford: Westview Press.

Alvarez, Celia. 1996. "The Multiple and Transformatory Identities of Puerto Rican Women in the United States: Reconstructing Discourse on National Identity." In Unrelated Kin: Race and Gender in Women's Personal Narratives, edited by Gwendolyn Etter-Lewis and Michelle Foster. London: Routledge.

Alvarez, Julia. 1997. Yo! Chapel Hill, NC: Alogonquin Books.

_______. 1994. In the Time of Butterflies. Chapel Hill, NC: Alogonquin Books.

_______. 1991. How the Garcia Girls Lost their Accents. Chapel Hill, NC: Alogonquin Books.

Ammot, Teresa and Julie Matthaei. 1991. Race, Gender and Work: A Multicultural Economic History of Women in the United States. Boston: South End Press.

Anderson, Elijah. 1990. Streetwise: Race, Class and Change in an Urban Community. Chicago. University of Chicago Press.

Anyon, Jean. 1997. Ghetto Schooling: A Political Economy of Urban Educational Reform. New York: Teachers College.

_______. 1995. "Race, Social Class and Educational Reform in an Inner City School." Teachers College Record. 97(1):64-94.

_______. 1980. "Social Class and the Hidden Curriculum of Work." Journal of Education 162(1):67-92.

Anzaldua, Gloria, Editor. 1990. Making Face, Making Soul, Haciendo Caras: Creative and Critical Perspectives by Women of Color. San Francisco: Aunt Lute.

_______. 1987. Borderlands: La Frontera, The New Mestiza. San Francisco: Aunt Lute.

Apple, Michael. 1996. Cultural Politics and Education. New York: Teachers College Press.

_______. 1989. "American Realities: Poverty, Economy and Education." In Dropping from School: Issues, Dilemmas, and Solutions, edited by Lois Weis. Albany: State University of New York Press.

_______. 1985. "Review Article-Bringing Back the Economy into Educational Theory." Educational Theory 36(4): 405-415.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Aroch, Guy, et. al. 1998. "Being 13: A Photo album of America's Influential, Impressionable, Streetwise, Sentimental and very Young Adults." Cover story. New York Times Magazine, Section 6, May 17th.

Aronowitz, Stanley and Henry Giroux. 1993. Education Still Under Siege. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.

Attanasi, John. 1994. "Racism, Language Variety and Urban United States Minorities: Issues in Bilingualism and Bidialectalism." In Race, edited by Roger Sanjek and Steven Gregory. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University.

Baca-Zinn, Maxine and Bonnie Thorton-Dill. 1994. "Difference and Domination." In Women of Color in United States Society, edited by Maxine Baca-Zinn and Bonnie Thorton-Dill. Philadelphia: Temple.

Bailey, Thomas and Roger Waldinger. 1991. "The Changing Ethnic/Racial Division of Labor." In Dual City: Restructuring New York, edited by John Mollenkopf and Manuel Castells. New York: Russell Sage.

Benmayor, Rina. 1992. Responses to Poverty Among Puerto Rican Women: Identity, Community and Cultural Citizenship. New York: Centro de Estudios Puertorriquenos, Hunter College, City University of New York.

Berger, Joseph. 1999. "Yale Gene Pool Seen as Route to a Better Baby." New York Times, January 10th.

Black, Jan Knippers. 1986. The Dominican Republic: Politics and Development in an Unsovereign State. Boston: Allen and Unwin.

Blauner, Robert. 1972. Racial Oppression in America. New York: Harper and Row.

Bluestone, Barry and Bennet Harrison. 1982. The Deindustrialization of America: Plant Closings, Community Abandonment, and the Dismantling of Basic Industry. New York: Basic Books.

Board of Education. 1995. "The Class of 1995 Four Year Longitudinal Report." New York City: Office of Educational Research.

________. 1997. "The Class of 1996 Four Year Longitudinal Report and 1995-96 Events Dropout Rates." City of New York: Division of Assessment and Accountability.

Bogen, Elizabeth. 1988. Caribbean Migration in New York City: A Demographic Study. New York: Department of City Planning.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bound, John and Laura Dresser. 1999. "Losing Ground: The Erosion of the Relative Earnings of African American Women During the 1980s." In Latinas and African American Women at Work: Race, Gender, and Economic Inequality, edited by Irene Browne. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction." In Power and Ideology in Education, edited by Jerome Karabel and A. H. Halsey. New York: Oxford University Press.

_______. 1984. Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bourgois, Philippe. 1995. In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio. Cambridge, UK: University of Cambridge Press.

Bowles, Samuel and Herbert Gintis. 1976. Schooling In Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life. New York: Basic Books.

Brandon, Paul. 1991. "Gender Differences In Young Asian American's Educational Attainments." Sex Roles 25(1/2):45-61.

Brint, Steven. 1991. "Upper Professional: A High Command of Commerce, Culture, and Civic Regulation." In Dual City: Restructuring New York, edited by John Mollenkopf and Manuel Castells. New York: Russell Sage.

Browne, Irene. 1999. Latinas and African American Women at Work: Race, Gender, and Economic Inequality. New York: Russell Sage.

Candelario, Ginetta. "Dominican Racial Ideologies." Doctoral Dissertation. Graduate School and University Center, City University of New York, forthcoming.

Candelario, Ginetta and Nancy López. 1995. "The Latest Edition of the Welfare Queen Story: Dominicans in New York City." Phoebe: Journal of Feminist Scholarship Theory and Aesthetics 7(1/2):7-22.

_______. 1994. "No One Lives Off Welfare: Dominican Women in New York City." Video co-produced with Nancy Lopez. Graduate School and University Center, City University of New York. Aired: March 15, 1997 on CUNY-TV.

Chavez, Linda. 1992. Out of the Barrio: Toward a New Politic of Hispanic Assimilation. New York: Basic Books.

City University of New York. 1996. "CUNY Student Data Book: Fall 1996." Vol. 1.

_______. 1995. "Immigration and the CUNY Student of the Year 2000."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Clark, Reginald. 1983. Family Life and School Achievement: Why Poor Black Children Succeed or Fail. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Coleman, James. 1990. Equality and Achievement in Education. San Francisco, CA: Westview Press.

_______. 1988. "Social capital and the Creation of Human Capital." American Journal of Sociology 94:95-120.

_______. 1987. "Families and Schools." Educational Researcher 16:32-38.

Cookson, Peter and Caroline Persell Hodges. 1985. Preparing for Power: America's Elite Boarding Schools. New York: Basic Books.

Crenshaw, Kimberle, Editor. 1996. Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement. New York: New Press.

Cummins, Jim. 1993. "Empowering Minority Students: A Framework for Intervention." In Silenced Voices: Class, Race and Gender in United States Schools, edited by Lois Weis and Fine, Michelle. Albany: State University of New York.

Dalmage, Heather. 1996. In Black and White, Living on Racial Border: Race and Community (Multiracial Families). Doctoral Dissertation. Graduate Center, City University of New York.

Danticat, Edwidge. 1994. Breath, Eyes, Memories. New York: Vintage.

Davis, Angela. 1983. Women, Race, and Class. New York: Vintage.

Davis, James. 1996. "Who is Black? One Nation's Definition." In The Meaning of Difference: American Constructions of Race, Sex and Gender, Social Class, and Sexual Orientation, edited by Karen Rosenblum and Toni-Michelle Travis. New York: McGraw Hill.

Day, Jennifer. 1998. "Young Women Surpass Men in Educational Attainment, Census Bureau Reports." U.S. Census Bureau. United States Department of Commerce. Washington DC: Economic and Statistics Administration.

Day, Jennifer and Andrea Curry. 1998a. "Educational Attainment in the United States: March 1998 (Update)." Current Population Reports. Washington DC: U.S. Department of Commerce Education and Statistics Administration, p20-512.

Day, Jennifer and Andrea Curry. 1998b. "Educational Attainment in the United States: March 1997." Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce, P. 20-505.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

De Pommeareau, Isabelle. 1996. "It Takes the Community to Educate the Child at this Urban School." The Christian Science Monitor. April 24th. P.15.

De Leon, Brunilda. 1996. " Career Development of Hispanic Adolescent Girls." In Urban Girls: Resisting Stereotypes, Creating Identities, edited by Bonnie Leadbeater and Niobe Way. New York: New York University.

Delgado, Concha. 1992. "School Matters in Mexican-American Home: Socializing to Education." American Educational Research Journal (29)3:495-513.

Devine, John. 1996. Maximum Security: The Culture of Violence in Inner-City Schools. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Dovidio, John and Samuel Gaertner, editors. 1986. Prejudice, Discrimination and Racism. Orlando: Academic Press.

Drennan, Matthew. 1991. "The Decline and Rise of the New York Economy." In Dual City: Restructuring New York, edited by John Mollenkopf and Manuel Castells. New York: Russell Sage.

Driver, Geoffrey. 1980. "How West Indians do Better at School (Especially the Girls)." New Society 17: 111-114.

Dunn, James. 1988. "The Shortage of Black Male Students In the College Classroom: Consequences and Causes." The Western Journal of Black Studies. 12(2):73-76.

Durkheim, Emile. 1956. "Education: Its Nature and its Role." Education and Sociology. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Epstein, Cynthia Fuchs and Stephen Duncombe. 1991. "Women Clerical Workers." In Dual City: Restructuring New York, edited by John Mollenkopf and Manuel Castells. New York: Russell Sage.

Eschbach, Karl and Christina Gomez. 1996. "Choosing Hispanic Identity: Ethnic Identity Switching Among Respondents to High School and Beyond." Social Science Quarterly 79(1):73-90.

Espiritu, Yen Le. 1997. Asian American men and women: Labor, Law and Love. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publication.

Fanon, Franz. 1982. Black Skin, White Mask, translated by Charles Lam Markmann. New York: Grove Press.

Farley, Reynolds. 1984. Blacks and White: Narrowing the Gap? Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Farley, Reynolds and W. Allen. 1987. The Color Line and the Quality o f Life In America. New York: Russell Sage.

Feagin, Joe. 1995. "The Continuing Significance of Race: Anti-Black Discrimination In Public Places." American Sociological Review 56:101-116.

Feagin, Joe and Melvin Sikes. 1994. Living with Racism: The Black Middle Class Experience. New York: Routledge.

Fernández-Kelly, M. Patricia and Richard Schauffler. 1994. "Divided Fates: Immigrant Children In a Restructured U.S. Economy." International Migration Review 284(108):662-689.

Fine, Michelle. 1991. Framing Dropouts: Notes on the Politics of an Urban Public High School. Albany: State University of New York.

Fine, Michelle, Editor. 1994. Chartering Urban School Reform: Reflections on Public High Schools in the Midst of Change. New York: Teacher's College.

Fine, Michelle and Janis Sommerville. 1998. Small Schools, Big Imagination: A Creative Look at Urban Public Schools. Chicago: Cross City Campaign for Urban School Reform.

Fine, Michelle and Lois Weis. 1998. The Unknown City: Lives of Poor and Working-Class Young Adults. Boston: Beacon Press.

Fine, Michelle, Lois Weis and Linda Powell. 1997. "Communities of Difference: A Critical Look at Desegregated Spaces Created for and by Youth." Harvard Educational Review 67(2):247-284.

Fine, Michelle, Lois Weis, Linda Powell and Mun Wong, editors. 1997. Off White: Readings on Race, Power, and Society. New York: Routledge.

Fine, Michelle and Nancie Zane. 1989. "Bein' Wrapped Too Tight: When Low-Income Women Drop Out of High School." In Dropouts from School: Issues, Dilemmas, and Solutions, edited by Lois Weis, Eleanor Farrar and Hugh Petrie. Albany: State University of New York.

Fine, Michelle, et. al., 1997. "Communities of Difference: A Critical Look at Desegregated Spaces Created for and by Youth." Harvard Educational Review 67(2):247-284.

Flores, Juan. 1997. "The Latino Imaginary: Dimensions of Community and Identity" In Tropicalizations: Transcultural Representations of Latinidad, edited by Frances Aparicio and Susana Chavez-Silverman. London: University Press of New England.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Foner, Nancy. Ed. 1987. "The Jamaicans: Race and Ethnicity Among Migrants In New York City." In New Immigrants in New York. New York: Columbia University Press.

Fong, Timothy. 1998. The Contemporary Asian American Experience: Beyond the Model Minority. New York: Prentice Hall.

Fordham, Signithia. 1996. Blacked Out: Dilemmas of Race, Identity, and Success at Capital High. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

_______. 1988. "Racelessness as a Factor in Black Students School Success: Pragmatic Strategy of Pyrrhic Victory?" Harvard Educational Review 58 (1):54-84.

Fordham, Signithia and John Ogbu. 1986. "Black Students' School Success: Coping With the Burden of Acting White." Urban Review 18(3):176-206.

Frankenberg, Ruth. 1993. White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.

Freedman, Deborah, Arland Thoarton, Donald Camburn, Duane Alwin and Linda Young-DeMarco. 1988. "The Life History Calendar: A Technique for Collecting Retrospective Data." Sociological Methodology 18: 37-68.

Freire, Paolo. 1993. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. New York: Continuum.

_______. 1985. The Politics of Education: Culture and Power and Liberation. New York: Bergin and Garvin.

Gans, Herbert. 1962. The Urban Villagers. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

_______. 1992. "Second Generation Decline: Scenarios for the Economic and Ethnic Futures of the post-1965 American Immigrants." Ethnic and Racial Studies 15(2):173-193.

Georges, Eugenia. 1990. The Making of a Transnational Community: Migration, Development and Cultural Change in the Dominican Republic. New York: Columbia University.

Gibson, Margaret. 1988. Accommodation Without Assimilation: Sikh Immigrant In an American High School. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Gil, Rosa Maria and Carmen Inoa Vazquez. 1996. La Paradoja de Maria. New York. Putnam.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Gilbertson, Greta. 1996. "Women's Labor and Enclave Employment: The Case of Dominican and Colombian Women In New York City." International Migration Review 29(3):657:-670.

Gilkes, Cheryl. 1996. "The Margin as the Center of Theory of History: African-American Women, Social Change, and the Sociology of W.E.B. Du Bois." In W. E. B. Du Bois on Race and Culture: Philosophy, Politics, and Poetics, Bernard Bell, Emily Grosholz and James Stewart, editors. New York: Routledge.

Gilroy, Paul. 1993. The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.

Ginorio, Angela, et. al., 1996. "Psychological Issues for Latinas." In Bringing Cultural Diversity to Feminist Psychology: Theory Research and Practice, edited by Hope Landrine. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Glazer, Nathan and Daniel Moynihan. 1970. Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City, Second Edition. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

_______. 1975. Ethnicity: Theory and Experience. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Glick-Schiller, Nina Linda Basch and Christina Blanc-Szanton. 1992. "Transnationalism: A New Framework for Understanding Migration." Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 645.

Goffman, Erving. 1964. Stigma, Notes on the Management of Identity. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin.

Goldin, Claudia. 1990. Understanding the Gender Gap: An Economic History of American Women. New York: Oxford Press.

Gonzalez, Gilbert. 1990. Chicano Education in the Era of Segregation. Philadelphia: Balch Institute Press.

Gordon, Milton. 1964. Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins. New York. Oxford University Press.

Gramsci, Antonio. 1971. Selections from the Prison Notebooks, edited by Quentin Hore and Geoffrey Nowel Smith. New York: International.

Grant, Linda. 1992. "Race and the Schooling of Young Girls." Education and Gender Equality, edited by Julia Wrigley. London: Falmer.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

_______. 1994. "Helpers, Enforcers and Go-betweens: Black females in Elementary School Classrooms." In Women of Color in United States Society, edited by Maxine Baca-Zinn and Bonnie Thorton Dill. Philadelphia: Temple.

Grasmuck, Sherri and Ramon Grosfoguel. 1997. "Geopolitics, Economic Niches, and Social Capital Among Recent Caribbean Immigrants In New York City: Neglected Dimensions of Assimilation Theory." Transnational Communities and the Political Economy of New York City In the 1990s. Conference, February 21-22, Robert J. Milano Graduate School of Management and Urban Policy, New School for Social Research.

Grasmuck, Sherri and Patricia Pessar. 1996. "Dominicans In the United States: First and Second Generation Settlement, 1960-1990." In Origins and Destinies: Immigration, Race and Ethnicity In America, edited by Silvia Pedraza and Ruben Rumbaut. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Grosfuguel, Ramon and Chloe Georas. 1996. "The Racialization of Latino Caribbean Migrants in the New York Metropolitan Area." Centro: Journal of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies 8(1-2): 191-201.

Griffins, M.L. 1994. Critical Choices: Education and Employment Among New York City Youth. New York: Community Services Society.

Hacker, Andrew. 1992. Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal. New York: Random House.

_______. 1996. "The Racial Income Gap." In The Meaning of Difference: American Constructions of Race, Sex and Gender, Social Class and Social Orientation, edited by Karen Rosenblum and Toni-Michelle Travis. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Hagan, Jacqueline. 1998. "Social Networks, Gender, and Immigrant Incorporation." American Sociological Review 63(1):55-67.

Halbfinger, David. 1999. "Where Fear Lingers: A Neighborhood Gives Peace a Wary Look, A Special Report." New York Times, May 18th.

Haney-Lopez, Ian. 1996. White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race. New York: New York University.

Harrison, Bennett and Barry Bluestone. 1988. The Great U-Turn: Corporate Restructuring and the Polarizing of America. New York Basic Books.

Hartocollis, Anamora. 1999a. "Crew Plans Charter Schools, His Way." New York Times, January, 29th.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

_______. 1999b. "Private School Choice Plan Draws a Million Aid Seekers." New York Times, Wednesday, April 21st, A1.

Hawkins, Denise. 1996. "Gender Gap: Black Females Outpace Male Counterparts at Three Degree Levels." Black Issues In Higher Education 20-22.

Hernandez, Ramona and Nancy Lopez. 1997. "Yola and Gender: Dominican Women's Unregulated Migration." Dominican Studies: Resources and Research Questions. Dominican Research Monographs. New York: Dominican Studies Institute at City University of New York.

Hernandez, Ramona, et. al. 1995. Dominican New Yorkers: A Socioeconomic Profile, 1990. New York: Dominican Studies Institute at City University of New York.

Hernandez, Raymond. 1998. "Suit Says Minority Students Receive an Inferior Education." New York Times, *Friday, December 4th, B12.*

Higginbotham, Elizabeth. 1994. "Black Professional Women: Job Ceilings and Employment Sectors." In Women of Color in United States Society, edited by Maxine Baca-Zinn and Bonnie Thorton-Dill. Philadelphia: Temple.

Higginbotham, Elizabeth and Lynn Weber. 1999. "Perceptions of Workplace Discrimination Among Black and White Professional-Managerial Women." In Latinas and African American Women at Work: Race, Gender, and Economic Inequality, edited by Irene Browne. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Hill-Collins, Patricia. 1996. "Toward a New Vision: Race, Class, and Gender as Categories of Analysis and Connection." In The Meaning of Difference: American Constructions of Race, Sex and Gender, Social Class and Sexual Orientation. New York: McGraw-Hill.

_______. 1990. Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment. Boston: Unwin Hyman

Hirshman, Charles. 1994. "Problems and Prospects of Studying Immigrant Adaptation from the 1990 Population Census: From Generational Comparisons to the Process of Becoming 'American'." International Migration Review 29(4):690-713.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette. 1994. Gendered Transitions: Mexican Experiences of Migration. Berkeley: University of California.

_______. 1999. "Gender and Contemporary U.S. Immigration." American Behavioral Scientist 42(4):565-576.

Hooks, Bell. 1981. Ain't I a Woman? Black Women and Feminism. Boston: South End Press.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

______. 1994. Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom. New York: Routledge.

Hurtado, Aida. 1996. The Color of Privilege: Three Blasphemies on Race and Feminism. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan.

Hurtado, Aida, et. al. 1992. Redefining California: Latino Social Engagement in a Multicultural Society. Los Angeles: Chicanos Studies Research Center University of California.

Ihlanfeldt, K.R. 1992. Job Accessibility and the Employment and School Enrollment of Teenagers. Lalamazoo: W.E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research.

Jensen, Arthur. 1969. "How Much Can we Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?" Harvard Educational Review 39:1-123.

Kanton, Harvey and Barbara Brenzel. 1993. "Urban Education and the Truly Disadvantaged: Historical Roots of the Contemporary Crisis." In The Urban Underclass Debate, edited by Michael Katz. Princeton: Princeton University.

Kao, Grace and Marta Tienda. 1995. "Optimism and Achievement: The Educational Performance of Immigrant Youth." Social Sciences Quarterly 76(1):1-19.

Karsarda, John. 1983. "Entry-level Jobs, Mobility, and Urban Minority Employment." Urban Affairs Quarterly 19(1):21-40.

Kasinitz, Philip. 1992. Caribbean New York: Black Immigrants and the Politics of Race. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Kasinitz, Philip and Jan Rosenberg, 1996. "Missing the Connection: Social Isolation and Empowerment on the Brooklyn Waterfront." Social Problems 43 (2): 180-196.

Katz, Michael, Editor. 1993. The "Underclass Debate": Views from History. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

______. 1989. The Undeserving Poor: From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare. New York: Pantheon.

Kim, Dae Young. 1999. "Beyond Co-ethnic Solidarity: Mexican and Ecuadorean Employment in Korean-owned Businesses In New York City." Ethnic and Racial Studies 22(3).

Kim, Eun-Young. 1993. "Career-Choice among Second Generation Korean-Americans: Reflections of a Frame of reference of Success." Anthropology and Education Quarterly 24(3):224-248.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Kim, Sue and William Sedlacek. 1997. "Gender Differences Among Incoming African-American Freshman on Academic and Social Expectations." Journal of the Freshman Year Experience 8(1):25-37.

Kirchenman, Joleen. 1997. "African American Employers' Attitudes toward African American Workers." In Racial Attitudes In the 1990s: Continuity and Change, edited by Steven Tuch and Jack Martin. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

Kirchenman, Joleen and Kathryn Neckerman. 1993. "We'd Love to Hire Them, But...: The Meaning of Race for Employers" In The "Underclass" Debate: View from History, edited by Michael Katz. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Kleinfeld, Judith. 1998. "The Myth That Schools Shortchange Girls," Washington, DC: Women's Freedom Network, 1998.

________. 1999. "Student Performance: Males versus Females." The Public Interest, 134, Winter, 3-20.

Klor de Alva, J. Jorge. 1997. "The Invention of Ethnic Origins and the Negotiation of Latino Identity." In Challenging Fronteras: Structuring Latina and Latino Lives in the United States, An Anthology of Readings, edited by Mary Romero, Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo and Vilma Ortiz. New York: Routledge.

Kozol, Jonathan. 1996. Amazing Grace: The Lives of Children and the Conscience of a Nation. New York: Crown.

________. 1991. Savage Inequalities: Children in American Schools. New York: Crown.

Kwong, Peter. 1998. Forbidden Workers: Illegal Chinese Immigrants and American Labor in New York. New York: New Press.

Ladson-Billings, Gloria and William Tate. 1995. "Toward a Critical Theory of Education." Teachers College Record (97)1:46-68.

Laguerre, Michael. 1984. American Odyssey: Haitians in New York City. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Landrine, Hope, Editor. 1996. Bringing Cultural Diversity to Feminist Psychology: Theory Research and Practice. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Lareau, Annette. 1989. Home Advantage: Social Class and Parental Intervention in Elementary School. London: Falmer.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Leadbeater, Bonnie and Niobe Way, Editors. 1996. Urban Girls: Resisting Stereotypes, Creating Identities. New York: New York University.

Lee, Stacey. 1997. Unraveling the 'Model Minority' Stereotype: Listening to Asian American Youth. New York: Teacher's College Press.

Leguizamo, John. 1997. Freak. Demi, semi, quasi, psuedo-autobiographical one-man comedy at The Cort Theater. Directed by David Bar Katz, Arielle Tepper and Bill Harber. February 10th.

Lewin, Tamar. 1998a. "American Colleges Begin to Ask, Where have all the Men Gone?" New York Times, December 6:A1.

_______. 1998b. "Public Schools Confronting Issue of Racial Preferences: Growing Number of Parents, Mostly White, Challenge Policies They Deem Unfair." New York Times, Sunday, November 29:A1.

Lewis, Oscar. 1965. La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty-San Juan and New York. New York: Random House.

Lieberson, Stanley. 1980. A Piece of the Pie: Black and White Immigration since 1880. Berkeley: University of California.

Lopez, Nancy. 1998. "The Structural Origins of Dominican High School Dropout." Latino Studies Journal 9(3):85-105.

_______. 1997. "Bilingual or Bilingue?" In Before the Class: A Handbook for the Novice College Instructor, edited by Philip Alexander, Ivette Estrada, Barbara Heller and Pamela Trotman Reid. New York: Graduate School and University Center, City University of New York.

Lopez-Springfield, Consuelo, Editor. 1997. Daughters of the Caliban: Caribbean Women in the Twentieth Century. Indianapolis: Indiana University.

Lorber, Judith. 1994. Paradoxes of Gender. New Haven: Yale University.

Lorde, Audrey. 1996. "The Uses of Anger: Women Responding to Racism." In Multicultural Experiences, Multicultural Theories, edited by Mary Rogers. New York: McGraw Hill.

Lubiano, Wahneema. 1992. "Black Ladies, Welfare Queens, and State Minstrels: Ideological War by Narrative Means." In Race-ing Justice, Engendering Power: Essays on Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas, and the Construction of Social Reality, edited by Toni Morrison. New York: Pantheon Books.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

MacLeod, Jay. 1995. Ain't no Makin' It: Aspirations and Attainment In a Low-Income Neighborhood. San Francisco, CA: Westview Press.

MacMahon, Thomas. 1998. "New York City's Middle Class: The Need for a New Urban Agenda" Report prepared by Larian Angelo, Timothy Ross, Regina Poreda Ryan and Pablo Zangerle. New York: New York City Council.

Mahler, Sarah. 1997. "Bringing Gender to a Transnational Focus: Theoretical and Empirical Ideas." Presentation at the Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting.

Massey, Douglas and Nancy Denton. 1994. American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the American Underclass. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Matute-Bianchi, Maria Eugenia. 1991. "Situational Identity and Patterns of School Performance Among Immigrant and Non-Immigrant Mexican Descent Students." In Minority Status and Schooling: A Comparative Study of Immigrant and Involuntary Minorities, edited by John Ogbu and Margaret Gibson. New York: Garland Publishers.

Mead, Lawrence. 1986. Beyond Entitlement: The Social Obligations of Citizenship. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Mehan, Hugh. 1996. "Constitutive Processes of Race and Exclusion." Anthropology and Education Quarterly 27(2):270-278.

_______. 1992. "Understanding Inequality In Schools: The Contribution of Interpretive Studies." Sociology of Education. 65:1-20.

Meier, Deborah. 1995. The Power of their Ideas: Lessons for America from a Small School in Harlem. Boston: Beacon Press.

Meier, Kenneth and Joseph Stewart. 1991. The Politics of Hispanic Education: Un paso pa'lante y dos pa'tras. Albany: State University of New York.

Milkman, Ruth. 1987. Gender at Work. Chicago: University of Illinois.

Model, Suzanne. 1997. "An Occupational Tale of Two Cities: Minorities in London and New York." Demography 34(4):539-550.

Mollenkopf, John and Manuel Castells, Editors. 1991. Dual City: Restructuring New York. New York: Russell Sage.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Mollenkopf, John, Philip Kasinitz, Mary Waters, Nancy Lopez and Dae Young Kim. 1998. The School to Work Transition of Second Generation Immigrants In Metropolitan New York: Some Preliminary Findings. The Jerome Levy Economics Institute of Bard College. Working Paper 214.

Molotsky, Irvin. 1999. "White House Will Propose Public School Choice Plan." New York Times, May 19th.

Momsen, Janet. 1993. Women and Change in the Caribbean: A Pan-Caribbean Perspective. Bloomington: Indiana University.

Moraga, Cherrie and Gloria Anzaldua, Editors. 1983. This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color. New York: Kitchen Table Press.

Morrison, Toni, Editor. 1992. Race-ing Justice, Engendering Power: Essays on Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas and the Construction of Social Reality. New York: Pantheon.

Moynihan, Daniel, Editor. 1968. On Understanding Poverty: Perspectives from the Social Science. New York: Basic Books.

Mullings, Leith. 1997. On Our Own Terms: Race, Class, and Gender In the Lives of African American Women. New York: Routledge.

Murguia, Edward and Edward Telles. 1996. "Phenotype and Schooling Among Mexican Americans." Sociology of Education 69(4):276-289.

Murray, Charles. 1984. Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950-1980. New York: Basic Books.

Murray, Charles and Hernstein, Richard. 1994. The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Myrdal, Gunnar. 1944. An American Dilemma, Volume 1. New York: Harper and Brothers.

National Committee on Pay Equity. 1996. "The Wage Gap: Myths and Facts." In The Meaning of Difference: American Constructions of Race, Sex and Gender, Social Class and Social Orientation, edited by Karen Rosenblum and Toni-Michelle Travis. New York: McGraw-Hill.

National Science Foundation. 1996. "Doctorates earned by ethnic group, 1984-1995." Table 2.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Nelson, Candace and Marta Tienda. 1997. "The Structuring of Hispanic Ethnicity: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives." In Challenging Fronteras: Structuring Latina and Latino Lives In the United States, An Anthology of Readings. Edited by Mary Romero, Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo and Vilma Ortiz. New York: Routledge.

_______. 1985. "The Structuring of Hispanic Ethnicity: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives." In Ethnicity and Race in the U.S.A, edited by Richard Ala. Boston: Routledge and Began Paul.

New York City Council. 1998. "New York City's Middle Class: The Need for a New Urban Agenda." December.

Newman, Katherine. 1999. No Shame in My Game: Working Poor in the Inner City. New York: Knopf.

Newman, Katherine and Catherine Ellis. 1999. "'There's No Shame in My Game': Status and Stigma among Harlem's Working Poor." In The Cultural Territories of Race: Black and White Boundaries. Michele Lament, Editor. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Oakes, Jeannie. 1985. Keeping Track: How Schools Structure Inequality. New Haven, CT: Yale University.

Oakes, Jeannie and Gretchen Guiton. 1995. "Matchmaking: The Dynamics of High School Tracking Decisions." American Education Research Journal 32(1):3-33.

Obler, Suzanne. 1997. "So Far From God, so close to the United States: The Roots of Hispanic Homogenization." In Challenging Fronteras: Structuring Latina and Latino Lives In the United States, An Anthology of Readings, edited by Mary Romero, Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo and Vilma Ortiz. New York: Routledge.

Ogbu, John. 1974. The Next Generation: An Ethnography of Education In an Urban Neighborhood. New York: Academic Press.

_______. 1978. Minority Education and Caste: The American System In Cross-Cultural Perspective. New York: Academic Press.

_______. 1983. "Minority Status and Schooling in Plural Societies." Comparative Education Review 27(2):168-190.

_______. 1990. "Class Stratification, Racial Stratification, and Schooling." Class, Race, and Gender in American Education, edited by Lois Weis. Albany: State University Press.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

_______. 1991. Minority Status and Schooling: A Comparative Study of Immigrant and Involuntary Minorities. New York: Garland, 1991.

_______. 1995a. "Cultural Problems In Minority Education: Their Interpretation and Consequences – Part One: Case Studies." The Urban Review 27(3):189-205.

_______. 1995b. Cultural Problems In Minority Education: Their Interpretations and Consequences-Part Two: Case Studies." The Urban Review 27(4):271-297.

Ogbu, John and Herbert Simons. 1998. "Voluntary and Involuntary Minorities: A Cultural-Ecological Theory of School Performance with Some Implications for Education." Anthropology and Education Quarterly 29(2):155-188.

Oliver, Melvin and Thomas Shapiro. 1995. Black Wealth/White Wealth: A New Perspective on Racial Inequality. New York: Routledge.

Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. 1994. Racial Formation in the United States: From 1960s to 1990s. New York: Routledge.

Orfield, Gary. 1994. "Asking the Right Question." Educational Policy (8)4:404-418.

Paravisini-Gebert, Lizabeth. 1997. "Decolonizing Feminism: The HomeGrown Roots of Caribbean Women's Movement." In Daughters of the Caliban: Caribbean Women in the Twentieth Century, edited by Consuelo Lopez-Springfield. Indianapolis: Indiana Press.

Park, Robert. 1950. "The collected Papers of Robert E. Park." In Race and Culture, Volume 1, edited by Evert Hugs, et. al. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Parillo, Vincent. 1997. Strangers to these Shores: Race and Ethnic Relations in the United States. Fifth Edition. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Pastor, Jennifer, Jennifer McCormick and Michelle Fine. 1996. "Makin Homes: An Urban Girl Thing." In Urban Girls: Resisting Stereotypes, Creating Identities, edited by Bonnie Leadbeater and Niobe Way. New York: New York University.

Patterson, Orlando. 1997. The Ordeal of Integration: Program and Resentment In American "Racial" Crisis. Washington, DC: Publisher Group West.

Perez, Lizandro. 1996. "The Households of Children of Immigrants In South Florida: An Exploratory Study of Extended Family Arrangements." In The New Second Generation, edited by Alejandro Portes. New York: Russell Sage.

Perlmann, Joel. 1988. Ethnic Differences In Schooling and Social Stratification Among Irish, Italian, Jews, Blacks In an American City, 1880-1935. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Perlmann, Joel and Roger Waldinger. 1997. "Second Generation Decline? Immigrant Children Past and Present – A Reconsideration." International Migration Review 31(4):893-922

Pessar, Patricia. 1987. "The Linkage Between the Household and Workplace of Dominican Women In the U.S." In Caribbean Life In New York City: Sociocultural Dimensions, edited by Constance R. Sutton and Elsa M. Chancy. New York: Center for Migration Studies.

Pessar, Patricia and Sherri Grasmuck. 1991. Between Two Islands: Dominican International Migration. Berkeley: University of California.

Piven, Frances-Fox and Richard Cloward. 1993. Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare. Updated Edition. New York: Vintage.

Portes, Alejandro. 1996. "Introduction: Immigration and Its Aftermath." In The New Second Generation, edited by Alejandro Portes. New York: Russell Sage.

Portes, Alejandro and D. MacLeod. 1996. "Educational Progress of Children of Immigrants: The Roles of Class, Ethnicity, and School Context." Sociology of Education 69:255-275.

Portes, Alejandro and Ruben Rumbaut. 1990. Immigrant America: A Portrait. Berkeley: University of California.

Portes, Alejandro and Schauffler. 1996. "Language and the Second Generation: Bilingualism Today and Yesterday." In The New Second Generation, edited by Alejandro Portes. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Portes, Alejandro and Min Zhou. 1993. "The New Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 530:74-96.

Reid, Pamela, et. al. 1996. "Socialization of Girls: Issues of Ethnicity In Gender Development." In Bringing Cultural Diversity to Feminist Psychology: Theory Research and Practice, edited by Hope Landrine. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Reskin, Barbara. 1993. "Sex Segregation and the Workplace." Annual Review of Sociology 19:241-70.

Ringer, Benjamin and Lawless, E.R. 1989. Race, Ethnicity and Society. New York: Routledge.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Roane, Kit. 1999. "Minority Private-School Students Claim Police Harassment." New York Times, Friday, March 26th, B5.

Roberts, Dorothy. 1997. Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction, and the Meaning of Liberty. New York: Pantheon.

Robinson, William. 1993. "The Global Economy and the Latino Populations in the United States: A World Systems Approach." Critical Sociology (19)2:29-59.

Rodriguez, Clara. 1994. "Challenging Racial Hegemony: Puerto Ricans In the United States." In Race, edited by Roger Sanjek and Gregory, Steven. New Brunswick: Rutgers University.

Rohter, Larry and Clifford Krauss. 1998. "Dominicans Allow Drugs Easy Sailing." New York Times, May 10, 1998.

Romero, Mary, Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo and Vilma Ortiz, Editors. 1997. Challenging Fronteras: Structuring Latina and Latino Lives In the United States, An Anthology of Readings. New York: Routledge.

Rosenbaum, James and Amy Binder. 1997. "Do Employers Really Need More Educated Youth?" Sociology of Education. 70:68-85.

Rosenbaum, James, Kevin Roy and Takehico Kariya. 1995. "Do High School Students Help Some Students Enter the Labor Market?" Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Washington, DC.

Rosenblum, Karen and Toni-Michelle Travis. 1996. The Meaning of Difference: American Constructions of Race, Sex and Gender, Social Class and Sexual Orientation. New York: McGraw Hill.

Royster, Dierdre. 1996. "Featured Essay: Ain't No Makin' It: Aspirations and Attainment In a Low-Income Neighborhood." Contemporary Sociology 25(2): 151-153.

Rumbaut, Ruben. 1998. "Transformations: The Post-Immigrant Generation In an Age of Diversity." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society.

_______. 1997. "Ties that Bind: Immigration and Immigrant Families In the United States." In Immigration and the Family: Research and Policy on U.S. Immigrants, edited by Alan Booth, Ann Crouter and Nancy Landale. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

_______. 1996. "The Crucible Within: Ethnic Identity, Self-Esteem, and Segmented Assimilation Among Children of Immigrants." In The New Second Generation, edited by Alejandro Portes. New York: Russell Sage.

_______. 1995. "The New Californians: Comparative Research Findings on the Educational Progress of Immigrant Children." In California's Immigrant Children: Theory, Research, and Implications for Educational Policy, edited by Ruben Rumbaut and Wayne Cornelius. San Diego: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California.

_______. 1994. "Origins and Destinies: Immigration to the United States Since World War I." Sociological Forum 9(4):583-621.

Safa, Helen. 1995. The Myth of the Male Breadwinner: Women and Industrialization in the Caribbean. New York: Westview.

Sanjek, Roger and Gregory, Steven, Editors. 1994. Race. New Brunswick: Rutgers University.

Santos, Richard and Patricia Seitz. 1992. "School to Work Experience of Hispanic Youth." Contemporary Policy Issues 10:65-73.

Sassen, Saskia. 1995. "Urban Transformation and Employment." In Latinos In a Changing United States Economy: Comparative Perspectives on Growing Inequality, edited by Rebecca Morales and Frank Bonilla. London: Sage Publications.

_______. 1991. "The Informal Economy." In Dual City: Restructuring New York, edited by John Mollenkopf and Manuel Castells. New York: Russell Sage.

Schill, Michael, Samantha Friedman and Emily Rosenbaum. 1998. "The Housing of Immigrants in New York City." Center for Real Estate and Urban Policy and New York University School of Law, Working Paper 98(2).

Schultz, Katherine. 1996. "Between School and Work: The Literacies of Urban Adolescent Females." Anthropology and Education Quarterly 27(4):517-544.

Sedlak, Michael, Christopher Wheeler, Diana Pullin and Philip Cusick. 1986. Selling Students Short: Classroom Bargains and Academic Reform In the American High School. New York: Teachers College Press.

Senior, Olive. 1991. Working Miracles: Women's Lives in the English-Speaking Caribbean. Bloomington: Indiana Press.

Sexton, Joe. 1997. "In Brooklyn Neighborhood, Welfare Fraud is Nothing New." New York Times, March 19th.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Sierra, Christine Marie. 1986. "The University Setting Reinforces Inequality." In Chicana Voices: Intersections of Class, Race and Gender. National Association for Chicano Studies, edited by Center For Mexican Studies. Austin: University of Texas.

Sleeter, Christine and Carl Grant. 1988. "A Rationale for Integrating Race, Gender and Social Class." In Class, Race, and Gender in American Education, edited by Lois Weis. Albany: State University of New York.

Smith, Robert. 1994. "Upward Mobility or Social Marginalization: The Contingent Futures of Second Generation Mexican Immigrants In NYC." Proposal submitted to Russell Sage Foundation.

Solomon, R. Patrick. 1990. "Black Cultural Forms In Schools: A Cross National Comparison." In Class, Race, and Gender In American Education, edited by Lois Weis. Albany: State University Press.

Stafford, Walter. 1985. Closed Labor Markets: Underrepresentation of Blacks, Hispanics and Women in New York City's Core Industries and Jobs. New York: Community Service Society.

Stanton-Salazar, Ricardo. 1997. "A Social Capital Framework for Understanding the Socialization of Racial Minority Children and Youths." Harvard Educational Review 67(1):1-40.

Steele, Claude. 1992. "Race and the Schooling of Black Americans." The Atlantic Monthly 269(4):68-77.

Steele, Claude and Joshua Aronson. 1995. "Stereotype Threat and the Intellectual Test Performance of African Americans." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 69(5):797-811.

Steinberg, Stephen. 1981. The Ethnic Myth: Race, Ethnicity, and Class in America. Boston: Beacon.

_______. 1995. Turning Back: The Retreat From Racial Justice in American Thought and Policy. Boston: Beacon.

Stepick, A. 1992. "The Refugees Nobody Wants: Haitians In Miami." In Miami Now! Immigration, Ethnicity, and Social Change, edited by A. Stepick and G.J. Grenier. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Suarez-Orozco, Marcelo. 1987. "'Becoming Somebody' Central American Immigrants In U.S. Inner-City Schools." Anthropology and Education Quarterly 18(4):287-299.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Suarez-Orozco, Marcelo and Carola Suarez-Orozco. 1995. Transformations: Immigration, Family Life, and Achievement Motivation Among Latino Adolescents. Stanford: Stanford University.

Sullivan, Mercer. 1989. Getting Paid: Youth Crime. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Takaki, Ronald. 1994. "Reflections on Racial Patterns In America." In From Different Shores: Perspectives on Race and Ethnicity In America, edited by Ronald Takaki. New York: Oxford University Press.

Thorne, Barrie. 1993. Gender Play: Girls and Boys in School. New Brunswick: Rutgers University.

Tolman, Deborah. 1996. "Adolescent Girls' Sexuality: Debunking the Myth of the Urban Girl." In Urban Girls: Resisting Stereotypes, Creating Identities, edited by Bonnie Leadbeater and Niobe Way. New York: New York University.

Tong, Rosemarie. 1989. Feminist Theory. San Francisco: Westview Press.

Torres, Andres and Bonilla, Frank. 1995. "Decline within Decline." In Latinos in a Changing United States Economy: Comparative Perspectives on Growing Inequality, edited by Rebecca Morales and Frank Bonilla. London: Sage Publications.

Torres-Saillant, Silvio. 1995. "The Dominican Republic." In No Longer Invisible: Afro-Latin Americans Today, edited by Minority Rights Group. London: Minority Rights Group.

Tyson, Karolyn. 1998. "Debunking a Persistent Myth: Academic Achievement and the Burden of 'Acting White' among Black Students." Paper presented at the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting.

United Negro College Fund. 1997. The African-American Education Data Book. Volume 1. Fairfax, VA: United Negro College Fund.

U.S. Census Bureau. 1998. "Educational Attainment in the United States: March 1998 (Update)." The Official Statistics. Table 2.

United States Department of Statistics. 1995. "The Educational Progress of Immigrant Students: Findings from the Conditions of Education." Washington, DC: NCES 95-767:4.

Valenzuela, Abel. 1999. "Gender Roles and Settlement Activities Among Children and their Immigrant Families." American Behavioral Scientist 42(4):720-742.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Valli, Linda. 1988. "Gender Identity and the Technology of Office Education." Class, Race, and Gender In American Education, edited by Lois Weis. Albany: State University Press.

Vera, Elizabeth, et.al. 1996. "Contextual Factor of Sexual Risk-Taking in Urban African American Preadolescent Children." In Urban Girls: Resisting Stereotypes, Creating Identities, edited by Bonnie Leadbeater and Niobe Way. New York: New York University.

Verene-Shepherd, Bridget et. al. 1995. Engendering History: Caribbean Women In Historical Perspective. New York: St. Maarten Press.

Vickerman, Milton. 1999. Crosscurrents: West Indian Immigrants and Race. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wacquant, Loic. 1997. "Three Pernicious Premises In the Study of the American Ghetto." International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 20:341-53.

Wacquant, Loic and William Wilson. 1989. "Poverty, Joblessness and the Social Transformation of the Inner City." In Welfare Policy for the 1990s, edited by Phoebe Cottingham and David Ellwood. Cambridge: Harvard University.

Waldinger, Roger. 1986. Through the Eye of the Needle. New York: New York University Press.

________. 1996. Still the Promised Cities: African-American and New Immigrants In a Postindustrial New York. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Waldinger, Roger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr. 1996. "The Making of a Multicultural Metropolis." In Ethnic Los Angeles, edited by Roger Waldinger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr. New York: Russell Sage.

Waldinger, Roger and Greta Gilbertson. 1994. "Immigrants' Progress: Ethnic and Gender Differences Among U.S. Immigrants In the 1980s." Sociological Perspectives 37(3):431-444.

Washington, Valora and Joanna Newman. 1991. "Setting Our Own Agenda: Exploring the Meaning of Gender Disparities Among Blacks In Higher Education." Journal of Negro Education 60(1):19-35.

Waters, Mary. 1999. "Explaining the Comfort Factor: West Indian Immigrants Confront American Race Relations." In The Cultural Territories of Race: Black and White Boundaries. Michele Lamont, Editor. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

_______. 1997. "The Impact of Racial Segregation on the Education and Work Outcomes of Second Generation West Indians In New York City." Paper presented to the Levy Institute Conference on Second Generation Youth, Bard College.

_______. 1996. "The Intersections of Gender, Race and Ethnicity In Identity Development of Caribbean American Teens." In Urban Girls: Resisting Stereotypes, Creating Identities, edited by Bonnie Leadbeater and Niobe Way. New York: New York University.

_______. 1994. "Ethnic and Racial Identities of Second Generation Black Immigrants In New York City." International Migration Review 8(4):795-820.

_______. 1990. Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America. Berkeley: University of California.

Weis, Lois. 1990a. Working Class Without Work: High School Students In a De-industrialized Economy. New York: Routledge.

_______. 1990b. "High School Girls In a De-Industrializing Economy." Class, Race, and Gender in American Education, edited by Lois Weis. Albany: State University Press.

Weis, Lois and Michelle Fine, editors. 1993. Class, Race, and Gender in United States Schools. Albany: State University of New York.

Weis, Lois and Maxine Seller, Editors. 1997. Beyond Black and White: New Faces and Voices in United States Schools. Albany: State University of New York.

West, Cornel. 1990. Race Matters. New York: Vintage.

Wilgoren, Jill. 1998. "Police Profiling Debate: Acting on Experience of Bias?" New York Times, April 9th.

Williams, Terry and William Kornblum. 1994. The Uptown Kids: Struggle and Hope In the Projects. New York: Putnam.

Willis, Paul. 1981. Learning to Labor: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs. New York: Columbia University Press.

Wilson, William. 1996. When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor. New York: Knopf.

_______. 1991. "Studying Inner-City Social Dislocations: The Challenge of Public Agenda Research." American Sociological Review 56(1):1-14.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

_______. 1987. The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, The Underclass and Public Policy. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Woodson, Carter. 1972. The Mis-Education of the Negro. New York: AMS Press, 1972.

Wrigley, Julia. 1992. "Gender, Education and the Welfare State." In Education and Gender Inequality, edited by Julia Wrigley. New York: Falmer Press.

_______. 1995. Other People's Children. New York: Basic Books.

_______. 1999. "Is Racial Oppression Intrinsic to Domestic Work? The Experiences of Children's Caregivers in Contemporary American." In The Cultural Territories of Race: Black and White Boundaries. Michele Lamont, Editor. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Zavella, Patricia. 1987. Women's Work and Chicano Families: Cannery Workers of Santa Clara Valley. Ithaca: Cornell University.

Zephir, Flore. 1996. Haitian Immigrants in Black America: A Sociological Portrait. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.

Zhou, Min and Carl Bankston. 1998. Growing Up American: How Vietnamese Children Adapt to Life in the United States. New York: Russell Sage.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.