IN THEIR OWN RIGHT: IMMIGRANT ADOLESCENTS RESEARCH THE GLOBAL CITY

by

DANIEL WALSH

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dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

_____	_____
Date	Professor Stacey J. Lee Chair of Examination Committee
_____	_____
Date	Professor Anthony Picciano Executive Officer

Professor Jean Anyon_____

Professor Michelle Fine_____

Professor Kate Menken_____

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

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Advisor: Professor Stacey J. Lee

The purpose of this dissertation research project is to explore how recently-arrived immigrant adolescents[1] who are English learners (ELs) experience New York City during an era of unprecedented globalization and neoliberal social and economic policies. It explores immigrant adolescents' experiences in the global city (Sassen, 2001) through a qualitative study that incorporates the tenets of both critical ethnography and participatory action research. The study has two overarching questions:

1. How does the context of the global city shape the conditions of the lives of immigrant adolescents who are learning English?
2. How do they understand and respond to these conditions?

To explore these questions, I collaborated with a group of immigrant adolescents who are ELs for one year and assisted them with the design and implementation of their own research projects. Their research questions reflect both their lived experiences as immigrant adolescents in the global city and topics about which they desired to effect change. Such a research design ensured that the co-researchers would receive some degree of reciprocity for their role in the study and that I did not simply "mine" a community for data. Four young women from Haiti, Guinea, Senegal, and Togo completed research projects that addressed the following questions of their own design:

[1] For the purposes of this study, recently-arrived immigrant adolescents are those who have been in the United States for fewer than six years and arrived in the U.S. after their 12th birthday.

1. What is the nature of cultural, linguistic, and racial conflict at a high school for immigrant youth?
2. How do immigrant students in International and traditional schools feel about their school experiences?
3. How do immigrant adolescent girls negotiate their home culture and culture of the U.S.?
4. How do undocumented high school students negotiate the transition to college and/or work?

The nature of their provocative questions is only the beginning of the insight that this study provides into the lives of immigrant adolescents learning English in the global city. The research findings indicate that legalistic notions of citizenship fail to capture the complexity to citizenship and belonging, that cultural identity in global times is hybrid and unresolved, that a discourse of tolerance depoliticizes the nature of inter-group conflict, and that language-in-testing policy has both cultural and economic implications for immigrant youth. In addition to contributing theoretical and methodological insights about immigrant adolescents learning English, these findings have implications for educational pedagogy and policy as well as broader social and economic policies in global cities.

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The wonderful side of taking almost a decade to write a dissertation is the people whom

one meets along the way. I participated in one writing group or another with a number of these remarkable Brooklyn folks: Liza Pappas, Roberto Martinez, Sara Zaidi, Erica Chutuape, Kiersten Greene, Nabin Chae, Madeline Perez, Conra Gist, and Bree Picower. It's my absolute honor to call you friends, neighbors, colleagues, and partners in the struggle for educational and social justice.

Finally, I'd like to thank my siblings: Anne, Andrew, Peter, Joseph, Elizabeth, Brian, Robert, and Kathleen. Sorry to have missed so many family gatherings along the way. Mom would be very proud of all that we are. A special thanks to Peter, the family genealogist, for our family's immigration history and to Brian and his girlfriend Dana for taking me in under less than ideal circumstances.

Daniel Walsh
April 20, 2013

DEDICATION

To my ancestors—especially to warrior women Kalliope Coroneos and Geraldine Cook.

CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

Figures

Tables

Chapter 1
Introduction

Writers imagine that they cull stories from the world. I'm beginning to believe that vanity makes them think so. That it's actually the other way around—stories cull writers from the world. Stories reveal themselves to us—the public narrative, the private narrative—they colonize us, they commission us, they insist on being told. Fiction and nonfiction are only different techniques of storytelling. For reasons that I don't fully understand, fiction dances out of me and nonfiction is wrenched out by the aching, broken world I wake up to every morning…John Berger, that most wonderful writer, once wrote, "Never again will a single story be told as though it's the only one. There can never be a single story. There are only ways of seeing." So when I tell a story, I tell it not as an ideologue who wants to pit one absolutist ideology against another, but as a storyteller who wants to share her way of seeing. (Roy, 2002)

In my field notes dated May 25, 2010, I wrote that as I was walking home from grocery shopping, I ran into Tony Q., one of my former students, on Willoughby Avenue near Saint Mary's Episcopal Church. He was delivering food from the fruit and vegetable market on Myrtle Avenue where he and his girlfriend Maria, also a former student, work. I know that Maria has a child who is probably about three years old and Tony is helping to raise him. He told me he had been fired from two previous jobs because he is not documented. In addition to working, he is also taking auto mechanics classes at a community college and is hoping to graduate in three more semesters, which would mean three and half years to complete an associate's degree. He's had to take classes intermittently because he has to "stop out" to save money for tuition due to his ineligibility for federal financial aid. He is currently taking nine credits and working approximately thirty hours per week. He also mentioned that he previously had a part-time job and was going to school full time, but failed a class and thought it better not to carry such a heavy course load. Tony reported that his semester would end in two weeks and he has requested some time off from his boss so that he can study. His boss thinks he is a good worker and wants to promote him to store manager. In my notes, I wondered if his boss knows that Tony is undocumented.

I haven't seen Tony since and I wonder what became of him. Meeting up with him at a time when one of the student co-researchers on my dissertation project was investigating the ways in which undocumented high school students negotiate the transition to college and/or work was quite serendipitous. Undocumented youth like Tony face particular issues and challenges, yet even those with papers face formidable barriers. This unexpected encounter convinced me that the story of undocumented immigrant young people and other such complex and nuanced narratives surrounding immigrant youth—like those connected to identity, conflict, and language development and loss—do indeed need to be told. They need to be told because they offer counter-narratives to straight-line assimilation, to assimilation failure or refusal, and to "rugged individualistic" and "bootstrap" immigrant success stories. As Roy so eloquently states above, I think I have been culled by such stories—and their tellers—and wanted to provide a space for others to share their ways of seeing; at its core, this dissertation is simply that.

Context and Purpose

The purpose of this dissertation research project is to explore how recently-arrived immigrant adolescents[2] who are English learners (ELs) experience New York City during an era of unprecedented globalization and neoliberal social and economic policies. At a time of unprecedented migration of people, the number of ELs entering U.S. schools has increased dramatically. Students identified as ELs comprise one of the fastest growing subgroups in the United States. This subgroup increased by 95 percent from 1991 to 2001 while the total school enrollment grew by only 12 percent (Bratt, Kim, & Sunderman, 2005). While the pre-kindergarten through 12th grade population has grown by only 3.66 percent throughout the United States since 1995-1996, the population of ELs has increased by 57.17 percent to more

[2] For the purposes of this study, recently-arrived immigrant adolescents are those who have been in the United States for fewer than six years and arrived in the U.S. after their 12th birthday.

than 5 million children learning English in U.S. schools in 2005-2006 (http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/). In New York City, those students designated as ELs do not include the number of former ELs nor the number of students who speak a language(s) other than English at home. To be identified as an EL, a student must both speak a language other than English at home and score below a state-designated proficiency level on a test of English language skills. Therefore, 148,401 students are designated as ELs in New York City, making up about 14.1% of the City's public school student population. Twenty eight percent of this population, or over 41,000 students are in high school (NYCDOE, 2008, pp. 3-5). The 31.5 percent dropout rate for high school ELs (Fine, Jaffe-Walter, Pedraza, Futch & Stoudt, 2007), for example, demands a profound and nuanced understanding of their experiences.

To gain such understanding, this study combines elements of critical ethnography and youth participatory action research (YPAR). Such a combination not only recognizes issues of power and privilege based on social identities such as race, class, and gender, but also provides incomparable insight into young people's lives as it positions them as expert. The study is participatory in that adolescent immigrant ELs, mentored and guided by an adult researcher, selected personally meaningful and relevant research topics connected to their own lives and communities and then collected and analyzed their data. It is action-oriented in that the topics that the student researchers chose were ones for which they wanted to effect change. For the purposes of my own research, I was clearly most interested in immigrant identity and assumed that this would feature prominently in the co-researchers' projects. I did, however, want to offer them the latitude to craft questions that reflected any aspect of their identity and experiences and any issue that they felt motivated to change. These were the parameters that guided the

formulation of their projects. Their questions, detailed in the next paragraph, underscore the salience of immigrant identity for these young people.

This project has two overarching questions: First, how does the context of the global city shape the conditions of the lives of immigrant adolescents who are learning English? Secondly, how do they understand and respond to these conditions? As will be explained in more detail in the methodology chapter, each of the four student co-researchers developed her research project over the course of two semesters. Ultimately, the questions that they crafted sound as follows:

1. How do undocumented high school students negotiate the transition to college and/or work? (Yvonne, chapter 3)
2. How do immigrant students in International and traditional schools feel about their school experiences? (Asmaou, chapter 4)
3. How do immigrant adolescent girls negotiate their home culture and culture of the U.S.? (Haby, chapter 5)
4. What is the nature of cultural, linguistic, and racial conflict in a high school for immigrant youth? (Rose, chapter 6)

Through these questions, this study seeks to tell a story that is larger than itself by situating these young people's experiences with immigration, schooling, life in a global city, and Americanization within local, national, and global contexts. The post-September 11th economic, political, and social environment, for example, has irrevocably altered immigrants' experiences coming to and living in the United States. Additionally, globalization and neoliberal social and economic policies have become the order of the day. While the young people and their experiences and meaning making are the focal point of the study, these experiences cannot be adequately understood without locating them within larger historical, sociocultural, and political contexts. Situating the study against such a backdrop potentially illuminates how immigrant adolescents are incorporated into or excluded from the urban political economy and social landscape and how they experience social institutions such as school. My contention here is that the local and global are intimately and inextricably connected, and analyzing one without the

other would leave a chasm in understanding, a sorely incomplete picture of how a particular and ever-growing group of young people experiences its world. It is, in fact, ethnography's concern with local and lived experiences that makes the abstractions of globalization theories more applicable conceptual tools (Burawoy et al., 2000).

The nature of the local and global dialectic is somewhat unique in the case of this research project given the site from which the student co-researchers and their participants were recruited: Brooklyn International High School and The International High School at Prospect Heights in NYC, both small schools in which all students are recent immigrants and learning English. As Michael Olneck (2004) writes, "Immigrants do not enter undifferentiated 'American' schools. Rather they enter specific schools whose immediate contexts, histories, memories, and commitments shape their organization and practices" (p. 386). Schools matter. For immigrant youth, schools that do not subtract valuable cultural and linguistic capital really matter. As part of the Internationals Network for Public Schools, schools such as the recruitment sites pride themselves on doing "…in one generation what used to take several to accomplish" (http://www.internationalnps.org). The Network was officially established in 2004 with funding from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation based upon a 20-year history of a highly successful educational option for immigrant ELs. It develops and supports public high schools that exclusively serve immigrant youth who have been in the country for four years or fewer. The Network has developed thirteen schools in the Bronx, Brooklyn, Manhattan, and Queens and in 2007 opened its first site outside of NYC in Oakland, California. A second Californian school opened in San Francisco in fall 2009. I was a founding faculty member of the International High School at Prospect Heights, which opened in 2004. There, I taught English and social studies, served as instructional coach for language and literacy development and Chapter Leader of the

United Federation of Teacher during my five and half year tenure at the school. According to the Internationals Network's mission and history webpage,

> We view diversity and differences among our students as an important strength on which we can build, and the integration of teaching and learning with rigorous academic content is a cornerstone of our Approach. Our students come from over 90 countries and speak over 55 languages. And about 80 percent of our students qualify for free or reduced lunch…Students and faculty work together in groups to achieve our goal of opening the door of opportunity to recently arrived immigrants and their families. Internationals provides students access to a quality public education where they gain the linguistic, academic, and cultural skills necessary to succeed in high school, college, and as full participants in our democratic society….Those schools that have been in existence long enough to yield metrics for evaluation produce student outcomes well above city and ELL averages for Regents passage, student retention, graduation rates, and college attendance. Our young schools have attendance and student promotion rates well above 90%. (http://www.internationalnps.org)

More specifically, a quantitative cohort analysis conducted for three Internationals (LaGuardia, Bronx, and Brooklyn Internationals—the three schools in existence for the longest period of time —reveals that the four-year graduation rate is 63.4 percent compared to 51.9 percent for NYC students who were never ELs, and 30.3 percent for students who are currently ELs. For the Internationals, this graduation rate jumps to 81 percent after five years and then to 88.7 percent after seven. At Internationals, the four-year dropout rate is 5.2 percent as compared to 19.9 percent for students who were never ELs and 31.5 percent for those who are currently EL identified (Fine et al., 2007). A different spirit is undeniably present in institutions that double four-year graduation rates and that witness one-sixth the number of dropouts.

The demographic data at the recruitment site reflect the worldwide movement of people in which most migrants to the global north are non-white: The population at Brooklyn International—the co-researchers' school—comprises 17.2% Black, 37.5% Hispanic, 13.2%

White, and 32.2% Asian and Pacific Islander students[3]; they speak Arabic, Bengali, Chinese (Catonese, Fujianese, and Mandarin), French, Fulani, Haitian Creole, Spanish, Tibetan, among other languages. Asian students are predominantly Chinese, specifically from the Fuzhou region, but there is also a significant number of students from Bangladesh and Tibet. Black students are Haitian and West African, from countries such as Sierra Leone and Guinea. Latinos predominantly come from Mexico and the Dominican Republic, which is representative of immigration patterns to NYC; however, Central and South American countries such as Panama, El Salvador, Honduras, and Ecuador are also represented. Eighty percent of the school's population of approximately 400 students are eligible for free lunch, NYC's standard poverty measure, and the school therefore receives Title I funds[4]. Most students have documented status, but from my experience working with immigrant students, I would estimate that at least 20 percent are without papers. Because of civil war or other political or social unrest in their home countries, some students with refugee status have never been to school before coming to the U.S. Students from more rural areas in many countries have had limited and resource-deprived schooling, while others have received top notch, private school educations. From the school's 2007-2008 Quality Review Report, we learn

> A recent New York report shows that it is one of the top ten schools performing 'against the odds'… There is a profound and compassionate thinking which influences the curriculum: the school takes into account the communities from which the students come and understands the fragility of young people who live between two worlds and experience prejudice. An emphasis on service to others, a rich arts program and the development of supportive relationships between students illustrates the school's commitment to students. (http://schools.nyc.gov/OA/SchoolReports/2007-08/QR_K439.pdf)

[3]These racial classifications are problematic, but do help to paint a picture of the school. For example, there are a number of Latinos who self-identify as black or who might be identified by others as black, but are included in the Hispanic category.

[4] The U.S. Department of Education distributes Title I funds to improve the academic achievement of disadvantaged students.

The cohort analysis described above was conducted to explore "…how education policy becomes infused with national anxieties about perceived threats to our 'national' community, language, and culture. We [the researchers] seek to understand how schools act as border patrols by denying diplomas, and how they enable border crossing into critical educational possibility" (Fine et al., 2007, p. 77). Schools are sites of both reproduction and resistance. When writing about reproduction and resistance, I contend that while the economic structure does not overly/fully determine people's destiny, it certainly has profound, material consequences on how we all experience the world. Yet, cultural production also plays a major role; culture is not simply an ephemeral aspect of human existence forever subordinated to the economic structure. For example, while anti-immigrant and racist discourses influence immigrant adolescents' identity construction, people/my co-researchers clearly demonstrate that immigrant youth talk back to hegemonic representations and compose counter-hegemonic stories that speak to their lived experiences. And while social institutions often produce negative social capital in poor, urban communities of color (Noguera, 2003), people resist such institutions through disassociation and purposefully constructing positive alternatives, sites of possibility and hope; the study also recognizes human and institutional agency and the fact that people and schools are far too complex to unquestioningly succumb to external forces.

Because this study strives to understand how immigrant young people's lived experiences intersect with larger economic and cultural policies and practices, the theoretical literature from which I draw—providing me with "thinking tools" (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 160)—focuses on the nexus of cultural studies, discourse, globalization, and neoliberalism. Additionally, because this project was constructed as one that asked the student co-researchers to develop questions around a topic for which they would like to effect change, theories of (in)justice are also considered.

Such a literature review clearly indicates the need to not only understand this nexus more profoundly, but also to critically and authentically engage immigrant young people in defining and addressing the issues that have an impact on their lives. Finally, this nexus demands, in the words of Marcus (1995), conducting ethnographic research in a manner that "cross-cut[s] dichotomies such as the 'local' and the 'global,' the 'lifeworld' and the 'system'" (p. 95); "…a research design of juxtapositions in which the global is collapsed into and made an integral part of parallel, related local situations rather than something monolithic or external to them" (p. 102). Put another way, this study challenges false dichotomies and binary either-or logic through juxtaposing the local/global, subject/object, researcher/researched, theorist/theorized, and the cultural/political economy. In the cultural/economic realm, for example, such a challenge

> incorporates the necessity to bring back to political economy topics such as discourse and identity formation, which are typically neglected by political economy. However, unlike 'culturalist' approaches, cultural political economy does not reduce everything to discourse; nor does it understand culture as superorganic force (cf. Mitchell, 1995). Rather it sees both the cultural and the economic, both immaterial and material processes, as co-constitutive of social relations…This means that culture cannot be reduced to the economic and vice versa. Social processes are co-constituted by cultural, political and economic processes. (Ribera-Fumaz, n.d., p. 19)

In the case of this study, the cultural political economy of New York—an archetypal global city—is profoundly influenced by the dual forces of globalization and neoliberalism. Neoliberalism, in turn, is replete with the cultural value of individualism and applies this value not only to the market, but to all realms of human existence. Dominant discourses, that is, "a set of historically grounded, yet dynamic statements and images that have the power to legitimate and create knowledge, identities, and realities" (Ngo, 2010, p. 10), shape the way that a society constructs the undocumented, in Yvonne's case; shape understandings of cultural and gender identity, in Haby's case; shape interpretations of inter-group conflict, in Rose's case; and, in Asmaou's case, shape attitudes towards languages and their speakers. However, as these young

researchers and their participants demonstrate, dominant discourses do not have a chokehold on us; at times, our contradictory consciousness is revealed; at other times, we envision and enact alternative narratives. This dissertation struggles with all of the above.

Globalization and Neoliberalism

> *In the United States and in the ten or so most wealthy countries of the world, globalization is certainly a positive buzzword for corporate elites and their political allies. But for migrants, people of color, and other marginals (the so-called South in the North), it is a source of worry about inclusion, jobs, and deeper marginalization….[T]he mysterious roamings of finance capital [a major component of globalization] are matched by new kinds of migration, both elite and proletariat, which create unprecedented tensions between identities of origin, identities of residence, and identities of aspiration for many migrants in the world labor market. (Appadurai, 2006, pp. 35, 37)*

As the quote above might signal, this study certainly adopts a critical stance toward globalization, but also recognizes the catalytic power that globalization has for environmental and human rights movements, for example. The worldwide dispersion of people, cultural forms, and material goods is far from new in the course of human events. However, what is new with contemporary globalization is the magnitude of human migration, for example, and the speed with which information in digital forms traverses the globe. Furthermore, the confluence of massive migration, the development of communication technologies, and the changing nature of the global economy has never been witnessed in quite this way. Marcelo Suarez-Orozco (2001) argues that globalization defines the post-Cold War order of nations and has as its foundation three pillars: new information and communication technologies, the emergence of global markets and post-national knowledge intensive economies, and unprecedented level of immigration and displacement. "Globalization is the reason that immigrant children are entering U.S. schools in unprecedented numbers. Furthermore, their life chances and future opportunities will be shaped by globalization;" however, immigrant children's experiences are grossly undertheorized (p. 1). The consequences of the pillars that define globalization for recently-arrived immigrant

adolescents are not well understood.

A crucial component of globalization is unparalleled immigration and displacement. Overall, since 1990, one million new immigrants have come to the U.S. per annum, bringing the total immigrant population to 34 million. Furthermore, according to U.S. census data, 55 million people are either immigrants themselves or the children of immigrants. More than 50 percent of the foreign born settle in three states—New York, California, and Texas—and more than 30 percent of this population are Mexican and 53 percent are of Latino origin. Unlike previous immigration waves, Latin America, Asia, and Africa predominate as people's continents of origin. To put current immigration into further perspective, since 1970, two times the number of continentally-born Africans have come to the U.S. as compared to the number of Africans that were forcefully brought here during the slave trade (M. Suarez-Orozco, 2006).

Secondly, globalization involves the emergence of post-national, knowledge-intensive economies. Sassen (2001) purports that such economies have resulted in the creation of global cities: "The geography and composition of the global economy changed so as to produce a complex duality: a spatially dispersed, yet globally integrated organization of economic activity" (p. 3). Such a reconfiguration has changed the organization of work in the cities in which this spatially dispersed economic activity is concentrated and managed, resulting in a bifurcated, post-industrial economy with job opportunities concentrated at the high and low ends of income potential—an hourglass economy. Additionally, this reorganization requires not only a way to concentrate and manage people—particularly the poor and U.S.-born and immigrant people of color—in the economic realm, but also in the realms of the social and cultural. In urban areas throughout the U.S. and the world, poor people of color come face to face with the "revanchist city"—the repolarization of urban space of which gentrification is a part (N. Smith, 1996)—

"anesthetized bourgeois play-zones" (Parenti, 1999), and the penalization of poverty to contain social disorder (Wacquant, 2001). In the words of David Harvey (2003), "The city has never been a harmonious place, free of confusions, conflicts, violence" (p. 939). It is this contentious, confusing, conflicted and sometimes violent city that immigrant youth encounter. Harvey (2012) later asks, "What, for example, are we to make of the immense concentrations of wealth, privilege, and consumerism in almost all the cities of the world in the midst of what even the United Nations depicts as an exploding 'planet of slums'"? (p. 4). The human creation of such disparity is a complex social process replete with the cultural, the economic, and the political. Anyon (1997), in her study of the historical political economy of Newark, New Jersey—an archetype of the aging, post-industrial, urban center—describes the transformation of the urban political economy during the 1980s as follows:

> The employment decline and hemorrhage of manufacturing in the state [New Jersey] were part of two structural changes underway in the national economy: divestiture of low-skilled, labor-intensive, low value-added manufacturing jobs and their replacement with highly productive, highly skilled, and capital-intensive positions – a postindustrial, information dependent, high-value-added manufacturing and service-based economy (p. 130).

What this means today is that 77 percent of new and projected jobs will be low-paying and only 12.6 percent of new jobs will require a bachelor's degree. Furthermore, a large share of jobs in the U.S. economy pays little more than subsistence wages and 80 percent of Black and Latino persons who are at work fill these often unrewarding and degrading positions (Anyon, 2005, pp. 259-71). The proliferation of such a bifurcated economy and the deterritorialization described by Appadurai (1996) produces "…one of the central forces of the modern world because it brings laboring populations into the lower-class sectors and spaces of relatively wealthy societies…" (p. 35). In a city like New York, these lower-class sectors and wealthy spaces often exist, quite literally, side by side. While the middle class has certainly not disappeared within this structure,

many fewer jobs like those that would have allowed movement into the middle class with little formal education are being created. This study seeks a deeper understanding of how immigrant youth experience and make sense of the economic and social structures in a global city.

Thirdly, immigrant adolescents and their families encounter new information and communication technologies that undoubtedly influence their migration experience. Before leaving their countries of origin, they could imagine the U.S. and their lives elsewhere more clearly than preceding generations. As Arjun Appadurai (1996) writes,

> More people than ever before seem to imagine routinely the possibility that they or their children will live and work in places other than where they were born: this is the wellspring of the increased rates of migration at every level of social, national, and global life. Others are dragged into new settings, as the refugee camps of Thailand, Ethiopia, Tamil Nadu, and Palestine remind us…And then there are those who move in search of work, wealth, and opportunity often because their current circumstances are intolerable…we may speak of diasporas of hope, diasporas of terror, and diasporas of despair. But in every case, these diasporas bring the force of the imagination, as both memory and desire, into the lives of many ordinary people….Those who wish to move, those who have moved, those who wish to return, and those who choose to stay rarely formulate their plans outside the sphere of radio, television, cassettes and videos, newsprint and telephone. For migrants, both the politics of adaptation to new environment and the stimulus to move or return are deeply affected by a mass-mediated imaginary that frequently transcends national space. (p. 6)

Sixteen years after the publication of Appadurai's work, we would be remiss not to include the Internet and mp3 files in this montage of images and sound bytes, which transcend national space more rapidly and efficiently than previously thought possible. Indeed, immigrant youth lead virtual and/or real transnational and global lives (Appadurai, 1996; Katz, 2004; R.C. Smith, 2006). As mentioned above, though transnational living is far from new in the course of human events, more than during any other era, the neat fit between place, space, and culture has come undone. In an unprecedented way, migrant peoples—"ethnoscapes" (Appadurai, 1996)—and their mediated living form the basis of social interaction and social identity. The world map with its multiple colors to differentiate neatly bound nations no longer suffices. To understand the

experiences of today's immigrant youth, in particular, is akin to "the unraveling of a conundrum: what is the nature of locality as a lived experience in a globalized, deterritorialized world?" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 52).

The neoliberal project has also gone global. Margaret Thatcher, one of the chief architects of global neoliberal policy according to David Harvey (2005), once famously declared: There was "'no such thing as society, only individual men and women'—and, she subsequently added, their families. All forms of social solidarity were to be dissolved in favour of individualism, private property, personal responsibility, and family values…'Economics are the method, she said, but the object is to change the soul'" (p. 23). Thatcher's words represent the hegemonic discourse and ideology undergirding neoliberalism and the ways in which such an project sought to "re-establish the conditions for capital accumulation [which began to erode in the late 1960s] and to restore the power of the economic elites" (Harvey, 2005, p. 19); these words also unambiguously signal the imbrication of the cultural and the economic in neoliberal ideology. As a transnational policy, neoliberalism and its architects have supported the unregulated global flows of capital, free trade agreements such as NAFTA, the cheapening of labor by lowering wages, reducing benefits, and opening every realm of human existence to privatization (Lipman, 2004, p. 316). Apple (2000) further argues that neoliberalism constructs the market as the primary determinant of social worthiness thereby eliminating politics from educational and social decisions (p. 64). Such elimination leads to a failure to interrupt inequalities since the impartial market de-races, de-classes, and de-genders and therefore only individuals, not structures, are left to blame. An entire history of the social reproduction of poverty, for example, is erased. Again, how do immigrant adolescents define and experience

such a climate? How is global neoliberalism translated by and to these youth? How do they live it?

Immigrant Youth in the Global City

This backdrop serves to demonstrate that immigrant youth live complicated and contested lives in the global city. Their lives are globalized (Appadurai, 1996; Katz, 2004), transnationalized (R.C. Smith, 2006), racialized (Lee, 2005; Omi & Winant, 1994; Ong, 1996;), gendered and classed (Lee, 2005; Lopez, 2003; Sarroub, 2005) and situated within a post-industrial political economy (Anyon, 1997; Sassen, 2001). Theorizing pre-1965 immigrant assimilation and acculturation into the U.S. is dominated by linear progression discourse that would have white immigrants disappear into the middle class within three generations. Such theorizing no longer suffices. More recent assimilation and adaptation theories (Gibson, 1988; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Portes & Zhou, 1993; C. Suarez-Orozco & M. Suarez-Orozco, 2001; Waters, 1999) contend that new immigrants, composed mainly of people of color, cannot "melt away" into the mainstream quite so easily. Such theorizing also does not address the way that immigrants remake the mainstream as part of the assimilation process (Alba and Nee, 2003). It also ignores possibilities for hybridity and in-between-ness. Gans (1992) purports that members of the post-1965 second generation could do worse than their parents or experience "second generation decline." Perhaps more accurately, Portes and Zhou (1992, 1993) complicate the assimilation process by suggesting it is rather a question of to which segment of society the second generation will assimilate. This segmented assimilation is determined by the differing amounts of social and cultural capital provided by the first generation and therefore highlights the benefits of retaining culture and country-of-origin networks. Most recently, Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters, and Holdaway (2008) contend "neither the straight line assimilation model

nor the segmented assimilation alternative easily captures the complex ways in which groups have combined economic, political, and cultural incorporation" (p. 345) and few second generation groups have experienced downward assimilation because of rapid Americanization or upwardly mobility through maintaining strong ties to ethnic enclaves. Across the co-researchers' stories, we hear segmented and straight-line assimilation theories complicated and troubled by notions of hybridity.

Though these theorists address second-generation immigrant children, much of their conceptualization also applies to the first-generation. However, the radically different racial composition of "new immigrants" insists on new understandings of racialization and racial projects (Omi & Winant, 1994). In the words of Mullings (2004), "In the twenty-first century we are still confronted with an international color line, the racialized consequences of massive impoverishment and displacement integral to global capitalism" (p. 1). Not only is this study situated within a global, neoliberal, and hyper-mediated world where unprecedented migration is occurring, it is also situated within a country that has limited experience incorporating people who call the African, Asian, and South American continents home. Given the racial composition of post-1965 immigrant adolescents, one of the predominant underpinnings of this study is the complexity of the racialization process in the United States and how immigrant youth find a place in or are located within the racial hierarchy. "The ideological formation of whiteness as the symbol of ideal legal and moral citizenship today continues to depend upon the 'blackening of less desirable immigrants. Immigrants situated closer to the black pole are seen as at the bottom of the cultural and economic ranking" (Ong, 1996, p. 742). Like critical race theorists (Bell, 1992; 1995; Crenshaw et al., 1995; Delgado, 1995; Ladson Billings, 2003; Matsuda, 1995), I contend that racism is woven into the U.S. social fabric, however, racisms take local and

historically contingent forms. Omi and Winant (2002) define race as "a concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies" (p. 123) and subsequently define racial formation as "the sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed" (p. 124). Furthermore, racism has morphed from its biological determinism to that of cultural incompatibility, or neo-racism (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991). Mullings (2005) contends that recent migratory processes have created new forms of racialization and racism throughout the world: "This new racial ideology is integrally related to the hegemonic project of neoliberalism, which is about unrestricted open markets, flexible labor, the diminished role of government (at least for redistributive functions) (Clarke 2004), productivity as the measure of an individual's worth and personal responsibility" (p. 679). As part of this hegemonic project in the U.S., immigrants are ranked according to how closely they approximate whiteness and middle-class values, how quickly and willingly they assimilate and relinquish marked cultural practices, how self-reliant they are in their achievement of the American Dream, and how quickly they learn to speak flawless, unaccented English. Racialized bodies are also gendered and classed and these intersections impact how immigrant youth experience schools and society (Lee, 2005; Lopez, 2003; Sarroub, 2005). Dark-skinned Latino males, for example, are criminalized (Lopez, 2003). Hmong-American boys also experience such "ideological blackening" because of their adoption of a hip-hop aesthetic and association with poverty (Lee, 2005). Where do recently-arrived immigrant youth fall into this racial project and how does this influence who and what they might become? What role do the city and school play in this racialization project? The stories of my co-researchers indicate that race and racialization projects and their intersections with culture and language figure conspicuously in their lives; this will be explored in chapter 4.

An integral component of immigrant adolescents' experiences is the need to master English so they can contend with the demands of high school coursework and high-stakes, standardized exit exams. Such exams have become *de facto* language policy and determine what content schools teach, how it is taught, by whom it is taught, and in what language(s) it is taught. Additionally, the language policy established by these exams creates disincentive to serve students learning English because they are less likely to meet federal accountability requirements, thereby fostering a deficit perspective. Perhaps most egregiously, high-stakes exit exams equate testing with teaching, deprive students of native language resources, and create language hierarchies in schools (Menken, 2008). The co-researchers' stories profoundly contribute to the understanding of the ways in which such hierarchies emerge. This will be taken up further in chapter 4.

The language learning process is wrought with personal frustration and political complications, and intricately connected to the racialization process outlined above. C. Suarez-Orozco, M. Suarez-Orozco, and Todorova (2008) report that 56 percent of students responded that learning English was the main obstacle to getting ahead in the United States, more of a barrier than discrimination, lack of resources, or not being documented (p. 149). From English language test score data, they also conclude:

> …it takes longer than most would imagine to develop the English-language skills necessary to be competitive academically…Researchers in the field of language learning have long known that acquiring an academically competitive level of language acquisition takes a significant period – from seven to ten years of strong academic environments and frequent second–language exposure. (p. 156)

The rate and fluency of English language learning are mediated by a number of factors: background characteristic such as age and prior education and literacy, with mother's education playing a particularly influential role; motivation; exposure to native speakers; and quality of

English-language instruction (C. Suarez-Orozco, M. Suarez- Orozco, & Todorova, 2008, pp. 156-163). Again, language emerges as a salient component of the co-researchers' identities.

Of course, language can never be divorced from power as seen throughout history, especially in colonizers' attempts to expunge native languages in order not only to eradicate culture, but to dominate colonized minds. According to Spring (2007), this is what motivated teaching English to Native Americans: "Through sameness of language is produced sameness of sentiment and thought; customs and habits are moulded [sic] and assimilated in the same way, and thus in process of time the differences producing trouble would have been gradually obliterated" (Prucha, ed., 1868, as cited in Spring, 2007, p. 31). This reminds us that Americanization and the development of nationalism and patriotism have gone hand in hand with learning English. Not speaking English or even speaking English with a heavy accent call into question one's loyalty to the nation-state. Just as there is a racial hierarchy in the U.S., so there is a linguistic hierarchy, and these hierarchies overlap. A black person from West Africa who speaks French, English, and Fulani is viewed very differently from a white person from France who speaks English with a heavy accent, for example. In the U.S. the automatic point of comparison, what is normative or generic America, is white, middle-class, and English speaking. "Whiteness is unracialized so any kind of non-whiteness is subject to racialization. The racial polarity shapes perception of all language and cultural difference as problematic, often as parasitic – hence the intense reactions frequently expressed to public recognition of language other than English, especially Spanish" (Urciuoli, 1996, p. 16). Spanish connotes an "invasion" of dark-skinned people from the global south. With this in mind, is it therefore surprising that the U.S. has successfully eliminated immigrants' native languages within three generations? "In no other country, among thirty-five nations compared in a detailed study by Liberson and his

colleagues, did the rate of mother-tongue shift toward (English) monolingualism approach the rapidity of that found in the United States (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996, p. 195). What could account for the fact that the Chinese, a second-generation immigrant group experiencing the most dramatic upward mobility, are actually the least likely to maintain their native language (Kasinitz et al, 2008, p. 343)? The co-researchers' reports of language loss are deeply connected to the development of the language hierarchy partially caused by testing polices. We hear evidence of this in Asmaou's chapter on language politics in the global city.

However, power and domination, as Jaquemet (2005) would remind us, that lead to "linguistic imperialism, endangered languages, language loss, and language death" (p. 260) do not tell the entire story. Cultural globalization and its ensuing deterritorialization have catalyzed a new social identity that "finds its expression in the creolized, mixed idioms of polyglottism" (p. 263), essentially challenging what it is that we conceive of as language. Yet, we cannot ignore the fact that 90-95 percent of today's spoken language may be extinct or seriously endangered by the year 2100 (Krauss, Maffi, & Yamamoto, 2004). Pedagogy that subtracts linguistic and subsequently cultural resources results in capital dispossession and is the primary cause of not only the linguistic genocide described above, but also the cause of stunting of children's academic and cognitive growth (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2008). If languages are being murdered rather than simply disappearing or being abandoned by their speakers, "we can analyze the structural and ideological agents responsible: the world's economic, techno-military and political systems" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2008, p. 14). A profound understanding of the power relationships among languages, their learners, and the societies in which they are embedded challenges the overly simplistic notion that students who receive best-practices instruction will easily acquire a second language.

The connections among language, culture, and power are clear. Gloria Anzaldua (1987) writes: "So if you want to really hurt me, talk badly about my language. Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity – I am my language" (p. 59). Furthermore, "language differences are routinely attributed to origin differences and in the United States origin differences are framed as race and ethnicity" (Urciuoli, 1996, p. 15). If, as proffered above, neo-racism has transferred essentialization from the body to the mind, from race to culture, then language now plays a more prominent role in determining an individual or group's value and claim to belonging in the nation-state. In the white/black racial paradigm that predominates in the U.S., racialized (read: non-white) people are located and locate themselves within the hierarchy, their position being determined by how closely they approximate the white, middle-class, Anglo-Saxon monoglot. In the words of Urciuoli (1996),

> Racialized people are typified as human matter out of place: dirty, dangerous, unwilling, or unable to do their bit for the nation-state…[In this racialized discourse], language difference is routinely racialized, typified as an impediment to class mobility…. Racializing discourses equate language difference with disorder, with images of illiterate foreigners flooding the United States and refusing to speak English or hordes of the underclass speaking an accented English with "broken grammar" and "mixed" vocabulary. (p. 15-18)

The English language learning process is central to the experiences of immigrant adolescents as it not only determines whether they are granted a high school diploma and access to higher education, but the process is also located within larger racializing and exclusionary discourses that determine a plethora of other citizenship rights. Without an understanding of the role that language plays in the racialization process, we would not have a complete understanding of immigrant adolescents' experiences.

My Personal Entry to this Study

In chapter 2 and in each of the chapters dedicated to the co-researchers' questions, I devote significant space to the youth researchers' personal biographies as this provides insight and understanding into not only their questions themselves, but also how they interpret and analyze their research data. Here, I hope that this brief biography provides the same insights into my own research questions and data analysis. In short, what my biography reveals is my deep connection to New York City and my desire to understand the complexities of the immigration process. It also reveals how the world and New York City have dramatically shifted with regard to immigration and globalization over the course of the past century.

I was born in New York City in 1968 in a Catholic hospital in Jamaica, Queens where my mother had previously worked as a registered nurse until she decided to raise a family. Both my parents grew up in Queens—my father in Richmond Hill, my mother in Kew Gardens. My family moved to Long Island in 1977 primarily because with seven children and my mother pregnant, we had outgrown our small three-bedroom house. Though I've never confirmed this with my parents, I suspect another reason for the move was to escape the economic stagnation, increased crime, and declining public services (including schools) the city faced during the 1970s. Before continuing with this personal history and movement from the city, I will explore my ancestors' movement to the city from abroad.

My maternal grandmother, Kalliope Coroneos, was born in Manhattan in 1916 or 1917 (different genealogical records list different years) to John and Despina, who emigrated from the Isle of Missyros, Turkey to the U.S. in 1910. In 1916, while John and Despina were living on 40th Street in Manhattan, John, a tailor, "renounced forever all allegiance and fidelity to

Mohammed V, Emperor of the Ottomans" and declared his intention to become a U.S. citizen. At this time, nothing is known about my maternal grandfather's history.

Harry Walsh, my paternal grandfather was born Portchester, NY in April 1900 to Irish immigrant parents, Bridget Doyle and John Francis Walsh. Anne Coleman, my paternal grandmother, was born in Brooklyn in 1897. Her mother Annie Lynden Johnston was born in New York City and at the time of her marriage to James Coleman in 1890 lived at 469 Sixth Avenue in Manhattan. Anne Coleman's father James, however, was born in Montreal, Canada in 1859 or 1860. The theory behind this Canadian birth is that James Coleman's parents, Patrick Coleman and Margaret Fallon, after immigrating to the U.S. from Ireland, were denied Patrick's father's military pension due him for having been killed in action in India. To collect this pension, they moved to Canada where eight of their nine children were born. According to family genealogical records, on January 15, 1892, James Coleman, a printer, declared his intention to become a U.S. citizen and renounced "forever all allegiance and fidelity to the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." When he declared this intention, his address was listed as 162 Saratoga Avenue in Brooklyn, just over two miles from where I currently live in Bedford-Stuyvesant and two miles from where my second youngest brother Brian now lives in Crown Heights, Brooklyn. Interestingly, my youngest brother Robert recently lived less than a half mile from the apartment building in Kew Gardens, Queens where my mother grew up and where I visited my maternal grandmother as a child. This familial immigration history to NYC and the connection I feel to it has stimulated my profound interest in the immigration process and the ways in which my family, as primarily Eastern Europeans and Irish, were racialized in 19th and 20th century America. I am just as interested in the processes

through which they were able to attain whiteness (see *How the Irish Became White* and *Working Toward Whiteness*).[5]

Moving to the suburbs from the city also meant moving from Catholic school to public school. Though I attended public school for kindergarten, it was not unusual for the Catholic, working-class families in our neighborhood to send their children to parochial schools. From first through third grade I attended Our Lady of Perpetual Help and then completed elementary, middle, and high school in the Long Beach, NY public school system. I then attended college at the State University of New York (SUNY) at Binghamton in central New York where I studied political science and Russian and East European Studies. For eight years after graduation I worked in higher education administration positions at Oberlin College and SUNY New Paltz. While at New Paltz, I began the master's program in teaching English to speakers of other languages. Having completed a few courses, I then took a one-year leave of absence to teach English in Ecuador through a volunteer program called WorldTeach. Upon my return, I continued my full-time work and part-time studies until the September of 2000 when I began student teaching in both an elementary and high school in Newburgh, NY.[6] With a completed degree, my first full-time teaching position was a pull-out ESL program[7] in an elementary school on 21st in Manhattan. In September 2003, I matriculated in the doctoral program in urban education at the City University of New York (CUNY) Graduate Center and then in August 2004 was part of the faculty who established The International High School at Prospect Heights. In short, I've worked with adolescents and young adults in one educational setting or another for

[5] I am indebted to my brother Peter Walsh for his collection of family genealogical records.
[6] A master's degree in TESOL is a K-12 certification and I spent part of the day in the elementary school and part of the day in the high school.
[7] Pull-out ESL programs require removing students from their classroom for a period or two each day to receive language services with a small group of students. This is opposed to a push-in model, which requires an ESL teacher to service children in their classrooms.

over twenty years and I have deep roots in a city that has always been a site of massive migrations. However, the nature of post-1965 migration is dramatically different from previous immigration waves and the cultural and economic forces in the city of my birth have shifted substantially. My biography has sparked the desire to narrate the story of a city from the perspective of those whom neoliberal governments—with their increased focus on entrepreneurship and decreased focus on public service and the redistribution of wealth—are progressively abandoning.

Organization of the Chapters

Because of the participatory nature of this project, I knew that I would have to relinquish control of the precise questions that this dissertation would explore. The co-researchers' questions were crafted as part of an introductory course to social science inquiry and they were therefore not required to specifically address immigration; they simply needed a question that was rooted in their own family, community, or school experiences and that aroused a sense of urgency for change. Inspired by thinkers such as David Harvey and Saskia Sassen and my deep connection to the city, I knew that I wanted to investigate the contemporary cultural, economic, and political climate through the lens of immigrant youths' experiences. This lens was, of course, influenced by over a decade of teaching immigrant students from the ages of four to over forty and over twenty years of working with adolescents and young adults. Such a lens would also have the potential to reveal not only the manifestations of the global in the quotidian experiences of young people, but also to reveal how adolescent and young adult immigrants experience a global city at a time of heightened sensitivity around immigration reform, at a time when increased xenophobia renders immigrants valuable only for their contributions to the churn of the market, and at a time when neoliberalism's assault on all things public increasingly abandons

those most dependent upon the public sector. Relinquishing control meant that I would not be guaranteed a neat through-line from chapter to chapter. My charge would therefore be to embroider the theoretical underpinnings of globalization and the neoliberal city between and among the chapters, all of which hold immigrant experiences at their core. The results of that embroidery are what follow.

In the next chapter, I outline the methodology employed in the study. As with all research and writing, this is a political project and I am forthcoming with the nature of my politics. These politics are evident in the ways that I aspire to trouble traditional social science research and its accompanying false dichotomies of subject/object, researcher/researched, for example. The tenets of participatory action research (PAR) and critical ethnography provide the fodder necessary for such a challenge as both offer epistemological bedrock rather than prescribe strict methods. The epistemological break with traditional social science research is primarily found in PAR's disruption of where authority and knowledge lie. The youth co-researchers in this study are more than mere participants; they are agentic constructors of knowledge as they theorize their own lives and the lives of those who are at once very similar to and different from themselves. In the words of Maxine Greene (1995), their theorizing provided the space to imagine worlds not yet. Beyond the epistemological break, I also desired a research relationship that would give back and not simply take. Through completing a course sponsored by the City University of New York's (CUNY) College Now program that prepared them to take courses for college credit while still in high school and through crafting their own research questions and research design, I hoped to provide the youth co-researchers with social and cultural capital that had the potential to make a real difference in their lives. After detailing the methods, the dissertation turns to the young researchers and their questions.

Each of the next four chapters is devoted to a co-researcher and her question and data analyses. In each chapter, the co-researcher's question is first grounded in the dissertation's theoretical foundations. Though globalization and neoliberalism serve as the backdrop throughout the chapters, each chapter, by necessity, incorporates a somewhat novel theoretical framework. We then read about each researcher's background and identity as this contributes to a more profound understanding of her question and interpretation of the data. Each researcher's question and findings are then thoroughly explored. Because the researchers were asked to identify a topic around which they wanted to effect change, we next read how their research findings speak to Nancy Fraser's notion of justice, which includes recognition, redistribution, and representation.

In chapter 3, we hear about Yvonne's exploration of undocumented high school students as they begin the transition to the worlds of work and/or higher education. Here, notions of citizenship and the construction of insiders and outsiders in and by the nation-state play an integral role. Yvonne's question is essentially one of the politics of cultural and national identity and belonging in the global city. Yvonne, her undocumented participant, and the adults who bear witness to the struggles of undocumented people imagine alternative definitions of citizenship. In chapter 4, Asmaou grapples with language politics in the global city through her investigation into the experiences of immigrant English learners in both a traditional high school and an international high school designed specifically for immigrant youth. What is revealed here is that Asmaou's own internal linguistic conflict is actually symbolic of the external language politics in the city at large. The symbolic power of language in an imagined linguistically pure nation is explored through school structures and policies.

Chapter 5 is dedicated to Haby's exploration of the gendered negotiation of the culture of the U.S. and the culture of home. During her investigation, she highlights the economic challenges of immigrant family life and the complexities of identity development in the global city. She and her participants implore us to consider hybridized identities and the fact that young women experience such identities in ways that differ from their male counterparts. Young women also experience the political economy in different ways. The imbrication of the cultural and economic provides particular insights into young women's lives in the global city. Ultimately, Haby argues that young women need exposure to experiences that will enhance their social and cultural capital and they require such exposure more than young men. Finally, in chapter 6, Rose provokes us to contemplate the reasons for conflict between and among immigrant groups and wonders why the various immigrant groups in her international high school "can't all get along." Just as the nation-state is a field of struggle for the undocumented in Yvonne's chapter, school, as a social institution of the state, is a field where various groups vie for recognition and legitimacy. This chapter explores the role that a discourse of tolerance plays in depoliticizing conflict in a high school for immigrant youth in the global city. In the concluding chapter, I underscore how globalization and neoliberalism have shaped not only these young researchers' questions, but also their lived experiences in New York City. I also reflect upon the implications that this study has for pedagogy, public policy, and research methods.

Chapter 2
Methodology

In designing my research project, I felt strongly committed to a number of principles that would avoid the traps of traditional social science research. First and foremost, I desired a project that overtly acknowledged its critical political stance and that grew out of critical pedagogical practices I had developed over a decade of teaching, primarily with immigrant young people. In the words of Howard Zinn (1994), I knew it impossible to remain neutral on a moving train. Neutrality, in this case, requires a particular researcher-researched relationship, a particular construction of subject and object that I did not want to reproduce. In the same vein of an overtly political project, I also rejected the practice of "mining for data" often inflicted by the academy on poor communities, indigenous communities, and urban black and Latino communities. In short, I sought reciprocity—a way to provide young people with "legitimate peripheral participation" (Lave & Wenger, 1991) as researchers and thereby increase their social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986) and academic skills—as I completed an advanced degree.

Over fifty years ago C. Wright Mills (1959) wrote, "Neither the life of an individual nor the history of a society can be understood without understanding both" (p. 3). He goes on to critique positivistic science, its fetishization of method, and subsequently its failure to ask questions that result in more than a description of what is and its failure to find public roots in private troubles. Such a turn not only challenges traditional methods, but also redefines research participants. Lather (1991) writes:

> What has "died" is the unified, monolithic, reified, essentialized subject capable of fully conscious, fully rational action, a subject assumed in most liberal and emancipatory discourse. Such a subject is replaced by a provisional, contingent, strategic, constructed subject which, while not essentialized, *must* be engaged in the processes of meaning-making given the bombardment of conflicting messages. (p. 120, italics in original)

Lather's statement recognizes, above all, that research participants are agents and construct meaning based upon particular temporal and geographic contingencies. In the case of immigrant adolescents who have recently immigrated to the U.S. and NYC, they experience and make meaning of a place where globalization and neoliberal social and economic policies are the order of the day. The ethos of reception that immigrants in general encounter, and the more particular ethos that immigrant adolescents face in the city and its social institutions such as schools, indicates a sense of urgency to understand more profoundly what young people make of their situations. As mentioned above, developing such understanding requires research methodologies that not only put these young people and their voices at center stage, but that also have as their foundation the dialectic between the local and the global (Appadurai, 1996; Burawoy, 2000; Lipman, 2005).

Thus, I draw on the insights of critical research in designing this study. Critical ethnography challenges positivistic scientism and is more of an epistemology than a strict methodological school (Carspecken, 1996). Alvesson and Skoldberg (2000) describe critical research as a kind of triple hermeneutics: First, individuals interpret their own subjectivity and cultural reality, and assign meaning to them; second, social science researchers attempt to understand and develop knowledge about this reality; and thirdly, there is "critical interpretation of unconscious processes, ideologies, power relations, and other expressions of dominance that entail the privileging of certain interests over others, within the forms of understanding which appear to be spontaneously generated" (p. 144). Arjun Appadurai (2006) takes critical research a step further when he contends that the right to conduct research is a basic human right—the "right to the tools through which any citizen can systematically increase that stock of knowledge which they consider most vital to their survival as human beings and to their claims as citizens"

(p. 168). Unlike Appadurai, however, I would argue that being able to conduct internet research to find the least expensive drugs needed to treat one's health is necessary, but sorely insufficient; insufficient because it neither apprentices young people in research skills nor helps them to uncover how deeply entrenched pharmaceutical companies are in the political economy and therefore health is not their necessarily their driving force. And finally, to serve justice to their complex, wonderful, challenging and contradictory lives, I wanted to represent immigrant youth in a way that neither romanticizes nor pathologizes their experiences.

To represent such complexity, it is necessary to extend beyond the realm of the individual and into interpersonal interactions and social structures. Kay Deaux (2006), for example, adapts Pettigrew's (1998) model of personality and social structure to a framework to analyze immigrants' experiences and focuses on the meso-level of interaction, that is, where the individual is linked to the social system. With an emphasis on the meso level, Deaux (2006) attempts to answer key questions in the immigrant identity formation process: What does the immigrant bring? What does the immigrant encounter? What does the immigrant do? (p. 142). While important questions and an important framework for analysis, the macro-level and mention of the global and local political economy and its neoliberal influences lack. These young people exist within a global city where deindustrialization and an amalgamation of financial services create an hourglass economy, where the market reigns supreme, and the function of government has shifted from managerial to entrepreneurial (Harvey, 2005). At this macro-level, we bear witness to the "everyday processes whereby people, especially immigrants, are made into subjects of a particular nation state; …[whereby they experience] self-making and being-made by power relations that produce consent through schemes of surveillance, discipline, control, and administration (Foucault, 1982, 1991)" (Ong, 1996, p. 737). In short, this study

seeks to jettison the dichotomies of structure and agency and of micro- and macro-level analyses (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992):

> A total science of society must jettison *both* the mechanical structuralism which puts agents 'on vacation' *and* the teleological individualism which recognizes people only in the truncated form of an 'oversocialized cultural dope' or in the guise of more or less sophisticated reincarnation of *homo economicus.* (p. 10, 1992, italics in original)

This study challenges these dichotomies through its representation of agentic young people embedded within a complex social structure that they both resist and reproduce. The post-September 11th economic, political, and social climate, for example, has irrevocably altered immigrants' experiences coming to and living in the U.S. While the young people and their experiences and meaning making are the focal point of the study, these experiences cannot be adequately understood without locating them within larger historical, sociocultural, and political contexts.

With the desire to represent justly immigrant youths' everyday experience and simultaneously consider the global, national, and local political economy, I encountered an intellectual crisis: How can ethnography, so tied to place and everyday experiences, represent immigrant adolescents' understanding of an increasing global world as they live in a global city? Developing a research methodology that not only put their voices and concerns at center stage, but that also had the power to represent the dialectic between the local and the global, or the unfolding of the global in a local context became the challenge. As Burawoy et al. (2000) write, such an ethnographic approach "pursue[s] manifestations of the planetary Zeitgeist within the mundane, the marginal, the everyday" (p. xii). Above all, the contemporary planetary Zeitgeist is defined by the transnational flows of people, cultural forms, capital, and power (Appadurai, 1996; Burawoy et al., 2000; Lipman, 2005). Burawoy et al. (2000) further write: "one of the questions facing us was whether globalization had rendered ethnography, apparently fixed in the

local, impossible or even irrelevant…[however,] rather than becoming redundant, ethnography's concern with concrete, lived experience can sharpen the abstractions of globalization theories into more precise and meaningful conceptual tools" (p. xiv). Ultimately this study seeks to understand "the dialectics of the global situation unfolding in local contexts" (Lipman, 2005, p. 325), what Lipman and other scholars have dubbed "glocalization."

My concerns with traditional ethnography were primarily rooted in its epistemological assumptions. Critical ethnography offers some relief with its challenges to positivistic scientism and its identification as more of an epistemology than a strict methodological school (Carspecken, 1996). I found more direct challenges to traditional epistemological assumptions in the tenets of participatory action research (PAR), and more specifically in PAR with youth (YPAR). PAR represents a "radical *epistemological challenge* to the traditions of social science, most critically on where knowledge resides;" it recognizes that "expertise and knowledge are widely distributed," and that "those who have been most systematically excluded, oppressed, or denied carry specifically revealing wisdom about the history, structure, consequences, and the facture points in unjust social arrangements" (Cammarota & Fine, 2008, p. 215, italics in original). More specifically, YPAR offers young people the opportunity to identify heartfelt and real issues in their lives and devise a plan to remedy these issues. It also offers adult researchers the opportunity to observe and talk to young people as they construct research projects of their own, thereby offering two levels of data—the data collected through adults observations and interviews with the co-researchers and the data the young people collected as they probed the social landscape with their own questions. Finally, YPAR acknowledges the fabrication of unjust circumstances rather than injustice as the natural state of affairs; injustices are ultimately challengeable and therefore changeable (Cammarota & Fine, 2008, p. 2). Our research collective

not only crafted research questions that recognized injustices; we also sought to understand the root causes of the injustices embedded within our questions. Rarely are the voices of young people truly heard around issues they have deemed important; even more rarely are young people equipped with the tools to increase the stock of knowledge to which Appadurai (2006) refers. Essentially, the epistemological stance offered by YPAR allows young people to research back, write back, and talk back (L. Smith, 1999). YPAR is essentially empowering, yet not empowerment solely for the sake of heightened self-awareness and self-edification. Lather's (1991) words are again informative:

> My usage of empowerment opposes the reduction of the term as it is used in the current fashion of individual self-assertion, upward mobility and the psychological experience of feeling powerful. Drawing on Gramsci's (1970) ideas of counter-hegemony, I use empowerment to mean analyzing ideas about the causes of powerlessness, recognizing systemic oppressive forces, and acting both individually and collectively to change the conditions of lives (Bookman and Morgan, 1988; Shapiro, 1989). (pp. 3-4).

Given the participatory nature of the project and its epistemological assumptions, this study pays particular attention to the co-construction of meaning and theoretical and provocative generalizability. PAR is generally committed to radically re-conceptualized notions of objectivity, validity, and generalizability (Cammarota & Fine, 2008). A few examples of such re-conceptualization are worth noting here. According to Sandra Harding (1987), "strong objectivity requires that we investigate the relation between subject and object rather than deny the existence of, or seek unilateral control over, this relation" (as quoted in Cammarota & Fine, 2008, p. 222). In other words, objective and unbiased claims are not desirable because they are essentially not possible. In the realm of validity, PAR challenges notion of expertise by honoring and developing varied bases of knowledge, "explicitly troubling hegemonic and hierarchical assumptions about who is expert" (Cammarota & Fine, 2008, p. 223). PAR also offers two novel conceptions of generalizability: theoretical and provocative. "Theoretical generalizability refers

to the extent to which theoretical notions or dynamics move from one context to another" while provocative generalizability "offers a measure of the extent to which a piece of research provokes readers or audiences, across contexts, to generalize to 'worlds not yet,' in the language of Maxine Greene; to rethink and reimagine current arrangements" (Cammarota & Fine, 2008, p. 227). This concept is very much akin to Lather's (1991) catalytic validity. Most simply, these notions ask us to re-examine who creates knowledge; ask us to consider how, in the absence of massive data sets, injustice can be shown to exist across contexts; and ask us to question the purpose of our research.

As a teacher committed to social justice and exposing the politics embedded within all curricula and methodology, I was comforted by the connections between YPAR and the Freirean concept of *conscientização*.

> In problem-posing education, people develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world with which and in which they find themselves; they come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation. (Freire, 1970, p. 83)

As a gay man, I found comfort in YPAR's queerness. Dilley (1999) writes that research is queer if "it is about questioning the presumptions, values and viewpoints from those positions (marginal and central), especially those that normally go unquestioned" (p. 462). Not only were the co-researchers learning to the read the words associated with social science research, they were learning to read the world. In fact, YPAR is a pedagogy of democratic citizenship that opposes neoliberalism's chokehold on education. As Cahill et al. (2008) write, PAR "is founded upon this praxis, the investigation of everyday life as part of a process of identification with where you come from and your sense of place in the world. And, perhaps it may also be a basis for claiming space and rights in the larger society" (p. 121)

To summarize, YPAR provided uncommon access to the micro-level experiences of the young people and allowed me to insert the connection between the local and global. In this process, I did not presuppose entirely what would be important to the co-researchers; their questions emerged from their own concerns, though they were partially shaped by me and the boundaries of the larger study. YPAR also ensured that the young people involved in the project would receive *both* material and cultural capital—credit for completing their internship and eligibility to take courses for college credit, for example, as well as knowledge of social science research. With the aforementioned ethical and political considerations in mind, I launched a YPAR project to understand profoundly how immigrant youth experience and make sense of the conditions of the global city.

Initiating a YPAR Project

To ensure some degree of reciprocity and giving back, I wanted students involved in this dissertation project to receive apprenticeship in critical social science research and to earn college credit for the coursework they would complete with me. Therefore, in the spring of 2009, I initiated contact with the directors of College Now programs on two City University of New York (CUNY) campuses. College Now is a CUNY-sponsored program that provides both foundations (for high school credit) and college-credit-bearing courses to NYC public high school students while they are still in high school. In the email to the directors, I explained that I was searching for an avenue to teach English learners the tenets of social science action research and have them earn college credit while doing so. I also explained that this was part of larger dissertation project in which the students who completed the course would then have the opportunity to complete an internship with me and implement the research project they designed. Furthermore, I listed my qualifications: I was a certified K-12 ESL teacher with 9 years of

experience in K-5, high school, community college, English language institute at a private college, and international settings. The director of Brooklyn College's program expressed an interest in pursuing this as College Now had identified ELs as a population underserved through its programs. Additionally, the director was, unbeknownst to me at the time I initiated communication with her, a student in a later cohort in the same doctoral program. I suspect that, in addition to this personal connection with her, she made this project possible because she wanted to serve the particular needs of students learning English. Again, the political nature of this project emerges.

Because of the College's course approval policy, it would be impossible to offer such a course for college credit within the proposed timeframe. The director recommended that we offer it as a foundations course, which has a twofold goal: First, such courses provide students with an opportunity to explore inquiry methods in a particular field; in this case, critical social science research. Secondly, they serve as prerequisites for courses for which high school student can earn college credit. By passing a foundations course, students can automatically enroll in a college-credit-bearing course while still in high school. Again, reciprocity was an integral component of this research design.

That same spring, the director of the College Now program at Brooklyn College and I met with the principal, literacy coach, and two teachers at Brooklyn International to discuss my research design. I was acquainted with the principal through a semester that she had spent at my school as a math instructional coach and had first met the literacy coach when I interviewed for a position at Brooklyn International in the spring 2004. I declined the position they offered me to pursue the opportunity to be part of the founding faculty of a new international school that would open in the fall 2004. The director and I explained that this would be the first time that a

foundations course would be offered specifically for students learning English, which could subsequently provide them with the opportunity to enroll in courses for college credit. I also explained that 11th graders who completed the course would then have the opportunity to implement their research project during their internship semester and I would serve as their internship sponsor. The principal and literacy coach felt that my proposal strongly matched the pedagogy and mission of the school and welcomed the collaboration. From my experience teaching at another International school that required an internship for graduation, I also knew it was challenging to find internship sites for students that would provide them with authentic work and learning experiences.

Fifteen students enrolled in and completed the Action Research course. We met for one and a half hours, twice per week for 15 weeks for a total of 45 hours. Beyond that, we also met for approximately three hours each on two Saturdays at the Brooklyn College Library so that I could expose the students to research databases. We began the course with an analysis of Freire's banking and problem-posing education by reading sections of the introduction to *The Art of Critical Pedagogy* (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008). Before reading, students took a stand[8] on statements such as these:

1. Students learn best by listening to the teacher.	SA	A	D	SD
2. Education is always beneficial to students.	SA	A	D	SD
3. The purpose of education is self-improvement.	SA	A	D	SD
4. The purpose of education is the betterment of society.	SA	A	D	SD

[8] Taking a stand is an activity in which students actually move to the corner of the room that represents their response to the statement. Corners are labeled Strong Agree, Agree, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree. After moving to the corner, students discuss with a partner the rationale behind their responses.

5. Schools are safe places for students. SA A D SD

They also described and analyzed the image below:

Figure 2.1: Pouring knowledge

I highlighted problem-posing education and its connections to action research with the following image:

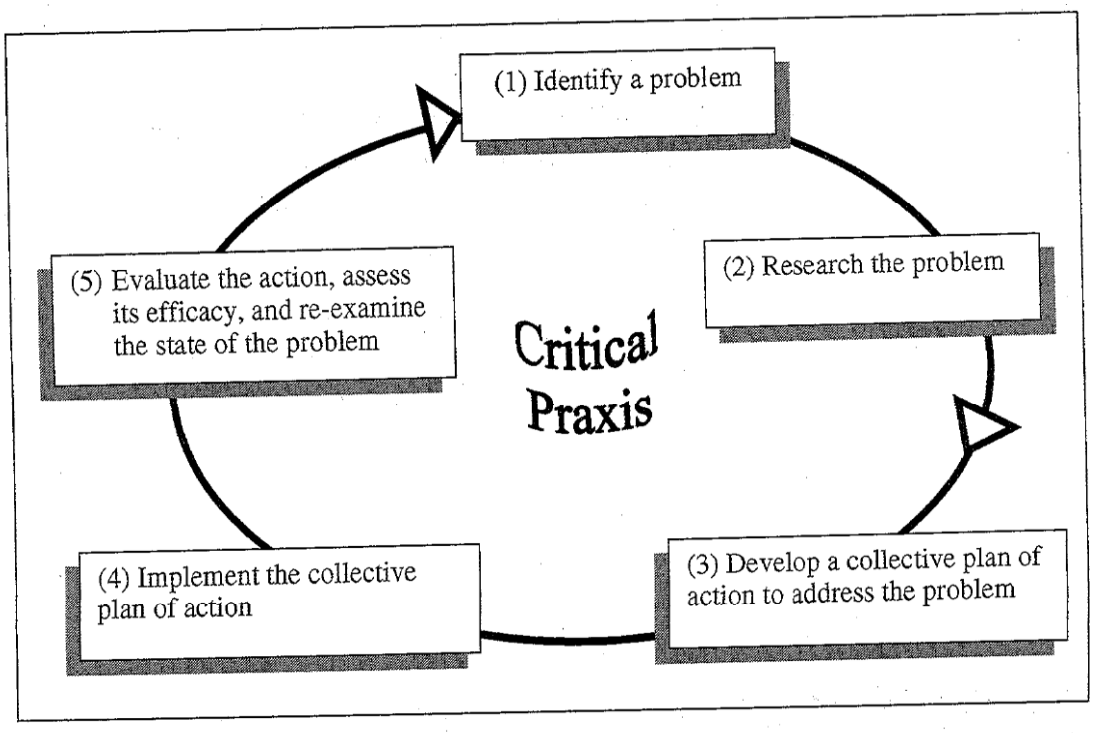

Figure 1.1. Cycle of Critical Praxis

Figure 2.2: Cycle of Critical Praxis (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008, p. 12)

As the course progressed, we familiarized ourselves with a number of YPAR projects. *What Kids Can Do* produced a video in which high school students investigated the disparities between urban and suburban schools in the Boston area. We read about the Fed-up Honeys on Manhattan's Lower East Side who challenged both gentrification and the negative stereotypes of Latinas (Cahill et al., 2008). Through a mixed methods study, Youth Researchers for a New Education System (2008) helped us to see young people's burning desire for more a democratic school system. We discussed and analyzed the research questions and methods, the participants, and the research sites in each of these projects.

With this foundation, students began to craft their own research questions. I shared with the students some of my own observation about an issue I felt strongly about and for which I wanted to effect change. I recounted a story about coming to their school to discuss the possibility of teaching the course with their principal. As I sat in her office, it was impossible to ignore the construction noise from outside. I then described the complex process of gentrification and the impact it is having on New York City neighborhoods. From Saskia Sassen (2000), I knew that the economic restructuring in cities like New York has caused "large growth in the demand for low-wage workers and for jobs that offer few advancement possibilities" alongside "an explosion in the wealth and power concentrated in these cities," that is, visible proliferation of well-paying jobs and expensive real estate (p. 86). We then walked around their school's neighborhood to see what they would notice. According to The New York Post (March 8, 2011), a 2005 rezoning law that encouraged residential development has made the area in which the co-researchers' school is located perhaps the fastest growing area in the nation, with its population increasing from just 400 in 2000 to 12,000 in 2011 and another 2,500 expected in the next two years. It is impossible not to take note of the sharp contrasts that this has created in their school's

neighborhood, where students noticed garbage-strewn public spaces under the Brooklyn-Queens Expressway alongside high-rise condominiums and high-end rentals with pools and exercise facilities. The elevated BQE and its approaches with seemingly endless streams of traffic separate their school's neighborhood from the Fort Greene Housing Projects. During a subsequent class, a quick review of real estate prices in the area revealed one-bedroom condos of fewer than 1,000 square feet ranging in price from $465,000 to $640,000.

We also considered different areas in their school—cafeteria, stairwells, the principal's office—as potential sites for research question inspiration. I asked students to walk around their home neighborhoods with a critical eye and encouraged them to do the same at home with their families. This process yielded a number of provocative questions: How does the U.S. economy impact immigrant families, for example, was developed after a student noticed that members of her family might only see each other twice a week because of work commitments. Another student wondered about the impact of gentrification on Latino immigrants in Williamsburg, Brooklyn after noticing the connections between what was happening in her school's neighborhood and her family's neighborhood. A third student contemplated the atmosphere created by security agents and surveillance cameras in his own school after reading about and talking to a student researcher from a fellow doctoral student's research group called Students Supporting Action and Awareness.[9] For their final project, students were required to complete a research proposal that outlined their questions, methods, sites, participants, a brief literature review, stakeholders in the research question, and how they would inform others about their research project.

[9] I am indebted to Patricia Krueger for sharing her work with me and connecting me with one of her youth researchers, who presented to our Action Research class.

Of the fifteen students who completed the course, five eleventh graders were then eligible to proceed to their internship with me. One felt strongly about gaining experience in the medical field and completed her internship at a Brooklyn hospital. The remaining four decided that they wanted to have the opportunity complete their research projects. Over the course of the internship—February 23rd to mid-June 2010—we spent between 12 and 18 hours together each week for a total of approximately 225 hours. These 225 hours were spent in a myriad of ways, which will be outlined in more detail below. During the first month, for example, our internship meetings involved refining our research questions, designing research methods and crafting interview and focus group protocols. It is worth noting here that we originally intended to use the co-researchers' own school as a research site; however, after discussing the advantages and disadvantages of insider versus outsider research, we collectively decided to seek an alternative site.[10] This decision entailed negotiating entry into this site. On March 23, 2010, the youth researchers described our project to the proposed site's principal in the following way:

> Our group is named T.R.A.C., which stands for Transnational Researchers for Action and Change. So, um, we call transnational researchers 'cause we all experience two to three, um, different cultures, which makes us bi-cultural or tri-cultural and we call it action and change, um, because um, we take actions…to change for the better for adolescent immigrants.
>
> We have a statement of purpose: We are a research collective that investigates issues faced by immigrant adolescents, documented and undocumented in New York City. We seek to understand these issues at all levels: the systems, ideologies, and deeply held values and beliefs that created them; the attitudes, goals, and policies that perpetuate them; and finally, the everyday manifestations of the issues. T.R.A.C. identifies issues that affect immigrant adolescents, formulates research questions, designs research methods, and collects data, and also with the results aspires to inform, educate, and take action that will effect change at many levels.

[10] The chosen research site has similar demographics to those of Brooklyn International High School and is the school at which the principal investigator had previously taught.

As mentioned above, I wanted to continue to expose these young people to legitimate experiences as critical social science researchers and guide them in their exploration of their research interests and desire to catalyze social change. Of equal importance, I hoped to contribute to their social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986) and raise awareness about the public influences on seemingly private troubles (Mills, 1959).

The Co-Researchers

Here, I provide some insight into the members of our research group so that the reader can gain insight into how these young people view themselves as immigrants in the global city. In 2007, Asmaou Amadou came to the U.S. from Togo, West Africa where she attended private school and lived in a large house. Upon arriving to the U.S., she enrolled in Bronx International High School before moving to Brooklyn in 2009. When asked to described herself, Asmaou replied,

> I am immigrant. I am from Togo and I'm 16 years old, in 11th grade and I have five brothers, no six brothers (a combination of full and half brothers), and I am the only girl in my family. I'm loving and I like to help you with anything. I live in Bronx for two years. I have an uncle here, like my mom's brother. Yeah.

Asmaou's father arrived in the U.S. six or seven years before the rest of the family and left because of the deteriorating economy in Togo. During her father's absence, Asmaou lived with her mom and four half brothers; her mom sold agricultural products (corn and rice) at a market to help support the family. Asmaou attributes Togo's economic decline to a former president who was stealing money. He died in 2005 and his son became the president. "I don't get it. It's like they are cheating...Many people just hate them," she reported. Asmaou maintains cell phone contact with her cousins and an aunt in Togo, who inform her of current events. Her father regularly travels to Togo for business. Asmaou also has an eighteen-year-old cousin who lives in Alabama.

When asked how people might see her as an immigrant, Asmaou replied that when people see immigrants, especially African, they think they're here for work and money; people think Africa is "only poor and a desert. I was rich in Africa." In New York City, she and her family find everything very expensive. When her father came to the U.S., he was able to send money to Africa. Now that the entire family is in the U.S., dad can only give her ten dollars for the week. "I already used my ten dollars and it's only Monday." Her twenty-one-year-old half-brother is the only one other than her father who is working. Her youngest brother will be two in May. Her other half-brothers are 12, 13, 15, and 18 years old. When asked about any bad experiences she has had as an immigrant, Asmaou said, "Sometimes my dad complain about the economy, like sometimes, 'cause when I came here we, you know, had a big house with four bedrooms and one living room." Her dad now complains about paying the rent for a small apartment.

Asmaou's eighteen-year-old half-brother is a student in a traditional high school, where he has passed all his Regents exams[11] and the school is therefore helping him to find an internship. When asked how her school experiences might be different from her brother's, she replied, "I don't think I could have passed my Regents." On the survey that our research collective both designed and completed, Asmaou identified herself as a Black African Muslim and strongly agreed with the statement, "I am hopeful about the future." She also strongly agrees that she can get help in school when she needs it. When the survey asked what she liked most and least about the U.S., she replied that she likes the education system but does not like the

[11] Students in New York State are required to pass Regents exams in five subjects (math, English, science, global history, and U.S. history) in order to graduate. Asmaou's school, on the other hand, is a member of the New York State Performance Standards Consortium which is exempt from most of these testing requirements; students in Consortium schools only need to pass math and English exams to graduate.)

economy. She feels that she is treated okay as an immigrant in the U.S., but is sometimes discriminated against because of her culture. Finally, she thinks that money would improve her family's situation in the U.S. Asmaou's background, identity, and her research project are described in great detail in chapter 4.

Haby Ly's mother and father are still in Guinea, West Africa and they visit the U.S. regularly. At the time of my first one-on-one interview with Haby, her mother was visiting NYC and her father was planning to visit that summer. In 2008, Haby came to the U.S. for what she thought was a six-month visit to learn English. The plan was for her to learn English and then go to Paris to attend university. She now lives on Staten Island with her aunt (her mom's cousin), uncle, and three cousins, one of whom is her age and with whom she shares a room. The other cousins are older, one male and one female. Haby has a strong relationship with her father—a self-proclaimed "daddy's girl"; she remembers preparing his clothes in the morning and crying on him when she was upset. She hasn't seen her sister, who lives in Paris and is studying medicine, for ten years, but they communicate frequently using various technologies. In Paris, "I won't be a good girl," she explained. "There is so much racism and they would send me back to Africa really quick." Haby had previously recounted a story to our research group about how a Parisienne woman in Charles DeGaulle airport said, "Slave, don't you know how to say excuse me?" after Haby accidentally bumped into her.

When asked how people might see her as an immigrant, she replied,

> You Black, we know you from Africa, but you do not really act like African…but when they heard me talking, it is a different African, African educated and African not educated…If your parents are educated, you educated, of course you won't act like people who is not educated…Generally you won't see me around Africans, especially African girls, you won't see me around them because the way I grow up it's like school, you come home, you eat, you go to sleep, and wake up by 5, you do your homework and read your holy book, and then watch TV from 7-830pm…Going out I always go out with my dad. Books, I always read books.

Haby also describes herself as someone who is always nice to people. Additionally, her dad doesn't want her to work, but she doesn't feel right taking money from him. "I have to do my own," she says and therefore works on both Saturday and Sunday, but her dad only knows about Saturday. "I feel like inside me I have to do it." She further explains, "we're not that rich, but my dad is all about his kids."

When I asked her to compare French and U.S. racism, she stated, "American people cannot live without 'excuse me' and 'sorry'…In Paris, you can step on someone's feet, you can look at the person and walk away." She claims that she has never experienced racism in the U.S. Haby defines racism as "color, skin color. People think because they have a different skin color that's why (inaudible) or maybe the mentality…they think they not the same thing, but actually all of them are the same thing. The way you think, the way you judge people, the way you act when you are around people, like it's part of prejudice, too." She talks to her Parisienne sister nightly on the phone and they discuss their experiences. "A lot of things happen there," Haby states.

> I'm happy here 'cause Black is Black. I don't have that much problems…, but over there like you cannot go look for a job…it be really, really difficult…There is white people who like Black people and if you're not connected to them and they make you connect to other Black people even though they're racist, it's not gonna work 'cause my sister been there for how many years? She start working after five years.

On the research collective's survey, Haby identified herself as a Black African Muslim and strongly agreed with the statement, "I feel prepared for college." Her biggest hope for the future is "to finish school, have a good education, have a good job, enjoye [sic] my life." She dislikes that the U.S. is so far from her home country and believes that if the members of her family with whom she lives didn't have to work so much, they would have better communication. Finally, she strongly agreed with the statement, "I feel tension between U.S.

culture and my home culture." Haby's background, identity, and her research project are described in great detail in chapter 5.

Rose Morissett came to the U.S. from Haiti at the age of 9 with her mom, dad, and five sisters. She still has one sister in Haiti who will come here soon. Her grandfather has lived in the U.S. for a number of years and filed the paperwork necessary for family reunification. When her family first arrived, they all lived with her father's sister, but five months later found their own apartment. Rose found it very challenging to be in the U.S. because she missed her country and "things are really bad because the language, you don't know how to speak it, when people are talking you don't understand it." Rose was required to repeat the sixth grade when she arrived. "Because I didn't understand the language…they make me do it again." In spite of all this, she believes that in the U.S. "you have all the opportunities to get what you need. In Haiti, people have to pay to go to school." When asked how others might see her as an immigrant, she responded with the following: "We here to get our life, you know, 'cause in here anything you want to be you have it. You just have to know what you want for life...It's not easy to find jobs, but if you're really looking for it you can find it." Other than her struggle with language she also has had difficulty with other students who have made fun of her.

Rose describes herself as a good and helpful person. "I like everyone. It's not okay I'm Haitian and I don't like other nations." She also states that "life is pretty good 'cause I finish junior high and going to be a senior soon, next year." Rose hopes to become a pediatric nurse; she also loves to dance but doesn't know if she'll have time for that.

Danny: What do you want to be doing ten years from now?

Rose: My own house. Have cars. Husband. I want to be married, have children, and have my own family.

Danny: How about twenty years from now?

Rose: Kids will become like me a strong woman. Still working on my career.

Danny: And why are all these things important to you?

Rose: It's important, it's not important. It's important because I been working hard and I want good things in my life 'cause I work for it. I spend time in school and want to have stuff that will make me happy and to have a good life. And cars are important 'cause if you finish your education you have cars, you get to go places, people give you respect and stuff so I think it's great. You won't have a good life if you don't finish school.

When asked about her experiences learning English, she described them as "not that bad…It was not that difficult 'cause you know you little... my mind was not that full. I want to be able to learn English. Want to understand what others were saying. Some places you go if you don't know English they won't give you the job. I would drop out of school. People would always have to do things for me. The country speaks English." To maintain her home language and culture she seeks out others who speak Haitian Creole and offers to translate for them if they don't speak English. "I'm from there [Haiti], I'm supposed to learn it. I learn it, I know how to speak my language...I just speak it, but those big words sometimes I feel like I don't know what it mean and I can't even write it." According to Rose's survey data, she is a Black Caribbean Christian and disagrees with the statement, "I know what to do to apply to college." She agrees that there is racism in her school and that students in her school judge one another and experience discrimination. She disagrees that she is treated well in the U.S. as an immigrant and she would like to help her family to understand her when she has a problem. Rose's background, identity, and her research project are described in great detail in chapter 6.

Yvonne Ndiaye was born in the U.S. to undocumented parents—her father from Senegal and her mother from Barbados. At the age of 7, her father insisted that she go to Senegal to live with his family. After almost ten years there, she returned to the U.S. to live with her mother. At some point in her pre-school years, she lived in Barbados for approximately one year. Yvonne

grew up mostly with her mother and therefore speaking English. She learned Woloff at home in Senegal and French in Senegalese schools. When asked how she identifies she stated that she doesn't feel American or like an immigrant; she feels like she belongs nowhere, but feels most at home in Senegal because of the number of years she spent there. She felt uncomfortable there for the first two or three years, but then had friends and other things that made her more comfortable. When in Harlem, she can discuss places in Woloff with other Senegalese people.

> I can speak in Woloff and talk about different places in Senegal and how it looks and how I...but when it comes to Barbados I only know the two places my mom used to be. I don't really know my family there so I don't really feel comfortable speaking to them 'cause they all talk really fast and it's really hard for me to know what they're saying...When I speak, [they say] you're speaking like American people and that makes me feel uncomfortable because I don't want them to identify me like that, I don't want them to feel like okay she's from America she talks like that. I want them to welcome me as I was from there [Barbados].

Yvonne contends that people often identify her as African-American and she hypothesizes that this is because of the way that she looks and talks. She recounted a story of going into a corner store to buy a calling card for the Caribbean and the salesperson being surprised by her purchase. In response, she stated, "I look at myself in the mirror and I know I look like my mother so why is that they have to identify me as African American? Like what is on me that tells them I'm African American, I don't understand..." At one point during this interview, I pushed her to define herself in one sentence and she assertively responded,

> It can't be in one sentence. Because, okay, if a person asks where I'm from and I say from U.S., you can't be from the U.S. you speak French. Well, I was born here. Is your mother and father American? I'm like no. And so, that's like another question. And so the response is really long. It depends on what like, some people ask you where you were born and I just say I was born in the Bronx. Some people ask where are you from and I'm like from the U.S. I do not have one answer when it comes to what I am.

On her survey, Yvonne identified herself as a Black African Muslim who feels prepared for college, is hopeful about the future, and ready to go into the real world. In ten years, she sees

herself in her office as a psychologist and writer. She disagrees that students from different countries get along well in her school and strongly agrees that students in her school have conflict because language differences. Yvonne likes the options she has to succeed in the future in the U.S., but dislikes the racism. Finally, she believes she is disrespected as an immigrant in the U.S. Yvonne's background, identity, and her research project are described in great detail in chapter 3.

The Research Collective

Our first day. Our research collective met on the first day of the students' internship. In the small conference room on the 5th floor of the former torpedo warehouse (the school building is in close proximity to the Brooklyn Navy Yard) that houses their multi-school campus[12], I wrote the following agenda on the whiteboard:

1. Icebreaker
2. Ideal internship
3. Communication
4. What is PAR?
5. Research interests
6. What ties us together?

For the icebreaker we wrote, on an index card, three things about ourselves that people in the room might not know about us; two of these were to be truthful and the third a lie. I then read each card aloud and we had to guess who authored the card and speculate about the veracity of each statement. As part of our discussion about what PAR is, we reviewed what we learned about action research during the previous semester. The co-researchers responses included that action research is about asking questions; an opportunity to express your issue, what's important to you so others can see and know that answer; and it is *not* about sitting at the computer to

[12] As part of school restructuring, large comprehensive high schools in NYC were dismantled and replaced with small schools that share the same building.

conduct research. I reminded them that they would be part of the PAR project that I had designed for my dissertation research and that I would be documenting their experiences as immigrant youth in a global city through our collective project. I also told them that I would be using research methods with them that they could in turn use with their own participants. In fact, their very questions and what they discovered about immigrant youth and *themselves* throughout the research process would serve as my primary source of data.

Haby was the first to discuss her research interests. During the previous semester we learned that she wanted to explore the impact that immigrant parents' relationships have on their children. "Immigrant parents are here to work and make money and don't care how that affects children," she stated. To which Rose replied, "Work all day, 24/7." Asmaou chimed in and said, "Sometimes children don't get to go to school, they have to work." Yvonne told us that her mother has been in the U.S. for nineteen years and is still undocumented. Haby added that parents need to give their kids a little bit of freedom instead of locking them up so much. In fact, she contends girls may become pregnant if their parents are too restrictive. Furthermore, working so much and having no communication does not foster positive relationships. In my field notes dated February 23, 2010, I wrote that I thought Haby's question was essentially about immigrant adolescents' experiences with their parents rather than how the parents' relationship impacts their children. I also wondered about how much of the tension that Haby described was related to parents' and children's differing acculturation processes and about the role that gender played in Haby's experiences.

Yvonne was next to discuss her research interests. She reminded us that her experiences growing up in the U.S., Barbados, and Senegal had prompted her interest in the concept of

transnationalism[13] and the positive and negative effects it has on young people like her. She told us, "I'm glad on one side that I was in Africa. I learned two different languages. In Barbados I see how people are different. I'm grateful but it was hard there (Senegal)." She added, "I see Americans. If I stayed here I would have an attitude." She lamented the fact that when you finally adjust to living in one place, you suddenly have to leave and rebuild those same things. "You leave a lot of stuff behind and it effect you. It's like reborn. Everything has to change and you have to get those stuff again, which is a long way to go." In my field notes I wondered about Yvonne's transnational and hyphenated identity and the ways in which she was becoming and not becoming an American, despite her U.S.-born status. I also wondered about her experiences as the U.S.-born child of undocumented parents.

Rose then reminded us of her research interests. She wanted to explore the causes of racism and cultural conflict in her high school. From her three years of experience in the school and her observations of the way people treat one another, she noted that there's racism between Haitian and Spanish people and Arabic and Spanish people. Yvonne interjected with a description of a hazing-type ethos in which the more recently-arrived are teased by those who have been here longer. Haby said that people get attitude from others when they first come. I asked what causes this and Yvonne hypothesized that is was due to skin color and language. "I see racial segregation. If you speaking Spanish and in the class and they put you in a group Spanish people won't speak to you." She contends that interracial groups of student working together are ineffective because conflict results.

Danny: What causes this conflict?

Haby: Understanding.

[13] See Yvonne's chapter for understanding of transnationalism and the ways in which transnationalism is discussed in the literature.

Yvonne: Lack of understanding. We all speak different languages. It's natural to think other people are talking about you.

Danny: So why is there conflict between Haitians and Africans? (I asked this question because Haitians and West Africans share French as a language, but Yvonne reminded me with her response below that Haitians will more often speak in Creole and West Africans more often in Fulani, for example.

Yvonne: Language.

Yvonne continues to describe the racism she sees in classes by recounting an incident when she had difficulty with a Latina who was in the same group as her. Because of the interpersonal difficulties such these, the teacher decided that students could sit where they wanted instead of with their assigned group. The result was a Spanish table, an African table, and an Asian table. "It's normal," Asmaou argued. "It's not being racist. You feel comfortable when you sitting with people that understand you."

Danny: Are there benefits to group work?

Yvonne: To learn English. People stick with native language and refuse to speak English.

(The group goes on to name students who, in their judgment, hardly speak English.)

Separating people is better, each person will get what they deserve.[14]

Danny: How much of what you described is related to racism?

Yvonne: Ninety-nine percent is related to racism. Not only in the hallways and cafeteria, it's in the classwork.

Asmaou then reminded us of her interests in the quality of education that immigrant students receive. More specifically, she wanted to explore the difference between the educational experiences of U.S. born students in traditional high schools and immigrant high school students

[14] Through group work on projects, teachers hope to foster interdependence and encourage dialogue around academic topics in both English and other languages.

in an International school. She chose this topic "…because I am immigrant and want to know what I'm getting. What they are having and we are not having. What is so special about this [her own] school." Haby immediately mentioned the testing exemptions that all students in her school are entitled to because of its membership in the New York State Performance Assessment Consortium.[15] Rose added that students in other schools need to take many more Regents exams than they do. Haby added the extra time that they get when taking standardized exams.[16] Asmaou reiterated that she really wants to investigate the differences between students' experiences in these two types of schools. "I'm trying to know. I really don't. I always think they are better than me 'cause they go to a regular school. *Just* a school for immigrant people [referring to her own]."

Asmaou: Do you think it's hard taking all those Regents (looking to me)? It's difficult talking all those Regents. I wouldn't make it.

Yvonne: With Regents, you're just doing what they want you to do [as opposed to with portfolio presentations where you have to internalize the knowledge].

Asmaou: My brother attends a traditional school and passed all his Regents and only goes to school from 9 a.m. to 11 a.m. You just pass the test and you go. Not giving you what you need to know.

In my field notes I wondered about Asmaou's internalization of the negative attitude towards a school for immigrant youth and the ways in which she equates testing with "real" school; though she later critiques schools for not giving students what they need after they have passed the exams. In some way, she recognizes that exams are not preparation for life after high school.

We then started the process of trying to see the overlap amongst our questions. In a circle in the center of the white board, I wrote IMMIGRANT ADOLESCENT ISSUES and then

[15] The New York State Performance Standards Consortium is a group of 28 schools across the state that has developed an alternative assessment system that exempts its membership from most high stakes exams.

[16] There are a number of accommodations that ELs received when taking standardized exams that include extended time, having the exam in the native language when available, and the use of bilingual glossaries.

proceeded to ask them all the major ideas they heard emerge in the discussion of our research interests. I drew lines outward from the circle and wrote their responses at the end of each line: testing, language and understanding, immigrant adolescents in NYC, access to college, transnationalism, racism/cultural conflict = can't learn, undocumented students, immigrant adolescents and relationship with parents, the economy, school for immigrants v. U.S.-born students, opportunities for immigrant students. The group was impressed with the work we had accomplished and Yvonne stated, "We researchers. We get to the point," alluding to the fact that she thought the group work in school was typically not so productive.

In fact, our planning sessions would also serve as focus groups for me to hear issues that were important to them and how these issues intersected with their own lives. After we entered the field as a research collective, internship meetings included discussing fieldwork and eventually data analysis. In addition to the notes that I took during all these meetings, I interviewed each co-researcher for approximately one hour on three separate occasions—at the beginning, middle, and end of the internship semester—to discuss both their own experiences as immigrant youth in a global city and what they were uncovering about their research question. I transcribed all of these interviews in their entirety. It was also during this time that we drew identity maps[17] and discussed our photovoice[18] projects. With these methods, I hoped to see and hear how they saw themselves in relation to the city and how they saw the city itself, through their own lenses. (These methods will be described in more detail below.) I treated these occasions as more formal focus groups and also recorded and transcribed them in their entirety.

[17] Sirin and Fine (2008) describe identity maps as a novel individual-level qualitative research method that tries to capture how young people creatively present their identities through drawings. With such a method, one might learn how "identities are embedded in memory, fears, and emotions that might not be voiced in a focus group or survey" (p. 17).

[18] With photovoice, participants use cameras to record aspects of their daily lives from their own perspective. See Wang (1999) and McIntyre (2008) for example of its use.

When we had refined our research questions and developed methods (including semi-structured interview and focus group protocols and photovoice prompts) for our collective project, I accompanied them into the field (The International High School @ Prospect Heights and in Asmaou's case also Traditional High, a school on the same multi-school campus) to assist them with the implementation of their designs and to hear and see what they heard and saw. Our research collective recruited participants by making announcements in classrooms and after-school clubs. I stood in the hallway with them at the end of the school day to distribute a brochure that the collective had designed to describe our research project and questions (see Appendix). With this brochure, we distributed both student and parent consent forms (see Appendix). I was actively involved in the recruitment of their participants to the point of indicating students whom I knew might help with a particular research question to the co-researcher who had crafted that research question. In some cases, I personally called them over to our table. Furthermore, I listened to all the focus groups and one-on-one interviews that the youth researchers conducted with their own participants and transcribed the most relevant portions. In Asmaou's case, I accompanied her on participant observations in Traditional High. As our project progressed, the co-researchers insisted upon developing a survey and despite my discomfort with quantitative data, we collectively developed a survey to administer at our research site. One hundred and four students completed the survey during lunch on two consecutive days. Four surveys were discarded because of their incompleteness. The table below summarizes the respondents' demographic data:

Gender	
Female	45
Male	47
Missing	8
Total	100

Years in the U.S.	
1	9
2-3	33
4-5	39
6+	6
Missing	13
Total	100

Religion	
Buddhist	16
Christian	35
Muslim	22
Other	6
Missing	13
Total	100

Race	
Black African	13
Black Caribbean	8
Latino	34
Asian	31
White	4
Other	5
Missing	5
Total	100

Grade	
9	15
10	27
11	26
12	26
Missing	6
Total	100

Documentation status	
Undocumented	9
Documented	61
Missing	30
Total	100

Table 2.1: Survey participants' demographic data

The respondents hailed from more than 20 countries with the greatest number from China (n=19), Mexico (n=12), and Haiti (n=11). Students were also from the Dominican Republic, Guinea, Pakistan, Tibet, Panama, Puerto Rico, Bangladesh, Guatemala, Honduras, Yemen, Ecuador, Poland, the Ivory Coast, Kenya, Liberia, and Uzbekistan.

Both during and after the internship semester, we presented at a number of conferences. We also submitted a manuscript to the *Harvard Educational Review* in response to its call for pieces on the topic of immigrant youth voices. Needless to say, the time we spent together was intense and provided a myriad of insights into their lives and a number of challenges. I will outline each of the methods and discuss the insights and challenges more specifically below, but will now provide a window into our research collective and its questions by continuing to recount our first two meetings during which we reminded one another of our research interests and honed our research questions.

As I reflected upon these first two days of work, I wrote in the reflective portion of my field notes that my role would be to embroider the larger sociocultural and political economic context throughout the study as I felt that was what tied us together. I would have to continually insert the complex ways in which globalization and neoliberalism might provide the insight necessary to fully understand these young people's experiences in the city. I also reflected upon the major themes I heard in their research and the words and phrases we had written on the board. I thought that Asmaou's question was basically one of the educational opportunities available to immigrant and U.S. born youth, perhaps with a more specific interest in immigrant youths' experiences in traditional and International schools. Haby was essentially curious about the impact that the immigration process has on the relationship between children and their parents. Based on her experiences with her mother and with young undocumented people in her church, Yvonne's question was beginning to morph into the ways in which undocumented high school student negotiate their transition to college or work. She was concerned about the number of intelligent undocumented people who were not pursing further education and wondered about the barriers they faced. Rose wanted to understand the causes of racial and cultural conflict at her international high school. We would continue to refine our questions over the next few weeks. Eventually, our questions read as follows:

1. What is the nature of cultural, linguistic, and racial conflict at a high school for immigrant youth? (Rose)

2. How do immigrant students in International and traditional schools feel about their school experiences? (Asmaou)

3. How do immigrant adolescent girls negotiate their home culture and culture of the U.S.? (Haby)

4. How do undocumented high school students and recent high school graduates negotiate the transition to college and/or work? (Yvonne) (Because it was difficult to

recruit recent high school graduates to participate within the timeframe of the study, Yvonne revised the question to include only current high school students.)

5. How does the context of the global city shape the conditions of the lives of immigrant adolescents who are learning English? How do they understand and respond to these conditions? (Danny)

Another salient moment worth recounting here was the development of a name for our research collective and a mission statement for our brochure. In my field notes dated February 25, 2010, I wrote the following:

> We ended with trying to develop a name for our group. I asked students to throw out important terms, themes, ideas that we discussed throughout the day and wrote them on the board. After some elimination we were left with the following: first-generation, action, immigrant, research, transnational, adolescent, issues, experiences, negotiate, international, global.

They also decided to eliminate first-generation because that was not a phrase that could be used to describe me. I was surprised by their efforts to ensure that I would be represented in the name of the research group. I suggested that the name does not have to exclusively reflect who we are, but could reflect what we do. With that, they felt that the name transnational represented the group, and that they were researchers. I circled both. At that point, I reminded them that an integral component of our work together would be to think about collective and individual action we could take to change the problems we had identified. We concluded that our name should therefore be Transnational Researchers for Action and Change – T.R.A.C.

Challenges Researching on/with/by/for Immigrant Youth[19]

On March 3, 2010, Rose was responsible for the icebreaker and wanted us to respond to the following question: What are the differences between your home country and New York City? Here, I made a decision to write about my experiences in South Africa where I had spent five weeks during the summer of 2005. In my reflective notes, I wrote about how this question

[19] I thank Michelle Fine for introducing me to the concept of "contested prepositions."

raised issues of whiteness and privilege as I wrote about my educational tourism in Africa as opposed to an immigration experience. I continued, "This really brings into relief the differences between me and my co-researchers. I will have to reflect upon and write about this a lot." Despite my consciousness of power and privilege, these could never be eliminated from our relationship and would often rear their heads; I would have to explore the ethics of researching *with* and writing *on*[20] and the politics of re-presenting those who differ from me on a number of identity markers—race, class, gender, and immigration status, in this case. The power that I held over the co-researchers was clearly revealed at a point during an internship meeting break. As usual, I had my cell phone on the circular table to keep track of the time. My phone rang and it was a friend whom I was expecting to meet and took the call. The co-researchers listened to my conversation and were curious about who was on the other end. When I hung up, Asmaou stated emphatically, "Danny, we don't know your friends, we only know Dakota." (Dakota is my dog and the co-researchers had met him when we cooked dinner in my apartment one day after internship.) They were curious about my life and relationships, but I had the power to withhold information from them despite the fact that I often asked them about their families and friends and knew quite a bit about they spent their time outside of school. I did explain to them who was on the other end of the phone and how I knew her and what our plans were. They assumed I was straight and would often want to know who my girlfriend was. I told them I was single, but never told them I was gay.

Our photovoice project also called into relief differences in the identity markers mentioned above. Through digital photography, participants record "aspects of their daily lives from their own perspectives…[and] focus on aspects of their lives and communities that they are

[20] I am indebted to Michelle Fine for her thoughts on this topic.

proud of, as well as the ones about which they have the greatest concerns (see Ewald, 2001; Lykes, 2001; McIntyre, 2000, 2004; and Wang, Wu, Zhan & Carovan, 1998, for further discussion of photovoice)" (McIntyre, p. xv, 2008). I initially thought the photovoice prompt for this project would ask co-researchers to take pictures of what they love and hate about the city, what presents obstacles to them, and what accomplishments they have made. I proposed this initial idea to the co-researchers and they brainstormed other ideas for prompts: take picture of important things around you, take pictures of things that effect you, take pictures of things you don't feel comfortable with, take pictures of things that represent you. We decided on take pictures of things that are important to you. The prompt eventually took on more specificity:[21]

1. Take 12 pictures that represent/symbolize your identity and experiences living in NYC.
2. Then reduce the 12 to 6.
3. Why did you choose those 6? Why did you discard the other 6?
4. With the remaining 6, what's happening outside the lens?
5. What are the connections between and among the pictures?

I completed my own photovoice project and presented it to the group. I showed them a picture of the razed building in a vacant lot and the newly-constructed building across the street from that lot in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn, both of which I can see from my third-floor apartment's balcony. I also showed them a picture of an erased bicycle lane symbol on Bedford Avenue in South Williamsburg, Brooklyn. I explained,

> …I wanted to represent my identity and experiences in New York City because it shows the conflict about space, right. So on one hand there's this brand new building, well almost brand new building, it's maybe 3 years old, that went up. And then, the apartments in there are expensive, and then the lot just outside, just over the balcony of my apartment shows I think it was an old theatre that was demolished and it um it shows that contradiction of...and I wonder why we're able to create these new buildings but we

[21] During the time I was in the field, I met with Wendy Luttrell, Liza Pappas, Pam Prosecia, and Carmen Vargas from the CUNY Graduate Center and they helped me to conceptualize my use of photovoice.

> can't repair old buildings that represent history, and culture, and the neighborhood and that sort of thing...

I then reflected on the erased bike lane and informed them that a lot of people ride their bikes from central and southern to northern Brooklyn using that bike lane and there was a big conflict over the part of the lane that passes through the Hasidic community in Williamsburg. I, myself, often used the lane to reach the Williamsburg Bridge to cross over into Manhattan. According to a December 2009 edition of the New York Post, the lanes had been sandblasted by the city because the Hasidic community complained they posed both a safety and religious hazard. "Scantily clad hipster cyclists attracted to the Brooklyn neighborhood made it difficult, the Hasids said, to obey religious laws forbidding them from staring at members of the opposite sex in various states of undress. These riders also were disobeying the traffic laws, they complained." Asmaou inquired if it were a religious fight and I responded,

> You know that's a really good question, um, I mean in some ways it was a religious fight, but mostly I think it was a conflict about space, and who has this space, the right to use this space. Is it the Jewish community walking through the streets [in southern Williamsburg] or is it the people who live in [northern] Williamsburg, who are mostly, mostly, not all of them, they're younger and they're whiter [than the Bedford-Stuyvesant community directly south of the contested lanes], is it their right to use this to go through the neighborhood?...It represents this conflict.

From the narrative surrounding these pictures, I clearly indicate that my New York City experience is one replete with both internal and external conflict. I also explained that I took the pictures of the vacant lot and the new building because they demonstrated the gentrification I saw happening in my Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood, a process which I am very much a part of. Though the residents in my condo building represent an array of racial and ethnic diversity, seven of the 11 residents are white and all residents are educated (the majority having at least a bachelor's degree) and middle class in a neighborhood that has a median household income of $31,400 and in which only 17.3% of its residents have a bachelor's degree or higher (Center for

the Study of Brooklyn, 2009). I often wonder about the role my presence plays in rising real estate values and displacement of long-term residents. Although I have deep-rooted connections to the city, my concerns and daily experiences are often quite different from those of my co-researchers.

A second major challenge was negotiating both the Graduate Center and the NYC Department of Education's Institutional Review Boards (IRB). A number of their mandates present particular complications for YPAR projects that are not found in more traditional research proposals.[22] First, as co-researchers and co-authors in some places, this was not a project that could guarantee anonymity. Therefore, as outlined in the consent form (see Appendix), I indicated that as co-authors they reserved the right to revise or eliminate anything in the dissertation that I either did not represent well or that they found incriminating for any reason. Additionally, as co-researchers on the project, they were required to complete an online course and examination (CITI) to become certified to conduct research with human subjects. The CITI certification comprised seven sections that the co-researchers needed to read and then answer a series of multiple-choice questions on various topics: defining research with human subjects, history and ethics, the regulations applied to social and behavioral sciences, privacy and confidentiality, internet research, informed consent, and assessing risk in social and behavioral sciences. This certification process is designed for both undergraduate and graduate students with a strong command of the English language. Understandably, this process would be difficult for 11th graders who were not native English speakers. For example, in the history and ethical principles section, the students needed to be able to respond to the following multiple-choice question:

[22] Eve Tuck and others, under the tutelage of Michelle Fine, have done some trailblazing work to acquaint the CUNY Graduate Center with the tenets of participatory action research.

> An investigator does not plan to inform college-student participants about foreseeable risks that stem from an interview that deals with maltreatment in childhood, past and current difficulties in school, problems in romantic relationships and relationships with family members. According to the Belmont Report, failing to fully inform the students is a breach of which ethical principle?

To answer this correctly, they needed to understand how the Belmont Report defined respect for persons, beneficence, and justice and needed to discern that the participants above were denied respect for persons because they were not provided all the information needed to make a decision about participation. I approached this as a teacher and we collectively read excerpts from each section and then the students responded individually to the test items. Because of the complexity of the language and the nature of the multiple choice questions, this process took more than seven hours to complete.

Detailed Methods and Data Analysis

Detailed methods. A chart outlining the methods used by me and the co-researchers follows:

Table 2.2: Research questions and methods

	Asmaou	Haby	Rose	Yvonne	Danny	Total
Research question	How do immigrant students in International and traditional schools feel about their school experiences?	How do immigrant adolescent girls negotiate their home culture and culture of the U.S.?	What is the nature of inter-group conflict at an international high school?	How do undocumented high school students negotiate the transition to college and/or work?	How does the context of the global city shape the conditions of the lives of immigrant adolescents who are learning English? How do they understand and respond to these conditions?	NA
Structured and semi-structured	• 30 minutes with a student from the	• 15 minutes with a teacher • 30 minutes with a student	• 30 minutes with a teacher • 30 minutes with a student	• 45 minutes with the college advisor	3 interviews with each of the 4 co-researchers	18 hours

individual interviews	Internationa l high school • 30 minutes with a student from the traditional school • 30 minutes with an ESL teacher 1.5 hours	• 30 minutes with an administrator 1.25 hours	• 30 minutes with an administrator 1.5 hours	• 30 minutes with the coordinator of student affairs • 30 minutes with a student 1.75 hours	for approximatel y 1 hour each conducted at the beginning, middle, and end of the project 12 hours (The final interview also involved data analysis.)	
Focus groups	Two 45-minute focus groups with a group from the International high school and a group from the traditional school 1.5 hours	1 group with 4 participants lasting approximately 45 minutes 45 minutes	One 15-minute focus group with 3 students 15 minutes	NA (Yvonne decided not to do this because of the sensitivity of working with undocumented students.)	Problem tree – approximatel y 45 minutes per co-researcher 3 hours Data analysis – approximatel y 1 hour per co-researcher 4 hours	9.5 hours
Participant observation	Approximately 4 days per week for 3 hours per day for 9 weeks 108 hours	Approximately 4 days per week for 3 hours per day for 9 weeks 108 hours	Approximately 4 days per week for 3 hours per day for 9 weeks 108 hours	Approximatel y 4 days per week for 3 hours per day for 9 weeks 108 hours	Fall 2009 (foundations course) – 3 hours per week for 15 weeks plus 2 Saturdays spent at the library 50 hours Spring 2010 (internship) – 12 – 18 hours per week for 15 weeks approximatel y 225 hours	Co-researchers – 108 fieldwork hours Danny – 275 fieldwork hours
Identity maps	NA	NA	NA	NA	Approximatel y 45 minutes of researchers discussing their drawings (recorded and	3 hours

					transcribed) 3 hours	
Photovoice	NA	NA	NA	NA	Approximately 90 minutes of researchers discussing their photovoice project (recorded and transcribed)	1.5 hours
Surveys	100 completed surveys administered in the cafeteria during the school's lunch period	100 completed surveys administered in the cafeteria during the school's lunch period	100 completed surveys administered in the cafeteria during the school's lunch period	100 completed surveys administered in the cafeteria during the school's lunch period	NA	100 surveys

Table 2.2: Research questions and methods

Each researcher conducted at least one structured/semi-structured interview using questions that we crafted as a collective (see Appendix). With the exception of Yvonne, we all conducted at least one focus group. She ethically believed that assembling a focus group of undocumented students might violate confidentiality; I agreed. I completed identity maps and a photovoice project with the co-researchers. They, however, did not like the identity map method and decided against using it for their own projects; while they developed photovoice prompts, distributing digital cameras to students proved difficult and/or expensive (in the case of disposable digital cameras) and school rules prevented students from bringing their own cameras or cell phone with photographic capability into the school building.[23] Their photovoice prompts do, however, provide insight into what they hoped to discover through such a method:

> Haby: Take pictures of things that represent how you are changing in the U.S.
> Asmaou: Take pictures of things that represent your joys and struggles in school.
> Yvonne: Take pictures of things that cause feelings of belong and things tha cause feelings of alienation.

[23] At the high school campus where we conducted our research, every student is required to pass through a metal detector before entering the school building. This theoretically prevents them from bringing electronic devices to school.

Rose: Take pictures of things that represent conflict in your school.

Though I did not intend to include a quantitative component in the study, the co-researchers insisted. During an internship meeting when we took a break from the field, we first completed and examined a survey developed for another PAR project. We put chart paper on the wall and we collectively crafted Likert scale statements such as "I feel welcomed in the U.S." and "I feel tension between U.S. culture and my home culture" and then determined to which co-researcher's question the statement most applied. We then grouped these into the broad categories of college and your future, your school and your neighborhood, you as an immigrant. For each section we also crafted open-ended questions or prompts such as, "Where do you see yourself in 10 years?" and "My biggest hopes for the future are…" Finally, we agreed upon the demographic data that we would want from each person who completed a survey: gender, grade, home country, religion, race, the number of years in the U.S., and documented or undocumented immigrant status. During lunch on two consecutive days, we administered 104 surveys and the co-researchers themselves completed the survey as a pilot and agreed that it was appropriate for their peers. An integral component of my work with the co-researchers involved completing a problem tree analysis of our research questions and this problem tree was revisited when we completed our time in the field. The researcher explored the issue represented in their research questions at the three levels seen below and then with their collected data sought out connections between the data and possible causes of the "problem".

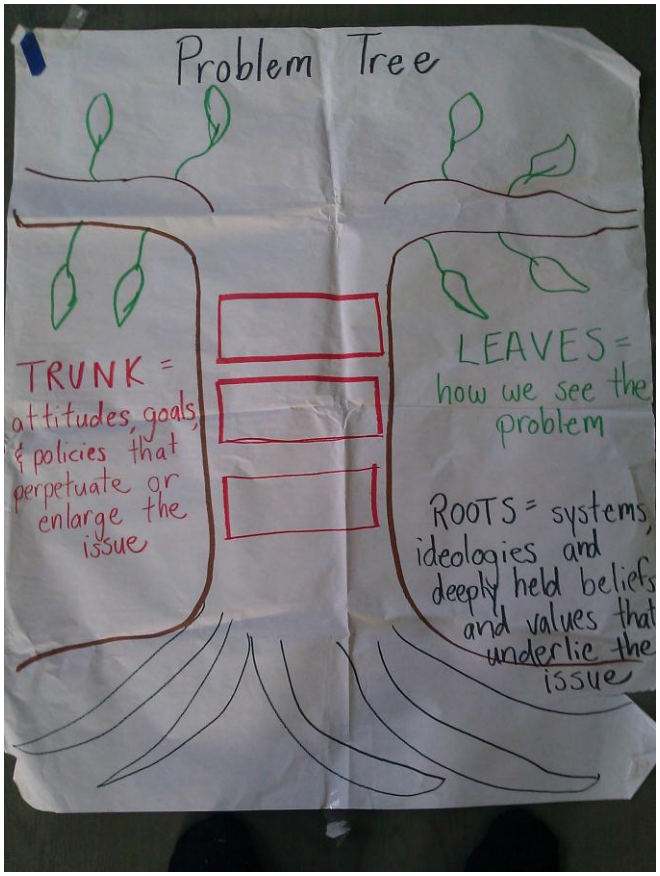

Figure 2.3: Problem tree

Data analysis. As a reminder, this study employs a critical approach to research as evidenced in its uncovering of ideology, power, and dominance (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000) Additionally, as a study that engages youth in particular ways, it demands multilogic interpretation of data and therefore social constructionist grounded theory orientation to support the multivocal group dialogue that occurs as adult and student researchers make sense of data (McIntyre, 2008). Grounded theory is often critiqued for its assumption that it is possible to enter the field without any preconceived notions of what one will encounter, that theory emerges from the data not from the researcher's interpretation of data. Constructionist grounded theory confronts such an assumption. Given the triple hermeneutics inherent in critical ethnography and PAR, this study does not claim a *tabula rasa*. On the contrary, commitment to exposing and

rectifying social injustice assumes that something is sorely amiss. In fact, like Burawoy et al. (1991), I acknowledge the theoretical frameworks with which I enter the field and seek to confirm, expand, and/or refute such frameworks. In a similar vein, I encouraged the co-researchers to acknowledge how their own biographies influence not only what they see and hear and how they interpret such sights and sounds, but also the very nature of the questions that they ask.

As the principal researcher on this project, I kept field notes in a journal that I then transferred to an Excel spreadsheet so that I could later sort the data by code. Interviews and focus groups were also transcribed into an Excel spreadsheet. These spreadsheets had columns for the date, location, and the notes and transcriptions themselves. These first three columns were followed by a column in which I inserted significant words and phrases from the raw data. Creswell (2008) refers to this as emic data, which are often "first-order concepts, such as local language, concepts, and ways of expression used by member in a cultural-sharing group (Schwantdt, 2001)" (p. 482). Etic data, on the other hand, represent the ethnographer's interpretation of the participants' perspectives; "*Etic* typically refers to second-order concepts, such as the language used by the social scientist or educator to refer to the same phenomena mentioned by the participants (Schwandt, 2001)" (p. 482). My language and reactions to data were recorded in the columns next to the participants' language. I read all data for "certain phrases, event activities, behaviors, ideas or other phenomena" that occurred repeatedly and then used both deductive (choosing concepts first and sorting data by the concepts they fit) and inductive (examining the data first to see into what kinds of chunks they seemed to fall naturally) analytic processes (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999, p. 46). There were up to three additional

columns for these etic data, which took the form of themes and could be grouped as such using Excel sorting functions.

> Theme analysis moves away from reporting the "facts" to making an interpretation of people and activities. As part of making sense of the information, thematic data analysis in ethnography consists of distilling how things work and naming the essential features in themes in the cultural setting…After description and analysis comes interpretation. In interpretation in ethnography, the ethnographer draws inferences and forms conclusion about what was learned. (Creswell, 2008, p. 484-5)

I analyzed and interpreted the data with all co-researchers during focus groups, with individual researchers during their final one-on-one interviews, and on my own. Some of the themes that emerged in my data coding were the following: economic impact, social capital, racism and racial segregation, anti-immigrant sentiment, religious conflict, cultural conflict, and linguistic discrimination. Because of the multilogic approach, the process of data analysis and interpretation also served as data, that is, discussing how the co-researchers made sense of what they uncovered during their own projects, profoundly informed how I was answering my own research questions. The codes were my shorthand for the underlying meaning of the data and represent topics that I expected to find, topics that were surprising, and topics that addressed the larger theoretical perspectives in the research (Creswell, 2003, p. 193).

Uncommon data sources. My work with these young people also provided some very unconventional sources of data. I helped them to compose their college essays, which were based upon their experiences as researchers on the project. We then turned these essays into a collective piece that we submitted to the *Harvard Educational Review* in response to its call for submissions reflecting the voices of immigrant youth. We were invited to present at CUNY Medgar Evers College's conference on immigration and also presented CUNY City College's conference on immigration and education and the New York Collective of Radical Educators' (NYCoRE) conference entitled "Whose Schools? Our Schools!" Additionally, we presented our

research project in a doctoral course I was taking with Michelle Fine on participatory action research. Finally, we met two times after our fieldwork was completed to discuss action that they had taken as a result of their research findings. They were, for example, involved in a collaborative project initiated by the United Nations to address bullying and had formed a school-based girls' advocacy group where they addressed issues such as sexual harassment. As part of this latter group, Yvonne informed me that she used the survey develop methods we had used to craft her own survey to better understand girls' experiences in her high school.

Conclusion

In short, YPAR provided the symbiotic relationship I sought as I worked with young people in a way that honored their experience and expertise and developed their knowledge about a complex problem to which they desired to make a transformative contribution. Such an approach offered innumerable, complicated, and profound insights into how they make sense of and understand their own experiences, their families' experiences, and the experiences of young people like themselves in the context of the global city. The method—or more accurately the epistemological approach—neither pathologized nor romanticized their worlds. My hope is to re-present them here as complicated young people who both reproduce and resist dominant ideologies and discourses, and as all that young people are capable of under the right circumstances.

Chapter 3
Yvonne:
The Politics of Belonging in the Global City

Danny: If someone asked you to describe yourself in one sentence, what would you say?

Yvonne: It can't be in one sentence. Because, okay, if a person asks where I'm from and I say from U.S., [they respond] you can't be from the U.S., you speak French. Well, I was born here. Is your mother and father American? I'm like no. And so, that's like another question. And so the response is really long. It depends on what like, some people ask you where you were born and I just say I was born in the Bronx. Some people ask where are you from and I'm like from the U.S. and I don't have one answer when it comes to what I am.

As outlined in Chapter 1, globalization has become synonymous with, among other things, the unprecedented movement of capital and people. In the case of the United States and NYC in particular, such migration results from employment opportunities in the field of high-tech information technology, from refugee status, from economic displacement due to free trade agreements, and even from human trafficking. As also mentioned, post-1965 migration to the U.S. has increasingly come from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Sassen (2000) points out that

> Major cities have emerged as a strategic site not only for global capital, but also for the transnationalization of labour and the formation of translocal communities and identities (Smith 1995; Mahler 1995; Boyd 1989)….It is not only the transmigration of capital that takes place in this global grid, but also people – both rich – the new transnational professional workforce, and poor, most migrant workers. And it is a space for the transmigration of cultural forms, the re-territorialization of 'local' subcultures. (p. 151)

Yvonne's experiences and research question embody this transnationalization. The global city has become home to adolescents who have parents from different corners of the globe. These young people also have transnational experiences themselves and have, because of dire economic circumstances abroad or over-stayed visas or structural changes in the global economy, grown up in mixed-status families, that is, parents and older siblings are undocumented while younger, U.S.-born children have citizenship status. Or, in Yvonne's case, she is the U.S.-born child of undocumented parents from Barbados and Senegal who was sent to

live with her father's family in Senegal at the age of seven and returned to live with her Bajan mother in Brooklyn at the age of 16. Because of her experiences with her undocumented mother, Yvonne wanted to explore how undocumented immigrant youth negotiate the transition to college and/or work. The epigraph above speaks to the complexities of cultural identity and belonging emblematic of the global city in the early twenty-first century. The purpose of this chapter is to explore those complexities. We first turn to how Yvonne's biography influenced her research question.

Yvonne's Background and Identity

The purpose of this section is to elaborate upon the brief biographical data that was provided in chapter 2. Yvonne's father came to the U.S. because of threats of deportation from England and her mother came because she needed to care for her own mother who traveled back and forth between Barbados and the U.S. and became sick while living Brooklyn; Yvonne's mother's visa expired while she was caring for her in the States. Yvonne currently lives with her mother in a Brooklyn neighborhood known for its concentration of people from the English-speaking Caribbean and from Haiti. At some time during her pre-school years, Yvonne lived in Barbados for approximately one year and since returning to the U.S. goes to Barbados yearly, usually for a month during the summer. When asked how she identifies herself, she responded that she feels neither American nor like an immigrant. In fact, she feels like she belongs nowhere; however, given the number of years she spent in Senegal, this is where she has felt most at home. She remembers feeling very uncomfortable there for the first two or three years, but making friends helped to ease the transition. When in Harlem, she finds comfort in speaking in Wolof about the Senegalese landscape with others from Senegal,

> ...but when it comes to Barbados I only know the 2 places my mom used to be. I don't really know my family there so I don't really feel comfortable speaking to them 'cause

> they all talk really fast and it's really hard for me to know what they're saying…When I speak [they say] you're speaking like American people and that makes me feel uncomfortable because I don't want them to identify me like that, I don't want them to feel like okay she's from America she talks like that. I want them to welcome me as I was from there [Barbados]. I don't like when people identify me just because I speak.

From previous conversations, I knew that people tended to identify Yvonne as African American, as is common with Black immigrants (Waters, 1999), yet this was not an identity she attributed to herself. In fact, this is an identity that she resisted and this will be discussed further in the section on the race. I asked her what it is about her that makes people think she's African American. She replied, "Danny, do I look like immigrant?" In response I asked, "What does that mean? What does an immigrant look like?" She retorted with another question, "Do I look like an African?" I didn't answer, but instead continued with, "What are people responding to that makes them think that [you are African American]?" Her reply: "I think the way I dress, the way I look, I guess the way I talk too…I had my hat on the side and my big earrings…and you know plus my nose pierced." At the time, she also didn't have long braids she now dons.

I then asked her if she ever gets treated differently than she expects. "Yes, I do," she blurted out before I finished the question. "They treat you so respectful when you speak English in restaurants in Harlem. "I don't know it's just different - the way they treat you, the way they talk to you." She then recounted a time when a store clerk was surprised that she was buying a calling card for the Caribbean. "I look at myself in the mirror and I know I look like my mother so why is that they have to identify me as African American? Like what is on me that tells them I'm African American, I don't understand..." Yvonne's identity is fluid and contingent upon place and time. In response to her statement in this chapter's epigraph, I said that it sounded like identity depends upon where and with whom she is. "Yeah, in Harlem, [I say] I was born here. I been in Senegal." In her Flatbush neighborhood, she would say she was born in the Bronx. In her

high school for immigrant youth, people expect everyone to be from another country and she tells others that she was born in the U.S. and she explains further when asked why she attends an International school. Identity has increasingly become a concern of anthropologists, for example, as the study of cultural distinctiveness becomes less rooted in national territories, that is, as culture deterritorializes and gives way to more complex, non-unitary identities. Gupta and Ferguson have described the boundedness and coherence of culture as more of narrative device than as an objectively-present empirical truth and Rosaldo has asked, "What happens to notions of cultural uniqueness when individuals acquire cultural repertoires that are binational?" (Kearney, 1995, pp. 556-7). By utterly refusing to describe herself in one sentence, Yvonne challenges the binary either-or logic of identification and belonging and begs us to consider "globalized and transnationalized identities that resist official classification by being constituted in non-official social spaces such as transnational communities, informal economies, and border areas populated by 'undocumented' persons" (Kearney, 1995, p. 558).

Yvonne navigates multiple discursive spaces in a city that constructs her as she simultaneously constructs herself. Like others, she negotiates contradictory cultural influences in her life and is perhaps the epitome of the postcolonial, postmodern, poststructuralist subject (K. Hall, 2002; Yon, 2000). Bhabha (1990) contends that all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity: "But for me the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is the 'third space' which enables other positions to emerge" (p. 211). Furthermore, as K. Hall (2002) notes, globalization and its deterritorialization of culture have rendered culture "an object that people increasingly reflect on, talk about, negotiate, and attempt, consciously and intentionally, to control—to teach, pass on, improve, package, protect, as well as challenge, subvert, and reject—or, in the end,

consume" (p. 9). Culture is an ongoing process and Yon (2000) would implore us to consider how "race may function as culture, culture as identity, and identity as race. Such convergences lend elusive qualities to the categories. I stress convergences because culture, race, and identity are often talked about as if they are stable, bounded entities rather than slippery and shifting" (p. 5). This notion of the elusiveness of these categories will be discussed further in chapter 6 where Rose explores the nature of conflict between and among immigrant groups.

The spaces that Yvonne navigates are not random; transnational flows of people have resulted in ethnic communities that retain characteristics of their native countries. Just as the store clerk in *Flatbush, Brooklyn* questioned Yvonne's connection to the Caribbean, people in *Barbados* question Yvonne's cultural authenticity because of her speech. Just as she connects with the Senegalese community in *Harlem*, she often claims *Senegal* as her home. However, as K. Hall (2002) reminds us, young people, "particularly minority youth, are never free to construct their self-identities in any way that they choose" (p. 183). They do, however, actively use their identity construction to resist dominant narratives. Like the Sikh youth in K. Hall's (2002) England, Yvonne's alternative account of immigration, citizenship and identity formation occurs within shifting fields of power in the public sphere.

According to Bourdieu, "to think in terms of field is to *think relationally*" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 96, italics in original). He further states,

> In a field, agents and institutions constantly struggle, according to the regularities and the rules constitutive of this space of play (and, in given conjunctures, over those rules themselves), with various degrees of strength and therefore diverse probabilities of success, to appropriate the specific products at stake in the game. Those who dominate in a given field are in a position to make it function to their advantage but they must always contend with the resistance, the claims, the contention, "political" or otherwise, of the dominated….Every field constitutes a potentially open space of play whose boundaries are *dynamic borders* which are the stake of struggles within the field itself. (pp. 102-104, italics in original)

Notable here is Bourdieu's use of the words boundaries and borders because a field in which Yvonne struggles is that of the nation-state with its ability to determine, through immigration policy and citizenship regulation, whom the field encompasses. The regulatory power of the state is not applied even handedly; it is more intrusive for some than others. The discourse of tolerance discussed in chapter 6 will elaborate upon this notion. At stake in this field, as Yvonne is intensely aware, are citizenship and entitlement rights that profoundly impact people's quality of life and life chances. K. Hall refers to these socially inhabited fields such as the nation-state, home, and school as cultural fields—"'relatively autonomous social microcosms' in which social life is organized around different constellations of power and authority, cultural competencies and normative expectations that are 'specific and irreducible to those that regulated other fields' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, pp. 97-98)." Unlike in a game, players in the field follow regularities—not rules—that are neither explicit nor codified. However, just as the relative value of playing cards changes in a game, so does the hierarchy of the different species of capital: economic, cultural, social, and symbolic. Economic capital is used in the strictest sense; it refers to material wealth in the form of real estate, stocks, and cash. On the other hand, cultural capital encompasses knowledge, skills, and other cultural acquisitions, as might be exemplified by educational and technical qualifications. As with economic capital, the cultural species can also be passed from one generation to the next. Cultural capital appears in the embodied (dress, accent, vocabulary), objectified (cultural goods like art), and institutionalized (educational degrees and other credentials) forms. Social capital refers to the resources, both actual and potential, gained from group membership, while symbolic capital refers to assets such as accumulated prestige or honor. As with economic capital, other species have exchange value—one form can be converted into another as when educational qualifications from high-prestige

institutions and their accompanying contacts "buy" lucrative jobs (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986; Coleman, 1990). "A species of capital is what is efficacious in a given field, both as a weapon and as a stake of struggle, that which allows its possessors to wield a power, an influence, and thus to *exist*, in the field under consideration, instead of being considered a negligible quantity" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 98, italics in original). Above all, the field is a place of struggle, and for Bourdieu, it—not individuals or institutions—is the true object of social science research.

For non-white, immigrant youth like Yvonne who are learning English as an additional language, social and cultural capital play a particularly influential role in how they negotiate the field. It is worth noting here that with whiteness—and the socioeconomic status that often accompanies it—with native English speaking, and with citizenship come the dominant cultural capital with the potential for the greatest exchange value. Like others (Lee, 2005; Lopez, 2003; Ong, 1996, Waters, 1999), I am concerned with the ways in which immigrants locate themselves and are located within the U.S.'s polarized, black/white racial landscape and discourse. Such racial binaries are never neutral, attempt to define groups socially based upon physical characteristics, make group relations appear natural, and ultimately contain dimensions of power that construct a violent hierarchy (Torres, Mirón & India, 1999). We also see this hierarchy at work in Rose's chapter. Because of the nature of this dominant racial paradigm, Ong (1996) explores the notion of cultural citizenship—"the cultural practices and beliefs produced out of negotiating the often ambivalent and contested relations with the state and its hegemonic forms that establish the criteria of belonging within a national population and territory" (p. 738)—and its power to ideologically blacken or whiten immigrants depending upon their location in the global economy. This whitening and blackening serve to form the boundaries of the nation-state field. As a U.S.-born child of Barbadian and Senegalese parents who has lived in West Africa for

most of her life, Yvonne was keenly aware of such "subject-ification" (Foucault as cited in Ong, 1996). Though Yvonne is black, her performance of urban American Blackness, and her dependence on the welfare state have equated her with African Americans; she has therefore been subjected to ideological racialization in the same ways as Ong's (1996) Chinese and Lee's (2005) Hmong. She expressed her awareness of the U.S. racial hierarchy, an ultimately issues of belonging/exclusion, when she described her experiences with public transportation:

> Danny: As a Black immigrant do you think that something like that would happen to you, too? (I asked this question after Haby recounted a conflict she witnessed between an African American woman and a white man over a seat on the Staten Island Ferry.)
>
> Yvonne: Every day (before I finished the question). Every day on the train (an aside from another co-reseacher, "train, bus"), white people they, I']'m sorry (was this apology for me?), but they come and sit and put their bag next to them 'cause they don't want nobody to sit next to them and you need to sit and the bag is taking the seat. And you say, "Excuse me" and they give you a attitude; that happen everyday. They don't care if you Black immigrant or Black American, they just look at you as you Black so you don't supposed to sit there, but they can't tell you you can't sit, but they will give you attitude...you scared to sit there...

The conversation about Blacks in the U.S. continued among our research group:

> Asmaou: One day I saw like, you know, two Black people sitting where there are three seats like that, and two Black people are sitting there, when the white kids, when she was scared to sit in the middle…
>
> Danny: As Black people, what does seeing experiences like that teach you about who you are and how people see you, and that sort of thing?
>
> Haby: Sometimes when I see stuff happening, I think people is putting Black down, but the first thing that I can say is Black is putting themselves down. (Yvonne joined Haby in the last part of this and they finished the sentence almost in unison).
>
> Yvonne: They call each other nigger. (laughs - perhaps out of discomfort)
>
> Danny: What did you mean by that, Haby?

Haby: They putting themselves down ‘cause if you see a white person acting like that, show the white person that you more than them. Even though they was in your country, they, I mean, what you call that, they colonize you and all that, yes, but now there is freedom, you need to stop acting like idiots...you act really mean or rude to me, if I ignore you, how you feel about it...you be feelin' bad.

Yvonne: They give respect to the white people and they don't give respect to each other. They call each other nigger, but they won't ever call a white person nigger.

Asmaou: …because Black people most of them don’t have good jobs and all that, that’s why…

Yvonne: ‘Cause they don’t want it.

Asmaou: …people don’t respect them.

Yvonne: ‘Cause they don’t want it. They think that at a certain age if you go and work and leave school. They don’t try to finish school. Now we always complain that only white people go to school, only white people get that amount of degrees, it’s just because we're not standing up for ourselves.

What is most interesting here is Yvonne’s simultaneous association with and dissociation from African Americans; she recognizes that whites tend not to distinguish Black immigrants from African Americans and uses both “they” and “we” to talk about African Americans in her last statement. Like the white managers and black West Indian immigrants in Water’s (1999) study, Yvonne thinks that American blacks should be doing better and that they lack the work ethic and discipline necessary to find and keep a job. As first generation immigrants, it is perhaps not surprising that these young women have internalized the “bootstraps rugged individualism” mentality and succumbed to the exportation of U.S. anti-Black racism that is not of their making; they themselves have yet to experience generations, or even years, of such racism. Rugged individualism is strongly associated with the liberal ideology addressed in chapter 6. When I asked Yvonne during our final one-on-one interview about the paradox of having experienced

anti-Black U.S. racism, on the one hand, and on the other hand, perpetuating racist stereotypes, she had this to say:

> I think about it a lot and I see it a lot and so the more you see the more it gets confused…Some people thinks that it's always gonna be white people that has the best jobs…everything they think 'I'm never gonna get there' 'cause only white people get there and so I always say that they are themselves, themselves want to feel that racism. They, I guess, they are the ones putting themselves into that 'cause it's not like we live in whatever century slavery happened and so you have options doing what you wanna do so black people can get there, but like only a few have that mind 'I can do it'…You need to take out of your mind only white people can get there. You can get there if you fight for it 'cause like the white people that are there, they fight for that. It's not a free pass because you're white. They fight with other white people in order for them to get there.

Again, rugged individualism and lack of recognition of the structures that perpetuate racism rear their heads; blacks should "get over" the fact that they were slaves and live in the present. Though Yvonne left the U.S. when she was 7 and returned only two years ago, we hear from her what we have grown accustomed to hearing from U.S. whites. Does this somehow serve to distance her from U.S. blacks and subsequently the racism she encounters?

Yvonne's Research Question

As mentioned above and in previous chapters, Yvonne's research question focuses on the experiences of undocumented high school students as they transition to college and/or work. She wanted to develop a more profound understanding of these young people's struggles with the job market, higher education, and healthcare. This question clearly emanated from her experiences growing up with and now living with her own undocumented mother as a young adult. In the field of the nation-state that produces difference (citizen v. non-citizen in this case), it was, in fact, Yvonne's developing awareness between the differences in her own life and her mother's that prompted her research question. However, this is not where Yvonne's research question began. I have a very clear memory of discussing her unique personal history with her while we were crafting research questions at Brooklyn College during the College Now sponsored Action

Research course. I commented to her that contemporary immigration scholars often refer to the notion of transnationalism to describe how many immigrants, particularly in the face of new communication and travel technologies, retain their cultural identities and never completely assimilate. "Instead, they developed new bicultural identities and live their lives and are quite involved in more than one nation, more than one world – in effect making the home and adopted countries both one lived social world" (Pedraza, 2005, p. 423). Though globalization and transnationalism overlap, global processes are unmoored from specific national territories, while transnational processes reside in and transcend at least one nation-state, which guards national borders and arbitrates citizenship. Therefore, transnationalism "calls attention to the cultural and political projects of nation-states as they vie for hegemony in relations with other nation states, with their citizens and 'aliens'" (Kearney, 1995, p. 548).

Because of her intimate connection with the cultures of the U.S., Senegal, and Barbados, Yvonne really gravitated toward and latched onto the concept of transnationalism. At the end of the action research course, her research proposal included a question that explored the impact of transnationalism on immigrant adolescents. However, as Yvonne began to talk more and more about her new life with her mother, it became immediately apparent that her mother's undocumented status impacted Yvonne's daily life in ways that catalyzed her to question the very definition of citizenship. In the global city, "the centrality of place in a context of global processes makes possible a transnational economic and political opening for the formation of new claims and hence for the constitution of entitlements, notably rights to place. At the limit, this could be an opening for new forms of 'citizenship'" (Sassen, 2000, p. 151). Transnationalism and immigrant status are intricately and intimately connected; global movements appear to challenge nation-state boundaries even as nation states respond by crafting

and enforcing policies regarding immigration and belonging. In that vein, Yvonne wondered why her mother, with an expired Barbadian passport and no U.S. identification after 19 years living in the U.S., couldn't travel to Barbados with the ease that she does. She wondered about the young people she met in church who seemed intelligent and ambitious, but confronted the harsh reality of work, college costs, and undocumented status. More and more, this became the research and policy area that Yvonne wanted to influence. While her transnational experiences do grant her a cosmopolitan identity that has benefits in the global city, they do not inoculate her from anti-black U.S. racism. In a cosmopolitan global city like New York, her transnationalism serves as cultural capital—she speaks English, French, and Woloff; regularly travels to the Caribbean; and has lived in Africa. Perhaps Yvonne's transnational experiences help her to feel more at home in the global city, while her mother's experiences with anti-immigrant policies that mark her "illegal" have kept any feeling of belonging at bay.

In a manuscript that we submitted to the *Harvard Educational Review*'*s* special issue on immigrant children and youth and education, Yvonne wrote the following about her research project:

> What I didn't know about my mother, because I was only a young child when I left her, was that she counts herself among the millions of undocumented people in the U.S. How I came to understand this unfolded as I asked her questions that any teenager would ask a mother she hadn't seen in a decade: Why don't you work in the supermarket anymore? My mom told me she was fired, but never explained why. I saw that my mom was missing teeth and asked why she didn't have them fixed. She told me she doesn't have Medicare. I wondered why I had it and she didn't. I also saw my mom's friends who graduated from high school in the U.S., but were getting paid under the table because of their status. I questioned the distinctions between those with papers and those without as I saw how my mother's life differed from my own. When I had the chance to do research for my school internship, I decided that I wanted to know how undocumented students deal with their lives and education. More specifically, I wanted to know how undocumented high school students negotiate their transition to college and work.

Yvonne's lived experiences heighten her awareness of the ways in which the field of the nation-state constructs insiders and outsiders and determines boundaries. Her mother's otherness precludes her from healthcare, subjects her to employment dismissal with no recourse, and has rendered her stateless. Yvonne is aware of both the material and symbolic consequences of being excluded from this field. As part of her photovoice project, in response to the prompt to take pictures that represent/symbolize your identity/experiences in New York City, Yvonne captured images of an abandoned building, her poetry book, her passport, a CD that teaches people how to pray in Arabic, a world map, her benefits card, and her New York State identification. Of particular significance to her research topic are her passport, benefits card, and state identification. About her passport, she stated the following: '"Cause I really have a big problem with it and… sometimes it's hard for me to understand why all of us can't have like the same passports?" She went on to explain how her mother cannot travel because her Barbadian passport has expired and she is not a U.S. citizen, despite almost two decades of U.S. residency. Regarding her benefits card, she has a hard time understanding why undocumented people have to pay for healthcare. She later stated, "…I still have a question of why everybody can't have the cards because at the end of the day we're still paying for it so and it's still important for me because when I go to the hospital I use this, but when my mom goes to the hospital she doesn't use these cards, she has to pay cash." She saw a TV show that explained that it is too expensive to provide healthcare services for both citizens and non-citizens.

About her NYS identification she had this to say: "Only citizens and people with green cards can get this. So other people like my mother, when they be at night, they have to make sure that it's somewhere that is safe so in case something happen you know people that around them know her because 'cause she doesn't have state ID and her passport is expired..." She wondered

aloud why people should have to walk around with no ID instead of an ID from their home country. She later added,

> …but like the [undocumented] immigrants they can't have this ID and what about if you are immigrant that came here like when you was young and you didn't get a chance to have a ID when you was in your home country and they not gonna give you ID 'cause you're not citizen. And I still have a question like why they can't have a ID, 'cause what about if something happen to them in the streets they don't have nothing that shows that they are this person.

Through the questions that our research group posed to her about her pictures, we learned that Yvonne's mom now has a benefits card, but it does not have her picture on it. She also has a Chase bankcard in addition to an expired government-issued, non-citizen ID, but she is unsure where to renew it, or even if the ID still exists. Like Hall and Held (1990), Yvonne contends that "from the ancient world to the present day, citizenship has entailed a discussion, and a struggle over, the meaning and scope of membership of the community in which one lives" (p. 175). In fact, throughout much of her discussion of citizenship, Yvonne appears to envision herself in dialogue with the state as she re-imagines inclusion and belonging based not upon legalistic notions, but upon cultural ones. According to Rosaldo (1997), cultural citizenship

> operates in an uneven field of structural inequalities where the dominant claims of universal citizenship assume a propertied white male subject and usually blind themselves to their exclusions and marginalization of people who differ in gender, race, sexuality, and age. Cultural citizenship attends, not only to dominant exclusions and marginalizations, but also to subordinate aspirations for and definitions of enfranchisement….Cultural citizenship thus argues that analysts need to anchor their studies in the aspirations and perceptions of people who occupy subordinate social positions. (p. 37).

Ong (1996) critiques this notion on the grounds that it implies that immigrants and other minority groups can escape the cultural inscription of state power. As a woman of color with few financial resources, Yvonne's mother has virtually been rendered stateless and identity-less by the nation-state, which has dispossessed her through categorical denial (Weis & Fine, 2012).

Throughout our research project, Yvonne repeatedly advocated for undocumented people's perspective and for their aspirations, particularly those connected to access to higher education and a living wage.

In short, Yvonne's identity and research question are emblematic of complexities, possibilities, and limitations of belonging in the global city; they expose moments of possibility that bump up against structural issues. Her cosmopolitanism, for example, has opened up spaces where her cultural capital is valued—she is trilingual, has lived in Africa, and vacations regularly in the Caribbean; however, she still experiences anti-black U.S. racism. She both identifies with and dissociates from African Americans through this racialization process. Such processes shape her experiences and opportunities within the field of the nation-state. Yvonne's understanding of the struggles within this field are strongly informed when she bears witness to her mother's negotiation of daily life in a nation-state that has rendered her identity-less; her mother is not free to travel, Yvonne worries about mother's safety in situations where she may need identification, and her mother is precluded from governmental health benefits and work that guarantees any form of stability or financial security.

The Undocumented in the Global City

Before addressing the role and impact of undocumented people in a global city like New York, it is first important to situate the city within larger national trends. According to Passel and Cohn (2009, 2010), as of March 2010, 11.2 million undocumented immigrants were living in the U.S., comprising 3.7 percent of the entire U.S. population, yet almost 30 percent of the total immigrant population in 2008; Mexicans account for 58 percent of the total number of undocumented. Approximately 45 percent of undocumented immigrant adults live with a spouse or partner and at least one child, as compared to 34 percent of documented immigrants and 21

percent of U.S.-born adults. The main reason for the difference in these percentages is that the undocumented tend to be younger and have higher fertility rates. A noteworthy result of this is mixed-status families like Yvonne's, in which at least one parent is undocumented and at least one child is a U.S. citizen. (Passel and Taylor, 2010, pp. 1-2). Undocumented immigrants are so woven into the fabric of New York City life that Mayor Michael Bloomberg testified before a Senate hearing committee that more than 500,000 immigrants have come to the city illegally and "although they broke the law by illegally crossing our borders ... our city's economy would be a shell of itself had they not, and it would collapse if they were deported. The same holds true for the nation" (Associated Press, July 5, 2006). Bloomberg, as a neoliberal mayor, is not making a humanitarian argument here, but is simply protecting the economic interests of the global city.

Sassen (2001) contends that the presence of the undocumented in cities like New York rests largely on structural changes in advanced capitalism that have caused increased social and economic polarization. With the decline in growth of the manufacturing sections that once initiated and expanded a strong middle class, comes a vast array of firms "that produce goods and services that indirectly or directly service the firms in the new industrial core" and have

> growing difficulty surviving in these cities. They must either resort to various mechanisms for costs of production—notably subcontracting, employing undocumented immigrant at below-average wage levels and in below-standard work conditions—or have to raise their prices to the point where it begins to affect the costs of operation of the core sector eventually making these cities less attractive locations, with a changing trade-off between agglomeration economies and locations costs. Finally, the growing inequality in the bidding power for space, housing and consumption services means that the expanding low-wage workforce that is employed directly and indirectly by the core sector has increasing difficulty living in these cities. (p. 335)

Others purport that neoliberalism's emphasis on free trade, which catalyzed policies like the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), has propelled migration. Since NAFTA's

implementation in 1994, more people have moved to the U.S. from Mexico than in almost any period. This displacement has been integral to the growth of capitalism (Bacon, 2008).

With this understanding of Yvonne's research question and the undocumented in a global city like New York, we proceed to the research findings section and the ways in which she, other members of our research collective, and I interpreted them. At times, we will hear Yvonnes's own interpretations; at other times, we will hear the collective's interpretations, and further still my interpretations. We will also hear the dialogue between Yvonne and me around the findings.

Yvonne's Research Findings

Given the demographic data above, it is significant that the young man who agreed to participate in Yvonne's research project has Mexican origins and lives in a mixed-status family. In addition to this one-on-one student interview, Yvonne also interviewed the school's college advisor and the coordinator of student affairs. The reporting of Yvonne's research findings happens in reverse order, beginning on June 9, 2010 when our research group conducted its last official focus group. Our goal for this session was to discuss our research findings in relation to the problem trees we created in the middle of March.

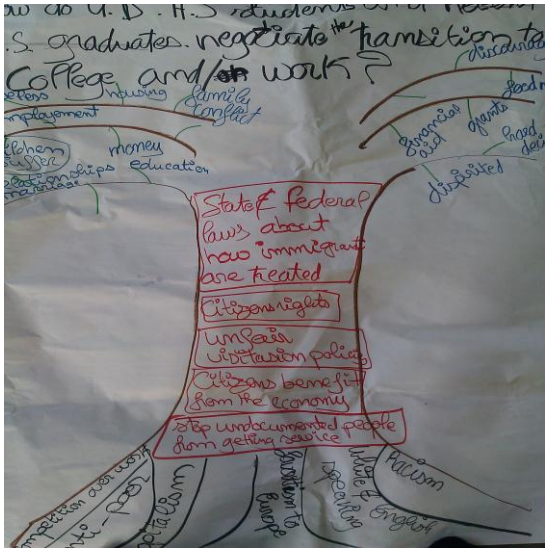

Figure 3.1: Yvonne's problem tree

As Yvonne looked at her tree with words like "hopeless," "dispirited," and "employment" in the leaves (how we see the problem); "citizenship rights" and "state and federal laws about how immigrants are treated" in the trunk (attitudes, goals, and policies that perpetuate or enlarge the issue); and "racism", "favoritism toward European" and "white and English-speaking people in the roots" (systems, ideologies, and deeply held beliefs and values that underlie the issue), I asked her about connections between what she discovered in the field and what she speculated were the causes of the ways we see undocumented students negotiate the transition to college and/or work. She replied,

> I'm gonna go to my trunk. So, a lot of these problems that undocumented students are facing and it's because of the state and federal laws about how an immigrant people are treated. A lot of them work under the table, which they work with not, they get paid by hand, they don't pay taxes, but just because they are undocumented and they don't work as how other people work 'cause they work a lot even they're not getting paid what they're supposed to and that's because their boss know they don't have papers and he's like "okay, you're gonna work this amount with minimum wage because you are not legal" and that's because of the laws that immigrant people, the government has on immigrant people.

Bacon (2008) informs us that each undocumented person in the state of California, home to 43 percent of the U.S.'s total undocumented population, contributed approximately $45,000 to the state economy through sales tax and property tax (either directly or through rent paid to landlords) in 1994, the year NAFTA was enacted; yet, because of their precarious status received only $8,840 in annual income (pp. 79-80). This certainly stands in sharp contrast to the public imagination of undocumented immigrants, which would have us believe they are parasitic on the welfare state and take jobs away from U.S. citizens.

Yvonne's findings are situated within both a local and global political economy. David Harvey (2005) argues that global neoliberalism—a theory that all realms of human existence and well-being can be advanced through state protection of private property rights, free markets, and

free trade—has its origins in policies begun in NYC in the 1970s that continue today. During the 1970s fiscal crisis, the only way the city could be "saved" was to satisfy investment bankers thereby redistributing wealth to the upper classes and diminishing the standard of living of most New Yorkers. The social and physical infrastructure of the city deteriorated and the investment bankers seized the opportunity to restructure it as a "good business climate," using public resources to bolster business infrastructure, telecommunications in particular; city government became more and more entrepreneurial rather social democratic or even managerial. As a result,

> Working-class and ethnic-immigrant New York was thrust back into the shadows, to be ravaged by racism and a crack cocaine epidemic of epic proportions in the 1980s that left many young people either dead, incarcerated, or homeless, only to be bludgeoned again by the AIDS epidemic that carried over into the 1990s. Redistribution through criminal violence became one of the few serious options for the poor, and the authorities responded by criminalizing whole communities of impoverished and marginalized populations. The victims were blamed, and Guiliani was to claim fame by taking revenge on behalf of an increasingly affluent Manhattan bourgeoisie tired of having to confront the effects of such devastation on their own doorsteps. (Harvey, 2005, pp. 47-8)

In fact, New York City today has the worst income inequality in the U.S., with the average annual income of the richest one-fifth of families rising to 20 times more than the income of the bottom fifth in the 1996-98 period (Sassen, 2001, p. 270).

When I asked her if there was anything else that jumped out at her about her problem tree and research findings, Yvonne stated,

> Um, the benefits. The citizens benefit from the economy. Um, a lot of the students came here and some a lot of them went to junior high, some of them just went to high school straight and more they here and more they are used to the lives of here, and so the difference between them and citizens is that citizen people have their papers and they don't, but they basically do the same thing; they go to school, they learn the same thing at school; they work as citizen people and um, but when it comes down to them getting like um there is awful work or um not getting paid, getting paid more or something like that, they are not getting it 'cause they are not legal, but the citizens benefit from that 'cause they have their papers.

Yvonne's focus on the economy is informed by her own mother's relationship with work, which currently involves caring for young children in their homes. This relationship has shaped the material conditions of Yvonne's life. Sassen (1990) would argue that Yvonne's mother's connection to this informal economy is no accident. Though Yvonne's mother makes more than minimum wage, she only works part-time and for this reason Yvonne currently (as a college student) contributes money to her mother's phone bill so that she can devote her financial resources to paying rent. The informal economy, "the production and distribution of (mostly) licit goods and services outside the regulatory apparatus covering zoning, tax, health and safety, minimum wage laws, and other types of standards in a context where such activities are usually regulated," (p. 484) has grown throughout immigrant communities in the U.S. Such growth is fueled by the global economic restructuring currently underway that has resulted in a loss of manufacturing and a growth of service-oriented jobs, a geographic redistribution of manufacturing jobs at the national and international scale, and greater incidence of both low-wage, low-skill jobs and high-level professional jobs in service industries alongside a decline in wages and unionization in manufacturing jobs, and feminization of the job supply (p. 467). In fact, she purports that in the current post-Fordist era women and immigrants have replaced women and children as the "offshore proletariat" and the "flexibilized, casual unvalued service worker" (Sassen, 2001, p. 322). Furthermore, immigrant groups have not created the informal economy as some might contend; the expansion of low-wage jobs is not a function of immigrant influx, but of structural changes in the economy; "race and nationality segment the labor force and contribute to the formation of a supply of low-wage workers" (Sassen, 2001, p. 308). And the proliferation of informalized and causalized work is more likely in areas undergoing high-income gentrification because this process is labor, as opposed to capital intensive, and has

produced a consumptive culture that values customization over mass production. (Sassen, 2000, p. 285). In New York City, Yvonne's mother is perfectly positioned for work in the informal economy.

Through her personal experience and the data collected from an interview with the school's college advisor, Yvonne reveals her own knowledge of informal economy:

> But even if they go to college and stuff and they're still not eligible to work 'cause they don't have their social security number. So some of them, some of them do programs in school, there's this boy she [the college advisor] talks about that does a technology program in his college and he's about to finish. That kinda job he can get paid without having his social security card, but it's not everyone that wanna do technology. Social security number is a key there that blocks a lot of people.

The college advisor informed Yvonne that she would encourage students she knew to be undocumented to pursue fields in which they might be more likely to earn a living wage in the informal economy. She also encouraged them to simply attend college because any future changes in immigration law would likely favor those with formal education. Yvonne asked the college advisor about the number of students she estimated to be undocumented and she responded, though difficult to know with certainty, in the 30 to 40 percent range. She mentioned their "hopelessness" because even with a college degree they cannot work and for this reason they "tend to want to drop out" of high school and college.

From the undocumented student whom she interviewed, Yvonne reported the following when asked what she really remembered from her talks with him:

> Yeah, that he talk about how he didn't feel any different from people that are documented 'til when they start talking about college in his junior year and how he now he sees the difference between him as undocumented student and the documented students 'cause they are able to get financial aid and stuff and he doesn't, you know. He also said something about how one of his biggest fears is to get deported 'cause he knows if he goes back to Mexico there is not, the education is not good, there is no jobs there, and it's not a really good environment for himself. And so his, and his whole family are undocumented, except his sister 'cause she was born here. And he talks about how he doesn't, he focus more in school and stuff as you can see how a lot of undocumented

> students focus in school ‘cause he doesn’t go to work he only does in summer time or sometimes during the school year, but not all of the time. He does more schoolwork, but he did say it doesn’t make a difference; he’s not gonna get the scholarships that he needs to go to college.

Her participant is an eleventh grader with three siblings (one of whom is a U.S. citizen) whose mother and father have lived in the U.S. for nine and 18 years, respectively, without papers. He lived with his grandmother in Mexico while his parents were here and described his experience crossing the border and the times when it was hot and he had no food or water. When asked what surprised him about the U.S., he said that he expected to only see white people when he came here. He described his life in the U.S. as good because he’s about to graduate and he’ll be able to get a job and make some money, unlike in Mexico where there are not a lot of jobs. Yvonne asked if he would recommend that others from his country come here and he unabashedly responded, “Definitely. Because it depends like, like my age, they will have an education and if they want they can go to college or they’re older they can find a job better than Mexico and get paid more.” The interview continued:

Yvonne: How is your life different from other people here?

Participant: I think it’s different because…it’s just different.

Yvonne: It’s just different. Why? Like ‘cause you are undocumented, right? Is your whole family undocumented or some people have their papers?

Participant: Uh, in my family there’s only my sister that has documents, but all of us are undocumented.

Yvonne: So, how you think your life is different from the people that are documented and for you guys not documented?

Participant: Well, during the time I have been here, I have not seen the difference, but now that I’m about to apply to college you need to be documented to get financial aids and now I can see the difference.

Yvonne: What are your hopes for the future?

Participant: Well, my hope for the future is to take a career, but first I'd like to attend the Navy 'cause they had told me that if you attend an Army or Navy for four years you can get documented, so my plans are to get documented and then get a career to continue my life.

Yvonne: Is there something you want to do other than work for the Navy?

Participant: Yeah, actually I would like to be a police or a U.S. history teacher.

Yvonne: Why you wanna be a history teacher?

Participant: 'Cause there is so many interesting about history. Like when I got to this country this is my favorite 'cause I learned a lot about all the countries and I like the history of America.

Yvonne: What do you like about this school?

Participant: Um, I like about this school that there is so many cultures and you can learn from other cultures and it's good because like I have heard that in other schools it's like some kind of people they're racist to another people so like I feel right here I feel safe and I feel better that's why I like this school.

Yvonne: How do you feel about being undocumented?

Participant: Well, as I told you, when I was here I didn't feel nothing it was just like (inaudible) but now that I have to choose my college and you need papers for the financial aids now I feel like a little weird because people get it and the undocumented people don't get it.

Yvonne: What are your biggest fears?

Participant: My biggest fears are like to get deported and to start my life again, to suffer in Mexico like without jobs or sometimes without food. My biggest fear is to be deported.

Here we have a young man with aspirations of serving in the U.S. military to earn citizenship and who would then like to be either a police officer or a teacher; we hear that he enjoys learning from the cultural diversity in his school and of his distaste for racism, yet he lives in fear of deportation. It comes as no surprise that a recent *New York Times* article reports that about 41 percent of all Mexicans between ages 16 and 19 in the city have dropped out of school

and of those aged 19 to 23 who do not possess a college degree, only six percent are enrolled. It goes on to state that this is "especially unsettling because Mexicans are the fastest-growing major immigrant group in the city, officially numbering about 183,200…up from 33,600 in 1990," but experts say this number is actually higher given the levels of illegal immigration. Mexican educational attainment is attributed to "a perfect storm of educational disadvantage," which results from poverty, undocumented status, and undereducated parents with multiple jobs and little time for school involvement. In New York City, this population is more educationally marginalized than in other areas of the country because of "shallower roots, less stable households and higher rates of illegal immigration" (Semple, 2011). Like Yvonne's participant, the undocumented youth quoted in the article report hopelessness because of their limited access to college scholarships and employment opportunities. The discourse in this article revolves around a deficit model and sorely misses the ways in which school structures subtract valuable cultural, linguistic, and social resources from Mexican youth (Valenzuela, 1999). It also misses how "power uses difference as a way of marking off who does and who does not belong" (Hall, 1997, p. 298). Though writing of documented Muslim youth, Sirin and Fine's (2008) discussion of the ways in which governmental policies and practices—particularly those of Homeland Security—serve to turn a generation of engaged teens into young adults "at risk of becoming alienated, more religious, and more marginal exiles in their homeland, the United States" (p. 194) applies here. A policy of containing and limiting the undocumented, which essentially leads to moral exclusion, causes disengagement from a society that has increasingly become the only place these young people call home.

When Yvonne asked the college advisor how she helps undocumented students, she mentioned that in addition to encouraging them to attend college to benefit in the event of a

change in legislation, she has helped them to explore legalization, apply for the small number of scholarships available to undocumented students, and has even fundraised through her social network for a student to attend two semesters at a community college. She recognized, however, that this is "not a long-term fix; it doesn't solve the problem." The help "doesn't usually change their situation," but she sees "no other alternative" unless Congress changes legislation to allow the undocumented to apply for federal financial aid. In response to Yvonne's question about how students feel when applying to college, the advisor stated, "It feels like a difficult situation to be in, but they feel like they want to continuing doing what's best for them." Parents and students will work extra hours to pay for tuition out-of-pocket. One student started at a community college and is studying automotive technology, which might enable him to get paid in cash. In addition to paying for college, undocumented students worry about finding work at all, but also know that the work performed by the undocumented is difficult. A number of students whom she knows works before or after school. "Some wake up in the middle of the night to clean offices, then go home to sleep for a couple hours, then get up to go to school." Even teenagers in the global city are subjected to structural changes in advanced capitalism.

The final portion of their interview revolved around solutions to the challenges faced by undocumented immigrant youth. The advisor stated, "It's really complicated. In an ideal world, I would get rid of borders." Because the immigration debate is so polarized, she's concerned about our ability as a nation to make any changes; without a different way of thinking about humanity, change will not come easily. "We need to make it so that people in other countries don't have to feel that they have to leave illegally. People come to the U.S. illegally because, for a lot of different reasons, but some of it is because they can't find work in their own countries so they would rather go through all that risk…" Yvonne pressed her for governmental solutions. The

advisor argued that a distinction should be made between children and adults. The laws that apply to young people should be changed first. The students whom she advises have already lived in the U.S. for a while and have grown up here. "By the time they graduate from high school, they may feel, they might feel that the U.S. is home to them, you know. Not all of them, some of them though. From a children's rights perspective, this needs to be addressed." She contends that children are vulnerable and had decisions made for them and it would therefore be less politically contentious to address undocumented children first. "They need a place that's home; they need a place that will nurture them." Interestingly, both Yvonne and the college advisor, who herself is the child of immigrants, conceptualize citizenship in new ways; they argue for an alternative view of citizenship, one that erodes borders and recognizes the humanity and dignity of contributing to a society through work and simple daily living. They, in fact, challenge legalistic notions of citizenship:

> A contemporary "politics of citizenship" must take into account the role which the social movements have played in expanding the claims to right and entitlements to new areas. It must address not only issues of class and inequality, but also questions of membership posed by feminism, the black and ethnic movements, ecology (including the moral claims of the animal species and of Nature itself) and vulnerable minorities, like children (Hall and Held, 1990, p. 176).

During my final one-on-one interview with Yvonne, I asked her how she defines citizenship and she responded,

> Um, I guess what's really gonna define it is being, having um the opportunities of, having different opportunities of all the things that include the government, like EBT (food assistance) card, Medicaid, financial aid, all those sort of things. 'Cause it doesn't, I don't know, it doesn't really say anything about you born here, not really, it's just having the option of other different things. That's what my definition of citizenship is.

I then asked her about the role that the government should play in her life as compared to her mother's life. "Um, I don't know how to put this, but because she's not a citizen, but she been here long enough, so I think if she needs help from the government she should get it, but not like

she should get every single thing that a citizen has for her to have it. But if she needs help she should have the right to have help from the government…" She further contends that if people have been here for ten years, they should be citizens because they know what the country is like and may even know more about it than those born in the U.S. All people are entitled to some type of support from the government.

Yvonne also interviewed the coordinator of student affairs, who, among other responsibilities, assists students with their required twelfth-grade internships and therefore has great insight into the experiences of undocumented students. The coordinator was attracted to work at this International high school because she herself came to the U.S. from the Dominican Republic at the age of 10. She described a clear memory of being in her childhood school's basement "in the worst classroom" in an otherwise beautiful space with "the chairs that no one else wanted." The messages that she received from this experience influenced her decision to work in a school that promised quality education for immigrant young people learning English. Regarding undocumented students, she estimates 40 percent of the students at our research site are without papers and when asked about the issues particular to undocumented students, she responded:

> I think when it comes to undocumented students, there's a couple of different issues. So the first is a lot of them came here very young, usually they've been here for a long time, I mean just from my experience it seems like they've been here through middle school. So, if you were here for middle school, like seventh and eighth grade and then you're a graduating senior so that means you've been here for how many years? So you're in your sixth year in this country, so six years ago you were what? Maybe you were 13 years old, maybe you were 12 depending on how old you were when you got here and at 12 years old, how many kids make their own decisions? Not many. Right, so I think what happens is that parents make the decision for them to bring them here, which they're looking out for them, they're doing it their best interests 'cause they feel like the kids will have a better future here.

Again, we hear a challenge to legalistic notions of citizenship and a call for more humane policies for young people and their families. Parents acting in the best interests of their young children should not be criminalized for decisions they were forced to make, nor should young people suffer as a result of such decisions. Rosaldo (1997) would remind us of our obligation to listen to "subordinate aspirations for and definitions of enfranchisement" (p. 37). Yvonne's adult participant added the following:

> However, when you become an 18 year old and you're in a position where you're basically doing something illegal or something that you might not feel comfortable with, and it wasn't a decision that you made, then it becomes a different kind of issue than if you actively made a decision to maybe break the law because you thought it was better for you. So, I think that when kids are at that age they struggle a lot with a position that they been put in that they didn't necessarily want to be in and I think that creates a problem with families at times, like they might have issues with their parents because of it. I know we have one kid that went back home because he said exactly that, he said this wasn't my decision. I don't feel comfortable, the person that I have become does not feel comfortable with doing something illegal and feeling like my choices are limited because of a decision that was made for me, not by me. So he went back home.

Yvonne's next question pushed her for more information about undocumented students at the school.

> I think that they struggle a lot. I think it's really hard to be around other kids who are at the same age, at the same place in their lives where they're all looking at what am I doing next, where am I going with my life and some kids, and the kids that are documented have a lot more choices and a lot more opportunities available to them whereas they don't. So senior year I think it's a really difficult year for students that are undocumented because they are, you know, they just don't know what's next because what's next is work, which means working to pay a CUNY tuition at a community college, but even then you're still hoping that the law changes because you wanna, once you have your degree that you've worked so hard to have you wanna be able to do something with it, right? And the only option you have at that point is to go back home and hopefully use your degree, but then the problem is that these kids have been raised here. At that point, they're, you know, they were raised in America. So they might not even speak the language anymore. Or, they just might not be confident in the language anymore. They might be able to speak it, but they might not be able to write it. So going back home is usually not an option. Plus you might not wanna go because this is your home. So I think it's, yeah, it's a little harder for them I think in terms of what their peers are doing and what they're doing. Um, they usually work harder than everybody else. They just don't

> have as many opportunities, it's like, it's like the door closes at the end. You know, they work toward something and then the door is closed.

Government policies create moral exclusion and hopelessness. Yvonne then asked her about the ways that she helps undocumented students:

> Well, we work with an organization called The Youth Leadership Council. They do advocacy work with teenagers and we use them as an internship site, but sometimes one of the students, one of the seniors that I know is undocumented and I try to send them to intern there because I want them to develop a relationship with them. Um, I usually send the kid that I know is going to make the most out of that relationship because it makes sense, you know if you're undocumented and you're determined to succeed you need to find allies, you need to find people that are going to support you, you need to, if you get to a place where somehow something happens like, for example, the earthquake in Haiti, right? Like it was a tragedy, it was terrible, the only good thing that came out of that was that all of these kids that had been here during the earthquake were able to apply for temporary status, which was really great for them. So, when that happens, when something happens in the world, there's some sort of change that allows you all of the sudden to apply for something like that, you want to have people that help you, you want to be able to go to an adult and say, "Can you help me fill out this application?" or "I can't come up with the $500 to apply, do you think we can fundraise together?" And once people leave our school they, it's harder for them to reach us, so I always wanna make sure that they have somebody outside, when our door might be closed because we're busy or it's spring break, there's another place that they can go to. So that's one of the organizations that we work with.

This young woman demonstrates a profound understanding of the value of social capital, of having connections to those who can "move mountains" for young people when necessary (Stanton-Salazar, 2001). The coordinator of student affairs continued:

> We also, I work closely with a lawyer at The Door, it's an organization, and we, I sit down with kids and they basically tell me a little bit about the story and I know a couple of things here and there that I know might allow someone to apply for some sort of change in status and if they're eligible we immediately get them working with the lawyer on doing that. But that rarely happens. That only happens for students that are like refugees or abandoned or something.

On a few occasions, Yvonne and her mother activated their social networks to mitigate the financial circumstances they faced. I knew from our discussions that Yvonne received housing, food, and healthcare assistance. Given her mother's status, I knew that Yvonne would have had

to negotiate a byzantine social service system to secure these benefits for herself. When I asked her how she would advise someone in her situation, she responded with the following:

> Um, I think it's all about learning and they shouldn't be afraid to ask people to help them cuz my mom didn't know how to do that and I did it, but I didn't know how to. I didn't know that I could get help like that, but because I'm opening myself to people and telling people what I have problems with, they say, "well, you should go do that and that" and from there you learn and so you're doing this to yourself kinda like not tell your whole business out there, but like open a little bit and from there you can get a lot of help that you need.

I asked her about the temporary public assistance that she received. She knew that when she turned 18 she would be eligible for her own benefits, but when she returned to the U.S. from Senegal she was only 16 and Yvonne's mother wanted her to visit a doctor. A friend, who recently received her green card, informed Yvonne's mother that her children received Medicaid and accompanied her to the site to complete the application process. This provided Yvonne with support for needed medical attention, but even with healthcare, her mother's work in the informal economy could not provide this two-person family with sufficient resources. Yvonne's mother contacted a friend in Barbados who she knew had a sister living in the city. This friend informed Yvonne's mother how Yvonne could apply for other types of assistance now that she is 18 years old. Yvonne currently receives housing, food, and a small allowance in addition to healthcare benefits. I remembered a point during a research group meeting when Yvonne seemed upset and I knew that she had recently seen a social worker to arrange these additional benefits. She recounted feeling frustrated because

> they make you go through too much process while you know in your head that somehow they will deny you, even though they know that you need the help. It just depends, you can get submit or you can get denied. You know that, but then they make you go through all these different things, and if you miss one appointment, you late, that's like you may not get the help. You can also go through all the appointments and then they deny you. So, it's frustrating the social workers are, I don't know, they are just, there's not a word for them…They're not helping at all…It was like I was nothing.

She explained being unable to understand the first social worker with whom she met because of his accent. She endured the meeting and took the application papers and left. The second social worker asked Yvonne a string of questions that she had already answered on the application. However, the third and last social worker, the one to determine Yvonne's fate in this process, happened to have been married to a Senegalese man. "She was the key of submitting or denying me." Without this social and ethnic connection, Yvonne was convinced that her application would have been denied. In a neoliberal milieu of privatization and the decline of government's redistributive functions, Yvonne finds herself dependent on a social service system that treats her with contempt and perhaps despises her. Urban young people are almost entirely dependent on a narrowing public sector—education, transportation, jobs, healthcare, parks and recreation—and without the social capital necessary to navigate the system, they often encounter byzanntine organizations without guidance or support.

Yvonne continued her interview with coordinator of student affairs by asking her how she felt about her work with undocumented students:

> I just wish that there was more we could do. Like it's really sad because, you know, a kid comes and sits down with you and you're working on their résumé and they've done all these things, they have more work experience than everybody else here and we talk about the future and you can immediately tell that they're just like, "I don't know, what am I gonna do next?" I remember one kid telling me one time he said, he said, "You know, Miss, I can't go to college, but there's this guy at my job who went to college and he went to college for like film or something, he did like a two-year program and guess what, Miss? He's the one that makes the salads. I'm the one that washes dishes. I can make the salads, maybe in another year maybe they'll promote me and I can make salads. So, what's the difference? If I'm just gonna make salads, I don't need to go to college."

It is difficult to imagine that these dishwashers and salad makers are not part and parcel of Sassen's (2001) informal economy, which flies beneath the radar of a minimum wage and health benefits, and manufactures the perceived—or real—inutility of higher education. This young person demonstrated awareness of the bifurcated economy at work in the global city, an

economy in which low-wage service sector employment is likely, even with the credential of an associate's degree. Yet, the dominant narrative of the political economy has us believe it is replete with jobs in informational technology and finance, if we simply choose to pursue such a path. Neoliberalism erases the real barriers of race, gender, language, and social class, for example, through its insistence that we all have the freedom to choose. The coordinator of student affairs went on to say the following:

> And it's not the case, it's just like there are, I mean they need to go to school like it does open up doors and plus if there's a change in the laws in the country, you wanna be in a place where you're gonna be considered and, but if you're in that position it's really easy to feel just defeated, um, so when people tell you stories like that there's nothing, there's so little that you can say, and so little that you can do because it's not up to you. It's something so much greater than that. So, how do I feel about my work? I wish I could do more.

Yvonne asked her how undocumented students feel about applying to college, getting a job, or education in general.

> I think they want to, I think they want it badly. I think some will work hard to do it regardless. They're just determined. We have a kid that's in college right now who comes back and visits us a lot and he's one of those kids who's determined and he really believes that by the time he finished college things are gonna change and he's gonna be able to work. And then you have the kids that are just like checked out, they're just defeated, they're like, "no, what's the point, this doesn't make any sense, this is so much work for what?"

The coordinator goes on to describe how she helps students apply to the summer youth employment program sponsored by the city.

> I can show you. This whole folder is all summer youth employment applications and in the left side are all applications without social security numbers. And all those applications are from kids that thought that maybe they could put in the application and maybe somehow I would overlook the social security number and somehow they would get a job, but that's not the way it works. But they try anyway and then we have the kids that whenever there's a job opening they'll come and they'll tell me directly, "Can I do this as volunteer? Can I volunteer instead because I don't have a social security number?"

Finally, she believes that the government should pass the DREAM (Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors) Act to resolve the issues faced by young people who did not choose to come here and who, at this point, are as American as any other kid. "To then say to this person, 'Go back home,' they're gonna be like, 'Well, what's home? Home to me is Brooklyn. That's where I've been all my life. I don't know anything else." She implores policy makers to think of these people as Americans and to give them what they are entitled to, "which is a home."

Interrogating Justice

Yvonne and her research participants all question the injustice of immigration and citizenship policies, particularly those that apply to youth. Their collective narratives are replete with calls for redistribution and recognition, for parity of participation in social and economic life (Fraser & Honneth, 2003). From Fraser's (2003) perspective, overcoming injustice, in virtually all cases, requires the redistribution of economic resources *and* the recognition of cultural value so that members of society can interact with one another as peers. In order for such participatory parity to occur,

> the distribution of material resources must be such to ensure participants' independence and "voice." This I shall call the *object condition* of participatory parity. It precludes forms and levels of economic dependence and inequality that impede parity of participation…In contrast, the second condition requires that institutionalized patterns of cultural value express equal respect for all participants and ensure equal opportunity for achieving social esteem. This I shall call the *intersubjective condition* of participatory parity. It precludes institutionalized norms that systematically depreciate some categories of people and the qualities associated with them. (p. 36, italics in original)

Object and intersubjective conditions must at once be differentiated and imbricated. Throughout our research project, Yvonne repeatedly brought to the fore the need for the undocumented to have more equitable access to resources, the need to address maldistribution. Undocumented people need access to living wage jobs and the benefits that accompany them, to financial aid,

and to social welfare programs, she argues. Yet, their "illegal" status renders them voiceless—they are not even recognized as people. It is, in fact, applying to college and for financial aid, an important transition point in young adults' lives, that throws into relief the ways in which undocumented youth differ from their documented peers. And this difference precludes them from parity of participation. Yvonne and her participants underscore the need for legislative action to correct this misrecognition and maldistribution.

The college advisor broaches the controversial topic of eliminating borders and highlights the economic disparity between the global north and south. Given the historical relationship between the U.S. and Mexico and the U.S.'s appropriation of lands, a call for border elimination is, in fact, a call for justice; dispossession of lands undoubtedly has an economic impact on the dispossessed and proposing a right for Mexicans to seamlessly cross a militaristic border, for example, adds historical and thereby cultural recognition. Neither culturalism nor economism suffices for understanding contemporary society; "in all societies economic ordering and cultural ordering are mutually imbricated" (Fraser & Honneth, 2003, p. 51). Additionally, both adults in Yvonne's research project claim that children require particular recognition due to their vulnerability and decisions that parents make for them. Here, they both take Fraser to task for limiting her justice demands to adults. Yvonne and her participants all call for the ultimate form of cultural recognition—citizenship status—for children and adults alike who have spent a number of years in this country. Again, citizenship is not based upon legalistic notions, but upon cultural ties and participation in the everyday life of a nation-state. Collectively, their justice theorizing demands transformation rather than affirmation in that it "aims to correct unjust outcomes precisely by restructuring the underlying generative framework" (Fraser & Honneth, 2003, p. 74). To redress the misrecognition to which the undocumented are subjected, they all

seek to “destabilize invidious status distinctions” (Fraser & Honneth, 2003, p. 77); to redress maldistribution, the college advisor implores us to rethink and redress the economic inequity between the global north and south that has catalyzed massive human migrations.

According to Fraser (2003), questions of social justice must be subject to both the economic and the cultural due to the complexities of society during late-modern globalizing capitalism. In fact, globalized neoliberalism has reasserted the need for redistribution, the need to restructure the political economy. Additionally, globalizing capitalism has heightened the salience of culture by accelerating and increasing the flow of not only capital, but images, signs, and people across national borders (Appadurai, 1996; Fraser & Honneth, 2003). Contemporary society, Fraser (2003) argues, is culturally unbounded, institutionally differentiated, ethically pluralistic, intensely contested, and one which considers status hierarchy illegitimate (pp. 55-56). As in Bourdieu’s nation-state field, struggle is the order of the day—struggle for recognition of the cultural capital one possesses rather than being deemed deficient when compared to the dominant culture, and struggle for sufficient economic resources to participate in society and daily life on par with one’s peers. Our society, the society of the global city, “gives rise to a shifting field of cross-cutting status distinctions. In this field, social actors do not occupy a preordained ‘place.’ Rather, they participate actively in a *dynamic regime of ongoing struggles for recognition*” (Fraser & Honneth, 2003, p. 57, italics in original). Globalization and its accompanying transcultural hybridization create societies that are “veritable cauldrons of cultural struggle. Virtually none of their narratives, discourses, and interpretive schema goes unchallenged; all are contested, rather, as social actors struggle to institutionalize their own horizons of value as authoritative” (Fraser & Honneth, 2003, p. 57).

How do we apply questions of justice to the undocumented in the global city, to those who have been rendered stateless by the forces of globalization? Globalization is, in fact, changing the ways in which we argue about justice and the story therefore does not end with redistribution and recognition:

> Thanks to heightened awareness of globalization, and to post-Cold War geopolitical instabilities, many observe that the social processes shaping their lives routinely overflow territorial borders. They note, for example, that decisions taken in one territorial state often impact the lives of those outside it, as do the actions of transnational corporations, international currency speculators, and large institutional investors. Many also note the growing salience of supranational and international organizations, both governmental and nongovernmental, and of transnational public opinion, which flows with supreme disregards for borders through global mass media and cybertechnology. The result is a new sense of vulnerability to transnational forces. Faced with global warming, the spread of HIV-AIDS, international terrorism, and superpower unilateralism, many believe that their chances for living good lives depend at least as much on processes that trespass the borders of territorial states as those contained within them. (Fraser, 2009, pp. 13-14)

Demands for cultural and economic justice now eschew national territories and this has resulted in questions of the frame of justice, that is, "incorporating the political dimension of representation alongside the economic dimension of distribution and the cultural dimension of recognition" (Fraser, 2009, p. 15). In others words, once the question of the primacy of the nation-state as the location of justice administration and the national citizenry as the claimants of injustices are challenged, the politics of representation enter the picture; who is entitled to membership in the circle of redistribution and recognition and the ways in which injustice claims are adjudicated take center stage in a globalized world. In essence, Fraser takes Bourdieu's nation-state field and its perpetual state of struggle to a global level. Within this frame, Fraser is not primarily concerned with questions of "ordinary-political misrepresentation" (political science debates over winner-take-all electoral systems, for example), but with a deeper form of misrepresentation called misframing, which "wrongly exclude[s] some people from the chance to participate at all in its [the community's] authorized contests over justice" (Fraser, 2009, p. 19).

This results in a meta-injustice. Let's return to Yvonne and her participants and their discussion of the undocumented.

As mentioned above, Fraser does not include children in her discussion of justice. Her addition of misframing (or misrepresentation) to maldistribution and misrecognition, begs the question of the political inclusivity of her justice framework. How do young people make claims of injustice within such a model? Even more complicated, how do young, *undocumented* people make injustice claims? Given Sassen's evidence that the increased presence of undocumented people in the global city can be attributed to structural changes in the global economy, how do the most marginalized confront the supranational forces that have so profoundly impacted their ability to live the good life? These are, of course, rhetorical questions, but Fraser does indeed offer solutions, though without undocumented young people in mind. Yvonne and her participants' collective responses, on the other hand, solely consider the undocumented and their analyses reflect a move beyond the liberal-nationalists who locate justice within national self-sufficiency and offer no provision for transnational distributive justice; they move toward an internationalist orientation, which assumes that "both national and international structures co-determine individuals' life-chances…and redistribution [can occur] across borders for the maximum benefit of the worst-off societies" (Fraser, 2009, p. 35). They, in fact, also approach a cosmopolitan perspective, which acknowledges the primacy of global structures and mandates the restructuring of the global economy to benefit the worst-off individuals in the world (Fraser, 2009, p. 35). The upshot here is that the subaltern and those who bear witness to their struggles offer profound insights into the nature of injustice and how it might be remedied. As suggested above, offering amnesty to young undocumented people so they might take advantage of governmental financial aid for higher education is one solution, but this remains within the realm

of the liberal-nationalists; it assumes the nation-state as the location of justice administration. Furthermore, the injustice claim would have to be lodged on the young people's behalf, as they are non-adults and non-citizens. On the other hand, rethinking borders and the structure of a global economy that forces people to cross those borders, as advocated by one of Yvonne's adult participants, moves beyond traditional notions (Westphalian notions, in the words of Fraser) of justice. Such an approach challenges the nation-state as the sole arbiter of justice and challenges the territorial citizen as the sole subject. Globalization indeed alters the way people conceptualize justice.

Conclusion

Yvonne's story ends as it began—with a discussion of globalization as an economic and cultural force that profoundly influences the everyday lives of everyday people. Her personal history and research question and findings are emblematic of young immigrants' experiences in the global city; they provide invaluable insights into how the context of the global city shapes the conditions of immigrant adolescents' lives and the ways in which they strive to make sense of these conditions. Fueled by her comparison of her own and her mother's life, Yvonne calls into question the meaning of citizenship and belonging in the global city in the early twenty-first century. Globalization has indeed produced the current crisis surround the meaning of citizenship—should it be defined in economic, legal, political, cultural, or even emotional terms? Yvonne's identity construction processes speak to notions of transnationalism and hybridity brought to the fore by unprecedented flows of capital, cultural forms, images, and people.

Bourdieu's nation-state field is the site of struggle for the undocumented; it delimits boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. Fraser takes this site of struggle global. Within this field, the state has rendered Yvonne's mother and her youth participant identity-less, perhaps the

ultimate form of misrecognition. This same misrecognition drives Yvonne's mother into the informalized and casualized economy where she is subject to low-wage and unstable work, which profoundly impacts the material conditions of Yvonne's life. We wonder if Yvonne's young participant faces a similar fate as he prepares to graduate from high school and is ineligible for any form of governmental assistance to continue his education. Moreover, within traditional justice discourse, Yvonne's mother and her young participant have no way to redress their grievances. In this site of struggle, we hear the voices of those who speak back to domination and they do so with the maldistribution, misrecognition, and misrepresentation framework advocated by Fraser; their collective voices demand changes in the cultural, economic and political conditions for the undocumented, particularly for the young.

Interestingly, while I was completing this chapter, President Obama announced in June 2012 that undocumented youth "are Americans in their heart, in their minds, in every single way but one: on paper" (Office of the Press Secretary, 2012) and then proceeded to outline a policy shift that would allow them to apply for deferred action and work authorization providing they were younger than sixteen when they immigrated and that they are enrolled in school, for example. They would have to reapply after two years. Patel (2013) argues that this "easy-to-love" population was granted, at very best, "a temporary, imminently revocable, and liminal status in the United States" and that the new law "prompted undocumented youth to identify themselves with little to no assurance that their identities will not be used to pursue, detain, or deport them" (p. xvi). Though as many as 800,000 young people can now apply for federal financial aid and be eligible for in-state tuition costs at public universities, Yvonne's mother would see no relief.

Chapter 4
Asmaou:
Language Politics in the Global City

Danny: How important is it to keep your native language and culture?

Asmaou: It's what make you special. Why do I have to keep it? 'Cause I have to. I can't lose it.

Danny: What do you think would happen if you lost it?

Asmaou: It's like I lost me…Even though I lose my language I will not lose my memories.

Danny: Do you feel like you're losing your language?

Asmaou: A little, but I have to. I have to lose it to get, I mean I have to mix it up. I can't forget French, no. But I will forget a little bit, not all.

As mentioned in the introduction, learning English is central to adolescents' experiences with the immigration process and is wrought with political implications. With Asmaou's words above, we hear the ways in which the political is indeed personal—language politics in the global city have convinced her of the need to lose one language to accommodate another; colonialism has convinced her that French, rather than her African languages, is most worthy of preservation; and perhaps she is also convinced, as many new arrivals are, of the need to acquire English at the expense of French to prove her American-ness. Her interest in immigrant youths' experiences in an International school versus a more traditional school was partially prompted by how she views the role of language in education, and society more broadly. When I read the above quote to Asmaou at a later point, she responded, "It's like a pyramid. English is at the top, then French, then Ewé at the bottom." In an era of mass migration, racializing discourses in the U.S. equate immigrants' degree of English fluency with loyalty to the nation-state, with willingness to assimilate culturally, with economic self-sufficiency, and even with intelligence. Again, sameness of language indicates sameness of sentiment, thought, customs and habits and the obliteration of trouble-producing differences (Spring, 2007). In short, linguistic unification

facilitates nation building. And in the nation-state field, struggles over linguistic capital through the distinction provided by accent, grammar, intonation, and vocabulary reminds us of the contentious and power-laden nature of language and the ways in which language locates us in a social space (Bourdieu, 1992). Put another way, nation building demands linguistic homogeneity. Yet this homogeneity is actually deceiving as there are many ways to speak a single national language, but U.S. English speakers (among others) are judged by how closely they approximate the national (read: white, middle class) standard and this positions us within complex class, linguistic, and racial hierarchies. In the nation-state, language practice and policy, in fact, serve as a form of symbolic power, or even symbolic violence:

> In order for one mode of expression among others…to impose itself as the only legitimate one, the linguistic market has to be unified and the different dialects (of class, region, or ethnic group) have to be measured practically against the legitimate language or usage. Integration into a single "linguistic community," which is a product of the political domination that is endlessly reproduced by institutions capable of imposing universal recognition of the dominant language, is the condition for the establishment of relations of linguistic domination. (Bourdieu, 1992, pp. 45-46)

This power/domination is symbolic and legitimate because physical violence—like the forceful removal of Native American children from their homes to boarding schools to "Americanize" them—is no longer tolerated in civil society. Yet, the result of the symbolic violence is virtually and ultimately equivalent to the physical—a rapid subtraction of cultural and linguistic resources from dominated groups. In fact, the foundation of the nation-state has depended upon an imagined linguistically pure (Anderson, 2006), and in many cases racially pure society. While schools are an obvious field of struggle for linguistic dominance, language is also regulated in the broader public sphere, as Asmaou's experiences will demonstrate. As Bourdieu (1992) further argues,

> It is in the process of state formation that the conditions are created from the constitution of a unified linguistic market, dominated by the official language. Obligatory on official

> occasions and in official places (schools, public administrations, political institutions, etc.), this state language becomes the theoretical norm against which all linguistic practices are objectively measured. Ignorance is no excuse; this linguistic law has its body of jurists – the grammarians – and its agents of regulation and imposition – the teachers – who are empowered universally to subject the linguistic performance of speaking subjects to examination and to the legal sanction of academic qualification. (p. 45)

Though we did hear mention of language in Yvonne's story, perhaps her greater facility with English as a result of spending her first seven years in the U.S. with an English-speaking mother relegated language issues to the sidelines. This is not to argue, however, that Yvonne's linguistic habitus (Bourdieu, 1992) was insignificant in her daily life. Her way with English was not one that enabled her to reap symbolic benefits; her overall habitus, linguistic and otherwise, often led others to believe she was African American. For immigrant youth of color learning English in a global city where they are often marginalized in poor and working-class neighborhoods, learning and not learning "standard" English have particular repercussions. As the epigraph above and her research question reveal, language is central to Asmaou's immigration experience. The internal linguistic conflict reflected in those words is symbolic of the external language politics in the global city; the purpose of this chapter is to explore both the internal and external language conflicts emblematic of the multilingual/multicultural global city.

Asmaou's Background and Identity

As with the other co-researcher, Asmaou's biography profoundly influenced her desire to understand how immigrant students in both International and traditional schools feel about their school experiences. The purpose of this section is to further illuminate the brief introduction to Asmaou that was offered in chapter 2. As part of her photovoice project, Asmaou took a picture of her youngest brother Mohammed who was born in the U.S. Because of his U.S. birth, Asmaou stated that he represents America for her. "I love him so much. I always babysit him."

Additionally, she took a picture of herself wearing the hijab because "it's my religion and I have to respect my religion." Though she only wears the hijab when she's going to pray, her father wants her to wear it whenever she goes out. The picture she took of herself in traditional African dress reminds her of being in Africa, and particularly of Ramadan. She also snapped a shot of her high school's banner because it's "a school that represents immigrant people and it gave me the opportunity to be able to learn English and also be able to learn how to adapt to America…" When asked to draw an identity map of her many selves and the challenges she faces, Asmaou drew herself with her mouth crossed out and explained, "…because when I first came to U.S., I felt I didn't have a voice." On her map, she wrote in French: "My name is Asmaou. French is my best language." Additionally, she drew the African continent and the U.S. and a picture of herself smiling because her English has improved and she is no longer intimidated to speak.

During our first one-on-one interview Asmaou recounted her family's immigration story. Her father arrived in the U.S. alone—six or seven years before the rest of the family—because of the deterioration of the Togolese economy. Asmaou remained in Togo with her mom, her brother, and her five stepbrothers (Asmaou later clarified that she has two full brothers and four half brothers) and her mother sold agricultural products at the market to provide additional financial resources for the family. Her father wanted his children to come to the U.S. for greater educational opportunities so Asmaou, her mom, and siblings joined him here in 2007. In order to gain some insight into how she experienced the U.S. political economy, I asked her about the economic situation in the U.S. as compared to Togo and she replied: "Everything [in the U.S.] is so expensive. My father was a businessman in Africa and he knew the economy was getting bad. He came to the U.S. and sent money to Africa. Now he only gives me ten dollars a week. I already used my ten dollars and it's only Monday."

When Asmaou first arrived in the U.S., she attended Bronx International High School and then transferred to Brooklyn International. She described her current school as such: "Brooklyn International is a school that helps immigrants learn English and adapt to the country, to the U.S., yeah, and uh, yeah…it's like you mix two cultures, like bicultural, it's the same thing…'cause you talk to people that are from the same country as you, you share things, like you feel comfortable around them...You don't have feel like scared to learn and all that..." I probed further and asked her what it might be like for her if she didn't attend an International school. She responded, "I would not feel comfortable being in classrooms. I wouldn't talk all the time like in this school I talk all the time in class. I don't care if I make a mistake or not…, but in those schools you would just make a mistake you shouldn't be making and they would just laugh and all that." Asmaou astutely notes that it is not only schools and other institutions and their policies that regulate speech; peers also do the work of the state through language policing (Rios-Rojas, 2011).

During the time I spent with Asmaou, she twice mentioned an experience that she had at an SAT preparation class she attended at a local university with students from throughout the city. She imagined that attending a traditional school might be akin to what she experienced in the afternoon portion of the prep class when many more U.S.-born students arrived.

> The one after lunch, whoa, damn, the class is full. They speak, they are rude, the teachers have to tell them to like, you know, outside, they have to talk to them. They are loud, rude and they insult teacher, and they laugh and all that. Spanish, African, Chinese and there was segregation…The Spanish are more likely with the Black people, the ones that was born here are always with the Black people…, but the Chinese they don't make trouble, it's only the Black people and the Spanish. They laugh in the class instead of listening, they insult each other, they make the class go chaos.

During our second interview, I read her the comment above and asked her where she located herself in this scenario. She answered, "I fit in with the international students…I just sit with

them." From their English, she could tell which students were U.S. born. "You always hang out with people that you feel comfortable with so, everybody was hangin' with that they think they will feel comfortable." Our conversation continued as follows:

Danny: Do you think that happens everywhere?

Asmaou: Yeah. 'Cause if you don't know someone it's hard to kind of hang out with them and, so I wouldn't hang out with those people 'cause if I made a mistake they will laugh at me.

Danny: You grouped U.S.-born Blacks and Spanish-speaking U.S.-born students together. And U.S.-born Chinese and immigrant students together. What did this situation teach you about race or relationships between different groups?

Asmaou: Even real life when you go to neighborhoods, you see that black people always meet with Spanish…Black always feel comfortable with Spanish.

Danny: Where do black immigrants like you and Latino immigrants fit into that?

Asmaou: We don't speak English and um, we don't go to the same school. I don't know things that they know and all that I don't know…They were born here since they might feel comfortable with each other.

When I read this dialogue back to Asmaou at a later date, she added, "It was a really uncomfortable situation. Listening to you [read this], I seemed really mad at the time." I asked her about the physical space between groups of students and she replied, "Yeah, empty chairs between each group" to describe the relationship between U.S.-born Blacks and Latinos and the Chinese-Americans and immigrants. "Cause we weren't making any trouble, we were serious about what we came to learn…Those [blacks and Latinos] people were trouble…they [Chinese-Americans] sit close to us [immigrant students]." Asmaou's observations mirror U.S. racializing discourses and this serves as a tool with which she constructs her own identity as well as the identity of others—she associates and distances herself from others because of race *and* language. Some have theorized that immigrants in such situations recognize the U.S. racial and

linguistic power structure and strategically position themselves within it, that is, they accurately perceive the hierarchy and purposefully distance themselves from those at the bottom (Lee, 2005, 2009; Waters, 1999).

In the racializing discourse reflected in her description of the SAT prep class, "people of color have been cast in monolithic characterizations that homogenize diverse populations into subordinate racial groups. This discursive system perpetuates the positioning of people of color as the Other, and the white, European American culture as the mainstream and the norm" (Lei, 2003, p. 158). Is Asmaou's SAT prep class simply a microcosm of the competition among those who occupy the lowest rungs of the economic ladder? Economic competition is only part of the story; immigrants and U.S.-born people of color also vie for social status and for political power (Morris and Gimpel, 2007). In her description, Asmaou groups U.S.-born Blacks and Latinos together in both physical space and (loud, disruptive, chaotic) behavior and groups herself with (quiet, obedient, educationally serious) Chinese-American and other immigrant students, thereby distancing her black immigrant self from African Americans and perhaps rendering Chinese Americans as the "perpetual foreigner" (Lee, 2005; Tuan, 1998). This racist discourse also serves to erase whiteness from the racial equation. Such an erasure "normalizes whiteness and naturalizes white power and privilege" (Lee, 2009, p. 106). Interestingly, but not surprisingly, in a city where 56 percent of the population is people of color (http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/36/3651000.html), and in a borough where upwards of 85 percent of public school attendees are students of color (Summary of New York City Public School Demographics) other than with her teachers and the few European immigrants in her school, Asmaou rarely interacts with whites. She did, however, recount the following atypical experience she had when participating in the Model United Nations program at a local college:

> Most of the students were white. If I speak to them, they will hear my accent. This Black girl came to me and thought I was American. There were only four Black girls there. She asked me where are you from. I said Africa. Cool, she said. She thought I was American until she heard me speak. In the Bronx, when you walk in the streets most of the people that are walking the streets is immigrant, like most of them. I wear what I want like African clothes…You just feel like you are comfortable.

When she occasionally walks around Brooklyn rather than the Bronx in traditional African dress, she feels that people look at her strangely and make comments. "Spanish and black people [make comments]. When I'm with my friends and I speak my language, I don't really care, I don't really care." In this interview, Asmaou described Ewé (spoken in Togo's capital, Lomé) as her strongest language, but she mostly speaks French with her West African friends, who also speak Fulani. Asmaou's mother and father do not speak Ewé well, but would consider Moré their native language, which is commonly spoken in villages in northern Togo near the Burkina Faso border. I asked if it were difficult to communicate with her parents and replied, "I can speak in general [her parent's language],… but sometimes there's these words that you don't understand." In chapter 6, Rose also addresses the challenges of not developing a full linguistic repetoire in any one language. When speaking Ewé with her brother, her father once responded, "You have to stop speaking that and speak English." In Togo, though French is the official language, Ewé and Kabiyé were named national languages in 1975 and there are many other African languages spoken throughout the country; by one count there are 39 languages spoken by its population of just under seven million. As we will see repeatedly with Asmaou, she has accepted traditional language hierarchies: the national language, first and foremost; then, the colonial language; next, local languages recognized by school and finally the language of home and family.

Asmaou studied English for two years in a private school in Togo, which according to her is not unusual—many schools in Lomé are private and English is taught. There she learned words like "chair, board, pencil, pen, boy, girl…That's what I knew when I came here." As

compared to her high school in the Bronx, she now has more friends who are not French speakers and this compels her to speak English more often. She thinks that she now communicates more in English—even with her Francophone friends—and that her English has surpassed her French. She imagines that her friends in her former school would say "shame on you" for losing your French. I proceeded to ask her about a bad experience that she might have had because she did not speak English well. She described a situation on the subway platform during the summer of 2009.

> There was a group of crazy girls. Black people just like me, but they were like American. One was maybe Spanish because she had light skin. They had space to walk, but they just wanted trouble and said excuse me, excuse me, excuse me, but I had my music on. In this country, you can't let people walk on you. You have to fight for yourself…If I had speak English, do you think I would have let them go? Hell no.

I asked if she thought they knew that she did not speak English and Asmaou replied,

> No. Can you notice me…like if I'm immigrant or not? 'Cause if you are black, it's difficult for people to notice if you're immigrant or not. There is many black people; they will think you're African American…They will not notice if you are immigrant. But if it's Spanish, it's easy to notice. 'Cause you know like Spanish people it's just, I don't know, but I don't know.

I pushed her further on this point by asking her why she thought it might be easier to know that Spanish speakers are immigrants. "I don't know. 'Cause all the time you see them in the train you just, when they are in groups, you know they always speak their language."

Asmaou's internal linguistic conflict expressed above—the fact the she has to lose her French, if only a little, to accommodate English—manifests itself externally; there is insufficient space on New York City's subway platforms for African Americans and black immigrants, for native English speakers and those learning English. Furthermore, Asmaou expresses no intention and no means of maintaining her Ewé or Moré, which indicates certain deterioration, if not complete loss. Though these young women whom Asmaou encountered had no way to ascertain

Asmaou's linguistic and immigrant status, her perception was that they might have been taking advantage of her inability to speak up for herself. Similarly, Asmaou had no way of knowing whether those speaking Spanish on subways are immigrants or not. Because of language, she also begins to cast Latinos as "alien-citizens" and "perpetual foreigners" and equates speaking English with American-ness. Though there is great symbolic currency attributed to multilingualism in a global world (K. Hall, 2002), Asmaou has to sacrifice one language for another and linguistically and culturally diverse peoples find difficulty occupying the same physical space. Such symbolic currency—or linguistic capital—has greater exchange value for some; as a multilingual black immigrant, many would perceive Asmaou as lacking in English rather than as sophisticated and cosmopolitan. The fact that she is poor also contributes to the ways in which others perceive her linguistic capital. Hornberger (2000) reminds us of the ideological tensions present in language policy and practice in multilingual communities around the globe; the global city is no exception here. Language policy and practice have simultaneously standardized and unified nation-states (Anderson, 2006; Hornberger, 2000; Spring, 2007) and diversified and emancipated; the value of linguistic diversity has accompanied the resurgence of ethnic conflict and nationalist movements (K. Hall, 2002). Asmaou's research question is essentially one of language policy and practice, and more specifically revolves around language-in-education policy.

Asmaou's Research Question

On February 24, 2010, the second official day of the co-researchers' internship, Asmaou reminded our group of her research question. She stated that she was interested in investigating the quality of education that immigrant students receive: "The differences between citizens and immigrants…because I am immigrant and want to know what I'm getting. What they are having

and we are not having. What is so special about this [her own] school?" In response, Haby mentioned the testing modifications—specifically the extra time allocated on state exams—that students in their school receive. Rose chimed in with the fact that students at Brooklyn International, because of its membership in the NYS Performance Standards Consortium, only need to take two Regents exams (English and math), as opposed to five, to graduate from high school. Because of this, "We know what presentation and portfolio is. We know what is internship."[24] Asmaou persisted with stating that she wanted to know what students in traditional schools have that those in her school don't. "Trying to know [the differences]. I really don't. I always think they are better than me 'cause they go to a regular school. [This is] just a school for immigrant people. Do you think it's hard taking all those Regents? It's difficult taking all those Regents. I wouldn't make it." Essentially, Asmaou wants to more profoundly understand immigrant youths' experiences by deconstructing how they experience language in testing, in schooling, and in society at large.

At one point during the internship, Asmaou began to have a change of heart about her research question because she felt like she already knew the answer. Haby reminded her that she wanted to know what "they [in traditional schools] have that we don't." I had often heard Asmaou discuss the financial difficulties her family encountered; she recently mentioned that they might have to move because they could no longer afford the rent. For this reason, I suggested that she might want to examine how the current economic climate is impacting immigrant families. Asmaou again recounted the story that in many ways prompted her research question: When riding in the elevator with students from the different schools in her building,

[24] The co-researchers' school is part of the New York State Performance Standards Consortium, which exempts it from the majority of standardized high school exit exams. Instead, students present their work during a portfolio process that is evaluated using a standard rubric.

someone stated, “Oh, who even pressed this floor, man?” upon arriving to the floor occupied by the International school. Asmaou added, “I have [immigrant] friends that go to traditional schools and they just, they came to this traditional school and they don’t feel comfortable talking in class and they feel like just sitting there and when they talk they [U.S.-born students] laugh at them and all that.” She is clearly interested in exploring the treatment and experiences of immigrant students in traditional high schools versus her International school. On the one hand, Asmaou has internalized the feeling that what matters in school are high-stakes exams; standardized testing has become the common script of Real School and it is often students who are most disadvantaged by such policies who become their most ardent supporters (Metz, 2008). Perhaps Asmaou equates success with high stakes exams with evidence of having mastered English, as this is what such exams ultimately assess. On the other hand, Asmaou recognizes in her words the silencing to which immigrant young people are subjected in traditional schools and classrooms. Again, the language policy conflict—both unspoken and codified, both internal and external—in the global city emerges as Asmaou grapples with the role of language in her own life and education and in society and schools at large.

Asmaou’s struggle with her research question and with language-in-education policy was also revealed during an internship session when we deconstructed Asmaou’s question using the Freirean problem tree method. My field notes from that day read as follows:

> By the time we began our problem trees, our research group’s meeting place moved from the 5th floor conference room to a street-level staff lunch room that was now only used to store chairs, but still retained a small round dining table, refrigerator, and sink. There were a number of heating pipes running through the room and it would often be unbearably hot during the winter and spring months. When I was the first to arrive to what became our office after biking to the school from my apartment (I live just a few miles from their school), I would often open the top windows with the window pole. During our meetings, we regularly heard the loud hum of the building’s outdoor mechanicals. The co-researchers proudly posted the name of our research collective—Transnational Researchers for Action and Change (T.R.A.C.)—and wrote on the same

> piece of chart paper that we were in internship and should not be disturbed. On March 16, 2010 we met to deconstruct Asmaou's question, as she was having a change of heart about what to research because she questioned the value of what her research would reveal.

We started to chart the manifestations of the problem represented in Asmaou's research question—the differences between immigrant youths' experiences in traditional and International high schools. Yvonne began the conversation by stating that her mom's friend attended a traditional high school and wanted to transfer to Brooklyn International because his résumé was "not that full."[25] He couldn't do extra activities because his school was not offering them. I clarified, "So there's a difference in opportunities?" "Yeah," Yvonne responded and with that Asmaou wrote difference in opportunities on the tree's leaves. Rose continued with, "I'm not sure, but judgment? Students judge others. Like I feel bad, like smacking them. I'm not like them." They all agreed that disrespect toward immigrant people was an issue. Asmaou went on to say,

> It's not only that, in class, like immigrants in traditional schools, you can't speak 'cause you think if you speak they will laugh at you. Yeah, language problems. You see how I am here, like even though I make a mistake I know people are not going to laugh at me. If I was in traditional school, I would be afraid to speak.

Asmaou then expanded upon the SAT prep class experience and described how a U.S.-born youth who attended traditional school laughed at her because she mispronounced the word primary. At the end of this story Rose stated, "Education, they think they are learning more." I suggested that the issue here might be one of rigor that others perceive in a school where students are all learning English.

[25] International schools often provide a wide range of after-school and other enrichment opportunities. Many require their students to participate in an 11th or 12th grade semester-long internship in a field of their choice.

Yvonne mentioned that she was happy her school was portfolio-based instead of Regents-exam based. They all then agreed that there were behavior differences between students who attended an International school and those who attended a traditional school. Their perception was that U.S.-born, traditional-school students are "rude." Haby asked if traditional schools had the same degree of college advising that International has. I responded that college-advising programs varied greatly from school to school. With that we added after-school programs, college advising, and counseling to the opportunities leaf. The topic then changed to violence when Yvonne stated,

Yvonne: This school doesn't have a lot of fights.

Haby: I mean International School have violence that is about racism or skin color.

Yvonne: In traditional schools, students want to fight immigrants. We don't care about that stuff. We come here for what? Education.

With words like judgment, disrespect, and afraid to speak written on the tree's leaves, we moved to the trunk. Considering attitudes, goals, and policies that cause the manifestations listed above, Rose said that she thought that language was an issue. To encourage elaboration, I asked, "Is there an attitude in the United States that everyone [immigrants] should speak English immediately?" There was some disagreement here. Yvonne contended that you're supposed to speak English. Asmaou described how people might look at you if you're on the train and speaking another language. I added, "…there's a nationalistic feeling that's very much tied to language. So I would describe that attitude as English only." Asmaou then mentioned cultural understanding as an item that belonged in the trunk because "all immigrants come from different cultures." She went on to describe how students in a traditional school might react if she came to school in African dress, implying that students in her own school were more accepting of such

behavior. I asked if the United States is a country that's open to immigrants. Again, there was some disagreement, but Yvonne staunchly responded,

> No, not completely. It's open on one side. They give you opportunities as an immigrant to go to school and learn different stuff in different ways, but then the other side is people do not open (inaudible) for you, because they don't just get the fact that you just come in the country, you learning English, they don't accept as your culture, language or anything like that and plus now the economy is down and they want to kick you out.

At a later point, I revisited the notion that a faltering economy results in increased anti-immigrant sentiment with Yvonne and she had this to say:

> Certain people think, this is not me just talking, some people think that they don't have jobs because the immigrants are taking them. Most of the jobs that immigrants get Americans don't want to do. Some people in Manhattan will hire people to come to their house and clean up, wash the dishes, do the laundry because they don't have time to do it themselves. You can get a hundred dollars for five to six hours of work. Both me and my mom have done that.

Though Yvonne did not specify who the "some people" are, she knows that immigrants typically do not compete with U.S.-born whites for the jobs she describes. Toni Morrison (1993) posed the question about immigrant economic success "on the backs of blacks," which has been and continues to be hotly and inconclusively debated. Waldinger (1998) explains the economic interconnection of new immigrants and African Americans in the U.S. in the following way:

> The instability of America's capitalist economy subjects the labor queue's ordering to change. Growth pulls the topmost group up the totem pole; lower-ranking groups then seize the chance to move up the pecking order; in their wake, they leave behind vacancies at the bottom, which employers fill by recruiting workers from outside the economy—namely, migrants…For this reason, the ethnic division of labor stands as the central division of labor in cities of twentieth-century America. The fates of new immigrants and African Americans are bound up in its making and remaking. (pp. 507-8)

The queue and ethnic niche models challenge mismatch and polarization hypotheses about the economic restructuring in the city and explain how, in a race-conscious society, entire groups of people are ranked according to how desirable it is for them to fill certain jobs. Social networks and ethnic niches also explain why research, "whether conducted by economists or social

demographers…show[s] that immigration has little if any economic impact on the wages and employment opportunities of natives, whether classified as unskilled, low paid, or members of racial minorities" (Lim, 2001, p. 194).

With both Yvonne and Asmaou, we gain insight into the complexities of an always-in-process identity construction for immigrant youth in the global city through their lived experiences. The trunk of Asmaou's problem tree now contained phrases such as language intolerance, cultural intolerance, and cultural superiority. I then proceeded to write economy in the roots of the tree, which represent deeply held beliefs and values. Asmaou then stated, "Most of those people that don't understand you [immigrants] are black people, black people 'cause I mean, you know why, 'cause they been here long, like long time that's why…but some white people...from England they understand it." I asked Asmaou why she thought African Americans were less tolerant or less understanding of immigrants. She answered, "My understanding is that they been here from generation to generation, like since slavery to (inaudible), they aren't understanding the fact that people have cultures, different culture. They just been here, some of them don't even travel, they're just here…" To which Yvonne added, "I think it's about traveling and discovering what's out there..." Asmaou again distances herself from African Americans and again demonstrates how she has internalized the racializing discourses that construct whiteness—especially the English in Asmaou's eyes—as more sophisticated and more understanding of cultural difference. The young people also seem to be familiar with the discourse of immigrants taking jobs from African Americans and that driving a wedge between the two groups. Though we had just discussed that the economy might be a root cause of the attitude toward and treatment of immigrants in the U.S., and though I attempted to inject critical social explanation into what these young people often perceived as private troubles (Mills,

1959), they continue to psychologize the issue above by not attributing social distance to larger structural forces such as racism. Again, it is important to note that they are not responsible for the exportation of cultural images that criminalize and pathologize African Americans; and important to note that Yvonne intricately connects the attitude toward and treatment of immigrants with the current economic climate. I pointed out that racism was part of the other problem tree charts and wondered aloud if it also belonged in the roots of Asmaou's research question. Yvonne responded, "Yeah, a lot." I asked them where most immigrants in the U.S. come from and they readily responded, "Africa, Latin America, and Asia." Yvonne continued, "They won't discriminate the one that come from Europe; they natural." Asmaou added, "They know their country has money, so like they just value it." Yvonne added her observation of how tourists come to the U.S. and spend money and then go back to where they came from, but "…when a Chinese, or a Latin, or African come here they come to stay, 'cause they wanna come here for money, and it comes down to people telling them your country doesn't have money and that's why you're here..." In post-1965 immigration discourse, entire continents of people are racialized according to real or perceived economic resources. By the end of our conversation, in addition to economy, we had written class discrimination, racism, conformity, and demands for assimilation on the roots of the tree.

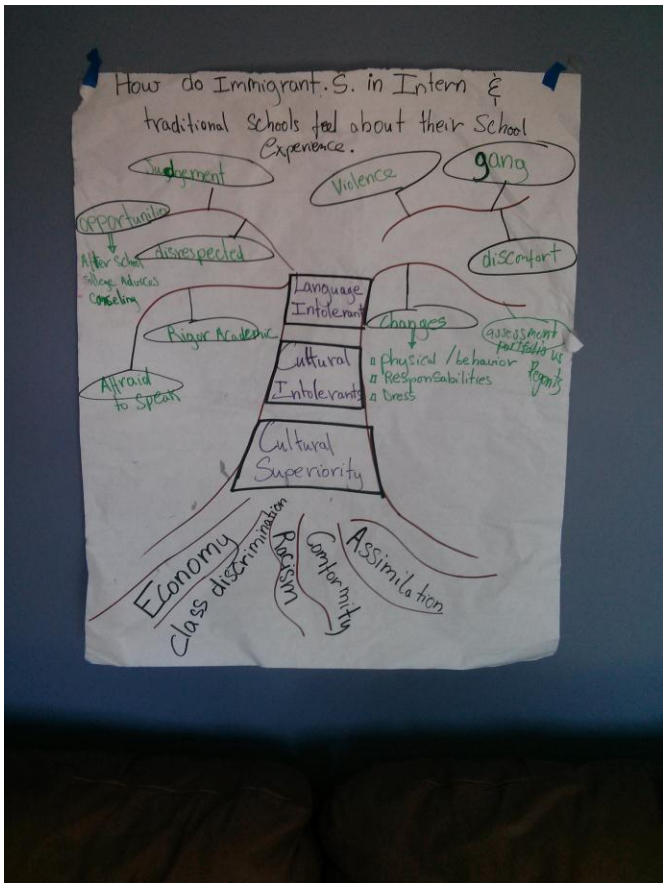

Figure 4.1: Asmaou's problem tree

What this deconstruction process clearly demonstrates is the imbrication of language, race, culture, social class, and power. Ong (1996) reminds us of the role of social class in the ideological whitening or blackening of immigrants, and Urciuoli (1996) draws our attention to the ways in which all non-white people are subjected to this racializing discourse, which in turn renders all language and cultural differences problematic, even parasitic. If, as proffered in chapter 1, neo-racism has transferred essentialization from the body to the mind, from race to culture, then language has become ever more central in determining an individual or group's value and claim to belonging in the nation-state. This section ends where the chapter began and is reminiscent of Yvonne's discussion of the undocumented: the nation-state is a field of struggle in which people vie for power through the creation of boundaries and borders that include and

exclude. It is with this understanding of field and the connection of language and power that we proceed to Asmaou's research findings and the ways in which she, other members of our research collective, and I interpreted them. At times, we will hear Asmaou's own interpretations; at other times, we will hear the collective's interpretations, and further still my interpretations. We will also hear the dialogue between Asmaou and me around the findings.

Asmaou's Research Findings

In his critique of Saussurian linguistics for its failure to recognize the role that power and inequality play in everyday interactions, Bourdieu (1992) argues for a theory of practice that acknowledges how linguistic exchanges always bear traces of the social structure that they hope to reproduce.

> …[O]ne must not forget that the relations of communication *par excellence* – linguistic exchanges – are also relations of symbolic power in which the power relations between speakers or their respective groups are actualized. In short, one must move beyond the usual opposition between economism and culturalism, in order to develop an economy of symbolic exchanges. (p. 37)

Through her own experiences in school and on New York City streets and subways, Asmaou profoundly demonstrates the power of language in everyday interactions. Essentially, her research question interrogates and explicates the role that school structures and policies play in immigrant adolescents' lives. In a manuscript written by our research group for the *Harvard Educational Review's* special edition on immigrant young people, Asmaou described her research in the following way:

> A year later [after arriving in the U.S.] we moved into our own apartment [after living with her father's friend]. With my allowance, I managed to buy my necessities without bothering my dad. Is this the America that people talk about? Is America like a T.V. show or is it something else? How do I get to the America that everyone talks about? I wondered about the role that education was playing in my family's life and how it might help us to get ahead. I saw different schools in New York City and wondered how my education at a school for immigrant youth compared to my brother's more traditional school.

Asmaou ventured into both an International school and a traditional school to answer her query about the role of education in her family's life. As mentioned above, Asmaou equated Real School (Metz, 2008) with the high-stakes testing her brother experienced, which was mostly absent in her own school. She also gave me that impression that she viewed English proficient students as superior because, unlike her, they could handle Real School. Menken (2008) argues that in the absence of any systematic language policy and planning in the U.S., these high-stakes exams themselves have become the *de facto* policy; this policy carries great significance as it determines the content taught in schools, how it is taught, by whom it is taught, and in what language(s) it is taught. From Asmaou's words above, it appears that she has internalized the deficit perspective communicated by such a policy. Additionally, the language policy established by these exams creates a disincentive to serve students learning English because they are less likely to meet federal accountability requirements, thereby fostering a deficit perspective. Perhaps most egregiously, high-stakes exit exams equate testing with teaching, deprive students of native language resources, and create language hierarchies in schools. In an effort to prepare students for high-stakes tests, teachers have been found to forego constructivist teaching in favor of teacher-centered pedagogies that emphasize memorization (Agee, 2004). Similarly, the literature suggests that high-stakes testing inadvertently discourages multicultural and culturally responsive efforts (Agee, 2004; Au, 2009; Banks, 2007; Hursh, 2008). Au (2009), for example, argues that high-stakes testing forces schools to adopt "generic, standardized, non-multicultural curriculum" (p. 96). The International high schools strive to create a culturally and linguistically responsive environment for immigrant youth, which Asmaou, like the critics of such teaching philosophies, interprets as less rigorous and then internalizes this to signify that she must be a less capable student. It is worth noting here that at the time of this writing, Asmaou is sophomore

at a selective four-year SUNY campus, studying psychology and French, and on target to graduate in four years.

The context of high-stakes testing has also created increased challenges for immigrant students who are English learners. In New York City where 14 percent of all students are categorized as ELs and approximately 40 percent of all students live in homes where a language other than English is spoken, ELs score lower on standardized tests, graduate from high school at lower rates and drop out at higher rates than their native English speaking peers (Fine et al., 2005; Menken, 2008). While discussing our identity maps, I broached the topic of the recent English-only and anti-immigrant legislation occurring in Arizona, which quickly led to the topic of testing and language. Before I finished the question about their experiences with such sentiments, Haby interjected, "It's because of the Arabic people," alluding to the increased xenophobia, particularly Islamophobia, in the U.S. since September 11, 2001. She then continued, referring to the English-only legislation, "You cannot tell me to speak English at home; at home is another story." I informed them that it is now considered illegal for teachers in the state of Arizona to use Spanish in their classrooms. Yvonne replied, "Then they're not teaching them." Here, the topic of culturally and linguistically responsive teaching is raised again—its value is clearly recognized, but Asmaou's research question was partially prompted by her feeling that she was sorely and unfairly missing something by not attending traditional school. Perhaps she at once wants to be recognized, but also fears being singled out for difference. I then asked if anything about the environment in Arizona resonated with them. The dialogue continued as follows:

Yvonne: Yes, we do…just last week in the math Regents, we speak French, right, we're supposed to have French dictionaries and all they had was, um,

Spanish, English, and Creole, and that was it, and Chinese so people that speak French were left out.[26]

Haby: You know, especially French, it's a language that they don't comprehend in America at all.

Asmaou: Even like Regents math, if you go to those schools that they do math Regents, social studies, and all that, they always have in Spanish, but never in French. It's wrong, the government, why they don't do it in French?

Haby: …[T]hey want to let us know okay you're immigrant, you're in my country that means you have to speak my language and that's not right at all. It's like, I know how to say it in French, but I don't know…(asks for help interpreting something from French). They want to change you to something that you're not and that is not right at all.

Yvonne: It's not like we're telling them we want French. We all speak English, wherever we go we speak English, but sometimes we need a little bit of French so you know what you have to do. But it's just not there.

Danny: Do you experience this in any other way?

Yvonne: In classrooms. What teachers speak French?…Three, the rest of them speak English, Spanish.

Asmaou: For example, when you go on subway from Brooklyn to Manhattan, you feel like just the black people are pushed out and the white people [are pushed out]…from Manhattan to Bronx, like Spanish people come and the white people come, it's just like that.

Yvonne: Yeah, it is really segregated.

Haby: Especially from 42nd and 125th to the Bronx...white people you can't do nothing, 'cause all Spanish people are coming to like in Manhattan to school, when they get into the train they do whatever they want, or black people, or black American people, that's another story.

This dialogue reveals the complexities of language in the global city *par excellence.* As Gal (1989) writes: "The deeply held conceptions that mediate between identity and speech deserve

[26] Translated Regents exams are available in Chinese, Haitian Creole, Korean, Russian and Spanish. As a testing accommodation, students are entitled to use word-to-word native language/English dictionaries.

attention not only as cultural constructions, but also as part of political struggles" (p. 355). The political struggle in this case is twofold: First, we hear a call for linguistic responsiveness from the State and second, we hear how race and language overlap in public space. Race and language become conflated when Asmaou and Haby narrate their geopolitical subway rides—there is a sense of pushing out and taking over as the trains traverse the boroughs. The white, native-English-speaking commuters and residents associated with midtown Manhattan bump into, literally and symbolically, black immigrants, African Americans, and Latinos from Brooklyn, the Bronx, and upper Manhattan. Additionally, these young women recognize the power that state-sanctioned official languages have on the construction of their own identity and what the language-in-testing policy teaches speakers of unrepresented languages about status. As Haby so eloquently states, "They want to change you to something that you're not…" It is in this dialogue that we again hear how a black immigrant distances herself from African Americans. We also gain some insight into how these young women see the scales tipped in favor of Latinos with testing policy and school personnel who speak Spanish. In some sense, they also convey a Latino "take over." Remember, they have critiqued the State for not making high-stakes testing available in French. Gal's (1989) words are again informative:

> First, the characteristic form of linguistic change in the modern era has been the coming together of languages, or rather their speakers, not only geographically (through new means of travel and communication) but within political economic systems of dependency and inequality. The dispersion of populations and the peopling of the world, which are modeled in the genetic theory of language change, have long been replaced by other large-scale historical processes such as colonization, state and class formation, the expansion of capitalism and transnational labor migration. (p. 356)

In the global city, groups similarly positioned in the political economy vie for the same physical and symbolic space and linguistic recognition.

While at "Traditional High," Asmaou interviewed the English as a Second Language (ESL) teacher and asked her the following question: "So, how do you see newcomers' experiences at Traditional High?" The ESL teacher responded,

> I find that the newcomers' experiences are a little **problematic** because they are a minority, but not a minority, as we discussed we have lots of newcomers, but they come from English-speaking countries [predominantly in the Caribbean]. They're still newcomers and they still come with **problems** of acclimating themselves to a new society, but for the students that don't speak English as their first language, um, I've found that because they are a minority [in the school] and the teachers sometimes don't understand how to teach them, or don't have the time to make new lessons for them, they [the students] sometimes feel a little frustrated. I also feel for the teachers, the teachers in this school very much want to accommodate these students, but because there's little training they're not able to, the way they want.

When I asked Asmaou about her interpretation of these words, she stated, "The teachers try to make the best experience of the situation, but it's expected that students would feel like that [frustrated]. They [the students] knew it would be hard for them to understand. It's expected that the students would struggle a little bit. ESL helps with the transition." My interpretation differed and immediately conjured up W.E.B. Du Bois' words originally published in 1903: "To the real question, How does it feel to be a problem? I seldom answer a word" (p. 11). Though he didn't have immigrant youth in the global city in the early twenty-first century in mind, Du Bois precisely describes the perceived "problematic" burden that the linguistic and cultural Other imposes on schools. In a city where over 154,000 public school children are currently designated ELs and another 132,000 have received ESL services at some time during their school tenure (former ELs)—approximately 1 of 4 children—(http://schools.nyc.gov/NR/rdonlyres/3A4AEC4C-14BD-49C4-B2E6-8EDF5D873BE4/108227/DemoRpt0722.pdf) teachers "don't understand how to teach them," "don't have the time to make new lessons for them" and have received "little training." When I read my interpretation of this interview, that is, that ELs are viewed as a problem and therefore

do not receive appropriate instruction, to Asmaou, she said, "That's a problem. If you don't understand, you won't do well in school and you end up with lower grades and you know how that goes. You can't go to college and get a good job." In spite of the struggles described above, Asmaou's adult participant, who has over 30 years of experience teaching and advocating for ELs, reports that she has seen more immigrant students win scholarships and become the valedictorians and salutatorians of their graduating classes. She goes on to say, "Very often our newcomers do very, very well. They push ahead and it could be because they have to overcome obstacles, but they very often end up pushing ahead. And, um, that's all I have to say about that." She then whispered, "I don't want to sound like I'm putting down the other students." Finally, she described ELs' academic experiences as follows:

> I think for some of them the lack of expertise in written English hampers their ideas and it takes a very specialized teacher to understand that and to push them ahead, but, um, I also see that because in the United States children that are more advanced sometimes have to wait for other students to catch up that they may be frustrated so maybe their academic experiences are not as strict as they might have been in their home country, but in the end, they end up being very self-activating students and achieve very nicely.

Though clearly a teacher who cares about young people, she constructs ELs in opposition to U.S.-born students, whom she might describe as *un*motivated in spite of *not* facing obstacles. It is important to note here that over 95 percent of Traditional High's 470 students are black or Latino and six percent are ELs. Within such a construction, we hear the underpinnings of pitting the assiduous and persevering immigrant against indolent and unambitious U.S.-born blacks and Latinos (Lee, 2009; Waters, 1999), which serves to perpetuate hegemonic notions of the racial hierarchy and does not challenge "common sense" (Gramsci, 1970). This common sense relies upon discourses that have constructed insiders and outsiders and such discourses "emerge from a history of ideas, laws, narratives, myths, and knowledge production in social sciences, sciences, the media, and the arts" (Chavez, 2008, p. 22).

Asmaou's focus group from Traditional High was comprised of four ninth graders—two young men from Yemen who have been in the U.S. for four and six years and two young women, one from Guinea and one from Bangladesh, who have been in the U.S. for five and six years. They described their school in the following ways: "a lot of trouble here, some teachers is good, some teachers is not; this school has special opportunities for freshman; this is a really good school; I like it 'cause it got some nice teachers; I like the school 'cause the teachers be nice to me; for field studies we go outside and learn about the different ecosystems." All students in the group reported feeling badly or scared when they first went to school in the U.S. Stories of other students making fun of them because they didn't speak English were not unusual. The girl from Guinea said, "I was crying because I couldn't speak English and anything that I say, they laugh. They come close to me, they laugh. I was so angry, but now it's much better." One boy from Yemen told Asmaou,

> When I first came here, I felt scared because I didn't know how to speak English and I was afraid how, what I'm gonna do when I get to school, how I'm gonna talk to the teacher, how I'm gonna ask her for help, how I'm gonna know my way…In middle school, I started knowing how to speak English. I came here when I was nine years old. In sixth grade I started knowing how to speak English. Now I know how to speak English, but I got problems with spelling.

Asmaou later interviewed this same young man, who arrived in the U.S. in the third grade and from listening to the interview, he clearly, at times, had difficulty understanding and responding to Asmaou's questions. She asked him to describe his experiences learning English and he had this to say: "When I came, I didn't know what I gotta say. Some people they was cursin' me and I don't even know what I gotta say back to them. Now, I know what they're saying…" The fact that this young Arabic boy was being cursed is no surprise in post-September 11th New York City. Though he could not recount what was said to him, it isn't difficult to imagine. I have heard dozens of stories like this from the Arabic boys I've taught over the years. Again, the symbolic

power of language is used to dominate; in this case, to ridicule and exclude someone without the means to respond. This young man's peers perform the policing work of the state. When I asked Asmaou about her thoughts on her participant's experiences she said that she did not think he was having a difficult time in high school, as opposed to in middle school. She recognized that her brothers, like her participant, still have some difficulty writing in English though they can speak well. She went on to say,

> In middle school, kids will make fun of each other. We have Arabic people [in my high school]…people also tend to bully them, even if it's a joke. "Please don't bomb us," like stereotype stuff. From what he's saying he felt like he didn't belong. Some people are very religious, depending on what they wear people might bully them more…The other type of Arabic don't wear the long thing, they dress normal and people don't notice them…People discriminate the people that look different.

Those who "don't wear the long thing" are constructed as normal—and not terroristic—and therefore less visible and less subject to discrimination. Of course, this construction is intricately connected to the Arabic language.

Asmaou, with Yvonne's assistance, also conducted a focus group in the International high school. This group was comprised of one male eleventh grader from Sierra Leone who has lived in the U.S. for four years, a female ninth grader from Haiti in the U.S. for two years, and a male tenth grader from the Ivory Coast in the U.S. for three years. When asked to describe his school to someone who knew nothing about it, the young man from Sierra Leone said the following:

> It's an international school for kids from around the world who doesn't speak that well, that much English and that they are struggling to assimilate within the America culture, make friends…So, our school is designed to help these kids improve their English and their speaking…We are divided into teams and this school provide a lot of after-school activities that help these kids in any way possible for them to make friends and at the same time learn the English language.

Asmaou then asked what they like and hate about their school. The young man from the Ivory Coast replied, "One thing I like about this school is that there are many people that speak different language. Any kind of language that you speak, like, there might be someone in this school that speak that language and can help you." The young woman from Haiti stated, "…we are different countries and like they communicate each other and one thing I didn't like about this school like when like, for example like, if you Spanish, 'cause I'm Haitian, and you like you get somebody in your language [another Spanish speaker], but I don't understand what you're saying." Asmaou chuckled, "That's a good one." The young man from Sierra Leone added,

> …I like the diversity of the school, um, and I like programs they provide for students and I like that we work in groups here, the students communicate with each other, try to help each other. And one thing that I don't like is when, even though there's a lot of diversity around in class, but during lunchtime, everyone tend to sit with their own race. So that's one thing that I don't like 'cause one, it doesn't help students to improve their English speaking if they only stay with their own race, they're speaking their own language, so that's one thing I don't like about this school. And yeah, this normally happen during lunchtime, students sitting with their own race.

Asmaou and Yvonne then asked about résumé building and college prep opportunities provided by the school. The same young man replied:

> We do have college prep, like, we have college prep everywhere and teachers every day they talk to us about like you know the debate club, science club and all these clubs that we're taking. We have SAT prep, which is, okay, we Regents prep…and we have college prep, which if you have any doubts about college, financial aid…we have a guidance counselor who comes every day to talk to us. We even have a whole new session during lunchtime down in the basement where you…she talks about college and everything, you know, differences between private, SUNY [State University of New York], community and everything. Yeah, these are the things that they provide and there are those who help us with résumés, which we just finished doing. Everybody made their résumé and just checked it and give feedback and make it stronger.

Asmaou asked the students to describe a time when they felt really, really disrespected in the school. Yvonne added, "like when some discriminate you." The dialogue that ensued sounded like this:

Haiti: Not too much, sometimes, like, um, in your language, but I don't understand what they're saying, but they're laughing about it.

Sierra Leone: They always do that.

Haiti: They say something bad. Maybe it's not bad, but I think.

Asmaou: Oh yeah, I feel you. Like maybe, you don't understand it, but when they are laughing, you think that they are like laughing at you, but you don't know if it's you or bad, something about…yeah, I understand.

Sierra Leone: …[Y]ou don't know they saying, just laugh with them, hahahaha, yeah, they gonna stop what they saying. If you just sit and be quiet, they gonna keep doin' it. In my class right now, I have four Spanish people in my table, all those guys, I'm the only [African? Black?] one. But every day they do that. I don't care. Like one day they come, "I need your help." I said, "Go ask your friend." I don't know you, you don't know me. Yeah [laughter in the group].

Asmaou: So the next question is, what do you think could be done to improve your school?

Sierra Leone: Don't leave a lot of Spanish people in the same class 'cause they talk too much [chuckles in the group].

Yvonne: You want the class to be more diverse?

Sierra Leone: Yeah, don't talk too much.

Ivory Coast: Yeah, and during lunchtime, too…All Africans don't sit in one place, all Haitians don't sit in one place, all Spanish don't sit in one place. Just mingle among each other 'cause if you could mingle, if you speak Spanish, how we gonna communicate in English, right?

Yvonne: They can't do nothing about that. It happen in our school, too. As soon as we get at lunchtime, it gets…

Sierra Leone: No, the problem is they shouldn't be leaving like fifteen Spanish people in the same class.

Asmaou: Yeah, that they could improve 'cause…

Sierra Leone: 'Cause they never gonna speak no English. They gonna keep talkin' Spanish.

Yvonne: Do you think they want fifteen Spanish in the class? Do you think they want that? Why do you think there's too much Spanish students in a class? It's because there's too much Spanish students in the school so they're tryin' to make it as diverse as possible by their country, but they all speak the same language and somehow they understand each other.

Asmaou: It might be like Puerto Rico, Mexico, but they all speak Spanish that's how it really gets bad. The next question is, if you have a chance to improve these things, what would you do?

Sierra Leone: I would tell the Spanish people…

Ivory Coast: If I have a chance to improve what?

Asmaou: To improve the problem that you just say.

Yvonne: If you could get the chance to change these things, what would you do? What would you do to change it?

Asmaou: To change your school for the better…

Haiti: Let's see, um, use your language at home, not in the school. Like in the school we need to learn English, like you are supposed to speak English with other people. If you speak Spanish you have to use it outside, not in the school.

Sierra Leone: No, but they can speak Spanish in the class, but not that much. In work time…even if you ask the question and they know how to read it, but they won't…and answer the question, they will start talking in Spanish, what is the word and start writing each other's stuff. Before you keep doing that, if you start talking in English, you gonna learn how to do it by yourself…

These young people highlight their perception of the Latino and Spanish threat popularized in the U.S. media's discourse and they also reinforce the conservative view of privatizing the cultural with "use your language at home." After reading this dialogue to Asmaou at a later date, she continued, "When you're in class try to cooperate in English. You can't force them to speak English. There are Spanish who speak English well because they try to balance." While we previously heard the research group discuss linguistic politics as related to language-in-testing policy, here Asmaou's participants, and she herself, advocate for containing languages other than

English—but particularly Spanish—so that English will predominate, or so that there is more space for their non-Spanish languages to be recognized. Their argument, I believe, does not stop there; they are also arguing for the containment of a people. With the disputes over the border and the conservative backlash that employs language such as "invasion" and "hordes," even immigrant youth who have been in the country for fewer than five years have internalized such antagonism. Again, it is important to note that this antagonism is not of their creation; it is part and parcel of larger discursive formations (S. Hall, 1997, p. 6) that construct citizen and non-citizen. Additionally, these young people detect the power hierarchy and distance themselves from those most criminalized in the media. The construction of race, nation, and language in this way relies upon an ideology of an imagined nation in which a standard variety of a single language is spoken. Such an ideology creates boundaries that aid in determining who belongs and who does not.

> This construction of language operates within political economy of language (see Gal 1989; Irvine 1989). The political element is played out (among other ways) as opposition to bilingual education and as support for Official English legislation. Foreign languages, especially Spanish, in public spheres are characterized as invasive, part of an agenda, usually a "Hispanic agenda." (Urciuoli, 1996, p. 200)

Urciuoli (1996) further argues that the above is evidence that race has indeed been remapped from biology to language, yet, unlike with race, people are expected to control their language. Even in a school that has linguistic and cultural diversity at the core of its mission, we witness localized calls for purism and exclusion, particularly when Spanish is concerned. "Boundary-making and the creation of linguistic mosaics are, however, central to the U.S. ideology that there is one, single standard English. This ideology is deeply persistent because it is not only about language, it is equally about race, class, nation, and person" (Urciuoli, 1996, p. 202).

During our final focus group, Asmaou discussed what she learned in the field. She explained that she was surprised that students in both Traditional High and International High School reported feeling similarly upon arrival—they felt like no one cared about them and they didn't feel like coming to school. Asmaou said,

> I see something, um, when we were doing the focus group, the boy from Sierra Leone and the other one from, actually all of them were saying like when they first came to the school and they didn't understand English they had somebody there that understand the same language as them to help them do their work. Um, the boy from Ivory Coast talked about that 'cause he had the boy from Sierra Leone helping him with his work 'cause he speaks French and the boy from Sierra Leone speaks French. Um, the other girl, I forget her name, she also talked about how other Haitian students helped her doing her work and stuff 'cause she didn't understand what was going on. The boy from Sierra Leone also explained that, but he didn't really tell who was helping him.

She also noted that students at Traditional High did report receiving help from others; like those at International High they also reported working in groups and receiving help from their peers. At International High School, one focus group participant, "…talked about how he, um, how he started to lose his French [but] because of the French Club in school helps him think back his French that he was starting to lose and he also joined the one the other guy from Ivory Coast to the French Club so he can improve his French, too." The West African girl from Traditional High also discussed losing her French with Asmaou, but she did not have the French Club recourse. At that point, Yvonne interjected that she herself doesn't speak French that much anymore. On our survey, 24 of 100 students agreed or strongly agreed that they were "losing their language and culture." As we looked at her problem tree, Asmaou recalled, "...when they first came, people in their class didn't understand what they say so they will always like tease them. The boy from Yemen said that he was teased by the students, but now that he came to high school and he understand English like he became really friends with the students in his class." I wondered aloud if fluency with English determined if people would accept or reject you and how

that related to notions of assimilation. As Asmaou continued to examine her problem tree, she said,

> Economy didn't come up. Racism too didn't come up. Like in the class like, I was really surprised by that. I thought that like you know the immigrant with the born-here would be like, you know, separate like kind of like not talking to each other. But actually, when I went to the class they were like laughing, talking, they move. They even come to the immigrant students to get help and sometimes the immigrant students go to them to get help. So that relates the way you speak your English determine if people approach you or not.

During our final one-on-one interview, I asked Asmaou if my interpretation of her significant findings was correct: I hypothesized that having a connection with other students who speak the same language is important and that students in International high schools are more likely to have that connection. Additionally, students in both Traditional High and International High reported native language loss. Asmaou confirmed that those were important and accurate findings. About language loss, she had this to say:

> The reason that it happens is you have to…You don't wanna let it go, but you have to let it go. Sometimes you won't forget all of them, I mean you can't possibly forget all your language. In school, to be able to learn English, you have to let some of your own language go so you could be able to learn more 'cause if you keep speaking your language, then how are you going to learn your English.

Despite the fact that Asmaou has encountered fully bilingual adults through her teachers, she doesn't appear to recognize their existence, perhaps because of the status differential—bilingual teachers in her school tend to be white and privileged, having become bilingual through a Peace Corps experience. In the *Harvard Educational Review* manuscript mentioned above, Asmaou continued her discussion of language, culture and loss:

> Clearly, their [students at Traditional High] more advanced level of English gave them access to English-speaking social circles. I wondered at what price this occurred. Were these students losing their native language and culture? To further understand this issue of cultural and linguistic loss, I want to uncover how newly-arrived immigrants in 9th grade at my own school view their school experiences. Do they feel welcome? Do they know where to go to get help? Do they understand how the school operates? Do they

> know about after-school programs? Do they know where things are located? Beyond this, however, I also want to explore what they think they have gained and lost through the immigration process and what that might mean for their futures.

By more advanced English, Asmaou meant that these young people could now communicate with their peers. In our interview, Asmaou then raised the Spanish language issue and claimed that those who speak Spanish "have two," but, for some, this comes at the expense of learning English. "Some of them, they just don't want to let their Spanish go and sometimes it affects their way of learning English…until now, there is Spanish that don't understand simple [English] vocabulary." She attributes this to the fact that they are maintaining their native language and thereby appears to have accepted the discourse that English acquisition requires some degree of native language loss. Is it possible that in her two short years in the U.S., Asmaou (and other co-researchers and their participants) has internalized the alarmist propaganda of the Latino Threat Narrative (Chavez, 2008) that renders Latino immigration an invasion, a *reconquista* (particulary in the case of Mexican immigration), and a threat to the linguistic purity (such as that posed by the Quebecois)? She goes on to explain,

> [B]ut also because, it's not them, it's like there's many of them in the school that you can't possibly stop speaking it. You can't possibly 'cause like even in class you have to speak it 'cause you have like your friend that is near. Like 60 percent of the students in class are Spanish so they have to speak it. I mean if I have any students like that in my class I would speak it, too. It's just that I don't have anybody to speak French with, that's why I usually speak English.

I pushed Asmaou on this point by asking about the French-speaking Haitians and West Africans in her own school: "Students do speak French with one another, but not all the time." Though 18 percent of the students are Haitian or West African and therefore likely Francophones, Asmaou reminds us that French is the colonizer's language when she states, "You know why? 'Cause like, in like West Africa there is so many languages, but French is not even like your language. It is like the language that you're supposed to speak when you're in school…for example, like

Spanish, it's like, in their country, they speak that even at home. It's like their language language." Asmaou's words indicate that French, because it is taught and demanded in school, occupies a higher rung on the hierarchical language ladder. Given her personal history of growing up in West Africa, it is not surprising that she doesn't recognize the parallel colonization process that occurred in Latin America. Spanish is, in fact, not the "language language" of the indigenous Americas. European colonizers in both hemispheres attributed great importance to linguistic purity and indigenous language eradication in the empire and nation-building processes. Loyalty to the nation-state and empire was and continues to be measured, in part, by linguistic assimilation. Equating citizenship, and the rights that accompany it, with the degree to which one actually or *virtually* assimilates to the national language, buttresses hierarchies of belonging. In the case of the U.S., the media's construction of Latinos as unwilling or unable to do their part for the nation-state has clearly infiltrated these young people's minds. This question of loyalty, not coincidentally, accompanies the public imagination's fear of the browning of the U.S.; the intersections between race and language also powerfully inform the construction of citizenship, nationality, belonging and rights.

Asmaou and I continued to discuss nationality and citizenship when I asked her if she considered herself American. She responded rhetorically, "Why would I consider myself American?" I confirmed that she planned on living in the U.S. for the remainder of her life and then asked if she would consider herself American twenty years from now. Without hesitation, she unabashedly responded, "No…Never. I love here 'cause you get to become what you want…and you make money and you make like your future, but I cannot consider myself American because I was never American." I continued this line of questioning with, "So what does it mean to be American?"

Asmaou: It means that you (pause), let me see (laughter).

Danny: Do you have to be born here to be American?

Asmaou: I don't know (laughter). It's just that…yes, you have to be born here to be American. Once you are born here, it's like you see things differently, you know? Like when you open your eyes like the things that you see around you, you see it different like you cannot like come from somewhere and just see things differently…I will never be American. I will live here.

Danny: But you won't be American? Even if you're a full U.S. citizen…?

Asmaou: It's just a paper…I mean I have been American now, 'cause when we came here you have to be American. Like you have to eat American food, dress American, and like go to American school. All these things like you have to do. Like it's like I'm being American, but once I go to my house, I'm not American. I'm eating African food, dress African, and like, you know, once you step out of your house…

Danny: So, do you consider yourself bicultural?

Asmaou: Yeah.

Danny: But you don't only consider yourself African, or do you?

Asmaou: I don't consider myself only African. Technically, yes [I do consider myself only African]. You know I was born there, I know things. Like, some of my like uncles, aunts, all of that is there and it's like where my dad and mom are from. Even though, I like become American, I'm gonna see them every time and we're gonna like eat together and all that, but once I become on my own, I gonna become like more American 'cause I'm gonna have my own apartment and I'm gonna like be by myself, you know, all that. And I'm just gonna make African clothes, but I think I'm gonna be more American…and I'm gonna like have more friends that is like, once I go to college I'm gonna have friends, some of them might be African, some of them might not, but I think most of them might not be African. And I'm gonna speak English all the time so it will be like more American.

Like Yvonne, Asmaou pushes us to think beyond legalistic notions of citizenship to more cultural and linguistic ones. She also establishes a very dichotomous understanding of biculturalism—at home, she is African and only when she separates from her family will she become more American, which requires speaking English more frequently. Again, how well one

speaks English determines one's degree of American-ness. Because of the youth researchers' proclivity for separating themselves from African Americans, and because Asmaou had mentioned that people wouldn't recognize her as immigrant unless she spoke and therefore might identify her as African American, I continued by asking her about how she thought black immigrants and African Americans experienced the U.S. differently.

Asmaou: It's their country.

Danny: That's one big difference, right. So, what does that mean it's their country?

Asmaou: It means that they know everything that is here. They feel comfortable doing everything. And they feel comfortable like everywhere that they go, you know? And as an immigrant you don't feel comfortable…because about the language you won't feel comfortable…if I could speak like a good, perfect English like an American I would feel comfortable everywhere I go. I would 'cause like I mean if you speak to me I would answer you all back and I might get to make friends so, you know.

Danny: So, is that the only thing that makes it different is the English?

Asmaou: The most biggest.

Danny: Are there other smaller things that make their experiences different?

Asmaou: The culture…I mean like my religion.

Danny: So, you're Muslim. Most African Americans are not Muslim. So, how does that make your experiences different?

Asmaou: People, like Muslims could do stuff that Muslims believe in doing.

Danny: Like what?

Asmaou: Like how you go to class and the teacher just spoke and you insult them back. In my country, you can't even do that to a teacher.

Danny: And is that only because of religion?

Asmaou: It's not because of religion it's because it's what you are taught when you are little and when you come here that's what you think about.

Danny: So, that's what you mean by culture?

Asmaou: Yeah. And being a Muslim there's certain stuff you can't wear. But I do wear it.

Danny: So, let's say that you have kids and they're born in the United States, right. They probably won't have your accent, right. They'll have a United States accent so people will think that they're African American, right? Because they're U.S.-born and they're black. So, what do you think that means?

Asmaou: Are they African American? I don't know. They are. I mean I'm from Africa and they are American. (laughter)

Danny: What do you think that means for how they will be treated in the United States 'cause they won't be black immigrants like you, right. They won't, when they talk, they won't, people won't hear that they are from someplace else, right? Do you think that will mean that they'll have different experiences than you, than you did, or than you will?

Asmaou: Yeah, they will…In school, I mean it depends on them. I don't know what will happen to them. I mean they could make friends with other students, they could live a normal life if they want to 'cause there won't be nothing stepping on their way.

Danny: So, you think they'll be able to accomplish whatever they want?

Asmaou: Um hum. So, I think you're asking me if I want my children to be seen as African or as American?

Danny: I mean I wasn't necessarily asking that, but, yeah, you wanna answer that question?

Asmaou: Yeah, I think I want them to be treated as American 'cause they are…It's not just they way you see yourself, it's how people see you.

This dialogue is replete with notions of citizenship and belonging. Most notably, Asmaou, who arrived in the U.S. at the age of 16 and plans to spend the remainder of her life here, will never consider herself an American because of linguistic and cultural differences that will always be detected by others. Her imagined children, however, will not have such differences standing in their way and will therefore unwaveringly accomplish their hearts' desire. Yet again, we hear no

recognition of the structural racism that Asmaou's imagined children will invariably encounter; once linguistic and cultural differences have withered away, these young Americans will pursue their dreams without obstruction. The discursive power of the American dream and the Latino threat is indeed insidious and pervasive.

Asmaou's research narrative ends where it began—with questions of the role that language plays in the lives of immigrant people. Through the nation-state's imposition and regulation of a legitimate language, symbolic violence is unleashed upon the cultural, linguistic and racial other. In this way, the nation-state establishes domination and constructs insider and outsiders. Although problematic representations of language and culture arise throughout Asmaou's research, signs of hope and possibility and the interrogation of justice also present themselves. To these signs, we now turn.

Interrogating Justice

In the methodology chapter, I expressed my desire to narrate immigrant young people's stories in a way that neither pathologized nor romanticized their experiences. Furthermore, I sought to jettison the false dichotomies of structure and agency and of micro- and macro-levels of analysis by justly representing a group of agentic young people embedded within a complex social structure that they both resist and reproduce. Nowhere has the tension between reproduction and resistance been more evident than in this chapter. Throughout, we hear the reproduction of the hegemonic American dream narrative, of the hegemonic Latino threat, of the hegemonic erasure of structural racism and of hegemonic language learning processes; however, this does not tell the entire story. Asmaou and her participants and the other co-researchers also strongly advocate for justice regarding language-in-education and language-in-testing policy.

As stated in Yvonne's chapter, Fraser's (2003, 2009) justice framework demands that both the distinction and imbrication of the cultural (recognition), the economic (redistribution), and the political (representation) components of calls for justice be recognized. The need for this triple-pronged approach to redress injustice has arisen because of the complexities of society during late-modern globalizing capitalism. Global neoliberalism, with its reduction of all realms of human existence to the forces of the market, has reasserted the need for redistribution, the need to restructure the political economy. Additionally, globalizing capitalism has heightened the salience of culture by accelerating and increasing not only the flow of capital itself, but of images, signs, and people across national borders (Appadurai, 1996; Fraser & Honneth, 2003). And finally, outright exclusion from the opportunity to participate in a community's contests over injustice because of the supra-national nature of the community *and* the injustice results in misframing—a meta-injustice. Maldistribution, misrecognition, and misrepresentation all limit one's ability to participate in cultural, economic, and political life on par with one's peers. As Asmaou's research demonstrates, in the global city, groups with different positions in the political economy struggle for both physical and symbolic space and linguistic recognition and this struggle, as in Bourdieu's field, is perpetual; "virtually none of their [societies'] narratives, discourses, and interpretive schema goes unchallenged; all are contested, rather, as social actors struggle to institutionalize their own horizons of value as authoritative" (Fraser & Honneth, 2003, p. 57). In addition to the struggle among groups in different positions, those who occupy a similar position are often pitted against one another. Overall, Asmaou's research question is one that casts educational justice for immigrant youth in relief; she clearly has a strong desire to understand how her schooling experiences might be different from immigrants who attend traditional schools, and by extension those born in the U.S. This desire appears to be fueled by

her internalization of the negativity expressed toward attending a school designed specifically for immigrant youth, and perhaps consequently by the negativity expressed towards immigrants in the U.S. as a whole. And she appears to see language as central to how immigrants are identified.

One place where we clearly hear struggle for recognition is the co-researchers' discussion of the State's language-in-testing policy. As you may recall, during a co-researcher focus group detailed above, Asmaou questioned the policy because high-stakes exams are not translated into French: "It's wrong. The government, why they don't do it in French?" At stake here is not only Francophone cultural and linguistic recognition, but also economic security given the dire prospects of garnering a living wage in the global city without at least a high school diploma. These young people are keenly aware of the consequences of being denied native language support on such high-stakes exams and invoke an understanding of both misrecognition and maldistribution. As Fraser (2003) makes evident, what might initially appear to live solely in the cultural realm, actually has economic implications. Haby astutely recognizes the inherent symbolic violence when she states that the government communicates the "you're in my country, now speak English" message with this policy; a *de facto* policy that demands near-native English proficiency from the most recent arrivals. It doesn't stop there, Haby argues: Not recognizing linguistic identity in state testing policy, in fact, serves to force assimilation by demanding immigrant youth become something they are not—native, U.S.-born English speakers. Clearly, this language-in-testing policy works against parity of participation.

Asmaou's focus group and interviews with students from Traditional High are also telling: A young man from Yemen reported being cursed and excluded because of his inability to speak English. Given the number of young men from the Middle East whom I've taught in post-September 11th New York City, I can vividly imagine the cursing inflicted upon Asmaou's

young participant. Though he doesn't articulate it, I surmise that he was subjected to "moral exclusion" (Sirin & Fine, 2008)—an exclusion based more upon his racial, linguistic, and religious identity than his lack of facility with English. Such exclusion has profound implications for parity of participation in cultural and economic life. How will this young man negotiate a society that rejects him because of unwarranted affiliation with terrorism? Rejection and the feelings of exclusion that accompany it, along with his struggles with written English, may lead him to forever hold his adopted society at arm's length.

Above all, the story woven together here is one that challenges the injustice of the U.S.'s *de facto* English-only policy (this is a *de jure* policy in states like Arizona) and the injustices that equate race and language (read: white and English) with citizenship. Macedo (2000) implores us to see the English-only movement for what it is: a form of colonialism that "imposes 'distinction' as an ideological yardstick against which all other cultural values are measured, including language" (p. 16). This leads Asmaou to believe that she has to lose her native languages in order to accommodate English. The symbolic power of language rears itself not only with individuals, but also between and among individuals in public spaces, as evidenced in both Traditional and International High. It is also present in state education policy. In each case, symbolic power serves as a strong reminder of the role that language plays in nation building and in the creation of insiders and outsiders. At a time when most of the nation's English learners are from Africa, Asia, and Latin America, race profoundly intersects with the myth of a single, standard English to reinforce boundaries.

Conclusion

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, we cannot ignore the fact that 90-95 percent of today's spoken languages may be extinct or seriously endangered by the year 2100 (Krauss,

Maffi, & Yamamoto, 2004). Though French is not in danger of becoming extinct, Asmaou's African languages are. Ewé and Moré will undoubtedly lose out against the pressures of English. Asmaou and others in the study recognize that Spanish, on the other hand, though its speakers are marginalized, enjoys certain privileges due to the size of its population. From a language-in-education and language-in-testing policy standpoint, Asmaou thus represents the marginalized of the marginalized in that her home languages and even her colonial language remain unrecognized in any policies. Pedagogy and policies that subtract linguistic and subsequently cultural resources result in capital dispossession and are the primary cause of not only the linguistic genocide just noted above, but also of stunting of children's academic and cognitive growth (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2008). If languages are being murdered rather than simply disappearing or being abandoned by their speakers, "we can analyze the structural and ideological agents responsible: the world's economic, techno-military and political systems" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2008, p. 14). Included in these structural and ideological agents are globalization and neoliberalism. Without globalization, languages would not interact and collide in the ways in which they do, particularly in the global city where an estimated 800 languages are spoken (Roberts, 2010). Neoliberalism's hallmarks of benign neglect and personal responsibility resulting in a culture of indifference (Chavez, 2008) have profound effects on immigrant young people as they grapple with linguistic and cultural identity and high-stakes testing. Furthermore, if neoliberalism erases structural racism from the economic success equation, it certainly accomplishes the same with language.

Asmaou's personal history and research question and findings are emblematic of young immigrants' experiences in the global city; they provide invaluable insights into how the context of the global city shapes the conditions of immigrant adolescents' lives and they ways in which

they strive to make sense of these conditions. Asmaou's desire to understand the role educational policy plays in her own life was catalyzed by the differences she saw between her schooling experiences and those of her brother. She wondered about the differences between her high school for immigrant youth and her brother's more traditional high school; she grappled with the role of standardized testing in defining real school. Consequently, she explored the role of language in society more broadly and the ways in which it defines individual and group identity, inclusion and exclusion, and nationhood and citizenship.

Again, Bourdieu, Fraser, Harvey and Sassen provided me with tools necessary to construct a critical social explanation of Asmaou's developing understanding of the role of language in her life, in schooling, and in society at large. Harvey and Sassen, with their descriptions of global neoliberalism, provide the backdrop against which these quotidian linguistic struggles occur. A cultural political economy analytic lens demands that we pay attention to both cultural and economic struggles inherent in language policy, particularly in language-in-testing policy. For these young people, linguistic recognition is not solely a cultural demand, but also a call for economic parity; without access to the linguistic support needed to pass high-stakes high school exams, youth will be relegated to the increasing number of poverty-wage, service-sector jobs in the global city.

Bourdieu's nation-state field is a site of linguistic and cultural struggle; it delimits boundaries of inclusion and exclusion based on the intersections between language and race. Within this field, young people sacrifice the linguistic capital of their native languages in order to attain the dominant capital associated with English, they police one another's language usage, and they contend with the State's language-in-testing policy. All serve to force linguistic and cultural assimilation—a form of symbolic violence and domination. In Asmaou's case, as well as

with her participants and co-researchers, this violence and domination cannot readily be separated from race. All the co-researchers are black women; Asmaou's participants were overwhelmingly Haitian, Middle Eastern, and West African. An ideology that demands conformity to a linguistic standard is ultimately about race, class, nation, and person.

Chapter 5
Haby:
Gender Politics in the Global City

Haby: And I had a focus group with four girls, but like they life are different from each other. Like Sharmin her life was kinda great when she came here (inaudible). But Daniela and Fatoumata and Yomaha is kinda the real, the same thing, but little bit different. 'Cause Fatoumata her life was not the same thing when she was in Africa. She thought that her dad was the best dad she ever had, then she came here and her dad start beating her, acting up 'cause she don't want to put the hijab on, she don't want to put the hijab on since she don't used to put it in Africa.

Asmaou: Me, too.

The unprecedented movement of people in the early twenty-first century—fueled by globalization and transportation technologies—profoundly influences the life experiences of immigrant youth; Haby, her research participants, and the other co-researchers on this project are no exception. It is, in fact, Haby's separation from her parents, who live in Guinea, West Africa that provided the fodder for her research question. As she explores how immigrant young women negotiate the cultural differences between the U.S. and their countries of origin, we are consistently reminded of the economic challenges of family life and the complexities of identity negotiation in the global city. In some familial arrangements, parents are literally absent, or largely absent due to overwhelming work to ensure sufficient resources, or have recently reunited with their children because of separation caused by the immigration process. As their now-adolescent children grapple with becoming adults, we witness the intersection of the economic and the cultural in this developmental process. As these young women develop hybridized identities and thereby challenge the discourse of overly simplistic binaries (Ngo, 2010) of Guinean/American and immigrant/citizen, for example, their parents—who both love and fear for them—perhaps reassert stricter values than if immigration had not occurred. This identity hybridization process, which "transcend[s] the dichotomy of immigrant culture versus

U.S. culture," (Ngo, 2010, p. 110) though quite "normal" and even expected for these young women, heightens their parents' sense of losing children whom they have come to know less and less. In short, an intergenerational conflict that is gendered in nature results. This conflict, however, is not one rooted in the first-generation versus the second-generation, which emphasizes familial culpability (Ngo, 2010, p. 96), but one rooted in the political economy and in the cultural politics of difference. It is also rooted in a particular theoretical understanding of culture—one that contends that "rather than self-evident and passed from one generation to the next, the cultures and identities of immigrant students are temporary, conflictual, and unresolved" (Ngo, 2010, p. 72). With this theoretical approach to culture and this understanding of intergenerational conflict, we now turn to the intersections between cultural and the economic, which are always contentious and power laden.

As a reminder, we have been briefly introduced to the complexities of gendered experiences in the global city through Yvonne and her mother. Yvonne's mother is part of the informal economy and this has a profound impact on the material conditions of their lives. It is not only Yvonne's mother who engaged in informal economic work; Yvonne has accompanied her mother on housecleaning jobs that are located in this sector. According to Sassen (2001), women are more likely to be involved in the informal economy, which functions outside of regulations covering minimum wage and health and safety standards, for example. The informal economy has grown throughout immigrant communities in the U.S. and is fueled by the global economic restructuring currently underway that has resulted in a loss of manufacturing jobs and a growth of service-oriented jobs. Additionally, economic restructuring has catalyzed geographic redistribution of manufacturing jobs at the national and international scale, and greater incidence of both low-wage, low-skill jobs and high-level professional jobs in service industries alongside

a decline in wages and unionization in manufacturing jobs. Furthermore, there has been a feminization of the job supply (p. 467). In fact, Sassen (2001) contends that in the current post-Fordist era, women and immigrants have replaced women and children as the "offshore proletariat" and the "flexibilized, casual unvalued service worker" (p. 322). To fully understand this, Sassen (2002) requires that we depart from the mainstream, one-sided view of globalization with its concomitant hypermobility of capital (though this is indeed true) and recognize the territorial centralization of the most advanced specialized services like the physical infrastructure upon which the information industry rests. In other words, some resources necessary for global economic activity are securely moored to place. Furthermore, this global economic activity requires not only top-level executives, but also nannies, housekeepers, and office cleaners to keep its engines purring. Many employment opportunities in the global city offer low wages and few opportunities for advancement despite the fact that they are high-demand jobs in high-growth sectors. Historically, high-demand jobs in high-growth sectors have created economic opportunity and security for immigrants and the U.S-born alike:

> How, then, can workers be hired at low wages and with few benefits even when there is high demand and the jobs belong to high-growth sectors? The answer, it seems, has involved tapping into a growing new labor supply—women and immigrants—and in so doing, breaking the historical nexus that would have empowered workers under these conditions. The fact that these workers tend to be women and immigrants also lends cultural legitimacy to their non-empowerment. In global cities, then, a majority of today's resident workers are women of color, both native and immigrant. (Sassen, 2002, p. 258)

Such an analysis explicates the economic and cultural marginalization of women in the global economy. Sassen emphasizes the economic whereas Haby gravitates more toward cultural dimensions that impact gendered life in the global city. As the epigraph above indicates, Haby's participant's reunion with her father after years of being raised by her grandmother in Guinea involves gender-specific discipline to which she is unaccustomed. For the most part, Haby and

her research participants arrived in the U.S. between the ages of 12 and 16 and it is therefore not they, but their mothers and aunts who neatly fit into Sassen's analysis above. Or, will these young women find themselves in similar economic circumstances? On the other hand, will women's access to wages, however low, and their greater participation in the public sphere than men alter the gender hierarchy (Sassen, 2002, p. 260)? Though Haby's question is not one of women's economic positioning, the aforementioned questions indicate that the economic and the cultural are not readily discernible—they bleed into one another. In her critique of segmented assimilation theory, Lopez (2003) contends that race and gender similarly bleed into one another:

> Race and gender not only are categories of identity, but also embody social relations, social organization, and lived experience. As we shall see, the second generation [of Dominicans, Haitians, and West Indians] is treated like racialized and gendered bodies, not as 'genderless' ethnics or 'raceless' genders. Thus a real weakness of segmented assimilation theory is that its central analytical category—assimilation—neglects the fact that the very social networks, neighborhoods, schools, job opportunities, and family arrangements that are open to the second generation are racialized *and* gendered. (p. 5, italics in original)

Haby—as a black, West African, first-generation, immigrant young woman with a discernible non-American accent—is racialized and gendered in particular ways. So are her Guinean, Dominican, Bengali, and Haitian participants. During our final interview, for example, I asked Haby how her experiences might differ from those of her male cousins living in the Bronx and she recognized that they are more susceptible to violence from their peers.

Implicit in Lopez's critique is a particular conceptualization of race and gender—one that claims they are not essentialized, immutable biological categories, but social categories that are contextually and historically contingent and therefore continually reimagined and repositioned. Invoking Bourdieu, K. Hall (2002) contends that in the routines of everyday life, people move through different social contexts with "specific kinds of people, networks of relations, and styles of interacting" and has dubbed these socially inhabited spaces "cultural fields…The regularities

of routine practices in a cultural field both reproduce and create cultural expectations for bodily gestures and dress, for appropriate manners and signs of respect between generations and the sexes, and for the cultural knowledge people use to interpret social interactions" (p. 170-171). Into the concept of cultural field, K. Hall also incorporates Lave and Wenger's (1991) notion of socially constituted learning in practice, Foucault's (1995) sense of regulatory practice, and Butler's (1990) emphasis on performativity. In short, race, gender, and culture are social categories that do not simply exist, but are created through complex relationships with power and discourse.

Haby and her fellow co-researchers are all first generation immigrant women of color who were both sought out *and* were identified for participation in this research project. As mentioned in the methods chapter, the co-researchers' project was preceded by a course that prepared enrolled students to take college-credit-bearing courses through CUNY's College Now program. Given the racialized and gendered analytical framework just presented, it is interesting to note that all the co-researchers are black women and of the eighteen students enrolled in the preparatory course, fifteen were young women from Bangladesh, Guinea, Haiti, Pakistan, Senegal, Togo, and Tibet. One of the three young men—the only one from Yemen—did not complete the course because of attendance issues; the two other young men were both Tibetan. Despite the fact that the course was presented by the high school's guidance and administrative staff as both a "credit recovery" (for previously failed high school courses) opportunity and opportunity for advancement, young women both self-selected to apply and were more frequently identified as possible candidates and encouraged to apply. All students who completed an application were invited by me to enroll in the course. Only five of those who completed the course were eleventh graders (all young women) and therefore eligible for an

internship and the opportunity to implement the research design completed during the College Now foundations course. The one Latina young woman decided not to pursue this internship opportunity because she felt strongly about gaining experience in the medical field. Is this overrepresentation of young women of color throughout this process mere coincidence? Or, like their second-generation counterparts, have these first-generation young women and men already experienced differentiated raced-gendered experiences and outlooks (Lee, 2005, 2009; Lopez, 2003)?

As with the other co-researchers, the origin of Haby's question regarding cultural negotiation is highly personal. Like a number of the young women who participated in her study, Haby experienced the dissolution of her nuclear family as part of the immigration process; she and her sister currently live in the Bronx, while her parents remain in Guinea and another sister lives in Paris. At the time of the research project, Haby was living with extended family on Staten Island and these living situations profoundly shaped her opportunities and responsibilities; these opportunities and responsibilities are highly gendered. She recounted, for example, that upon her arrival to the U.S., her aunt recommended that she pursue a General Educational Development (GED) degree as opposed to a U.S. high school diploma so that she could simply learn sufficient English. About this Haby commented, "If I believed in my aunt, I would do GED, which is something that is not really good for me. It's not really something that I have to do." As an immigrant who would be unfamiliar with educational pathways, perhaps her aunt saw a GED and a high school diploma as one in the same. However, Haby strongly believes that her aunt would not have offered a nephew the same advice. She resisted her aunt's advice and is now preparing to enter her second year at a City University of New York (CUNY) senior college. She went on to explain that she doesn't want other girls to have no one to talk to about issues that

they are confronting, and this was the impetus for her research. As we shall hear in greater detail later, Haby ultimately contends that young women need more opportunities than their male counterparts to develop strong social networks. With this glimpse into Haby and her research project, we now turn to her own immigration story and experiences so that we can best understand how her biography influences not only her research question, but the ways in which she interprets her data.

Haby's Background and Identity

The purpose of this section is to expand upon the brief biographical data that was offered in chapter 2. In 2008, Haby came to the U.S. from Guinea to live with her aunt who was already living in NYC for what she thought would be a six-month vacation to learn English. Her plan was to then go to Paris, where her older sister lives and studies, to attend university, but without "papers" it would be a very expensive and long procedure. Her older sister has lived in Paris for twelve years and Haby hasn't seen her for ten, though they communicate frequently via phone, text and email. At the time of the interview, her mother was visiting from Guinea and Haby was hopeful that her father will come during the summer. At her aunt's advice, she began attending GED classes when she arrived, but felt uncomfortable because there were only "old people" there. She knows that without papers in the U.S., "you're stuck, you can't do anything." She described the process of getting papers as easy. She explained to the social worker assigned to her case that certain members of her family advocated that she get married and not pursue her education. There was indeed a cousin, whom her extended family wanted her to marry, but her father did not support this; he wanted Haby to continue her education. The social worker actually called Haby's school to determine if she seemed upset and the fact that the school corroborated her story facilitated paper acquisition. Haby has a very strong relationship with her father and has

memories of preparing his clothes and crying on him. Her father doesn't want her to be a "daddy's girl," but wants her to have more independence. Because of the amount of support and independence that Haby's father offers, she sees him as different from her peers' fathers.

She often compares experiences with her sister who lives in Paris and she has concluded the following about differences in racial politics in the U.S. and France:

> I'm happy here 'cause black is black. I don't have that much problems. I don't even that problem with them, but over there [in Paris] like you cannot go look for a job...it be really, really difficult...There is white people who like black people and if you're not connected to them and they make you connect to other black people even though they're racist, it's not gonna work 'cause my sister been there for how many years? She start working after five years. All those things happen because of racism 'cause here in America it doesn't matter what skin color you are, they need you, they know that you have (inaudible) to help them out just to make grow your business, they don't care, they just take you. I don't see racism about looking for job or something like that here. Even in school over there, there is African people together, white people together, what is that point of all that? It's kind of the racism.

I asked her how those in the U.S. might perceive her. She responded, "You black, we know that you from Africa, but you do not really act like African…but when they heard me talking, it is a different type of African, African educated and African not educated…If your parents are educated, you educated, of course you won't act like people who is not educated..." Haby appears to insert both a class distinction and modernization narrative into how others might perceive her. "Generally, you won't see me around Africans, especially African girls. You won't see me around them because the way I grow up it's like school, you come home, you eat, you go to sleep, and wake up by 5am, you do your homework, and read your holy book, and then watch TV from 7-8:30pm...Going out, I always go out with my dad. Books, I always read books." Unlike her peers, Haby believes she has strong communication with her parents. I tried to ascertain Haby's family's social class standing in Africa and she informed me that her family is not rich, but her father is "all about his kids." I would argue that like other immigrant groups,

Haby, as a "guest in a foreign land" (Ogbu, 1991, p. 21), overlooks and rationalizes her experience with white racism in the U.S. (Gibson, 1988; Ogbu, 1987) and perhaps believes that her previous class and "educated" statuses inoculate her from this racism. Is Haby the archetypal voluntary immigrant (Ogbu, 1987, 1990, 1991, 1994) who believes that increased facility with English and joining the ranks of the middle class will buy her unwavering acceptance in the U.S.? On the other hand, she is a young woman who upon speaking immediately reveals that she is not African American and this perhaps shields her from negative interactions with the dominant society (Waters, 1999).

I asked her how she would describe the community where she lives on Staten Island. She described her neighborhood as diverse, with African Americans, Latinos, whites, immigrants and U.S.-born. "We mix up. We nice to each other." Regarding the interactions between whites and other racial groups, she stated, "There is no problem. They really don't have that problem." About the interactions between African Americans and black immigrants, she explained, "They don't have a problem either…They both black." She went on to describe an incident where a young African American and white guy helped her aunt carry packages into their building: "...I couldn't believe that white people would help African people to do that, or black American people would help black Africans." On the other hand, Haby mentioned what she called "ghetto" behavior. I asked her to describe the behavior and to whom it applied. She said the following:

> I say like black Americans or black Africans came here acting like they are American. Putting your pants down [low on your hips], having, like having a tattoo is not a problem, but there is some people when you see them with a tattoo you can't even look at them, smoking weed, drinking...It happen a lot in my neighborhood, but lucky us...police people...are always over there, 24/7. They always there...they are maintaining order…It's just that black American you cannot stop them to do their thing. Like smoking weed, putting their pants down, acting like niggers. You can't stop them.

Here, Haby clearly reveals her own raced-gendered interpretation of blackness in the U.S. Black African males who emulate the hip-hip aesthetic associated with their African American peers have become "ghettoized" in her eyes and this aesthetic is associated with criminality and the need for discipline and surveillance. During a focus group, the co-researchers discussed the meaning of blackness and African-ness when I asked what their collective identity maps revealed about them:

Yvonne: We come from different places, but we share the French language, African clothes…Haitian people wear African clothes. We share black skin.

Haby: When I hear someone say, "You're black" to a Haitian person, they say, "No, I'm Haitian."

Yvonne: You're still black.

Rose: But there is a difference. I've never been to Africa. I really don't know nothing about it; I'm black because I'm black that doesn't mean I'm African.

Haby: [African] people were slaves and lived in many countries.

Asmaou: Like white people say I'm from America, but I'm Irish or something like that.

Haby: Why would I say I'm from Paris when people who live there are white? We all African, okay. I love black.

Into the complex mix of racial, gender, and cultural identity, these young women add ethnic and national identity as well as a global black identity. Additionally, we hear hypothesizing about colonial subjects' right to citizenship within the colonizer's borders. Just as Asmaou would never describe herself as American because of language, Haby could never envision herself as a French citizen because of race, despite her fluency with the language.

I also further explored with Haby her impression that in the U.S. businesses are more open to hiring immigrants than in France. "Is this the same for all immigrant groups?" I queried.

Haby responded, “It’s different. I never checked for that, but it’s different.” I also asked her if she thought businesses were more likely to hire U.S.-born blacks and Latinos or immigrants. She replied, “Both. I can say both. It is both for me because where I work at, at Dr. Jay’s [sporting goods store], the manager is Bengali, there is a Paki, there is a Guyanese, there is an African, there is a Haitian. Most of the time they just looking for the person who is working.” She continued to explain that she didn’t see the job favoritism that she’s heard about in Paris. In her case, the Bengali manager is not only hiring Bengali workers. Because it wasn’t clear if any of the co-workers she mentioned were U.S.-born, I clarified with, “Do you work with African Americans and U.S-born Latinos?” Haby answered, “Yeah. On my work we have all ethnicities ‘cause we thirty-five. I cannot say there is thirty-five, but we are all, there is all ethnicities over there. We good, though. We like family.” She then described how people will ask others if they want anything when they go out for lunch. “We together.” As I write this, it’s difficult to not envision a United Colors of Benetton advertisement and its corporate multiculturalism. Perhaps these young people genuinely like one another and appreciate their differences. On the other hand, perhaps there is no opportunity for deeper dialogue where racial and cultural conflict might arise. In the same vein, perhaps these young people have embraced a post-racial discourse in which race is denied.

Later in the interview, I explored the notion of “educated” versus “uneducated” Africans with Haby. She described the “uneducated” as “not bad, but they still at the eighteenth century, they still at the dark world. We are in the twenty-first century right now. They still thinking backup, they so backup. Like they need to stop that and live the way life is going. That’s the problem.” She continued to say that the “uneducated” need to “like live the current times. For example, saying that your children, a girl don’t supposed to be at school. Her school is over her

mother house, um over her husband house. It really don't make sense. Like today, everywhere you are woman is working, man is working, they can help each other be one person, but *no*." Again we hear a discourse of modernization in which Haby contests that traditional gendered norms are backwards and that schooling in liberatory for women and girls. I then asked her if, in the twenty-first century, men and women need to be more equal partners and she replied, "It is not about equality between woman and man. Like even they are equal, woman have to know their rights, but you cannot know your rights if you're not educated. You can't. In Africa, woman being at home is not a problem because there are really no bills to pay. In America, with rent, electricity and phone bills, this cannot be the case." With Haby's words, we clearly hear the imbrication of the cultural and economic dimensions of gender, in addition to an idealization of the past. Being educated allows women to advocate for their rights and these rights include equal economic participation in a city that necessitates such participation. She also questions traditional cultural values in the modern times. In other words, traditional gendered norms might have functioned effectively in Africa, however, immigration into the neoliberal global city requires multiple incomes to provide basic necessities. These economic conditions can prove particularly difficult for women and education can help to mitigate these circumstances. With this understanding of the economic and cultural dimensions of gendered experiences in the global city, we now proceed to more nuanced insights into Haby's research question.

Haby's Research Question

At the conclusion of our action research course and the beginning of our internship, Haby's was interested in investigating the relationships that immigrant parents have with their children. She stated that the reason for her interest in this topic was that immigrant parents are here to work and make money and they don't care how this affects their children. Rose added,

"Work all day, twenty-four/seven." Working long hours leaves little time for communication with children. Haby recognized that these economic demands are actually what influence the relationship between parents and children. In such relationships, Haby warns against "locking them up so much" and advocates that parents give their children a little bit of freedom. She then recognized that parents—particularly fathers—have adverse reactions to the perceived and real cultural changes that their children undergo. She began to theorize that fathers "lock them up so much" not only because of inordinate labor demands on parents in the global city, but also because of their fears of the dominant society's influence on their children.

Like Yvonne, Haby latched onto the word transnationalism because it really helped her to understand her own immigration experience—she isn't just becoming more and more American and less and less Guinean, but someone completely new in a "third space" (Bhaba, 1994). Normative and dominant discourses of identity development oversimplify and consequently confine; they reinscribe a "bimodal framework [that] sets up a dichotomy of immigrant culture versus U.S. culture" and "a first-generation (parents) versus second-generation (youth) dichotomy that manifests in a preoccupation with 'intergenerational conflict'…[that] deflects attention from the politics of exclusion and differentiation that are experienced by immigrants" (Ngo, 2010, p. 7). What eventually became apparent to me as the conversation with the co-researchers continued was that they were—not surprisingly—articulating experiences that were particular to young women. Haby was not generally interested in immigrant young people's relationship with their parents, but more in how young immigrant women negotiate their cultural transitions, with parents being a key arbiter in that process. Intergenerational conflict between immigrant youth and their parents occurs, in part, because of the identity development to which parents bear witness; this conflict evokes particular responses for young women to which their

male counterparts are not subjected. Put another way, parents misread hybridized identities developed in response to both cultural and economic circumstances as a rejection of home culture and they become hyper-vigilant for this reason. With little time to devote to family life, they rely on restricting their daughters' movement and involvement outside the home. Our survey data, in fact, corroborates the need to more profoundly understand immigrant young women's experiences: To the statement, "My parents give me some freedom," 66 of the 100 respondents agreed or strongly agreed—only ten of these were female. Furthermore, 21 students agreed or strongly agreed that they were experiencing cultural tension—15 of these were female.

In a manuscript submitted to the *Harvard Educational Review*, Haby wrote the following about her research project:

> As I learned about life away from the people you need the most, I wondered about the experiences of others like me. More specifically, I was so curious about other immigrant girls and how they negotiate their home culture and U.S. culture, how their lives change when they come to the U.S. I was asking myself so many questions because when I came here my life changed like a black shirt in bleach; I was so close to my father back home and here I don't have the opportunity to talk with many adult men. Back home in Guinea, I felt that people didn't really pay attention to what I wore as long as it was appropriate. In the U.S., with my aunt, uncle, and cousins, I am the only one subjected to comments on my dress, even if I believe it is appropriate. I wanted to understand others girls' experiences because I felt that mine were so unfair. I jumped at the opportunity to research immigrant girls' experiences as they made their cultural transitions. This was a question that I designed and was obviously close to my heart. First, I conducted a focus group with girls from countries as diverse as Guinea, Haiti, the Dominican Republic and Bangladesh. I learned a lot from them. For example, the girl from Guinea lived with her grandmother her entire childhood before coming to the U.S. She was a grandma's girl and grandma generally granted her permission to do most anything, with the exception of bad things. Back home with her grandmother, she had space and freedom. She was anticipating a beautiful life with parents she hadn't seen in a number of years. When she arrived in the U.S., her father, who she thought was the best father ever, started ruining her life by obliging her to wear the hijab. She complied with his demands, but secretly removed her head covering in school.

From this description, we see that Haby views culture as behavior—particularly that which is guided by religion—and what she learns from her relationships with family. When I asked her

how she defines culture, she had this to say: "When it say culture to me it's we grow along and we find our parents following it and we have to follow it…[For example] in my community, you're not allowed to give eye contact if the person is older than you." Yon (2000) reminds us that all identity categories, including cultural identity, have the potential to both empower and constrain: "But even as they enable and empower subjects, such identity categories also hold the potential to constrain by prescribing and restricting what it means to *be* woman, man, youth, Black, White and so on" (Yon, 2000, p. 4, italics in original). He further argues that identity is not fixed, stable, or bound—or an object that can be lost and found—but slippery and shifting, historically and geographically contingent, a text subject to many readings, and shaped by the political economy. With recent rapid globalization, cultural identity, in particular, is no longer neatly moored to place.

As with all the other co-researchers, we analyzed Haby's research question using the Freirean problem tree method. As we collectively deconstructed the question, Haby recorded words and phrases such as "conflict over independence," "conflict over freedom" and "marriage" in the tree's leaves (how we see the problem). In the trunk (attitudes, goals, and policies that perpetuate or enlarge the issue), she wrote "rules about behavior" and "girls have to be cared for more." Finally, in the roots (systems, ideologies, and deeply held beliefs and values that underlie the issue), she wrote "sexism," "patriarchy," and "religion."

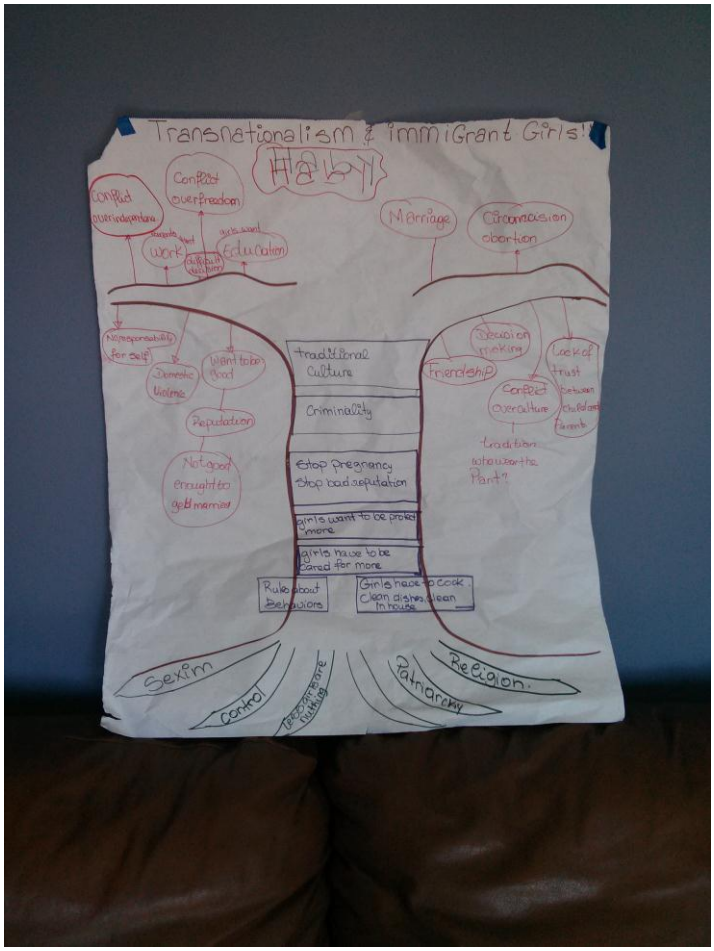

Figure 5.1: Haby's problem tree

Through this process, we clearly hear how these young women understand their gendered experiences in the global city; their male counterparts simply do not have the same worries about independence and freedom. Nor are they subjected to the same rules and concern—concern that often results in more discipline and surveillance for young woman. In short, for immigrant and second-generation youth, gender profoundly influences their experiences and identity construction (Lee, 2005, 2009; Lei, 2003; Lopez, 2003). Lopez (2003), for example, contends that as young men distance themselves from home life to prove their masculinity, young women are "cloistered" at home. Home, for these young women, proves to be both a safe space and a space where they are subjected to social control and the gendered division of labor. While

controlling, this cloistering has a positive impact on academic achievement, the maintenance of bilingual skills, and the provision of social and spiritual support. In addition, through the gendered division of labor, young women learn to navigate a maze of social institutions. With this understanding of raced-gendered experience and Haby's research question, we proceed to Haby's research findings and the ways in which she, other member of the research collective and I interpreted them. At times, we will hear Haby's own interpretations; at other times, we will hear the collective's interpretations, and further still my interpretations. We will also the dialogue between Haby and me around the findings.

Haby's Research Findings

As outlined in the methodology chapter, Haby conducted one-on-one semi-structured interviews with two adults and one student at The International High School. She also conducted a focus group with four young women, one of whom then became the subject of the one-on-one student interview. She asked the adults about issues that are particular to young immigrant women. One participant, an English and social studies teacher, who grew up in both the U.S. and Mexico, had this to say:

> Mmm, well, you know a lot of our young women as far as, I know from my personal experience, the women have described to me that they have certain responsibilities at home. They're involved taking care of younger siblings and that can involve making meals, you know kind of assisting like in a parent role and what that leads to is, you know, a challenge in balancing the requirements for school and what the family needs. Other issues that girls face, depending on like the culture that they come from, seems to me like maybe in some cultures there might be less of a need or a desire to have the women go to college. Or maybe there's an idea that the women will get married while they're in high school or right after high school and that would happen first. So I think some of my students who've dealt with that, um you know, have had to come to their teachers to help them talk to the families about that and some of them have had to actually delay their plans. Some of them right now don't think that they're gonna go to college. So that's one issue I see…boys don't face because of the role of women in a particular society is brought to this society 'cause everyone is very new to this place, so, um, that's just something that I've noticed and yeah a lots of boys have to work and have

> a lot of other responsibilities, but I seem to notice the women have responsibilities to deal with taking care of the home and younger children.

When I read Haby this quote, she said that she agreed with the teacher—there is indeed gender discrimination in the domestic realm; women are expected to be home and by the time the man gets home everything should be perfect. According to Haby, women should have equal opportunities to work and attend school, but going to school and working doesn't mean that she's "better than her husband. It's just to better herself." Haby then asked her participant to compare immigrant young women's experience with those born in the U.S.:

> The first issue can be connected to language. You know if students come from a country where they didn't learn English, those students will have more of a challenge in overcoming all of this academic language and being able to pass Regents exams…I think that immigrant adolescents some of them have to deal with issues of being undocumented and that closes a lot of doors for them initially and that can create a sense of you know hopelessness about the future. A lot of immigrant adolescents compared to U.S.-born adolescents have dealt with family separation and I think that brings certain emotions and issues that all teachers need to be aware of. Those are the main things that I notice that makes them different from U.S.-born kids.

Haby wondered about the most common issues that immigrant young women talk about and this teacher replied that it is often the stress associated with having to work at places "like McDonald's" and then having to be at home to care for a younger brother or sister and not being able to do their homework. This is particularly evident in the senior year when they have to turn in a volume of work and have to meet many deadlines. Like their brothers, these young women attend school and also often work in the labor market; unlike their brothers, however, they have childcare and other household responsibilities. Like their middle-class, U.S.-born counterparts, immigrant young women work "double shifts" for economic reasons. Yet it is an immigrant family's involvement with the informal and low-wage economy (Sassen, 2001) that necessitates this shift work; parents are often working double shifts to sustain their status as the working poor. In addition, girls also talk about "wondering if they'll ever go back [to their country of

origin]. They've been here four years and there might be a sense of, you know, where do I belong." According to this teacher, these young women often talk about balancing everything and paying for college. She currently has students who are not going to college in September because they have to work in the family restaurant and they need to contribute to basic household expenses. "I don't know if they'll [ever] go to college and I think they're upset about that." Through its advisory program and the guidance staff, the school ensures that all students apply to the CUNY system[27] so that "door remains open to them." Like the adult participants in Yvonne's chapter, this teacher also expressed concern about undocumented students, whom she estimated to be twenty percent of the school's population, and the need to help them attend at least some college while working; she also expressed some hope about the passage of the DREAM act. In her mind, an undocumented status has particular consequences for young women. When Haby asked her about other resources and programs that the school might need, the teacher thought the school needed to rethink what it calls its college advising office so that it includes resources for students who might not go to college for a myriad of reasons, but particularly because they lack financial resources.

Her other adult participant, who is herself the child of immigrants, when asked the same question about the issues presented by young immigrant women, said the following:

> I think we experience sexism all over the world, in this country included. But I think the traditions or even the roles of boys and girls sometimes in America are not so as defined in places. So, one of the things that happened to me anyway was that I'm the only girl, I have three brothers and basically they were just allowed more independence and freedom than I was. So, and even though they were younger than me, so I know that, for instance, girls can't go out, they can't go anyplace because oh, you know, they might meet a boy or something like that and so they're very, very strict with the girls and the boys they do whatever they want and so I would feel very resentful myself. I would get angry about it and very resentful and too I was here in the States where the rules were different so my

[27] All graduates of New York City public high schools are eligible to attend CUNY's two-year community colleges.

> parents were telling me that no, you're supposed to be this or that way, which is the way from their country where they were and the people I was around were friends and the people I see and I couldn't do any of those things they did. And if I did try to do those things I would just get in major trouble. Like sleepovers, what's a sleepover? I wasn't allowed to do sleepovers. This is an American thing, right? My parents were like, "You have your own bed, why you gonna go sleep in somebody's house? No, no."

Haby agreed with this participant's representation of gender discrimination in the public realm. She asserts "women should have a little bit of an opportunity to try things out there and see where they can get." As far as issues that immigrant young women face that are not faced by the U.S.-born, this staff member said, "It depends on how much your family identifies with the home country and home culture, right?" She described how in her parents' country of origin, a girl couldn't go anywhere unless accompanied by a male, whether a brother or a cousin. The idea of going someplace by herself was very strange to her parents. "This was strange even when I was an adult." For girls, there's a lot of pressure to decide "how much of my culture am I keeping and how am I going to rebel…There's a lot of things about our culture that we love and that we're proud of, but there's certain things about it that we want to be able to say, 'Well, no, it's not fair and we want to be treated the same.'" In response to the question about issues that immigrant young women present most frequently, this staff person responded:

> That their parents don't let them do anything. I think one of the things that we do, let's say if there's a school trip and they will say, "You better call my house, Miss, 'cause she's [my mother] not gonna let me stay" or they won't let the girls stay after school because they are afraid with their girls and they wanna keep them really, really close so the girls sometimes feel like they're kinda in jail 'cause they're not allowed to do anything. So, we try to help them by you know let the family know say okay, if you know you're gonna stay after school, let's call your family right now and tell them…And before the kid leaves the school say, "Hello, I'm with so and so, she's going home right now." Because if they don't call and they're five minutes late they get the big argument, "Where were you? What were you doing? Who were you with? Were you with a boy?" You know, that kinda stuff.

Haby interprets the issues at hand here as those of trust and communication. "If parents would give children the opportunity to share their thoughts, ideas…to make their parents understand.

That situation [above] will push the kids to do something the parents don't want them to do. It's the way that the parents are communicating. Children are scared to communicate because of the way parents are with them." When Haby asked what she thought the underlying causes of these issues were, she replied,

> I think in part it's cultural, you know, 'cause it's in the immigrant experience because if you are in your country and none of your friends are going out alone because it's just not what you do, nobody's thinking about going out by themselves…But here because not everybody's in your culture you see all the time these people doing these things, how come I cannot do this. In the same way, some of the girls who, for example, who wear their traditional dress and have their heads covered, right. In the beginning, many of them will have themselves covered and they're like, "Maybe I don't wanna wear this"…But back home they didn't feel that way. So, the difference, the change and assimilating and trying to adjust and trying to fit in and feel right in a new place. I think younger people care more about fitting in than adults. Adults are more like, "Well, these people are like this. I don't care and I am me and I have my thing and I don't wanna change." Kids are more flexible and they explore more so I think they feel it's more challenging for them figuring out who they are, to decide what they wanna dress like, who they wanna be like, what they wanna speak like. So, I mean also you're developing your identity if you're coming so young, you're figuring out well, you know, "Am I Senegalese or am I American? Am I a little of this or a little of that?" Sometimes, too, if you spend a lot of time and you go back to your home country and you don't really feel like you belong there either. So, it's all about really growing and changing, I think.

Haby believes that whatever young people are surrounded by is what will affect them the most. Though gender and culture, and their intersections, are social constructions, they clearly have a real—and particular—impact on the lives of immigrant young women. While work allows, or maybe even forces, young men to be outside the home, even when young women work, they are lured back home by parent-like responsibilities. Such luring permits the increased surveillance and discipline, "like they're kinda in jail," to which young women are subjected. The gendered division of labor requires that young women do the work of home, school, and the labor market. Gendered religious norms require no visible signs of fidelity for the young men discussed above and therefore no visible signs of challenge to those norms, unlike when a young woman decides not to wear her hijab. Like the majority of immigrant young people, young women struggle with

cultural identity and wonder if they're "Senegalese or American" and "little bit of this or a little bit of that." Implicit in this adult's cultural commentary is that identity is not a zero sum game—one can be both Senegalese and American and a little bit of this and that. Hybridity is indeed possible, if not the norm. Likewise, immigrant young women do not reject their entire culture when they challenge discriminatory aspects of it. The worlds of work and school clearly shape these young women's identities. In Haby's case, she works in places where she is surrounded by other immigrants and U.S-born Blacks and Latinos who are relegated to the low-wage, service sector of the economy in the global city. Haby and her adolescent participants attend high schools designed solely for immigrant young people learning English. Exposure to such cultural and linguistic diversity undoubtedly impacts who they are becoming and provides a plethora of identities to try on and play with. When I asked Haby further about her cultural identity, she wrote the following to me in an email: "…culture generally is important to me, but most likely it is knowing how to deal with it with other cultures without losing your own. Remembering where you from and who you are is the biggest important point to me." We have heard the voices of adults who work with young immigrant women; let us now turn to the voices of the young women themselves.

The four participants in Haby's focus groups were ninth through eleventh graders from Bangladesh, Guinea, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic, who have been in the U.S. for anywhere between two and six years. Haby first asked the young women what differences they saw between their home culture and the culture in the U.S. The young woman from the D.R. responded, "For example, for me, there is a lot of difference. Like when I was in D.R. there was many things that I was able to do that now I don't have the opportunity to do. For example, they say that here in America you have more liberty and more freedom, but I don't really see it that

much as the things that I used to do back there." When Haby asked them to reflect upon how they've changed since coming to the U.S, the young woman from Guinea replied, "I was raised by my grandmother…I'm not really connected between my parents. There is no connection 'cause as for me I love my grandmother more than my biological parents 'cause I know her since I was a little girl." The Bengali young women added,

> I think I changed a lot 'cause my knowledge gets spread out more 'cause back home it was only Indian, Bengali, and Pakistani people in my country, right. But here, I never saw like that much people in back home. It's kinda fun, I get to know things that like from other country and it's kinda fun to assimilate with their culture and get something and mix up your culture, something like that. In back home when I still lived with my mom, I thought my father is the best…My mom she doesn't live here so I live with my father. Now I feel like mom is the best. You don't have to cook anything or do anything, clean the house, nothing. Now I have to clean my house, my bedroom, my clothes, everything. And my father he cooks, he work.

Haby asked the young women to describe their roles in their families and the relationships they have with their parents. The young woman from Guinea said the following:

> Me, I'm the oldest one. I'm the oldest one and I hate it 'cause I have to be responsible for everything and my relationship with me parents is not perfect, it's just okay. Me and my mom we alright, and but me and my dad it's kinda like when cat and rat…My dad he's a person that like when a little thing happen and he take the phone and it's kinda making a commercial, you know he's publishing it. He tell everybody like just a little thing. People consider you like as a bad person even though you know you not a bad person. So, yeah, I don't tell my really secret, like my personal secret, I don't tell my parents 'cause I don't trust them…Even if it's a good thing, but to them they always have an argument about it every time I try to do something and they always tell to not like act American. I know that to me I'm not acting like American. It's the fact that I'm here now like, it's kinda like you know cultural diffusion, wherever you are you follow the culture sometimes even if you cannot help it 'cause right now I can guarantee you my native language I cannot speak it without mixing it with English. I can guarantee I cannot do that so like they have to understand that I don't want to become American, I'm proud who I am, but the fact that I'm here they cannot change that 'cause now I'm like I changed, you know I'm mixed up with like something so I can't just follow one thing, but seeing different things.

Haby added, "That's the point of the research that we have our home culture and we negotiate it with the U.S.A. culture. Your parents are looking for you to be following our home culture, it is

not easy to follow that in America ‘cause we already we living with it.” When I read Haby her participant’s quote, she had this to say: “She’s dealing with that negotiation to help better herself. In a way, she’s trying to deal with both cultures, but her parents don’t understand where she’s coming from with that. At home, it’s like home, back home [in her country of origin]. When she’s out she can be the person she wants, where she can act that way.” Again, we hear discussion of cultural hybridity that is interpreted by parents as cultural loss. Haby also agreed that she was losing her native African language, but not French because she uses it regularly with her father. As the youngest in her family, the young woman from Bangladesh felt that she had a supportive relationship with her mom, with whom she shares all aspects of her life and who lets her do what she wants, short of “s-e-x.”

The young woman from the Dominican Republic, who is the oldest in her family, reported that this status does not accompany the independence she hopes for

> ‘cause I don’t even have even have the freedom to make the decisions in my own life. I don’t even have the freedom to do what I want. I don’t know if this is related, but I grew up with my grandmother and she always was there for me and, but then I came here and I begin to live with my father and I didn’t really understand like the different personalities that he has ‘cause when I was in D.R. he was like so nice and everything, but here I knew, find out a different side that I didn’t know. So I don’t really think that they really care about what I feel.

This young woman then reveals that her mother is not in the U.S. and she begins to cry. Haby comforts her by saying, “I have a reason why I’m doing this research. So if I tell you that I’m not living with my mom and my dad, can you imagine it? I’m by myself. I know how you feel. I really understand how you feel.” The young woman from Haiti reported a similar experience of living apart from her father until she arrived in the U.S.:

> In Haiti, there ain’t no father in the picture, but now there is a father. I feel it’s good, but sometimes it’s weird…It’s a big change for me ‘cause I’m not used to that…my father don’t really make decisions for me, it’s more like when he’s talking he thinks that everything that girls are doing, like getting pregnant, he thinks that I might gonna do that,

> too. You know like, he's not really making decisions for me, I can go to the movies, I can do anything, I can choose the college, I can dress how I want, but he's like, "I saw a girl pregnant today," he started talking like I'm gonna be pregnant, too…It piss me off a lot. Anything he sees in the streets he bring in the house like I'm gonna do it, like come on.

The young woman from Guinea, who was raised by her grandmother, continued the discussion about fathers. When her father used to come to Guinea from the U.S. to visit, she thought that he was perfect.

> But now that I'm here, he sometimes judge me for nothing. He hit me for no reason. Like sometimes even like when, let's say, for example, if I saw him in the room and I don't say hi, he gonna beat me up because of that. And even though if I say hi sometimes he gonna pretend he don't hear me. Yeah, and like he's really aggressive, my father. He like judge people for no reason and he call me names like stuff like that…If I have to have fun, I have to lie and I'm a person who's honest, I don't like to lie. I wanna tell the truth, you know…I have to do everything in like secret…I love to keep privacy, but not that much, not away from my parents.

On the other hand, the young woman from Bangladesh feels that her father trusts her and allows her to go to the movies, for example. She thinks his indulgence might be related to the fact that her mother is not here and he doesn't want her to be sad, just "don't do anything that's gonna make me feel bad, like my dad say that, and that people gonna think bad about you, just don't do something like that."

This focus group dialogue highlights the impact of separation on immigrant families, particularly on immigrant young women and their relationships with fathers and grandmothers. The Suarez-Orozcos (2001) report that only twenty percent of immigrant children arrive as an intact family unit (p. 66). Additionally, migration is one of the most stressful experiences a family can undergo (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001) and it results in two sets of disruptions (Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco, and Todorova, 2008, p. 57). In contemporary immigration, men often pave the way for their families to settle in the U.S. and the economic reality requires that they precede other family members' arrival by years. At times, women and

their youngest children will then join, leaving older children—who will be last in this reunification process—in the care of grandmothers, from whom they will eventually be separated. Other times, women and children stay behind and have infrequent, if any, visits from the men. As these young women above discussed, this frequently causes stress between them and their fathers. Their fathers love them, yet fear for them in a culturally unfamiliar and socially liberal place and these feelings cause some degree of hyper-vigilance over their daughters' activities. "Some research suggests that the obsession with daughters' sexual purity becomes exaggerated in the United States because immigrants fear the loss of control over their lives. From this perspective, the protection of female honor is not simply an expression of tradition, but a response to perceptions of threats of the host society" (Lee, 2005, p. 108). In the global city's economy, there is little space for the leisure time that would allow parents to know their daughters better. Furthermore, "long separations followed by complicated reunifications were reported to be a serious problem most frequently by students who demonstrated a precipitous pattern of decline in academic performance" (Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco, and Todorova, 2008, p. 63). In addition to the stress caused by these relationships, these young women really miss their grandmothers, whom they will unlikely see with any degree of frequency, if at all. In these relationships with parents, all the young women in Haby's study expressed a desire for independence and to be trusted. These young women's narratives trouble the previous literature that attributes intergenerational conflict to role reversal and a dissonant acculturation processes (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996, 2001). I would argue that it is these young women's hybridized, unsettled identities, which they do not see as unusual or unexpected—"you know I'm mixed up with like something so I just can't follow one thing"—that cause their parents a degree of

discomfort. This "mixing up" is not a confused, pathological or even temporary state; it is the nature of identity making in the global city in the early twenty-first century.

During the one-on-one interview with the young woman from the Dominican Republic, who would like to by a lawyer and study psychology and international relations, Haby asked her what she was surprised by when she first came to the U.S. She responded, "There is so much racism in this country. People are discriminated because of the way they talk, because of the way they look and that was new for me. I was surprised." She described her life here in the U.S. as being more secluded. In the Dominican Republic, she was more likely to go out and sit in the park and share with the community while here she states she typically just goes back and forth to school. Regarding differences between her life and the lives of immigrant young men, she reported that her culture requires women to spend more time at home with chores while men are able to go out and have a girlfriend. This young woman, however, is not interested in having a boyfriend because she wants to focus on her education.

During our research group's final focus group, when each co-researcher discussed her findings, I asked Haby what she thought her participants were learning about gender roles. She responded with the young woman from West Africa specifically in mind. Haby stated that she was learning that being a woman means "to stay at home, do homeworks like her mother is doing even though she's working…like be a housewife." This participant felt that the only way she could leave her father's house was to get married and she knows that discussion of attending a SUNY campus will cause great conflict between her and her father because this will require her to live away from home. These comments engendered much emotion among the others in the group. Asmaou chimed in with talk about her father:

> You know those jeans that I been wearing he say that, oh, it's too small. I was in Africa I wore those things…[he thinks] when I came to America I see my friends wearing it and

> that's why I want to wear it. Like what I used to wear that in Africa and I don't cover my face. He tell me cover your face. I won't cover my face. If you want to kill me, kill me…They didn't force me to wear it. How come I come to America and they're forcing me to wear it? They think that oh, guys will look at you and you will start being bad…They think that coming to America people change.

Just as parents notice change in their children, Asmaou notices ways in which her father is changing in response to the immigration process. The discussion about the disparity in dress requirements for men and women continued. Since Asmaou is the only girl at home, she feels unfairly targeted by her brothers: "I feel like they are dominant, they want to control me like something. I don't want people to be dominant. I feel so like oh, my god." I then turned Haby's attention to the roots of her problem tree posted on chart paper on the wall that contained the words religion, patriarchy, sexism, and control. As I read them aloud, Yvonne blurted, "It [these words] is part of it." "Yes," Haby added, "some people believe that girls are less, they can't do anything. Look Asmaou's situation. At home even though her brother do anything. Your brother put his pants down [around his hips], right? They don't say anything."

I began my final one-on-one interview with Haby by asking her what she thought about the immigration process and family separation, particularly the impact that this had on the young women in her study. She responded by first discussing her own experiences with her grandmother, with whom she spent significant time as a child when her mom would travel. Haby thinks that grandmothers give more attention and caring and then the immigration process severs that significant relationship. In the U.S.,

> parents really don't care, all they doing is working, coming back home, "do this, do that, do that." They barely show us attention, they don't show us caring…That's a big transition from having somebody to care for you and be there for you, questioning you to know exactly what's going on. [Now] they living with somebody who is not there for you, questioning you for bad things trying like to take words out of your mouth to tell you, "oh, you did this wrong, you did this wrong." Always trying prove you you're wrong just like Daniela mentioned it that her dad never see her good side of hers, and Fatoumata, too [mentioned this]. That's the difference that I feel is going on.

I followed up by asking Haby if she thought this also happened with her participants' brothers. "Actually, not really," she very deliberately responded. "I would say for Sharmin and Fatoumata it would not happen to their brothers 'cause of the culture. When a guy leaves his country and he coming somewhere else as a boy or man, you have to look out for yourself. You have to, you don't have to stay home. And us woman they require us to stay home and stay safe. If you a guy you have to go outside, find your way out there and come back home…" I then asked Haby what she thought about the strong efforts made by families to keep their daughters home. She replied that she thought it was both positive and negative.

> Positive is like girls staying home will learn how to be a keeper, a cooker, take care of everything. That's for me a reason for her to stay home. I am a girl, I don't have brothers, I go out, work and come back home. I'm still the one who is bringing something [financial and other resources] in the house because there is no other guy who will do it for me and my sister and if my mom is here, she's the one waiting for us to bring something for us to survive…To me, it is very negative to let a woman stay home, not to go out there, especially to go outside, It's not like we can do the same things as guys does, but we still do close to that…[If a girl is kept at home] she wouldn't know anything about basically life, she wouldn't know anything about living with others…it's like keeping her away from everything that she most likely needs. She will not build her future. Even though she's going to school, going to school and come back home she will not learn 'cause whatever she's learning in school she have to go outside there and apply it to the world, face new challenges and learning to be a better person.

Overall, Haby believes that a family's lack of trust in children is an issue reserved exclusively for girls; this, in part, stems from a lack of communication. Again, parents not knowing children well stems from excessive labor market commitments. Migration often reduces the amount of time families can spend together as their members collectively work several jobs (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001, p. 75). As Haby considered the benefits young women might receive from "cloistering" (Lopez, 2003), she mentioned her cousin's family and the fact girls are more likely to speak French and Fulani because they spend more time at home, while boys are involved in activities outside the home—both social and work. This is consistent with Lopez's

(2003) findings with second-generation Dominican, Haitian, and West Indian young adults. Haby contends that her male cousins have learned to speak "street English, which is totally a problem 'cause that English will not give you a job…" She clearly recognizes that the language of power is determined by the culture of power (Delpit, 1995). As discussed in Asmaou's chapter, the process of learning English(es) is contentious and power-laden. If we all spoke the same English, the nation-state would be obliterated of trouble-producing differences (Spring, 2007).

Lopez (2003) further argues that the gendered division of labor equips young women with the skills to "navigate a maze of institutions that were unfamiliar to their parents" (p. 117). I would argue that these institutional and cultural broking skills are, in fact, what allowed Haby to negotiate the byzantine process of acquiring a green card; a process that stymies many adults. Haby described an aunt, who after fifteen years living in the Bronx and three or four court visits still does not have her papers. "When they came here, they acting like they know something; that's the problem and they don't be next to people who knows…They not educated 'cause they don't know what they doing." She recounted her aunt's experiences in court and how she knew that her aunt wasn't doing the right things. Haby advised her aunt, "It was at that time that you supposed to do that, do that…" Her aunt responded, "I didn't know that." When I revisited Haby's aunt's situation with her at a later date, she added that her aunt was spending the majority of her time at home with children and therefore had no access to information and "the right thing to do." Perhaps traditional gender roles "cloistered" her from the information to which Haby was privy. I was, of course, incredibly intrigued by Haby's savvy and persistence vis-à-vis such a complex system. Haby said it was "because of the education. I been in school. And if I was not, if I never been in school, Danny, you my friend, you educated. I'm not educated. I be next to you

for learn something. I'm not gonna be next to you to show you how I know something more than you. That's how they [her aunt's family] are…I ask questions." She described how she was able to get the assistance she needed from a lawyer and a social worker and obtained both a social security card and working permit. "If I was not educated, I can say yes, but I ask my friends who been here and do the processes just like me. I didn't hide it. I showed them yeah, I'm here, I don't have the paper, I need the paper. It's not something to hide…there's people that you can see, oh, that person can help me…" As it turns out, her aunt's best friend's daughter married an attorney and "I make a good communication, good connection with them and they help me out. That's how I applied for my papers."

Haby's connection to her extended family and the fact that she attends a school exclusively for immigrant students has enabled her to develop the social capital needed to accomplish such a herculean task. It may be that Haby is simply a driven person, but I would argue that this is an oversimplification. Though she maintains close ties with her family and is responsible for household work, she also pursues numerous opportunities to develop the social and cultural capital needed to navigate institutions that are characteristically unfriendly to immigrant youth of color. Though gendered rules are certainly applied to her, she is far from "cloistered," but expected to make contributions that require her involvement in the labor market, in school, and extracurricular activities. Her family recognizes the value in experiences that offer her opportunities to develop important social networks and marketable skills, and that allow her some degree of economic independence. Half of immigrant young people indeed report that their families use a mixture of rules from their country of origin and the U.S. (Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008, p. 70). Haby has much in common with her youth participants, but her situation is also quite unique: She lives with extended family in the U.S.

while both her parents remain in West Africa, though they visit regularly. Because of this living situation, she is expected to contribute to the household in ways typically reserved for sons. As part of our survey, Haby developed a question that asked respondents whether or not they had to work to support their families. Of the 31 students who agreed or strongly agreed with that statement, over 50 percent (n=17) were girls. Perhaps Haby's experiences with the world of work and extracurricular activities are not so unusual.

I then reminded Haby that one of her participants stated that she liked living in the U.S. because she can "assimilate with other cultures and mix up her own" because of the interactions she has with other people. Haby quickly replied, "I think it's not here in the U.S., it's her going to an International school 'cause she get to learn from other culture and she relate it to her culture…She like to learn from others, she like listening to people." Similarly, I reminded Haby that another participant wanted her father to understand that she didn't want to become American, that she's proud of who she is, but the fact that she is in America cannot be changed—"I changed. I'm mixed up with something. I can't just follow one thing." Haby thought that this participant wanted her father to understand that she's in America and "there is so many diversity that she cannot follow one thing, and that one thing is her father telling her what to do…She's still in America with so many diversity, but she want her father to understand that no matter what she's proud of who she is and she will not let that down to become American." I hypothesized that her participant wanted her father to recognize that she's changing, but "she's also being responsible about that change." Haby, in turn, hypothesized that "like it's a tree growing all over, but at the end of the day she remember her roots; she know where she come from…It sounds like that, too." Here, I would argue that Haby dismisses the oft-cited confused and "between two worlds" state of immigrant adolescent development. Instead,

she espouses a theory of cultural change in which one finds strength in roots and "growing all over" is par for the course, not pathological. Again, culture is not passed whole cloth from one generation to the next, but is "temporary, conflictual, and unresolved" (Ngo, 2010, p. 72).

Finally, I mentioned that her participants generally discussed a lack of freedom in the U.S. Haby attributed this lack of freedom to a lack of understanding; she contends that building trusting relationships between parents and children is all about communication, "which is really hard to do nowadays 'cause they, not by staying home, they will pay the bills. They have to go out there. Making sure that you spend a least one day a week with your kids will help you build that relationship, which many immigrants don't have time for it because when they have family back home, too and they have their family here and they need to survive." In addition to the financial stress caused by daily living in the global city, immigrant families often contend with having to send much needed remittances to immediate and extended family back home; these financial pressures consume invaluable leisure and family time. Again, in such a sociopolitical and cultural milieu it is difficult for parents to know their children well. I asked Haby how she would advise her participants' parents about the immigration process and cultural negotiation as their daughter experience them. She had this to say: "…[I] would try to make them understand that communication is very important. It's the key to build any type of relationship. Being a dictator to your daughter will make her be something that you don't want her to be." I then pushed Haby and asked how she would respond if her participants' parents said they were concerned about their daughters' well-being and afraid that they might lose their culture. She replied, "I will tell them, 'Have you discussed with [your daughter] what she wants to do? What she like to do? Who she wanna be around? What is her favorite movie? What is her favorite time

to spend?'" Once again, we hear a desire for young people to be known by their parents in a cultural political economy that severely limits opportunities for such relationship development.

In short, Haby's research project demonstrates the complexities of immigrant young women's cultural identities in the global city. Her critical theory of culture leads very naturally to a theory of politics. These politics are evident in immigrant young women's familial relationships and their families' connections with the economy. Some young women are "cloistered" in their homes while others engage liberally in the job market and social world. All speak of hybrid and inconclusive identities that might cause their parents some discomfort and all speak of wanting greater freedom and independence. At the core of their relationship with their families is the disruption caused by the immigration process and their families' need to work inordinate numbers of hours to maintain their status of the working poor. As with Yvonne and Asmaou's participants, we hear resistance to these structures and cultural practices and an articulation of what might otherwise be. To their interrogation of justice, we now direct our attention.

Interrogating Justice

As discussed in Yvonne and Asmaou's chapter, economic distribution, cultural recognition, and political representation all impact one's ability to participate in life on par with one's peers. As Haby demonstrates in her exploration of the ways in which young immigrant women in the global city negotiate culture processes, gender is an identity marker that causes a lack of parity and therefore requires redress. She and her research participants challenge the injustices of gender-specific discipline and surveillance when they question their brothers' and fathers' hyper-attention to their dress and their lack of freedom and independence. We do, however, also hear that this lack of freedom and independence does not apply across the board—

Haby, in particular, has a great deal of freedom to engage with extracurricular activities and the labor market.

Fraser (2003) contends that gender is a "two-dimensional social differentiation," that is, gendered injustices require redress through both recognition and redistribution. In other words, redressing the gendered division of labor and women's economic marginalization will not *per se* create more just situations because women suffer

> gender-specific forms of status subordination, including sexual assault and domestic violence,…harassment and disparagement in everyday life…and denial of the full rights and equal protections of citizenship. These harms are injustices of recognition. They are relatively independent of political economy and are not merely "superstructural." Thus they cannot be overcome by redistribution alone, but require additional, independent remedies of recognition. (p. 21)

Put most simply, eliminating women as an exploited class of labor will not create a more just society. In fact, in a globalized world, Fraser (2009) further argues that the recognition and redistribution combination is also insufficient; the frame of the modern territorial state needs to be challenged to ensure proper representation. She writes:

> As they [transnational feminists] see it, that frame is a major vehicle of injustice, as it prevents many women from confronting the forces that oppress them. Imposing a kind of political purdah, it sequesters their claims in the domestic spheres of weak and powerless states, thereby insulating offshore agents of sexist domination from critique and control. The result is to shield many large-scale malefactors from the reach of gender justice. Left unaccountable are not only the obvious suspects (powerful predator states, foreign investors and creditors, international currency speculators, and transnational corporations), but also the background structures that enable them to operate with impunity – especially, the governance structures of the global economy and the interstate system. The overall effect of the state-territorial frame is to exclude democratic consideration of transborder gender injustice. (p. 113)

Haby's participants clearly articulate how they are denied parity of participation in daily life; they, generally speaking, do not have the prerogative to make decisions on matters that impact their lives. In her analysis of the research data, Haby takes this a step further and argues that "cloistering" young woman actually impedes their life chances—they do not have the

opportunity to develop relationships and skills that would serve them well in the global city's political economy. Identity, in fact, produces material consequences of harm and confinement (Taylor, 1994). In a subsequent conversation with Haby, she contested it is particularly important to develop skills connected to intercultural communication and understanding. She recognizes that in a place such as the global city, not all people have the same perspective because of "negotiation between cultures" and therefore have to "help others understand what you're trying to express." Additionally, Haby's adult participants make us keenly aware of the "triple shift" young immigrant women often work—the shifts of school, childcare and other household responsibilities, and service sector employment. As Sassen (2001) reminds us, it is structural changes in the economy that have rendered women and immigrants (also read: immigrant women) the "offshore proletariat" (p. 322). These young women experience disparagement in everyday life due to their gender identity and their labor is exploited, yet those responsible for creating such conditions are somewhat invisible and mostly untouchable. Because of this invisibility, "the governance structures of the global economy and the interstate system" escape implication and avoid charges of denying young immigrant women the opportunity to live "the good life" (Fraser, 2009). The structural changes in the city's economy are fueled by global capital and its geographic concentration, yet no mechanism exists to take those responsible to task for creating these cultural and economic conditions for immigrant young women. These young women and Haby's adult participants do not, however, blindly accept these conditions; they are not "oversocialized cultural dopes" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 10).

Haby and her participants imagine an alternative reality in which immigrant young women do not have to work at places like McDonald's, attend to childcare and other household needs, complete school assignments, and worry about the lack of funds to pay for college. They

imagine a school that is completely equipped to address the needs of students like these and a country that embraces and provides for undocumented immigrant young people through the passage of the DREAM act. Regarding cultural and gender identity, the participants envision options that are less binary, that is, where young people can be "a little bit of this and little bit of that," where they can try on and play with the identities of their peers, and where challenging the gender inequities in one's culture does not mean outright rejection of all aspects. Furthermore, the young women in this study challenge the controlling gaze and words of their brothers and fathers. Perhaps most significantly, Haby contends that because of the nature of the global city's economy and her particular living situation, she does not experience cloistering; she is expected to engage in the economy to make contributions to her household while other young women in her study are indeed cloistered. Moreover, she contests that cloistering actually deprives young women of the opportunity to participate in social, cultural, and economic life on par their peers; it prevents them from developing the social and cultural capital that might contribute to living the good life. In the global city's political economy, education—both formal and informal—helps young women, in particular, to "get a good job and lead a better life, being able to afford whatever you want." Haby's deft negotiation of the acquisition of her own green card and her ability to advise her aunt on the process speaks to the need for young people to develop relationships that will help them "move mountains" (Stanton-Salazar, 2001) when necessary.

Not surprisingly, Haby and her participants focus their attention on misrecognition and maldistribution because the cultural and economic are more clearly seen and felt. Misrepresentation, on the other hand, is less visible and less palpable. Identifying global structures and economic systems—as opposed to the nation-state—as a culprit in denying opportunities to live the good life eludes many of us. Yet, these structures and systems are what

have catalyzed the mass migration of people and its concomitant displacement, separation, and economic hardships. What if we could more readily imagine a world in which global economic policies and multinational corporations were held accountable for the havoc they wreak upon immigrant women?

Conclusion

As the epigraph to this chapter indicates, "…within social relations our identities are prospective sites of oppression and even captivity" (Ngo, 2010, p. 97). Haby and her participants, as well as the other co-researchers, are subject to discipline and surveillance that their male counterparts do not experience. Gender identity in the global city is fraught with the cultural, economic, and political. As Fraser (2003, 2009) exhorts, injustices experienced by women require redress through recognition, redistribution, and representation. Similarly, Sassen (2001, 2002) urges us to acknowledge the structural economic changes in global cities like New York that have lent cultural legitimacy to the non-empowerment of immigrant women. It is against this backdrop against that Haby's research project rests. However, a narrative of oppression and captivity is clearly incomplete.

Haby's personal history and research question and findings are emblematic of young immigrants' experiences in the global city; they provide invaluable insights into how the context of the global city shapes the conditions of immigrant adolescents' lives and they ways in which they strive to make sense of these conditions. Her desire to understand cultural transitions uncovered how the gendered division of labor in the cultural political economy of the global city shapes young immigrant women's experiences in particular ways. According to Haby and her participants, young women attend school and are often needed to care for younger siblings at home and, at times, even needed to make financial contributions to their households. It is this

necessary engagement with the job market that challenges Lopez's (2003) notion of young women's cloistering. Though some young women did indeed report having their freedom and independence limited, "working at places like McDonald's" and being expected to contribute financially to their households (as in Haby's case) requires that they be given permissions that would not typically be granted. In addition to this complex negotiation of time and responsibilities, they are confronted with the emotional stress of family separation and redeveloping relationships with their fathers, which range from trusting and permissive to controlling and abusive. This is within a milieu that does not readily provide the leisure time needed to foster strong relationships between children and their parents. Haby's research also indicates that tension between children and their parents, rather than attributed to intergenerational conflict caused by disparate acculturation processes or familial culpability, is directly connected to the political economy and the cultural politics of difference. Furthermore, as in Yvonne's chapter, we also hear about the concerns of the undocumented.

Regarding culture, Haby and her participants repeatedly discussed how they could be a "little bit of this and a little bit of that" and how they "mix it up." Again, this depicts the cultural as hybrid and unresolved, rather than as self-evident and passed from one generation to the next. Their parents reading of this hybrid and influx developmental process leads to conflict. Indeed, these young women challenge what they perceive to be discriminatory aspects of their culture, but this does not mean that they reject it whole cloth. Haby reports that it is "negative to let a woman stay at home" as this stifles her ability to develop the social and cultural capital that might contribute to future prospects. It was, in fact, "getting out there" and developing this capital that allowed Haby to secure a green card; institutional and cultural brokering skills are not solely developed through attending to family needs, but through advocating for self. As with

the other co-reserachers' projects, Haby and her participants express the hope and possibility of alternative cultural, economic, and political arrangements.

Chapter 6
Rose:
The Politics of Conflict in the Global City

Rose: When I interview Mohammed he said they should have like a cultural, like in the auditorium do cultural stuff and teach them about other cultures so they could get used to other cultures. He think that because they don't understand other cultures that's what cause conflict in school…"

As outlined in Yvonne's chapter, the nation-state is a field of struggle for the undocumented. In this field, the undocumented and those who bear witness to their struggles demand recognition and legitimacy based upon alternative definitions of legal citizenship and alternative pathways to citizenship, including economic, cultural, and even emotional ones. With Rose's research question we similarly hear that the racialization process is also a field of struggle for immigrant youth and schools are sites in which the process is enacted. As such, Rose wonders about the nature of conflict among cultural, linguistic, and racial groups in her high school for immigrant youth; she also contemplates conflict within groups. On a number of occasions, Rose expressed the sentiment, "we're all immigrants after all, why can't we just get along?" Regarding her participant's epigraph above, she thinks that even though her peers have come from many different countries "and we all come from far, we all want to come to the U.S. because we want a better life." In her mind, immigrants collectively suffer to get an education and struggle to make a living; coming together as a community would ease these struggles. At Brooklyn International High School, she reports, "we are mixed in classes though we all speak different languages and come from different countries…[This] helps us to come together so we can make one community." She adopts a pan-immigrant identity as if to say that all immigrants have similar experiences—often involving discrimination—and they should therefore demonstrate solidarity and eliminate the conflict between and among different groups. Additionally, her question calls for tolerance between and among groups. Of course, it is only

upon global cities like New York that such a diversity of groups would converge, and only in schools like Rose's and our research site would such groups meet and interact. The pedagogical practices and discourses surrounding immigrant solidarity at the Internationals promote a culture of tolerance. As Brown (2006) reminds us, tolerance's renaissance in late modern nation-states can be attributed to its ability to serve as a balm for the bloody identity clashes that have resulted from the combined effects of globalization, the aftermath of colonialism, and the aftermath of the cold war. "Globalization's historically unprecedented mixing of the world's peoples—migrations and settlements incited by late modern capitalism and violent postcolonial legacies—leads, especially in the North Atlantic nations, to ethnically and religiously diverse people living cheek by jowl, often in economically precarious and socially deracinated circumstances" (Brown, 2006, p. 85-86). As mentioned in previous chapters, it is structural changes in the global economy and the concentration of capital in global cities that create the need for and entice migratory labor. The enticement of diverse peoples into global cities and their schools then requires the application of a tolerance discourse to ensure "we all get along." In the International High Schools, which pride themselves on their heterogeneity and collaboration, students perceive themselves as "all equal" and value the diversity of perspectives that such an environment brings (www.internationalsnps.org). As demonstrated later in the chapter, this overlooks the conflict caused by the racial pecking order, of which they are well aware. This contradiction between equality and racial hierarchy pervades Rose's observations of the relationship between and among immigrant groups. A discourse of tolerance allows such a pecking order to remain obscured and unexamined and it convinces students that, in the tradition of liberal thought, all things are possible for them if they simply work hard enough. This is also part of the Internationals' discourse. Ultimately, a tolerance discourse, like the discourse surrounding

documentation status in Yvonne's chapter, contributes to the formulation of citizenship and the nation-state. Schools and even the citizenry—as institutions and agents of the state—also contribute to this formulation. The community at Rose's school and our research site does not nefariously and unwittingly contribute to the perpetuation of tolerance discourse. Though this discourse obscures inequality, it is also rooted in a genuine desire to have young people learn from and appreciate one another's differences in an atmosphere where high-stakes testing and fiscal concerns often the rule the day.

Implicit in Rose's question of "why can't we just get along?" is a call for tolerance that is reminiscent of that voiced by Rodney King after the 1992 Los Angeles riots triggered by the acquittal of the four police officers charged with King's assault. Rose's research participant's suggestion of increasing cultural awareness and thereby decreasing conflict between and among immigrant groups through "doing cultural stuff" and "teaching them about other cultures so they get used to other cultures" also implies a sentiment of tolerance. Educating others about one's culture through such theatrical performances can result in the reconstitution of the boundaries of "normal," and define the performers as different and "not normal," that is, efforts for inclusive multitculturalism in fact exclude and produce margin and center (Ngo, 2010). Brown (2006) contends that tolerance has become "a beacon of multicultural justice and civic peace at the turn of the twenty-first century" (p. 1). She goes on to write:

> …tolerance as a mode of late modern governmentality that iterates the normalcy of the powerful and the deviance of the marginal responds to, links, and tames both unruly domestic identities or affinities and nonliberal transnational forces that tacitly or explicitly challenge the universal standing of liberal precepts. Tolerance regulates the presence of the Other both inside and outside the liberal democratic nation-state, and often it forms a circuit between them that legitimates the most illiberal of actions of the state by means of a term consummately associated with liberalism. (p. 8)

In short, this discursive practice serves to demarcate the tolerant and civilized (read: Western liberal democracies) from the intolerant and barbaric (read: Orientalism). Furthermore, there are those who *tolerate* and those who are *tolerated*, which underscores the role of power in this discourse. "Like patience, tolerance is necessitated by something one would prefer did not exist," something undesirable or even revolting, repugnant, or vile, but ultimately something foreign, contaminating, and marginal (Brown, 2006, pp. 25-28). In this way, tolerance discourse constructs citizens and non-citizens. At its essence, Rose's research question is one of how we might and ought to live together in a multicultural society, but she applies it to environments in which no one would be considered powerful; her school and the school in which she conducted her research are overwhelming attended by poor, young immigrants of color who are learning English. Yet, the discourse of tolerance persists. What purpose does this serve in a high school for immigrant youth in the neoliberal, global city in the early twenty-first century?

Overall, tolerance serves to depoliticize, that is, it construes inequality and social conflict as personal and individual or as natural, religious, or cultural and it casts inequity or social injury as matters of individual or group prejudice: "…tolerance discourse reduces conflict to an inherent friction among identities and makes religious, ethnic, and cultural difference itself an inherent site of conflict, one that calls for and is attenuated by the practice of tolerance;" this discourse removes historical and political considerations from conflict and "replaces a justice project with a therapeutic or behavioral one" (Brown, 2006, p. 15-16). It is stoked by other depoliticizing discourses, namely liberalism and neoliberalism, which first reduce cultural, economic, and social life to the private, the natural, and the personal and then saturate this life with market rationality (Brown, 2006, p. 17-18). In Asmaou's chapter, I argued that, with regard to speaking the national language, it is not only schools and other institutions that regulate

speech; peers also do the work of the state through language policing (Rios-Rojas, 2011). In Rose's case, I would argue that peers perform a similar function, yet here it serves to reinscribe hierarchical positioning and to drive wedges between and among, and even within, the disenfranchised, that is, various cultural, linguistic, and racial groups of immigrant young people. Tolerance is neither outright rejection nor complete assimilation, but something in between (Brown, 2006, pp. 27-28). Ultimately, it is a regulatory political process fraught with power that is masked as individual virtue.

Foucault (1982) conceptualizes power as a diffuse and capillary force that works throughout the social body. Furthermore, power is always productive and regulative rather than negative or coercive. Regarding power in schools, he writes:

> Take for example, an educational institution: the disposal of its space, the meticulous regulations which govern its internal life, the different activities which are organized there, the *diverse persons who live there or meet one another there*…all these things constitute a block of capacity-communication power. The activity which ensures…the acquisition of aptitudes or types of behavior is developed there by means of a whole ensemble of regulated communications (lessons, questions and answers, orders, exhortations, coded signs of obedience, *differentiation marks the "value" of each person and of the levels of knowledge*) and by means of a whole series of power processes (enclosure, surveillance, reward and punishment, the *pyramidal hierarchy*). (Foucault, 1982, p. 787, italics added)

Such a conceptualization is not without its critiques. Walkerdine (1990), for example, contends that individuals are not "unitary subjects uniquely positioned" but "are produced at a nexus of subjectivities, in relations of power which are constantly shifting, rendering them at one moment powerful and at another powerless" (p. 3). This critique reminds us of the shifting, inconclusive, and hybridized identities discussed by Asmaou and her participants. In short, the discourse of tolerance serves as biopower and, more specifically, governmentality, that is, the control of individual bodies and whole populations through the regulation of life rather than the threat of death and the "conduct of conduct" (Foucault, 1991). In the case of conflict between and among

immigrant groups, it is liberal and nativist discourses that rear their heads as these young people internalize the hierarchy of immigrant groups that determines which groups are more tolerated than others. The purpose of this chapter is to explore how Rose, her research participants, and the other co-researchers both reproduce and resist these discourses, particularly that of tolerance.

Rose's Background and Identity

Rose came to the United States from Haiti with her mother and father and five of her sisters when she was approximately 10 years old; one sister remained in Haiti with her extended family and Rose thinks that she will be joining them soon. Her grandfather lived in the U.S. for a number of years before their arrival and he facilitated the reunification process. When her family first arrived, they all lived with her father's sister for five months until they were able to secure an apartment of their own. Rose found the move to the U.S. very challenging because she reported missing her country and she struggled with the language. She is the only co-researcher who attended middle school in New York City. About learning English she had the following to say: "I spoke my home language. People talking and you don't understand. Kids look at you and say stuff. Bother you just because of your language. Because I didn't understand the language…they make me do it [the sixth grade] again." In spite of this, she believes that in the U.S. you have all the opportunities to get what you need because in Haiti she would have had to pay to attend school: "In my country you have to pay for school every month and if you doesn't pay for it, you can't go to school and you don't get house like here…and here school you find the school free and you get everything you want. You have junior high, high school to be someone..." Like many immigrants, Rose clearly espouses the liberal individualistic discourse associated with the "rugged" and "bootstraps" foundation of the U.S.:

> Liberalism's excessive freighting of the individual subject with self-making, agency, and a relentless responsibility for itself also contributes to the personalization of politically

> contoured conflicts and inequalities. These tendencies eliminate from view various norms and social relations—especially those pertaining to capital, race, gender, and sexuality—that construct and position subjects in liberal democracies. In addition, the reduction of freedom to rights, and of equality to equal standing before the law, eliminates from view many sources of subordination, marginalization, and inequality that organize liberal democratic societies and fashion their subjects. Liberal ideology at its most generic, then, always already eschews power and history in its articulation and comprehension of the social and the subject. (Brown, 2006, p. 17-18).

To our open-ended survey question of what do you like most about the U.S., nine students responded with "freedom," two with "freedom of expression" while 19 cited "education" or "opportunities." Throughout this chapter, we hear how Rose, the other co-researchers, and Rose's participants have internalized the "land of freedom and opportunity" discourse. We also see how this discourse both obscures and illuminates power and subordination in the social relationships between, among, and within various immigrant groups.

Rose describes herself as a good and helpful person. "I like everyone. It's not okay I'm Haitian and I don't like other nations." When I asked her how others might see her as a immigrant, she replied, "We here to get our life, you know, 'cause in here anything you want to be you have it. You just have to know what you want for life...It's not easy to find jobs, but if you're really looking for it you can find it." In five years, Rose hopes to be a pediatric nurse and in ten years she hopes to have her own house, cars, and a husband and her children will become strong like her. I asked her why the things were important to her and she responded, "It's important, it's not important. It's important because I been working hard and I want good things in my life 'cause I work for it. I spend time in school and want to have stuff that will make me happy and to have a good life. And cars are important 'cause if you finish your education you have cars, you get to go places, people give you respect and stuff so I think it's great." At a later point in time, Rose stated that cars symbolize hard work and the fact that "if they [car owners] can make it, I can make it, too." She admonished that you won't have a good life if you don't

finish school. This achievement ideology reduces success to hard work and ignores racial and gender privilege, for example, and simultaneously assumes that all those willing can participate in the market free from structural barriers (Kumashiro, 2008). Furthermore, such an ideology buttresses neoliberalism's post-racial rhetoric of the insignificance of race (Lee, 2009).

As an ESL teacher, I was intrigued by Rose's comment about having to repeat a grade because she hadn't learned English sufficiently. I therefore asked her about her experiences learning English: "It was not that difficult 'cause you know you little... my mind was not that full…Some places you go if you don't know English they won't give you the job. I would drop out of school. People would always have to do things for me. The country speaks English." Like Asmaou, Rose has internalized dominant views of bilingualism, that is, human brains have the capacity for only one language and therefore this is a zero-sum game. Regarding her native language and culture, she claimed, "I find other people who can speak my language. I can translate for them if they don't speak English. I'm from there, I'm supposed to learn it [Haitian Creole]. I learn it, I know how to speak my language...I just speak it, but those big words sometimes I feel like I don't know what it mean and I can't even write it." When I asked her about her current high school, she described it in terms of testing requirements. As a reminder, BIHS is part the New York State Performance Standards Consortium and its students are therefore exempt from the majority of standardized tests (Regents) required for graduation. About the Regents exams she said, "If they give it, most of the students wouldn't pass it 'cause we're still learning English and tests are difficult and the way the teach us is not like part of the Regents and it's very difficult for us..." Rose was thankful that students at BIHS only have to take and pass two Regents exams to graduate because of the school's membership in the New York State Performance Standards Consortium. In her words, "we can make it because of

this…[it] allows us to graduate. It's hard because of the English and it [the exams] were a struggle for me." Of all four co-researchers, Rose struggled the most academically. She graduated from high school in June of 2011 and began attending a community college. In the spring of 2013, she is finally eligible to enroll in non-remedial courses; this represents remarkable persistence on her part. I would argue that this academic struggle is directly connected to what she identifies above—the fact that she never fully developed her native language skills. She also clearly recognizes standardized tests for what they ultimately are—tests of English reading and writing ability and not simply tests of subject area knowledge. It is with this insight into Rose that we now proceed to her research question.

Rose's Research Question

As with the other co-researchers, Rose reminded us of her research question during the first day of our internship. She said that she wanted to understand racism and cultural conflict at her high school for immigrant youth. Interestingly, though her question was revised to include linguistic conflict, Rose's conviction to this subject was unwavering. Her interest in this topic emanated from her observations of how people treat one another. She witnessed "fighting between groups [though] we're all trying to learn English and get something better." I would also add that though Rose promotes a culture of tolerance, her school life was not without conflict; she reported conflict with both her peers and adults. At one point during our research project, she did not accompany her classmates to attend an informational session about applying to SUNY campuses because of a conflict she has with the guidance counselor, and Rose, more so than the other co-researchers, desperately needed access to such information. On another occasion, I received a phone call from Rose's assistant principal requesting some assistance with Rose because of a conflict that ensued between the two of them after Rose made inappropriate sexual

comments to a male classmate. Rose's personality partially explains the conflict in her life—she is a strong young woman with strong opinions about how things ought to be and how she ought to be treated. Yet, the question remains—Why would someone with a fair amount of conflict in her life want to study conflict in the way she proposes?

Having known Rose for approximately three years now, I would allege that she truly wants to see more harmonious relationships between, among, and within the various groups in her school. Rose also fervidly espouses the benefits of liberal education: "School has taught me to stay in school to have a better future, to get a better job, to do different things, to get along with others. If they haven't been to school, they only want things for themselves. This affects the community. School helps you to help another person, to form a community, to talk to another person." Only through education, in Rose's eyes, will one become more community oriented and less individualistic. Within liberal education, there exists an "overt premise of liberal tolerance, when applied to group practices (as opposed to idiosyncratic individual beliefs or behaviors),…that religious, cultural, or ethnic differences are sites of natural or native hostility. Tolerance is conceived as a tool for managing or lessening this hostility to achieve peaceful coexistence" (Brown, 2006, p. 151). Tolerance must therefore be taught and is necessary when multiculturalism is constructed as a problem and tolerance the solution; multiculturalism is problematic, particularly in an era of unprecedented migration, because it threatens the supremacy of liberal Western democracies and their privileging of individual autonomy over cultural group identity. Culture, like religion and languages other than the national one, should be privately enjoyed and remain out of the public eye, unless it is expressed as dress, food, and music and not as a site of "power, politics, subject production, and norms" (Brown, 2006, p. 170). Herein lies a contradiction: Liberal Western democracies value the autonomous individual

who *chooses* to be cultural, safely ethnic, or religious—group identified, in other words—but requires that we collectively learn how to "get along." Again, "culture has become a cardinal object of tolerance and intolerance. In part, this development reflects changes in liberal democratic societies, which have become increasingly multicultural as a consequence of late modern population flows and of the affirmation of cultural difference over assimilation" (Brown, 2006, p. 150). Tolerance is, of course, preferred over violent civil conflict, however, the fact that it depoliticizes and de-historicizes requires closer inspection. Throughout Rose's discussion of conflict, for example, there are strong undercurrents of the promotion of integration and a belief that simply being together is in and of itself good and desirable. This is the discourse of inclusive education that often ignores the fact that simply being together does nothing to equalize power relations; if one is relegated to second-class citizenship status, sitting next to someone who is not makes no difference. Rose ultimately sees inequality and this fuels her desire for tolerance.

After three years at her school, Rose reported to our research group, "…most of the time there's been racism between Haitian and Spanish and Arabic and Spanish." Interestingly, Spanish speakers are named in both of these conflicts. Yvonne went on to describe a hazing-type ethos in which those who arrived more recently are teased by those who have been in the U.S. longer: "I don't experience it, but they call names—retarded, immigrant." This suggests that while they are all immigrants they have internalized negative attitudes toward immigration status. Rose later hypothesized that those who have been in the U.S. longer think that they "have power over those little ones. They don't see themselves in that position." Haby added that immigrant young people give others attitude when they first arrive and Yvonne commented that conflict is caused by skin color and language: "…in the class and they put you in a group, Spanish people won't speak to you. [Conflict is caused by] lack of understanding. We all speak

different language. It's natural to think other people are talking about you." Just as in Asmaou's chapter, we hear that these young people have internalized the discourse of the Latino threat: The Spanish language and those who speak it cause conflict because of their sheer numbers. Furthermore, linguistic conflict between groups is constructed as "natural," that is, devoid of politics and history and attributed solely to personal "lack of understanding." We also hear that within the pan-immigrant group, those who have been in the U.S. for a longer period of time mock the recently arrived; this will be discussed further in the section that addresses Rose's research findings.

Yvonne then recounted a time when she had difficulty with a Latina who was in the same group as her. Because of this and similar difficulties, the classroom teacher decided that students could sit where they wanted. What resulted were groups of Spanish speakers, groups of Africans, and groups of Asians. In response, Asmaou stated, "It's normal. It's not being racist. You feel comfortable when sitting with people that understand you." Of course, listening and speaking in one's second or third language for extended periods of time can be intellectually and physically exhausting and it is quite appropriate that young people would seek out their peers for some relief from this. However, at the co-researchers' school, not all Africans speak the same language, though many have the French colonial language in common. And though the majority of Asian students are Chinese, not all speak the same dialect, and other Asian nationalities such as Tibetans are represented. I wonder how these young women classify South Asians from Bangladesh. Again, normative discourse determines separation among racial groups to be natural and devoid of history and politics. Yvonne then critiqued the group work that happens in her school because "some are ready to work, others aren't. When separate, people get the grades they deserve." I asked if there were any benefits to group work and Yvonne responded that it helps

with learning English, but students tend to stick with the native language and refuse to speak English. “They don’t speak English at all.” The co-researchers then proceeded to name students who, in their perception, speak very little English. Interestingly, the majority of the surnames was Latino. We again hear the perception of Latinos as a group privileged by their numbers—they can even maintain their native language. Yvonne concluded this part of the conversation by stating, “Separating people is better, each person will get what they deserve.” Not only are we left with an image of linguistically un-assimilating Latino hordes, we also hear the reinforcement of rugged individualism and of achievement ideology.

When we applied the Freirean problem tree method to Rose’s research question, we first discussed what belongs in the leaves, that is, how the problem manifests itself.

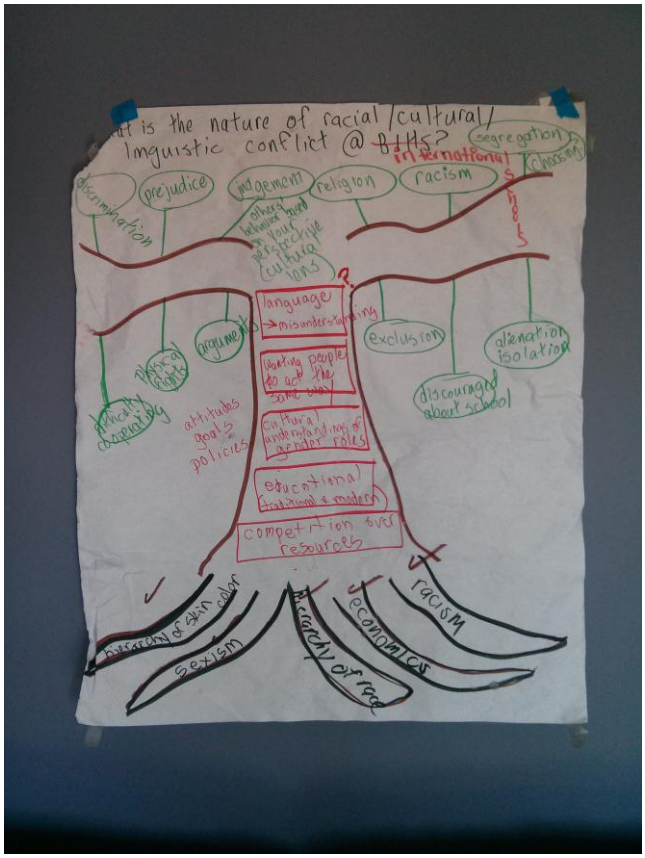

Figure 6.1: Rose’s problem tree

Yvonne responded that cultural, linguistic, and racial conflict is evident in her school through segregation. "'Cause just in the school you see how different ethnics stay together. They [different ethnic groups] don't like staying with each other." Rose added that students have problems with one another because of racism while Haby added that religion can be a cause of conflict as well. Rose continued, "Racism like between like, how can I say this, like um Haitian doesn't get along with Spanish. Like, okay, let me like in the cafeteria…" and she goes on to describe how Latinos let other Latinos cut the lunch line and she lets other blacks cut the line. In this description, it seems that Rose, and the co-researchers generally, conflate segregation with both conflict and racism and that she privileges integration. In fact, anything less the complete racial harmony and integration is interpreted as racism and tolerance ("why can't we all get along") is needed as a remedy. As Rose has alluded, such a discourse is "in the air" at her high school and evidenced through pedagogical practices. "The rhetoric of 'teaching tolerance' relegates enmity or intolerance to the construed narrow-mindedness of those who are more childlike, less formally educated, and, above all, less individuated than enlightened moderns" (Brown, 2006, p. 183). Haby then added her description of religious conflict: "There is students who don't stand, there is student who don't um like if you're Muslim you don't like Christian people, and you're always talking about them or you're always saying that they don't know God. Nobody knows God." Haby then recounted a story that I, as an ESL teacher in an International High School, had witnessed dozens of times: Students are speaking in their native language with one another and laughing and a second linguistic group thinks they are talking about them. Yvonne embellished this story with one of her own that described a group speaking in Fulani to accomplish the academic assignment and this excludes others from the group; she believes this leads to conflict. We wrote "difficulty cooperating" on one of the problem tree's leaves.

According to Yvonne, this is a matter of choice and students often choose to work with those who speak the same language as them, as opposed to the polyglot groups to which their teachers assign them. The tension caused by linguistic integration can lead to arguing and physical violence. It is important to highlight here that there is a tendency on these young women's parts to conflate segregation, racism, and inequality.

We then moved to the trunk, which represents attitudes, policies, and goals that perpetuate the problem as they see it. I asked if there were any policies or attitudes that were present in their school, in the U.S., and in NYC that lead to segregation, racism, and exclusion. The following dialogue resulted:

Yvonne: Skin color. Race and skin color.

Danny: Skin color is an attitude or policy? Skin color is a system, an ideology, a deeply held belief or value? Why?

Haby: Most of the things that are happening are based on skin color.

Danny: Do you mean that certain skin colors are more valued than other skin colors?

Yvonne: That's what *they* think.

Danny: So, there's a hierarchy of skin color?...In this country, there's lots of segregation. Neighborhoods are more or less segregated by race. That segregation is also connected to socioeconomic status. What's the connection? Who tends to be the richest? Who tends to be the poorest?

Yvonne: White people.

Haby: Native Americans.

Yvonne: No, she means American citizens.

Danny: Who tends to be the richest?

Rose: White people!

Danny: Usually those white people are also U.S. citizens. Who tends to be the poorest?

Multiple: Black people!

Rose: Not all.

Danny: So what is that about?

Haby: Race.

Asmaou: Education.

Danny: How is that about education?

Asmaou: When we get a good education, we get a good job, and then we get more money.

Danny: So, there's a hierarchy of skin color, there's also a hierarchy of race, right…What do you think the hierarchy of race is in the United States? Who's at the top?

Yvonne: Whites.

Danny: Who might be next?

Haby: Mixed.

Asmaou: Black and white mixed.

Danny: Who might be in the middle?

Yvonne: Latinos.

Danny: Anyone else?

Haby: Asians.

Asmaou: There are black rich people.

Danny: As black immigrants, where do you guys fall?

Yvonne: Hey, I'm on the top and I'll also be there. The very top. Just because I'm black, I'm not gonna lower myself down. I know that I'm poor, but I'm always gonna put myself on the top…It's all about what you have in your

mind…Actually when you look in reality they [black immigrants] are on the very bottom because they discriminate them really bad.

Asmaou: One—immigrant, they are immigrant. Two—they are black. Three—most of them are poor.

Yvonne: And no education.

Though recently arrived, the co-researchers have accurately surveyed the racial landscape. They also appear to have internalized the post-racial achievement ideology that emphasizes individual merit through hard work and that ignores structural racism. For the first time in the discussion of race, white people—who have been conspicuously absent—enter the picture. These young people recognize the privilege that whiteness carries and begin to surface the hegemonic power of tolerance discourse; whites have been absent because they are unmarked and they are those who tolerate. Whites are constructed as innocent bystanders—even beneficiaries—to the conflict that transpires between and among various immigrant groups. With this understanding of intergroup conflict and Rose's research question, we proceed to Rose's research findings and the ways in which she, other members of our research collective, and I interpreted them. At times, we will hear Rose's own interpretations; at other times, we will hear the collective's interpretations, and further still my interpretations. We will also hear the dialogue between Rose and me around the findings.

Rose's Research Findings

As outlined in the methodology chapter, Rose conducted one-on-one interviews with two students and two adults in the school. She also conducted a focus group session with three students, which she began by asking students to indicate on a piece of chart paper, on which she had drawn various locations in the school, where they thought the most conflict occurred; she then asked them about the causes of the conflict. After examining the map, a focus group

participant noticed that conflict most frequently occurs in the "boys' and girls' bathrooms, in the stairwells, and in the cafeteria, and sometimes the classroom." With the exception of the cafeteria, the places where conflict occurs mostly escape adult surveillance. Rose asked why conflict occurs among students and the young man from Bangladesh responded, "It's because of the ethnic groups…They're trying to represent their nationality." Cafeterias are well-documented settings in school ethnographies and they are often described by teachers with United Nations-like characteristics—a place where various cultures meet and interact harmoniously. Rose's participant from West Africa had the following to say in reply to Rose's request that he describe his school's cafeteria: "Okay, Arabic people sitting in the same table, African in the same table, Indian in the same table, Pakistan, Bangladesh, everybody in the same table." Survey data reveal that 20 of 100 respondents believe their school is segregated. The young man from Bangladesh said that the main cause of conflict in the school is domination, that is, one group trying to prove it is better than another. To this, the West African young man resoundingly stated, "Thank you."

The young man from Bangladesh later participated in Rose's one-on-one interview. She asked him to describe his school to someone who knows nothing about it:

> Okay, so let me go with the good things about this school. Okay, the good things about this school are people are so cooperative, like they like to cooperate together when it's group work especially. This is the number one thing about this school—group work and projects. Those two happens every single time. And another good thing is when there is like a trouble and we don't understand how to solve for it there's certain programs going on in this school and if you're involved in those programs they will try to help you out with the level of your obstacle that you're facing, so those are the good things. And for the bad things, okay let me go with the conflict. So bad things are the conflict. Well, I'm not gonna say that this is the number one school that has conflict with people that like to fight. Like there's other schools in the whole United States that also fighting and conflicts going on, but in this school it especially happens when there is like people trying to show more powerful like, you know, it's the one group people saying you guys are powerless, let's do something, we're gonna prove that you're not powerful, only us is powerful. Then they get into a conflict and they have like a big fight happens…between cultures. I think that's sick.

Groups vie for power, erasing whiteness. Conflict between cultures and racial groups is caused by personal malady, not by hierarchical structures implemented by those with the most power. Rose then asked her participant about segregation in the school. "Do I see segregation?" he queried. He continued,

> Certain people have segregation, depends on people who like you know, who like to show themselves like trying to show off. Those type of people I think they have segregation between them. But other than that, like I could say like, ninety-five percent, no not ninety-five percent, ninety-seven percent of the people not involved in segregation and three percent of the people are involved in segregation…To be honest, the worst segregation that's not positive for me, you know, it's like who's trying to be equal, it doesn't matter what diversity we're from, different diverse so, like what are we trying to prove like, we're all human beings (Rose said these three last words almost simultaneously with her participant). Thank you.

Rose added, "We make out the same way, we eat the same way…the same blood…Some people they don't use their brain and also I don't know why they just trying to show off or they just wanna show that they are better than you." Rose then somewhat changed the subject to her middle school experiences: "I remember when I first came here I didn't speak English, all those kids that were in the school, they think that because I don't speak English they think that they could bully me and I'm not that type of person." The we're-all-human-beings rhetoric erases any history of colonialism and conquest and the mindlessness associated with inter-group conflict implies that such conflict is irrational and "denies the fact that racism has structural roots. It denies the fact that there might be rational/self-interested reasons to be racist" (Lee, 2009, p. 98).

Rose's participant then revealed what he hates about his school: "I think I said it already; the hate thing is about, you know, the conflict, that's the number one thing I hate." Rose urged him to be more specific about the kind of conflict he sees. He went on to describe how when students might accidentally bump into one another, and even though an apology is offered, this still leads to physical altercations. "Conflict most of the time happens in the cafeteria…it

depends on whether the student is talking about certain ethnic groups or like about, you know, who is better than who, or about cultures and things. Those are the things that makes the conflict to rise, in my opinion…power versus power." To resolve this conflict, this young man thinks that

> let the people who fight, put them together in one classroom and try to control them maybe. If you teach them what other people like about like for example, Gandhi and also Nelson Mandela, if you teach them like what they did for their country to solve using non-violence, they didn't use violence so you like open their brains and remove the idea of violence from their mind then maybe they could solve this conflict system from out of their mind and seventy percent of my opinion, my philosophy saying that they could change, you know?

Rose agreed that there should be a class for people involved in the type of conflict that her participant described. Her participant then added, "You know the people involved in this situation, I think their brain is sleeping." Rose vehemently disagreed: "Their brains are not sleeping. Trust me, they know what they're doing. They know what they're doing." Perhaps she recognizes the purposefulness of formulating and maintaining a hierarchical structure based upon culture, race, and language. Again, we hear that tolerance can be taught and learned by "putting them [those involved in conflict] together in one classroom and try to control them…remove the idea of violence from their mind…" Learning tolerance will cure the intolerants of their

> presumed existence in a narrow, homogeneous, unquestioning, and unenlightened universe, an existence that inherently generates hostility toward outsiders, toward questioning, toward difference. "Learning tolerance" thus involves divesting oneself of relentless partiality, absolutist identity, and parochial attachment, a process understood as the effect of a larger, more cosmopolitan worldview and not as the privilege of hegemony. (Brown, 2006, p. 184)

Few schools can boast of the demographic diversity of its student body in the way that our research site can; it is truly a unique and remarkable place. As mentioned above, the discourse present in the Internationals contributes to the construction of a pan-immigrant identity—an identity based upon not being U.S. born and experiencing varying degrees of discrimination because of race, documentation status, and/or language. Yes, various immigrant groups have

healthcare and educational issues in common, for example, but the concerns of Tibetan refugees who have had very limited access to education are different from those of Polish immigrants who have had educational access. Many students value the exposure to the multiculturalism that such an environment provides. When asked on our survey what they like most about the U.S., six of 100 students responded to this open-ended question with a reference to cultural and linguistic diversity. On the other hand, nine reported that they most disliked the racism and four more reported they disliked the discrimination. For these reasons, students at this school can indeed count themselves among the cosmopolitan; a cosmopolitanism from below that recognizes the cultural and linguistic capital that immigrant youth possess (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002). This pedagogical combination of pan-immigrant identity and cosmopolitanism has the potential to rid these young people of their "absolutist identities" and "parochial attachments" so that they cohabitate peacefully in the global city. I am not arguing against peaceful coexistence, but interrogating schools' and ultimately states' hegemonic techniques of creating the conditions under which their subjects create themselves.

Rose also interviewed a teacher who had been working at the school for five years. This teacher described her school as one where students "come from many different places, they speak many different languages. We hope that when they work in small groups that they will help each other learn English…Each class has a unique mixture of personalities and cultures and we have to constantly be changing the way that we teach to fit our students." Rose then asked her specifically about the relationship among various racial, ethnic, linguistic, and cultural groups. The following dialogue ensued:

> Teacher: Hmmm. I think there's a lot of things that go on at our school that teachers don't know about, a lot of conversations and feelings. From what I've seen, I've heard some of the students saying that one group is treated better than another group. Um, last year, a lot of the Haitian students got

together and said that some of the teachers were discriminating against them and that they were not being treated fairly. So when the earthquake [in Haiti] happened, we responded as a school and everybody was, you know, really supporting Haiti. The Chinese students got upset and said, "There was an earthquake in China last year, you guys didn't do anything for us!" Um, so I think that there's always this feeling of yes, I am supportive of these people in my class, I respect them, I wanna work with them, but in the end people also feel, students feel this uh something drawing them back into this [their own] culture group and there's definitely other feelings that they hold, um, when they're with people who are from their same culture.

Rose: I understand, the conflict, there was a jealousy between like since Haiti had the earthquake, which the Chinese have an earthquake before Haiti…

Teacher: But in class none of that was apparent. The students get along. It's almost like they have a separate way that they act towards one another in class as opposed to when they go to their clubs after school.

Rose: So you mean like when they go to clubs after school it's different, like they don't talk to each other, less talking and stuff like that?

Teacher: It's just, they still talk to each other, it's just there's more of tendency to think about themselves in their cultural identity rather than in their class identity. It's like there's two separate identities there.

Rose: Yeah, sometimes that happen in my school, too. Like you could see all Haitians together, Spanish together, Chinese together, sitting like in the cafeteria…group by group…

Teacher: But overall I don't sense too much tension between groups here. I think there's a lot of mutual respect and understanding that everybody's different and, you know, no one is right, no one is wrong. Even when we talked about religion in class, the students were really open, you know, they wanted to find out more about the different religions and a few kids started to defend their religion and say it was right, but then they realized quickly that that wasn't gonna work [laughter] when you have so many different religions in one classroom.

In this teacher's eyes, students mostly get along, but they compete for recognition. They understand one another to the point of "no one is right, no one is wrong." All cultural ideas, beliefs and values have equal worth and should be tolerated, even respected. However, for this to work, students must maintain separate identities—one cultural for the more private affairs of

after school clubs, the other more public and based upon membership of a particular classroom community. It is only in private, cultural moments, not in the public classroom space that demands for recognition are made. Significantly, this teacher also mentions religious tolerance; tolerance's genealogy locates its initial development in the need for post-Reformation tolerance of beliefs and opinions, which subsequently became strongly associated with the founding of the U.S. and modern nation-state consolidation (Brown, 2006). Tolerance discourse has since shifted "from the tolerance of beliefs or opinions (religion and other matters of "conscience"), which are generally considered subjective, to the tolerance of identities rooted in ideologically naturalized differences (race, ethnicity, sexuality), which are generally considered objective" (Brown, 2006, p. 78). Such a discourse becomes a hegemonic project as it strengthens the power of the dominant. In the case of conflict between and among immigrant groups and within groups themselves, whiteness is completely erased. Put another way, those who tolerate and have established the hierarchy of those tolerated never enter the picture. Those with marked culture—various immigrant groups—are tolerated depending upon how closely they approximate whiteness, middle class-ness, and the native English speaking. The exchange between Rose and the teacher continued in the following way:

Rose: What kinds of conflict do you see between different groups?

Teacher: Um, we've seen students fight in the park [across the street from the school] over something that was said. It's usually teenager stuff like gossip, she said this about me and then instead of getting your friends, it divides into ethnic groups. Um, sometimes that happens. We did have, and the boys do it, too, like gather the troops [laughter] if they feel like they need to have a fight, but it doesn't happen very often. Like I've only maybe three times heard of this happening in our school. Um, I also see some conflicts in class with language. I've heard a lot of kids picking on the Chinese language particularly like my first year teaching here I heard a lot of like mocking the sounds of the Chinese language, you know, just because I feel like there's a huge cultural divide there between the way how people act in groups, in large groups of people. Um, you're either

really extroverted or extremely introverted and so I saw that a lot of our Chinese students were more introverted and the other kids were kind of picking on them. Um, but now like that our school's been around for a while, I feel that that's gotten a lot better and there's less of that 'cause in advisory we talk about this and we try to talk to the students about it in class. I don't really feel like there's that many conflicts between students.

Rose: What do you think causes these conflicts?

Teacher: Um, communication [laughter]. A lot of problems are caused because people are speaking in their native language and they, like I've heard a lot of time in class like, "Oh, so and so said something about me, I just know it." Even though you didn't understand that language you assumed that they were gossiping about you. So when people are speaking different languages sometimes communication breaks down and that really can cause a lot of conflicts in class and outside of class.

Rose: Yep.

Teacher: But also, you know, cultural differences, just, um, you know different ways of interacting with people like however you grew up treating people. Even like distance between, like in American culture we like a lot of distance between, we don't like somebody talking up in our face [laughter] and I've notice that like the kids sometimes that happens.

Rose: How do you help resolve conflict between groups in this school?

Teacher: So when the Chinese students felt really bad about the earthquake, we had a little intervention with some of the leaders of the Chinese club. We were sitting in [the coordinator of student affairs'] office we really talked it out. I think listening, listening to the problem, recognizing it's there and helping people understand where we're coming from as a school helps a lot. Like if students understand that teachers are trying to treat everybody the same, that there is not a malicious, you know, we're treating one group differently than the other then that seems to help a lot. And in class, you know, we focus on positivity, you know, reinforcing positive behaviors and telling the kids…like, "you're working well with him, good job!" or giving positive feedback to people about their behavior. And if there is a serious problem then we intervene as a school. Like we're gonna do a whole thing on bullying, um because we've had a lot of name calling, but it's not between the different ethnic groups, it's more just like teenagers being teenagers.

Significantly, 50 of the 100 students who completed our survey either agreed or strongly agreed that students have conflict because of language. Conversely, only 12 students reported that they

disagree or strongly disagree with the statement that students from different countries get along well in my school. It is not my assertion that teenagers do not have conflict and even physical altercations with one another because of "typical teenage issues" such as gossiping and linguistic misunderstandings. I would, however, argue that attributing conflict solely to these factors is an oversimplification. Mocking the sounds of the Chinese language, for example, is about power and contributes to the construction of the mocked as "perpetual foreigner" (Tuan, 1998); this mocking can even be construed as *in*tolerant and reminiscent of anti-Asian racism inflicted by whites when they feel their status is threatened. During my first few years at this school, great tensions existed between Chinese and Latino students, Mexicans in particular, to the point of two major violent incidents involving members of both groups. I, myself, intercepted a metal-rod-wielding student who was determined to inflict harm upon a Latino student's body. It is not surprising that Chinese and Latinos were the two predominant groups in the school. These incidents are about much more than linguistic misunderstanding and typical teenage issues.

At the end of our data collection, we returned to each co-researcher's problem tree. I asked Rose what she thought about her initial hypothesis that racial, cultural, and linguistic differences might be the cause of conflict between and among immigrant groups. She responded:

> A little bit. Not really. I don't really see it, but like when I was interviewing Mohammed he said sometimes kids will be speaking their home language, they don't understand and they start acting up, and want to fight and stuff…When he first came to the United States he was speaking in his own language and they don't listen, but they wanted to fight with him, which he just walk away, he didn't want to have an argument with nobody.

She went on to discuss the epigraph that appears at the beginning of this chapter in which her student participant proposed that the solution to conflict is to have performances in the auditorium to help students understand the various cultures represented at the school. It is worth repeating here that such theatrical performances can result in the reconstitution of the boundaries

of "normal," and define the performers as different and "not normal," that is, efforts for inclusive multitculturalism in fact exclude and construct margin and center (Ngo, 2010). Just as with the discourse of tolerance, history and politics disappear from theatre designed to help us all to "get along." Rose and her participants do list cultural and linguistic differences as a contributor to conflict, however, race is conspicuously absent; once again, neoliberalism's post-racial rhetoric supports the declining significance of race in the politics of difference. To further complicate the absence of race talk in this school, race almost always corresponds to language, that is, those from the Middle East (Yemen, in particular) speak Arabic; those from Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Honduras and Guatemala speak Spanish; those from West Africa often speak French and Fulani, and those from China speak the Fujianese dialect associated with that region. Of course, there are exceptions to this: Latinos whose phenotype clearly reveals their African heritage and medium-brown skinned Yemeni boys with course, curly hair who might be confused for Spanish speakers. In her study of race talk in a diverse high school, Pollock (2004) argues the following:

> From nineteenth-century laws denying basic literacy to slaves, through decades of twentieth-century battles over mixing "the races" in desegregated schools, to contemporary multicultural debates on "colorblind" college admissions or curricular "multiculturalism," our recurring debates over how race does and should matter in the United Sates have routinely circled back to address American schools. School are key institutions where Americans "*make* each other racial" (Olsen, 1997): not only are schools central places for forming racial "identities," but they are key places where we rank, sort, order and differently equip our children along "racial" lines even as we hope for schooling to be the great societal equalizer. (p. 4)

In short, the absence of voiced racial descriptors and those descriptors said privately in hush tones—being colormute—actually serve to reproduce racial inequalities in schools and beyond (Pollock, 2004). Though we hear no mention of neoliberalism in Pollack's argument, neoliberalism and being colormute both contend that we all have equal opportunities in the

global city's market place, which exacerbates, rather than alleviates, racial, class, gender, linguistic and immigration (and documentation) status inequities.

Rose then added that she often notices conflict *within* groups; this was not something that she had originally hypothesized. She described a time when she witnessed conflict in the bathroom between a more established group of Haitian girls and a more recently arrived girl. I asked, "Other than teenagers just being mean to one another, what might cause this?" The co-researchers called out various responses such as "jealousy," "they just want to be popular," "arrogance," and "this happens to everybody." Referring to the group of more established girls, Yvonne said, "They all came here, they learn English, now they talk English well and stuff. This one just came, she don't understand, she's a ninth grader, but not that much, she still didn't be here that much. It's about, it's about cursing at other people lower than who they are and these people does it because people did it to them." Rose admitted, "Yeah, I did that." I asked who might benefit from this *intra*-group conflict. They responded quickly in succession, "yourself," "nobody," "the people around you." Despite Yvonne's comment of "cursing people lower than you," they do not immediately see that intra-group conflict also serves a regulatory function. Brown (2006) contends that within modern governmentality, "the state is not the wellspring or agent of all governing power, nor does it monopolize political power; rather, the power and rationalities governing individual subjects and the populace as a whole operate through a range of formally nonpolitical knowledges and institutions" (p. 79). I would add that this exposes the contradictory dynamics of a late modern, globalized world in which the nation-state is both increasingly porous—and less relevant if not irrelevant in relation to belonging—*and* incredibly powerful as a site for control and surveillance for those from non-dominant groups. With the co-researchers' dialogue above, as in Asmaou's chapter, we hear the disciplinary function that peers

perform on behalf of the nation-state; in both circumstances this policing reinscribes hierarchy and power relations. Tolerance discourse plays a role here as it

> appears both as a disciplinary strategy to control a motley, potentially ungovernable and growing number of transnational affiliations in a time of weakening nation-states and dramatic international population migration, and as a restorative strategy to legitimate weakening nation-state sovereignty and thinning notions of nation-state citizenship. That is, not only is tolerance a tactical political response aimed at quelling the disturbances of the peace wrought by erupting fundamentalism and other identity-based demands, it is also a technique for relegitimating liberal universalism and restoring the notion of the culturally unified nation at a moment when both are faltering. (Brown, 2006, p. 95)

I would again add that nation-state sovereignty and citizenship weaken for some more than others—Yvonne's chapter is a powerful reminder of the preeminent role that the nation-state plays in the lives of the undocumented. Schools, as institutions of the nation-state, serve as sites in which this peer policing can occur; the policies and practices enacted by adults also contribute to this dynamic. The research site and the school that the co-researchers attend, however, are not "typical" schools.

In stark contrast to Valenzuela's (1999) Seguín High School, for example, schools in the Internationals Network have an unprecedented record of successfully educating newcomer immigrant youth who are ELs (Lee & Walsh, forthcoming). In explaining the relative success of the Internationals, scholars have pointed to the Internationals' commitment to valuing the cultural and linguistic diversity of its students, the small size of the schools, the interdisciplinary project-based curriculum that incorporates language development; performance-based assessment; and the collaborative team-based teaching (Fine, 2005; Fine et al., 2007). Though there is no mention of social justice in its literature, the Internationals Network has an implicit social justice mission that reflects attention to both issues of recognition and redistribution. The schools strive to graduate immigrant students from high school and ensure they are college ready so that they have the tools to combat the challenges in New York City's hourglass economy,

which positions those with limited educations for low skill jobs with low pay and provide few entry points to the middle class. Furthermore, linguistic and cultural differences are embraced and "a badge of prestige replaces the 'stigma' of immigrant status" (www.internationalsnps.org). Additionally, my five and half years of teaching experience in an International high school inform me of the network's efforts to enact additive, rather than subtractive curricula and social relations with its students (Valenzuela, 1999). Yet, as we hear from Rose, her participants, and the co-researchers, various immigrant groups vie for power in this school and intra-group conflict lets the newest arrivals know their place. The school embraces a discourse of tolerance because it wants to contain interpersonal and inter-group conflict and violence. I cannot help but speculate that if the school personnel remotely detected the undercurrents of tolerance discourse, they would vehemently resist it. This speaks to this discourse's ability to disguise its hegemonic intentions. Liberal insistence on the privatization of cultural identity and on the development of the autonomous public individual is deeply embedded within tolerance discourse; liberalism "prides itself on having discovered how to reduce the hungers and aggressive tendencies of collective identity while permitting individuals private enjoyment of such identity" and as such negotiates the differences within the dominant culture caused by transnational population flows (Brown, 2006, p. 169-173). In short, it would be surprising, given its global and disguised nature, if tolerance discourse had not made its way through the schoolhouse doors.

Rose conceptualized her project within an action research framework: She identified an issue for which she wanted to effect change and therefore her study, like those of peers, is rooted in (in)justice. Throughout her research, Rose's impulse was to advocate for coalition building among immigrant groups. Though I've troubled her use of tolerance and her dictum of "we're all immigrants after all," my intention is not to dismiss her longing for peaceful coexistence, but to

push this in a direction that recognizes power differentials. Rose and her participants both recognize and experience the impact of the injustices that such conflict causes, and they also theorize the reason for conflict. This, in turn, leads them to imagine worlds not yet (Greene, 1995).

Interrogating Justice

Tolerance regulates diversity without addressing inequality. Contrary to the racialized and exclusionary discourses present in nativist and neo-nationalist movements in liberal Western democracies, tolerance discourse cloaks its hegemony in the language of democracy and freedom. Through Rose's investigation of the nature of cultural, linguistic, and racial conflict in a school for immigrant English learners, we bear witness to the role that tolerance plays in identity politics in an early twenty-first century global city. Rose grapples with making sense of complex relationships in a highly diverse school within a highly diverse city and imagines a multicultural society in which conflict based on identity markers is nonexistent. Her school is part of a larger network of schools with almost thirty years of history advocating for social and economic justice for immigrant youth and their families. Herein lies the conflict: equity and therefore justice cannot prevail within a discourse of tolerance. Rose's school and our research site, with all their innovation and advocacy, mirror their more traditional counterparts.

> When, for example, middle and high schoolers are urged to tolerate one another's race, ethnicity, culture, religion, or sexual orientation, there is no suggestion that the differences at issue, or the identities through which these differences are negotiated, have been socially and historically constituted and are themselves the effect of power and hegemonic norms, or even of certain discourses about race, ethnicity, sexuality, and culture. Rather, difference itself is what students learn they must tolerate. (Brown, 2006, p. 16)

The pedagogical power of this discourse does not negate the fact that Rose genuinely desires more equitable and pacific relationships among her peers, and in broader society. She desires to

understand the conflict she witnesses among various groups so that immigrant solidarity might be achieved, and so that these groups might collectively address the linguistic, cultural, and racial marginalization to which they are subjected. Fraser's (2003, 2009) conceptualization of justice projects is clearly reflected here as Rose and her participants theorize the reasons for conflict and imagine alternatives. They propose that the causes of such conflict are rooted in desires for recognition, as evidenced in the teacher's description of the school's and students' reaction to earthquakes in two of the students' home countries. This explanation presupposes that teachers' recognition of students' daily concerns and lives is limited. Another participant explains conflict through a struggle for power, essentially calling for a redistribution of this resource. This second explanation assumes that power is also limited and furthermore is a zero-sum game—if one person or group is empowered, this necessarily comes at the expense of other people or groups.

Globalizing capitalism has heightened the salience of culture—and therefore the possibility of cultural conflict—by accelerating and increasing the flow of not only capital, but images, signs, and people across national borders (Appadurai, 1996; Fraser, 2003). Globalization and its accompanying transcultural hybridization create societies that are "veritable cauldrons of cultural struggle. Virtually none of their narratives, discourses, and interpretive schema goes unchallenged; all are contested, rather, as social actors struggle to institutionalize their own horizons of value as authoritative" (Fraser, 2003, p. 57). Because of globalization, contemporary society, Fraser further (2009) argues, is culturally unbounded, institutionally differentiated, ethically pluralistic, intensely contested, and one which considers status hierarchy illegitimate (pp. 55-56). As we saw in Yvonne's chapter, in Bourdieu's nation-state field struggle is the order of the day. Here we see this struggle extend into one of the state's social institutions; in school,

the struggle for cultural recognition and the redistribution of resources, power in this case, manifests itself as students both reinforce and challenge status hierarchies. They challenge the culture and economic order of things so that they might participate in school life on par with their peers. Our society, the society of the global city, "gives rise to a shifting field of cross-cutting status distinctions. In this field, social actors do not occupy a preordained 'place.' Rather, they participate actively in a *dynamic regime of ongoing struggles for recognition*" (Fraser, 2003, p. 57, italics in original). Rose and her participants indeed reveal the ongoing struggle for recognition and redistribution; however, as the co-researchers demonstrated in their data analysis dialogue, they are well aware of the preordained U.S. racial hierarchy.

Like Haby and her participants, Rose and her participants focus their attention on misrecognition and maldistribution because the cultural and economic are more clearly seen and felt. Misrepresentation, on the other hand, is less visible and less palpable. Identifying global structures and economic systems—as opposed to the nation-state—as a culprit in denying opportunities to live the good life eludes many of us. Yet, these structures and systems are partially what have catalyzed the mass migration of people and necessitated a discourse of tolerance.

Conclusion

Globalization has led to the unprecedented mixing of the world's people under circumstances that are often "economically precarious" and "socially deracinated" (Brown, 2006, p. 86). The globalization of neoliberalism has stoked the presence of a discourse of tolerance in liberal Western democracies that ultimately contributes to the formulation of the nation-state and its citizenship. Schools and the citizenry, as institutions and agents of the state, subsequently

promote a tolerance discourse that attempts to tame nonliberal, transnational forces (Islam, for example) and that paints cultural difference as an inherent site of conflict.

Rose's study both reproduces and resists the hegemonic functions of a discourse of tolerance. Her personal history and research question and findings are emblematic of young immigrants' experiences in the global city; they provide invaluable insights into how the context of the global city shapes the conditions of immigrant adolescents' lives and the ways in which they strive to make sense of these conditions. As the epigraph to this chapter indicates, culture is indeed seen as a site of conflict in a high school for immigrant youth and this conflict can be reduced, if not eliminated, if young people simply teach one another about their cultures. Language, as an integral component of culture, also proves to be a site of conflict. Ultimately, one of Rose's participants contends that conflict occurs over discussion of "who is better than who," "about cultures and things," and "power versus power." Rose strives to understand conflict because she wants to see it eliminated. The research site and Rose's own school are indeed places where the world's populations meet and this necessitates daily experimentation with multiracial, multilingual, and multicultural living and democratic practices. Both schools are at once resistant, justice-oriented projects and sites of the reproduction of hegemonic discourses. The purpose of this chapter has been to interrogate tolerance as a technique for nation-state and subject making through the lens of cultural political economy.

Just as the discourse surrounding documentation status explicated in Yvonne's chapter serves to include and exclude, tolerance discourse constructs a status hierarchy based upon conformity to liberalism's ideal of the autonomous individual who chooses to privately engage in cultural activities. Those who publicly exhibit cultural values and practices that are at odds with liberalism are deemed the tolerated. This discourse summarily dismisses liberalism as cultural

and economic by positioning it as universal. Analyzing tolerance and conflict through the cultural and the economic reveals that immigrant ELs strive for cultural and linguistic recognition and struggle with issues of real and perceived power differentials between and among groups. According to Rose, this prevents the development of pan-immigrant solidarity. Rose's deft ethnographic eye also reveals intra-group conflict that serves to disrupt national, cultural and linguistic cohesion by pitting the more recently arrived against the more established.

Again, Fraser provides a justice framework for this project that both differentiates and imbricates recognition, redistribution, and representation. Immigrant youth want their teachers to acknowledge the issues that impact their daily lives and they want to minimize power struggles and the conflict they cause. Conversely, global capital and those who produce it, shepherd it around, and subsequently contribute to massive human migration and dislocations remain unseen, and perhaps untouchable, and therefore cannot be the subject of redress. Nor can the governments that create and sustain a discourse of tolerance that fails to address inequity. This meta-injustice appears to be the challenge of our global times.

Chapter 7
Conclusion

In preparation for our presentation for Immigration Awareness at Medgar Evers College, I brought in The New York Times article that outlined the major components of Arizona's SB1070 law. We read it aloud, taking turns. Rose did not want to read because she was still angry at me because of the confrontation we had about her role in the elevator incident. They seemed really interested in what this [immigration policy] was all about, particularly Yvonne who, when I asked her thoughts, replied, "Madness. They racist." We then continued our conference presentation preparation and worked on embedding our research questions within this larger sociopolitical context.
Field note, April 29, 2010

In April 2010, Arizona's governor signed the nation's most draconian law on "illegal" immigration, which made failing to carry immigration documents a crime and empowered police to detain anyone they believed might be in the country illegally. A colleague of mine, who is a professor at CUNY's Medgar Evers College and advisor to the Latin American Student Association, organizes the campus' annual Immigration Awareness conference. She knew of my dissertation project and invited our research group to speak to the conference attendees. A week before the presentation we set about educating ourselves on the legislation and conceived how we might make connections between this recent event and our own research. Of course, this issue is at the heart of Yvonne's work. At the conference itself, in front of an audience of approximately thirty people, she "came out" publicly as the daughter of undocumented parents and for the first time began to cry when discussing the motivation for her research question. She implored the adults in the audience to challenge this unjust law because of the impact it might have on people like her mother.

In the field note above, I also wrote that Rose did not want to participate in the shared reading of *The New York Times* article, nor, from what I remember, did she really contribute to the discussion. She was, however, very engaged at the conference presentation itself. She refused to participate in the reading and preparation because she was angry with me; I had previously

confronted her about her behavior in the elevator at our research site. Our research site was located on a campus that housed four small schools—the product of large "failing" high school reorganization. In addition to having to pass through metal detectors every morning, students on this four-storied campus are not allowed to use the elevator unless a physical or medical condition prevents them from climbing the stairs. Because the student co-researchers typically entered and exited the building with me, riding the elevator was not an issue as the elevator operator was acquainted with me from my time as a teacher at the school. As a former teacher, I also circumvented the metal detector while the co-researchers were subjected to it. On one occasion, I stayed behind to talk with our research site's principal and the co-researchers left on their own. When I later followed them, I encountered the elevator operator talking on her phone near the school's front steps as I went to unlock my bike. She moved the phone from her face and asked if she could talk to me; I waited as she finished her call. She informed me that because only three of the co-researchers entered the elevator with me (I think Haby had taken the stairs up) she did not allow Haby into the elevator. Haby later told me that she simply turned around and took the stairs. As the other co-researchers exited the elevator, the operator informed me that someone called her "Miss Crabby." I discovered that it was Rose who allegedly said this and when I asked her about it she reported that she only said, "Oh, snap!" This led us into a discussion of how others might perceive her and our research group as a result of this incident. She was insistent that the elevator operator was rude and though I did not disagree with her I had to protect the research group and our project and I asked that she apologize. She refused.

I share this field note because it embodies the complexities of working with young people in the way that I've described throughout this dissertation. Such a project offered uncommon access to the ways in which immigrant ELs make sense of local situations in a global city at a

time of unprecedented movement of people, capital, and neoliberal social and economic policies across borders. Our conference presentation not only provided a forum for these young people to educate adults about issues facing immigrant ELs and possibly spur them to action, it also honed their presentation skills and offered Yvonne a cathartic moment to deal with her fears about her mother's documentation status. The field note also highlights a moment that risked my relationship with one of the student co-researchers because I felt that the elevator incident could not go unaddressed. The note reminded me of the beauty and the risks involved in breaking boundaries and challenging the false dichotomies of subject/object and researcher/researched, of blurring the boundaries between and among research, the academy, and pedagogy. It also reminded me of the conspicuousness of my teacher identity. If I had never been a teacher, I think I would have handled this school situation quite differently. In fact, I was their teacher in the course that preceded the implementation of their projects. If I were an "outside" researcher, I might have ignored the incident altogether for fear of blowing my impartial cover.

As indicated since the introduction, I have never claimed impartiality. The methods employed in this study and the epistemological foundation upon which they rest essentially demanded that I relinquish impartiality, some authority, and all pretense of classic objectivity. I traded classic objectivity for Harding's (1987) strong objectivity, which "requires that we investigate the relation between subject and object rather than deny the existence of, or seek unilateral control over, this relation" (p. 152). I additionally replaced classic generalizability with theoretical and provocative generalizability, that is, the architecture of the theory employed here buttresses the fact that with a similar group of students I would have reached similar conclusions and that these young people's projects undeniably implore us to seek alternative economic, political, and social arrangements (Cammarota & Fine, 2008, p. 227). In fact, this study was

designed to remix and reimagine current arrangements in cahoots with young people. "PAR stands on the epistemological grounds that persons who have historically been marginalized or silenced carry substantial knowledge about the architecture of injustice, in their minds, bodies, and souls; in ways that are conscious and floating; individual and collective" (Cammarota & Fine, 2008, p. 223). My hope throughout this project was to contribute to the creation of a new generation of scholar-activists, yet not waiting until they were granted access to the academy to do so. In fact, I hoped that their "legitimate peripheral participation" (Lave & Wenger, 1991) in critical social science research would pry open academic doors that typically remain shut tight to immigrant youth because their standardized testing history renders them less attractive to admissions committees.

The epistemological and methodological assumptions undergirding this study were partially dictated by conducting ethnography within the context of the global city.[28] Investigating how the context of the city shapes the conditions of the lives of immigrant adolescents who are learning English would have yielded many different results had the youth themselves not been involved in the formulation and design of the project and in the data collection and analysis. Imagine, for example, how forthcoming and honest the young women in Haby's focus group were with her. They shared similar life circumstances in that they immigrated to the U.S. at a particular age, they are learning a new language and culture, they are all young women, they all have dark skin. I can't imagine that I as a white, forty-something man would have gathered the same data. Also picture Yvonne with the undocumented young man in her study. I remember when we attended this student's advisory at the invitation of the school's college counselor and Yvonne detailed her research project to recruit participants. Included in her pitch was the fact

[28] Christine Malsbary and I presented a concept paper on this topic at the University of Pennsylvania's Ethnography Forum on February 22, 2013.

that both her parents were undocumented and that in her church she met ambitious young people who were stunted because they had been deemed "illegal." Finally, imagine the relevance of survey questions that were not only administered by immigrant ELs, but crafted by them. In short, gaining deep insight into the lives of racially, culturally, and linguistically diverse immigrant ELs required breaking methodological boundaries and theorizing methods in new ways, and such breaking and theorizing would not have been possible without them.

In the spirit of Weis and Fine (2012), I sought to "trouble educational designs that attend singularly to structural evidence of oppression or autonomous safe spaces of resistance or individual lives of resilience/despair as divorced from structural constraints" (p. 173). Such troubling eschews the cultural as ephemeral and mere superstructure in favor of a "critical bifocality [with] dedicated theoretical and empirical attention to structures *and* lives" (Weis & Fine, 2012, p. 174, italics in original). Some research, for example, might have focused solely on the warm, caring, safe spaces that the research site and the co-researchers' school are. They are indeed that. And because these are marginalized space, research that affirms their success and importance is crucial. These are spaces where I chose to work because I could be who I am and teach in a manner that I thought might make a difference in the world. Through their pedagogical practices, their commitment to advocacy for immigrant youth and their families, and structures designed to support teachers and ELs, these schools provide a space that acknowledges the pain of exclusion and converts it into demands for inclusion that are not assimilationist, into recognition that does not silence, and into more just arrangements of their own creation. I have, however, consciously avoided terms like safe space and resilience throughout this project. "Safe spaces reveal the miraculous way people cope with oppression but do not easily shed light on the structural architecture of the problem" and this can lull us into advocating for more places of

refuge rather than for structural change (Weis & Fine, 2012). Resilience is often associated with immigrant optimism and hard work in spite of obstacles, which erases the various forms of resistance—to both daily micro-aggressions and structural inequities—in which young people and adults engage, both individually and collectively. The dynamics of the social politics of the everyday are carried by immigrant ELs in their minds, bodies, and souls as they traverse this global city's boroughs; as they apply for green cards, governmental assistance, college admission and financial aid; and as they sit for high-stakes exit exams in a language they, at times, do not understand. Because of this embodiment, they understand the dual forces of misrecognition and maldistribution that result from these exams, from unjust immigration policies, from gender discrimination and from intergroup and intragroup conflict. At times, the dual forces manifest themselves in an allostatic load—"the culmulative biological wear and tear that can result from excessive cycles of response (i.e. too frequent and/or of inappropriate duration or scope) in these systems as they seek to maintain allostasis in the face of environmental challenge" (Nielsen & Seeman, 2007, p. 3)—that at once contributes to dis-ease and spurs them to action.

Boundary breaking provided me with the raw material to then remix and reimagine theory. Yvonne's chapter is replete with theorizing citizenship, subject making, identity, and the politics of belonging. It breaks theoretical boundaries as it recognizes the contingency, fluidity, and incompleteness of identity in global times. Yvonne herself is at once Senegalese, Bajan, and African American, yet in Barbados and in her Caribbean neighborhood her speech renders her not quite Caribbean enough. As an undocumented woman, her mother's identity is more heavily regulated by the state as she is ineligible for identification and employment and health benefits. She is subsequently relegated to the informal and casual economy that has developed in global cities like New York because of the movement of financial capital. It is not the undocumented

who have produced such labor markets; global capital has produced them and enticed the undocumented—and immigrants generally—to join their ranks. Yvonne's study also challenges legalistic notions of citizenship and begs us to reconsider pathways to citizenship. Her mother has been in the U.S. for more than two decades and has a daughter who is a citizen; she also contributes to economic and cultural life. We certainly need to reconsider, Yvonne and her research participants argue, citizenship status for young people who came here with their parents and we further need to recognize the dire circumstances created by global capital that force migration.

Asmaou's chapter, on the other hand, pushes up against the theoretical boundaries of language-in-education policy. More specifically, it highlights the cultural and economic repercussions of language-in-testing policy. The fact that the state does not produce testing documents in Ewé or Moré, or French for that matter, sends messages about the speakers' cultural value and recognition; in Haby's words, "they want to change you to something that you are not." This also reflects the lack of political will—and consequently educational funding—to maintain and develop immigrants' native language literacy, which is essentially a form of capital dispossession. These young people are also keenly aware of the economic marginalization to which they will be subjected if they are unable to pass the high-stakes tests that are ultimately measures of English proficiency. Like Yvonne's work, Asmaou's comparative study of the experiences of immigrant ELs in a traditional and an International high school exposes how language, in particular, defines individual and group identity, inclusion and exclusion, and nationhood and citizenship.

Haby similarly addresses identity issues, but she does so through lens of a gendered cultural political economy. Young immigrant women who are ELs experience what they

consider to be "normal" and even anticipated hybridized identity development in ways that challenge binary, "caught between two worlds" conceptualizations. Furthermore, the political economy of the global city requires, in some cases, that young women engage with the labor market to both support themselves and possibly make household financial contributions. Haby contends that restricting or eliminating opportunities such as work, internships, or extracurricular activities has particular repercussions for young women as they will not develop the social and cultural capital necessary for some degree of independence. As such, both formal and informal education (learning how to secure a green card, for example) hold particular importance for young women.

In her own way, Rose also tackles issues of identity. Her school and the research site are the results of globalization processes that have created societies in which the world's people congregate in "veritable cauldrons of cultural struggle" (Fraser, 2003, p. 57). Under these circumstances, Rose wonders how all immigrant groups might band together and eliminate the conflict between and among different groups that she attributes to cultural, linguistic, and racial difference. Schools are places where immigrant ELs, and all students for that matter, hear and internalize a discourse of tolerance, which at first glance genuinely strives to reduce the probability of the eruption of violence due to difference. However, an archaeological dig into tolerance discourse unearths another agenda—one that addresses diversity without addressing inequality and distinguishes the tolerant from the tolerated. Such a conceptualization of tolerance implies that it can be taught through the understanding and even appreciation of difference, which eliminates any historical and social construction of difference and thereby eliminates power. Young people are inundated with "soft" multicultural messages of color-blindness and

tolerance and Rose's work reminds us that the neoliberal economy reproduces inequalities that are played out along racial lines.

Collectively, these youth researchers have emphasized that, in the context of the neoliberal global city, language, citizenship status, gender, and racial and cultural difference matter in the quotidian experiences of *all* youth, but matter for some more than others. Inserting discourse and identity formation—the cultural—into the political economy forces us to consider both the material and immaterial aspects of social relations. The social relations among immigrant groups feature prominently in each of the co-researcher's chapters. This emphasizes that, in the global city, immigrants define themselves in relation to one another in addition to the white middle class standard. Because new immigrants often settle in the economically and racially stratified neighborhoods that neoliberal social and economic policies have created, they also define themselves in relation to African Americans and U.S.-born Latinos. Language also figures into these social relations as we hear perceptions of the privileging of Spanish and the marginalization of other languages in educational policy. These policies have both cultural and economic implications for immigrant youth. Documentation status is also a marker around which immigrant youth form their identities. Being undocumented is forced into relief when these young people apply to college and are ineligible for federal financial aid. Gender crosscuts all of the just-described hierarchies, that is, undocumented immigrant women like Yvonne's mother, for example, confront a particular set of cultural and economic circumstances. As Sassen (2001) reminds us, women and immigrants are global capital's new offshore proletariat.

This project is one way in which immigrant adolescents who are learning English understand and respond to the conditions of their lives in the global city. They recognize the established hierarchies and inequalities and seek to understand them. What is also clear

throughout the chapters is that they both resist and reproduce these hierarchies and inequalities. The young people's research is in and of itself an act of resistance and in its execution they acknowledge the ways in which they are raced, but, in turn, say things that indicate they have internalized the racial hierarchy and the Latino threat discourse, for example. This raises a question about how representative of their peers these young people might be. They made the effort to apply to a course that would make them eligible to take college-level courses while still in high school. However, I know that the course was presented as both enrichment and credit recovery. Asmaou, Haby, Rose, and Yvonne are all currently attending college: Asmaou at a four-year selective SUNY campus, Haby at a less selective, four-year CUNY campus, Rose at a CUNY community college where she has just passed remedial classes, and Yvonne at community college in upstate New York. Yet, under the right circumstances, they all crafted equally provocative questions and collected and analyzed complex data. In addition to this academic marker, the co-researchers are all black young women. Young Arabic-speaking men from Yemen would likely have told different stories about hybridized identities and language politics. Similarly, work with young black men may have proven to be less optimistic. I would hypothesize that we would have heard about more experience with surveillance and the criminal justice system. Based on the data reported here, similar work with Spanish speakers would have undoubtedly exposed a different angle on the Latino threat narrative, if it surfaced at all.

A final word on working with young people in this way: Though I've taught immigrant young people with a "funds of knowledge" (Moll, 2000) approach, as I listened to and read through dozens of pages of field notes and transcripts, I was still shocked by how accurately they are able to read the economic, cultural, social and political landscape. Unlike me, they have never taken courses in sociology or economics. Their read of this landscape—like social science

theory and like massive quantitative data sets—contributes profoundly to our understanding of the cultural, economic, political and social world. Young people are social scientists *in their own right* and therefore providing them with the tools to become research partners helps us all to uncover what would otherwise remain hidden; YPAR has revelatory power. "We realize we are opening up new epistemological, theoretical, methodological, and ethical quandaries about how to make claims about what is designed to be unseen (e.g. the invisible hand or capital or racism or neoliberalism)" (Weis & Fine, 2012, p. 177). As a teacher who has worked within a social justice framework, my instinct was always to assume that young people had experience with and insight into unjust social arrangements that I myself may have lacked. It would have been arrogant on my part to assume I was the first to expose them to issues of injustice. Such experiences and insights served as the jumping off point in much of my pedagogical practice, despite the critique that I was creating fatalistic young people by "exposing" them to such issues and that I was not equally presenting "other sides of the story." YPAR is not solely epistemology; it is pedagogy—a pedagogy of citizenship that "offers an alternative paradigm to the neo-liberal shift in governance away from democratic decision making, the shrinking public sphere, and the prevailing emphasis upon personal accountability and responsibility (Cahill, 2007a)" (Cahill, Rios-Moore, & Threatts, 2008, p. 92). Most importantly, it is investment in young people and the power of their potential. It is quite fitting that a project critical of globalization and neoliberalism adopt epistemology, methodology, and pedagogy that offer powerful alternatives to hegemonic master narratives. It is also quite fitting that an ESL teacher steeped in the work of culturally relevant and critical pedagogies engage young people in this way. This was one way I could be culled and commissioned by immigrant youths' stories. It was one way I could be of use.

Statement of Purpose

We are a research collective, Transnational Researchers for Action and Change (T.R.A.C.), that investigates issues faced by immigrant adolescents, documented and undocumented, in New York City. We seek to understand these issues at all levels: the systems, ideologies, and deeply held beliefs and values created them; the attitudes, goals, and policies that perpetuate and enlarge them; and finally, the everyday manifestations of the issues. T.R.A.C. identifies issues that affect immigrant adolescents, formulates research questions, designs research methods, collects data, and with the results aspires to inform, educate, and take action that will effect change at many levels.

T·R·A·C
Transnational Researchers
for Action and Change

T·R·A·C
Transnational Researchers
for Action and Change

March 29, 2010

Our names are Asmaou Amadou, Haby Ly, Yvonne Ndiaye, Rosenerlyn Morisset, and Daniel Walsh. We are co-researchers on Daniel's dissertation project entitled "Borderlands, Boundaries, and Barriers: Immigrant Adolescents in Neoliberal, Globalized World," which is approved by the CUNY Graduate Center. This is a research study of newcomer immigrant adolescents who are learning English and their experiences in New York City, their schools, communities, and families. The study is expected to help schools, teachers, and policy makers understand your immigration experience and what it is like for you to live in and attend school in New York City.

In order to accomplish the above, we are asking you to participate in our project in one or more of the following ways:

- participating in two (2) one-on-one interviews that will last approximately 45 minutes each,
- participating in one (1) or two (2) focus groups that will last approximately 1 hour each,
- having a youth and/or adult co-researcher spend time with you inside and/or outside school,
- completing a digital photography project in which you will take pictures of things that represent you and your experiences and then explain these pictures to a researcher,
- completing a survey that takes approximately 45 minutes.

Overall, the research project will take place April 2010 – June 2010 and there will be approximately 10 participants in this study. Throughout the project, with your permission, we will make digital recordings of the one-on-one interviews, the focus groups, and the explanations of your digital photographs. Only the members of our research collective and Dr. Stacey Lee, Daniel's dissertation advisor, will have access to these recordings. All information gathered will be strictly confidential, and will be stored on Daniel's password protected home computer.

The risks from participating in this study are no more than encountered in everyday life. A benefit of participating is that you will contribute to an emergent body of literature on first generation immigrant youth.

We may publish results of the study either collectively or individually. We will write about the information you share with us using a false name that you can create. If you would like a copy of the study, please provide us with your address and we will send you a copy in the future.

Your participation in this project is completely voluntary and you may refuse to participate at any time with no penalty. If you have any questions about this research, you can contact Daniel

at (646) 206-9332 or dwalsh@gc.cuny.edu, or Daniel's advisor, Dr. Stacey Lee, at (608) 262-6846 or slee@education.wisc.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a participant in this study, you can contact Kay Powell, IRB Administrator, The Graduate Center/City University of New York, (212) 817-7525, kpowell@gc.cuny.edu. Additionally, each youth researcher's contact information is listed in the brochure that we distributed at your school.

Thank you for your consideration. I will give you a copy of this form to take with you. If you agree to participate in this research project, please sign below:

I agree to participate in this project. [circle one]:

Yes No

I agree to have the interviews (one-on-one, focus group, digital photography) digitally recorded. [circle one]:

Yes No

_____		_____	
Participant's signature	Date	Investigator's signature	Date
_____		_____	
Participant's name printed		Investigator's name printed	

PARENTAL PERMISSION FORM

March 29, 2010

Our names are Asmaou Amadou, Haby Ly, Yvonne Ndiaye, Rosenerlyn Morisset, and Daniel Walsh. We are co-researchers on Daniel's dissertation project entitled "Borderlands, Boundaries, and Barriers: Immigrant Adolescents in Neoliberal, Globalized World," which is approved by the CUNY Graduate Center. This is a research study of newcomer immigrant adolescents who are learning English and their experiences in New York City, their schools, communities, and families. The study is expected to help schools, teachers, and policy makers understand your child's immigration experience and what it is like for him/her to live in and attend school in New York City.

In order to accomplish the above, we are asking your child to participate in our project in one or more of the following ways:

- participating in two (2) one-on-one interviews that will last approximately 45 minutes each,
- participating in one (1) or two (2) focus groups that will last approximately 1 hour each,
- having a youth and/or adult co-researcher spend time with your child inside and/or outside school,
- completing a digital photography project in which your child will take pictures of things that represent him/her and his/her experiences and then explain these pictures to a researcher,
- completing a survey that takes approximately 45 minutes.

Overall, the research project will take place April 2010 – June 2010 and there will be approximately 10 participants in this study. Throughout the project, with your permission, we will make digital recordings of the one-on-one interviews, the focus groups, and the explanations of your child's digital photographs. Only the members of our research collective and Dr. Stacey Lee, Daniel's dissertation advisor, will have access to these recordings. All information gathered will be strictly confidential, and will be stored on Daniel's password protected home computer.

The risks from participating in this study are no more than encountered in everyday life. A benefit of participating is that your child will contribute to an emergent body of literature on first generation immigrant youth.

We may publish results of the study either collectively or individually. We will write about the information your child shares with us using a false name that s/he can create. If you would like a copy of the study, please provide us with your address and we will send you a copy in the future.

Your child's participation in this project is completely voluntary and s/he may refuse to participate at any time with no penalty. If you have any questions about this research, you can contact Daniel at (646) 206-9332 or dwalsh@gc.cuny.edu, or Daniel's advisor, Dr. Stacey Lee, at (608) 262-6846 or slee@education.wisc.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a participant in this study, you can contact Kay Powell, IRB Administrator, The Graduate Center/City University of New York, (212) 817-7525, kpowell@gc.cuny.edu. Additionally, each youth researcher's contact information is listed in the brochure that we distributed in your child's school.

Thank you for your consideration. We will give your child a copy of this form to return to you. If you agree to allow your child to participate in this research project, please sign below:

I agree to allow my child to participate in this project. [circle one]:

Yes No

I agree to have the interviews (one-on-one, focus group, digital photography) in which my child participates digitally recorded.
[circle one]:

Yes No

_____	_____
Parent/Guardian's signature Date	Investigator's signature Date
_____	_____
Parent/Guardian's name printed	Investigator's name printed

T.R.A.C.
Student and Adult Focus Groups

As we go around, can you please say your name, what grade you are in, what country you are from, how long you have been in the U.S., and finally tell us one thing that you love and one thing that you hate (any topic)?

- What is a focus group?
- What is the topic of this particular group?
- Ground rules
    - Confidentiality
    - Speak from your own experience.
    - Listen respectfully to the experiences of others.
    - If your experience is different from others, please tell the group how.

Asmaou

Describe your school to someone who knows nothing about it.

*What do you love about it?

*What do you hate about it?

Describe the opportunities that your school provides for you.

*After-school programs

*Resume building

*College prep

Tell us about a time that you felt really good about being in school.

Tell us about a time that you felt really disrespected in school.

What do you think could be done to improve your school?

What would have to happen for these changes to occur?

Rose

Describe how you see students from IHS sitting in the cafeteria.

What do you think are the main causes of conflict among students at IHS?

Describe how you see students treat one another.

Describe a typical conflict between students that you would see at IHS.

What do you think can be done to improve relationships between students?

Haby

What differences do you see between your home countries and the U.S.?

Describe how you have changed since coming to the U.S.

Describe how the members of your family interact with one another. What roles do you play in your family?

Describe how your family has changed since coming to the U.S.

Describe an argument or disagreement that has occurred in your family. What caused this argument or disagreement?

Adult Interview – Haby

- Please tell me about your work here at IHS @ PH.
- Can you please describe IHS @ PH to someone who knows nothing about it?
- Describe why you wanted to work here.
- From your experience working with immigrant adolescents, what issues do girls face that are different from boys' issues?
- From your experience working with immigrant adolescents, what issues do they face that are different from U.S.-born adolescents?
- In your experience, what are the 2 most common issues that girls talk about?
- In your experience, what is the main issue that girls talk about?
- What factors cause or contribute to the issues you mentioned above?
  Why do girls face these issues?
- What programs or resources does the school HAVE to address these issues?
  What programs or resources does the school NEED to address these issues?

Adult Interview – Rose

- Please tell me about your work here at IHS @ PH.
- Can you please describe IHS @ PH to someone who knows nothing about it?
- Describe why you wanted to work here.
- How would you describe the relationships between different racial, ethnic, cultural, and linguistic groups in your school?
- What kinds of conflicts do you see between different groups?

- What do you think causes these conflicts?

- How do you help to resolve conflicts between groups?

- What programs or resources do you HAVE to help resolve conflict?
  What programs or resources do you NEED to help resolve conflict?

Adult Interview – Yvonne

- Please tell me about your work here at IHS @ PH.

- Can you please describe IHS @ PH to someone who knows nothing about it?

- Describe why you wanted to work here.

- How many/what percentage of students in this school are undocumented?

- What are the issues that are particular to undocumented students?

- What else do you know about undocumented students at this school?
  What are some of the particular ways in which you help undocumented students?

- How do you feel about your work with undocumented students?

- From your experience, how do undocumented students feel about applying to/going to college? About getting a job? About their education in general?

- What do you think about the government polices that effect undocumented students? What should the policies be?

Individual Interview with Students
Asmaou

Introduce yourself and tell your participant one thing about yourself that you won't know by simply looking at you.

Briefly describe your research project and why you chose it.

Tell me about your experience coming to the U.S.

- What was one thing you were surprised to see when you came here?
- How is your life different here than in your home country?
- What were your expectations of the U.S. before you came here?

How is school different her than in your home country?

- Why do you think these differences exist?

Describe your school to someone who knows nothing about it.

- What do you love about school?
- What do you hate about school?

(For International students who went to middle school in the U.S.) – How was your middle school experience different than your experience at International?

Describe the relationships between students at your school.

Describe the relationship between students and teachers at your school.

What are your hopes for the future?

What do you hope to be doing in 5 years? 10 years? 20 years?

Describe how you feel your school has prepared you for life after high school.

Individual Interviews with Students
Haby

Introduce yourself and tell your participant one thing about yourself that you won't know by simply looking at you.

Tell me one thing about yourself that I can't know by simply looking at you.

Briefly describe your research project and why you chose it.

Tell me about your experience coming to the U.S.

- What was one thing you were surprised to see when you came here?
- How is your life different here than in your home country?
- What were your expectations of the U.S. before you came here?

How would you describe the U.S. to someone in your home country?

Describe your family and your relationships with the people in it.

How do you think your life is different from an immigrant boy's life?

How does being a girl effect you in school? In your family? In your community? With your friends?

What are your hopes for the future?

What do you hope to be doing in 5 years? 10 years? 20 years?

Individual Interview with Students
Rose

Introduce yourself and tell your participant one thing about yourself that you won't know by simply looking at you.

Briefly describe your research project and why you chose it.

Tell me about your experience coming to the U.S.

- What was one thing you were surprised to see when you came here?
- How is your life different here than in your home country?
- What were your expectations of the U.S. before you came here?

Describe your school to someone who knows nothing about it.

- What do you love about school?
- What do you hate about it?

Describe some of the conflicts that you have seen between students at your school.

Tell me some of the reasons that students have conflict in your school.

Have you ever been involved in a conflict? If so, please describe it.

What do you think should be done to resolve conflict at your school?

Individual Interview with Students
Yvonne

Introduce yourself and tell your participant one thing about yourself that you won't know by simply looking at you.

Briefly describe your research project and why you chose it.

Tell me about your experience coming to the U.S.

- What was one thing you were surprised to see when you came here?
- How is your life different here than in your home country?
- What were your expectations of the U.S. before you came here?

How would you describe your life to someone who is still in your home country?

- Would you recommend that someone from your home country come to the U.S.? Why or why not?

How is your life in the U.S. different from other people's lives?

What are your hopes for the future?

What are your biggest fears?

How do you feel about being undocumented?

What do you think your life will be like 5 years from now? 10 years from now? 20 years from now?

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