

SECOND GENERATION HAITIAN IMMIGRANTS AND ISSUES OF SOCIAL MOBILITY
AND SUCCESS IN SOUTH FLORIDA

By

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To those who work to change the world

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Abstract of Thesis Presented to the Graduate School
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This thesis explores social mobility drivers influencing the obtainment of higher education among second generation Haitian immigrants in South Florida. Emphasizing the roles of family, ethnic and cultural capital, the relative importance and relationships between mobility variables were illustrated using the Social Ecological Model. Interviews of both first and second generation immigrants showed that parental social pressures were most salient in determining educational outcomes and that extended family sometimes aided in the logistical difficulties of obtaining education. The roles of cultural identity, internal motivation and peer group interacted to effect processes in the university system, but especially among Haitians and their relationship with African Americans. Second generation Haitians did not see the external effects of racism or the context of reception as effecting their ability to be mobile. This study can contribute broad insights into the experience of second generation immigrants in America.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Haitians have historically immigrated to the United States in hopes of escaping political repression, civil unrest and poverty. This legacy of migration has resulted in about 500,000 Haitians now residing in enclaves such as New York, Boston, Washington DC and Miami (Zephir, 2004, p. 42). As Haitian migrants continue to expand their social networks and families, while concurrently accepting newly arriving migrants into their communities, the trajectory of their success in the United States has become a growing concern. Haitian immigrants' future is illustrated by the second generation, whose condition serves as a testament to social mobility of Haitians as an immigrant group in the United States. This study will dissect the social condition of this growing population, especially with respect to the first generation, and attempt to understand the consequences and barriers to their upward social mobility. More precisely, it will determine the mechanism of social mobility for second generation Haitian immigrants as shown in rates of higher educational attainment.

The legacy of the Haitian Diaspora and the formation of a new American heritage have produced a growing collection of individuals referred to as the "Haitian-Americans". Flore Zephir, sociologist and author of *The Haitian Americans*, estimates that this second generation comprises two-thirds of the Haitian population, or 525,000 individuals (2004, p. 117). This second generation is more precisely described as those individuals who are "sons and daughters of the first generation", while their parents are "immigrants or the foreign-born population" (Alba, 1990, p. 5). Distinction between these groups is important, as each may have disparate interests in the cultural, social and economic realms. The first generation, for example, is a direct and primary product

of migration. It remains very strongly associated with Haiti and the legacy of its Haitian identity. Despite their permanent residence in the U.S., one Haitian remarks, “*l’haïtien sait son chez lui, et il connaît ses racines*”, or “the Haitian has a home that he or she can call his or her own, and he or she knows his or her roots” (Zephir, 2004, p. 121). Parental rearing of the second generation therefore involves the shepherding of values and cultural norms to their offspring, potentially affecting social outcomes.

This “translocational” predicament of the first generation, or the unique experience of being both “here” and “there” at the same time, is very strongly tied to a legacy of migration (Cravey, 2005, p.1). Although the recent 2010 earthquake represents the fourth major efflux of migration from Haiti to the United States, the very first wave dates back to the 1950’s (Zephir, 2004). Much like the more current event, former migrations in the Haitian Diaspora were marked by political instability and economic underdevelopment. The Francois Duvalier dictatorship, otherwise known as the reign of “Papa Doc”, lasted until 1972 and was characterized by significant discrimination against Haiti’s mulatto middle and upper classes. The formation of the *Tonton Macoutes*, a violent paramilitary organization, resulted in the extermination of thousands of Haitians and consequently, on top of chronic economic problems, an exodus of migrants who settled in places like New York, Boston and Chicago. Alex Stepick, a leading scholar in Haitian migration, reported that towards the end of the Duvalier dictatorship “nearly 7,000 Haitians became permanent immigrants to the U.S. and another approximately 20,000 came with temporary visas each year” (Stepick, 1998, p. 4).

It is perhaps the next two waves of the Haitian Diaspora that typify the pervasive perception of Haitians as lower class “boat people”. The admission of 125,000 Cubans to the U.S. during the 1980 Mariel Boatlift presented an opportunity for more Haitian arrivals and soon, hundreds of dilapidated boats began arriving on U.S. shores (Portes & Stepick, 2004, p.21). According to the 1990 census, “nearly two-thirds of the foreign born Haitians in Miami arrived in the United States during the 1980s . . .” (Stepick, 1998, p.6). U.S. involvement in the 1994 reinstatement of Jean Bertrand Aristide resulted in a final wave of Haitian migration, a response to a series of political upheavals and renewed violence.

The controversial nature of U.S. immigration policy regarding Haitians considers both short term security measures and long term concern over the viability of Haitian migration. The recent earthquake has reinvigorated this long standing policy debate and although Temporary Protected Status (TPS) was extended to 35,005 Haitians as of July 12, 2010, the U.S. response to the earthquake (especially concerning the legality of assigning immigrant status) has been considered deficient (Bahrampour, 2010). The lack of social and political acknowledgement of those Haitian migrants already residing in the U.S., however, is perhaps most alarming. Although Mexicans and Cubans currently make up the most significant groups of the 33,533,945 Latin American foreign born in the U.S., the number of Haitians residing in the U.S. is substantial (“Characteristics of the foreign born”, 2003). One of the most significant Haitian populations is located in South Florida. “Little Haiti”, in North Miami, was home to approximately 19,000 of the 189,000 Haitians and Haitian-Americans living in South Florida in 2000 (U.S. Census).

Today, Little Haiti receives a majority of the incoming first generation in South Florida. Many of these migrants “possess relatively limited education and skill levels compared to natives” (Martínez, & Valenzuela, 2006, p. 226). Their inability to find attainable positions in the job market is exemplified by the 19% unemployment rate and 44% poverty rate in Little Haiti - three times the rate of the Miami-Fort Lauderdale Metropolitan Statistical Area (Sohmer, 2004). This poor socio-economic position of the first generation may be significant when analyzing the social condition of the second, as “parents and children exhibit strong correlations in their political affiliation, religion, education levels, substance use, language proficiency, income and wealth” (Abramson, 1973, p. 224). The second generation, then, should not be studied in a vacuum, as their being affixed in a superior or inferior position in society is somewhat dependent on the social and economic predicament of the first generation.

This second generation therefore exists in a very exceptional and sometimes conflicting position in contemporary society. They are minorities in the sense that they are both black and foreign (and, in the case of the first generation, oftentimes non-English speaking), requiring they balance their ethnic Haitian heritage with the American society in which they are surrounded and within which they live (Zephir, 2004). The stigmatization of Haitians as unskilled, boat people presents a further dilemma, as Haitians are not easily absorbed into other immigrant groups or the existing African American community. Cubans, the dominant immigrant group in Miami, live apart from the Haitian population, in part a relic of both groups’ contentious history of migration (Portes & Stepick, 1993). Furthermore, African Americans see Haitians as dirty “trash”, “stupid” and as rivals in a limited job market (Stepick, 1998, p. 69). On the other hand,

African Americans and Haitians may exhibit solidarity on issues of race and minority rights, producing an interesting commentary on the development of the American social mosaic in which the second generation will increasingly take part. Study of the second generation therefore provides an alternative to assimilation theories that assume increased contact with a dominant society eventually results in a homogeneous culture (Padilla & Perez, 2003).

Research into the social and economic trajectory of the growing second-generation, thus assists in predicting the trends and social norms that accompany migration. This research contributes insights into a growing migrant group in which there exists little data but whose presence is increasingly influential in American society. Further inquiry into the second generation may be considered an extended analysis of contemporary migration and is valuable when seeking to understand long-term outcomes. Furthermore, the Haitian experience may be applied or extended to other second generation immigrant groups, particularly those that share the disadvantage of being a racial minority.

CHAPTER 2 REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

Social mobility as a topic of study arose in the mid-19th and early 20th century as Marx and Weber developed theories of social stratification and class development (Mach & Wesolowski, 1982). While Marx believed that mobility was nearly impossible due to rigid class stratifications unlikely to be overcome, Weber purported that one could be mobile only through acquiring marketable skills (Krieken, et al., 2001). Since this time, research has contributed to these once parsimonious explanations for social mobility and expanded our knowledge of what it entails.

Defining Social Mobility

The topic of social mobility in the literature, particularly the deliberation over the meaning of the concept itself, has been wide and varied. According to authors Goldthorpe, Llewellyn & Payne (1980, p. 2),

there is no *necessary* connection between a research interest in mobility and any specific ideological attachment, liberal or otherwise; and further, that the techniques used in mobility research have, at all events, a much wider range of ideological neutrality than most critics have allowed.

Social mobility, therefore, does not grow out of or lend itself to a particular credo – perhaps one of the reasons the term is often used abstractly and, according to some, is largely over-abused (Miller, 1971). The indicators researchers use to define social mobility are difficult to operationalize; for example, “status inconsistency” and “structural integration” are subject to observer interpretation (Blalock, 1967). This study uses Miller’s (1956, p. 22) definition of social mobility: “A significant movement in an individual’s or stratum’s economic, social and political position.”

The concept can be divided into two traditions, both of which employ different indications for and methods of studying social mobility. The first, the economic tradition,

uses functions of wage, capital or income equality in order to determine upward or downward social mobility. Although wage differentials are an important piece to understanding social mobility, these studies are heavily illustrated by complex economic models. Social mobility researcher S.M. Miller (1975, p. 29) explains that “since mobility research has been primarily ‘objective’ in the sense that it is descriptive of the circumstances and conditions of individuals’ lives, it can say little about the subjective, attitudinal response of these circumstances and conditions.” Subsequently, the economic tradition deficiently addresses and in some cases, downplays the social transactions that have a hand in the process of being socially mobile (Lipset & Bendix, 1992). Moreover, this strategy reinforces the tendency to define mobility in strictly economic terms and therefore sustains the challenge to adequately define the term itself.

This study will heavily employ the second approach to social mobility research, or the sociological tradition. This tradition recognizes processes of social mobility that cannot be delimited in purely economic terms, such as the role of social capital and networking. It “places [social mobility] in the framework of a broader discussion of capital and calls attention to how such nonmonetary forms can be important sources of power and influence, like the size of one’s stock holdings or bank account” (Portes, 1998, p. 2). The sociological tradition compliments the existing body of work for policy makers and those interested in the sociological consequences of social mobility. Subsequently, this tradition can strengthen existing mobility research in that it deviates from the more mainstream, objective research pervasive in the economic tradition.

Lastly, social mobility may be studied in either relative or absolute terms. Absolute mobility refers to structural changes in society that allow for increased total living standards (Grusky, Ku, & Szelényi, 2008). Since absolute mobility may only be used to describe broad societal shifts, relative social mobility compares an individual's mobility within his cohort and is therefore a measure independent of changes in absolute mobility (Bénabou & Ok, 2001). Relative mobility, which is used as a measure in this study, is a preferred method of tracking movement among specific social groups, as it more adequately "reflect[s] the influence of factors such as education, inheritance and luck" (Fernandez, 2006, p. 4).

Due to immigrants' exceptional position in establishing themselves anew in a foreign society, they serve as the basis of the vast majority of social mobility studies. Much of this study has been geared towards the first generation as a relative measure of the second in place of intra-generational measures (Björklund & Jäntti, 2000). However, the emphasis has been placed almost exclusively on inter-generational comparisons rather than on the complex processes undergone by one generation itself. This study will aim to more aptly chronicle the variables involved in the mobility of the second generation. It will not assume the first generation as a determinant to second generation success typical of many mobility studies, but rather as a resource that influences the social and economic position of their children.

Existing Literature on the Second Generation

Discussion of second generation immigrants is increasingly pertinent and concurrent with the increased visibility of migration and its political ramifications in recent decades (Portes & Rumbaut, 2005). Today, 13.2% of immigrant children under 18 are of the second generation, compared to just 3.7% categorized as first generation

(Portes & Rumbaut, 2005, p. 985). Although specific studies have documented both advantageous and disadvantageous characteristics of Haitians relative to other immigrant groups, there exists no noteworthy literature devoted solely to social mobility and second generation Haitians to date (Zephir, 2001; Zephir, 1996; Stepick, 1998). The most current, and perhaps substantial, body of work devoted to the second generation is by the authors of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), Alejandro Portes and Ruben Rumbaut, who have published a number of books devoted to the topic (2001).

Although immigration to the United States is not just a contemporary phenomenon, Rumbaut and Portes point out that earlier waves of migration produced a second generation that assimilated more easily than today's immigrant population (2005). One can observe a more linear assimilation of the European migrants during and after WWII, as the second generation consciously shed their ethnic identities and languages for successful social integration. Rumbaut and Portes explain that their "ethnic identities were social conveniences, displayed on selected occasions but subordinate to overwhelming American selves" (2005, p.986).

In contrast, today's second generation immigrant is received into a more heterogeneous society in which disparate cultures, races and social heritages may interact as independent entities. Waters (1996, p.1), a researcher studying immigrant adaptations, corroborates the challenge to the previous assimilationist model and notes that "class mobility for immigrants and their children is no longer associated with increasing Americanization for all groups. Different trajectories of socioeconomic

incorporation and success and cultural integration describe the experience of different families”.

Despite a variety of theoretical backgrounds, the evolution of mobility research has given way to a series of indicators that better illustrate the construct and ground it in empirical reality.

Indicators of Social Mobility and Educational Attainment

Researchers interested in inter-generational social class changes employ indicators of social mobility that are typically divided into three broad types: social, economic and human (Coleman, 1988). Economic indicators have been commonly used to measure mobility. For example, occupational and income criteria are typically employed to measure class increases between generations (Beller & Hout, 2006). Although these indicators are beneficial in that they may directly capture rising effects in income inequalities and persistence in generations, they are mostly deficient. First, economic measures of mobility presuppose a theoretical structure in which the rational individual makes decisions based solely on environmental factors and do not possess “internal springs of action that give the actor a purpose or direction” (Coleman, 1988, p. 96). Next, measuring intergenerational changes in occupation comes with the added challenge of ranking occupations relative to others in terms of class advancement. Being occupationally upwardly mobile does not necessarily demonstrate that one has a higher income, or that those sharing the same occupation have the same income (McMurrer & Sawhill, 1998). Lastly, income measurements suggest that the child inherits all benefits of his parents’ higher income and often does not account for variability in income throughout one’s lifetime (Beller, & Hout, 2006).

Since the mid-1960s, researchers are increasingly turning to more sociological indicators of mobility. Sociological indicators can be used as proxies for economic indicators, while providing and stressing the use of social context for analyzing societal relationships and social mobility (Land & Spilerman, 1975, p. 5). In this study, educational attainment, or the intent to attain a higher education, is used as an indicator for upward social mobility. This indicator assumes a suite of other factors; for example, that those seeking or achieving education are able to navigate educational structures or institutions, that women are able to pursue education without the burden of family duties or household arrangements, or that educational aspirations offset financial expenses on social systems and parents. The breadth of other indicators educational attainment entails testifies to its use as a more holistic interpretation of upward mobility (Sewell, Haller & Portes, 1969).

Educational acquirement is used as an indicator in a variety of research; however, disparities in attainment are usually used to illustrate differences in socioeconomic class, the effects of cultural characteristics, or family dynamics between groups (Portes & MacLeod, 1999; Sewell, Haller & Portes, 1969; Gibson & Bhachu, 1991). It has been commonly used in research because it is easy to measure; moreover, it has high recall reliability, especially important when researching intergenerationally (Beller & Hout, 2006). These two reasons have made it popular for its use in immigrant studies, as these populations may be difficult to obtain data from (Lipson & Meleis, 1989). Moreover, contributing factors to educational disparities compliment issues pertinent to immigrant communities as a whole, such as race and diversity with respect to a host society (Kao & Thompson, 2003). A significant number

of studies on second generation immigrants also use academic achievement to trace the relative influence of parent-child socioeconomic status, human capital and social capital (Portes & MacLeod, 1999). For example, Gibson (2008) researched immigrant acculturation and found a positive correlation between academic performance and a strong sense of identity among family and peer groups.

A problem in the social mobility literature is that it relies on one indicator of social position when analyzing an independent variable. For example, in their paper “Does Education Promote Social Mobility?” Iannelli and Paterson (2004, p. 1) determined that although educational attainment “led more people from working class positions to occupy top-level occupations”, it only did so with an increase in the number of professional jobs. The evaluation of social mobility only by educational attainment, without regard to the sociological context in which it exists, can serve as a source of indicator error (Simpson, 1979). Current research has yet to provide a reliable remedy for assessing the relationship between educational attainment and the larger issue of societal opportunity structure (Neill, 2010).

A problem with social mobility indicators is that they can serve as both independent and dependent variables. Especially in the realm of public policy, educational attainment is viewed as a classic driver for social mobility. According to a Brookings Institution document, “Opportunity in America” (Brookings Institution, 2006, p. 1), “a society with a weak education system will, by definition, be one in which the advantages of class or family background loom large.” The pursuit and acquirement of an education therefore serves as a vehicle for bridging the gap between characteristic differences in age, race or sex (Veum & Weiss, 1993).

Social mobility, indicated in this study by educational attainment, is determined by its various independent variables, or drivers. These drivers may be fit into the following theoretical structure, whose application will portray the individual's interaction with these drivers and their relative importance in terms of mobility.

Social Theoretical Background

The concept of “ecological psychology” was first conferred by Kurt Lewin in 1935 (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 39). The concept was a radical one, dissimilar to the traditional ethos of psychology (such as the works of Freud and Jung) that treated individuals as products of past experience or dysfunctional behaviors (Bruce & Borg, 2002). Lewin (1936, p. 10) proposed that individuals are profoundly affected by those “regions” or zones of influence most proximate to them in their environment, forming what he called a “psychological topology.” Eventually, theorists merged the concept with more biological principles in which the human was constructed as a “biopsychological organism”, both an actor in environmental modification and a recipient of environmental influence (Bronfenbrenner, 1995, p. 620). The theory of human ecology, as it is sometimes called, was adopted and developed extensively by Urie Bronfenbrenner in the 1970s with his development of the Social Ecological Model.

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) Social Ecological Model provides a framework into which social mobility can be contextualized. Although originally intended to describe child development, Bronfenbrenner's (1979) model is appropriate for social mobility because it contextualizes how environmental and personally intrinsic characteristics encourage or limit an individual's mobility. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theoretical model describes social organization as existing on stratified levels (Figure 2-1). The model is built upon nesting of consecutive levels designated as the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem

and macrosystem – each of which are couched within the next and representing a different sphere of influence (Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield & Karnik, 2009). Working outward from the microsystem, subsequent levels encompass a greater spatial and social breadth than the systems preceding it.

The most immediate level is at the microsystem, which comprises the domain of the individual. This level may be defined as any social role or activity that is experienced in a “face-to-face setting” whose characteristics may encourage or inhibit more intimate encounters with the immediate environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 39). For instance, places such as school or work, and interaction with small social systems like peer groups and family, denote social contexts in which one spends most of their time. Subsequently, the microsystems level is largely responsible for shaping social identity.

The subsequent mesosystem is the interaction between microsystems-level players and the rules and policies that govern them; in other words, a “system of micro-systems” (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 40). The settings or players involved in a microsystem must both contain the developing person (i.e. the interaction between school and work, both separate microsystems that involve the individual).

Next, an exosystem describes a community setting with which the individual may identify but one in which direct or active participation by the individual is not a requirement. Although these settings interact, at least one of them cannot enclose the developing individual; it suggests only voluntary participation by the subject but may otherwise, operate independently. In other words, an exosystem recognizes linkages between two or more mesosystems but at a level “in which events occur that indirectly

influence processes within the immediate setting in which the developing person lives” (Bronfenbrenner, 1993, p. 645).

Lastly, the macrosystem represents the “belief systems, bodies of knowledge, material resources, customs, life-styles, opportunity structures, hazards and life-course options” that weave themselves throughout the other systems and are shared by a common social group (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 40). Consequently, this systems-level describes the greater cultural context, providing an ideological and philosophical “meta” setting into which one may embed the previous systems. It is both shaped by and constituted by the relations of the former systems.

Due to the complexity and magnitude of variables associated with developmental processes, Bronfenbrenner (1979) preferred this model to be used in naturalistic settings rather than in the laboratory. Natural settings are superior, as manipulation of all potential variables and their relationship to an outcome is impossible to control for (McCall, 1977).

Criticism and Evolution of the Social Ecological Theory

Since its inception 40 years ago, Bronfenbrenner’s Social Ecology theory has undergone significant revisions, most of them by Bronfenbrenner himself (Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield & Karnik, 2009). The most poignant criticism received by Bronfenbrenner was the unreasonable amount of emphasis placed on context in social development. He later recognized the addition of “psychological substance to social structure” as being necessary for extending explanation to functions of ecological theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1999, p. 20). In other words, the role and development of the individual was no longer relegated solely to contextual circumstance and the human organism now inherited three types of personal “characteristics”: demand, resource and force

(Bronfenbrenner, 1993). Demand characteristics are physical or initially recognizable traits that signal an immediate personal response, such as age, race or gender. Resource characteristics are underlying attributes that cannot be initially determined. These include cognitive and emotional resources, such as specific skills, experiences and access to support systems or certain societal structures. Perhaps most important in terms of social mobility, force characteristics are those that deal with personal temperament and motivation. It is possible that two individuals will have equal demand and resource characteristics but differences in their force attributes may determine their ability to persist or fail. This is not to say, however, that resource and demand characteristics are negligible in terms of excelling in society or a particular environment – certainly, access to resources is a mechanism by which one interacts with meso, meta and macrosystems and the stigma of race or national heritage, for instance, may come into play at all of these levels.

Yet another amendment to the original theory was the addition of the Process-Person-Context-Time Model (or PPCT). Before, the ecological model only measured social and developmental outcomes in direct response to an immediate environment. Now, proximal processes, or the evolutionary nature of repeated interaction between individuals and the same symbols, objects and people in an extraneous environment, were recognized to contribute to the increased complexity of the development of the human organism (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998, p. 996). The proximal process serves as an “engine to development” since its presence attenuates environmental effects and therefore helps one determine viable outcomes (Bronfenbrenner, 1993). In other words, one may not remove the environment from the proximal process, but may

remove the proximal process from the environment for separate examination. The backdrop of time allows one to not only contextualize context itself, but how to fit the experiences and development of the individual into a historical timeline to determine outcomes, such as the process of acculturation. This can be difficult in research however, and usually requires a longitudinal study in order to effectively capture this element of time and the effect of repeated interactions (Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield & Karnik, 2009).

Furthermore, Bronfenbrenner (1994) soon recognized the need for a tertiary dimension of time called the chronosystem. As a response to those psychologists that typically evaluated time synonymously with chronological age, the chronosystem represents a larger environmental attribute in which time exists both historically and the hereafter. However initially ethereal the chronosystem may seem, the researcher is better able to encapsulate not only a contextual environment, but social patterns and causality dependent on the progression of time. Moreover, it illustrates the model's assumption that an individual's development is markedly affected by events occurring in settings and time in which the person is absent (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

Perhaps more broadly speaking, the model has been criticized among many sociologists as being reduced to a demographic understanding of social organization without regard for cultural and behavioral divisions. Instead of organizing societal systems in terms of common language or social custom, for instance, there is an emphasis on the "territorial arrangements that social activities assume" (Firey, 1947, p. 3). This simplification of social arrangements assumes "at the common-sense level, the closest approximation to the ecological conception of "activity" is the notion implied by

the term "occupation"" (Duncan, Shnore & Rossi, 1959, p. 137). As a result, too much emphasis may be placed on observable activities that can easily be aggregated or categorized into groups without regard to the individual's feelings of obligation while performing an activity or the source of his motivational disposition, for example. This seems to be a relic of the 1920's human ecology theory from which human ecology was borne, which assumed the same mechanisms used to describe animal behavior and organization could be used to explain the human condition. According to Hawley, one of the forerunners of Social Ecological theory, human ecology dealt with ""sub-social" phenomena, with the effects of competition, with spatial distributions, with the influence of geographic factors, and with still other more or less intelligibly delineated aspects of human behavior" (Hawley, 1944, p.398).

The revisions discussed above and the addition of the Process-Person-Context-Time model in the 1990s are considered the "mature form" and subsequently, the most "appropriate form" of Brofenbrenner's work. Although the post-1990's theory, with its various additions and amendments, is sometimes indistinguishable from its previous form one easily risks the integrity of the model by assuming only a narrow view of the model and disregarding the complexity and inclusivity of the mature form.

Some argue that it is, perhaps, too complex for practical application and since Brofenbrenner never "provide[d] a clear methodological guide to help in the application of the theory", it is often incorrectly operationalized (Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield & Karnik, 2009, p. 207). The careful regard of both proximal (direct interaction and repeated environmental conditions) and distal (the more abstract exo and macrosystems, for

example) processes is therefore necessary for a holistic and thorough application of the Social Ecological theory (Bronfenbrenner, 2005).

The model has been primarily used for investigating child development, as its inception was inspired to counter narrow research performed by developmental psychologists in the 1970s (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). Its development has encouraged its application in research on health, abuse, and community relations, especially with respect to developing public policy (Bronfenbrenner, 2005). Constructing social interaction as embedded, concentric spheres is especially useful for policy, as it allows for the identification of “points of intervention” and causative influence between system levels (Newes-Adeyi, Helitzer, Caulfield & Bronner, 2000).

The model’s inquiry into the interaction between the individual and surrounding environment may be extended to other kinds of investigation. Its application to social mobility research is especially useful, as the model frames interaction and processes between individual psychology and environment in terms of a developmental outcome (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The researcher must keep in mind, however, that the application of the Social Ecological Model is individually–based. Although findings are often extrapolated to make larger-scale policy decisions or make grand assumptions about human behavior, Bronfenbrenner (1979) cultivated the model centered on individual experience and development, not group dynamics and interactions.

Operationalizing the Social Ecological Model

Operationalization of the Social Ecological Theory is notoriously difficult due to its complex nature. Bronfenbrenner acknowledges that researchers often utilize the theory as what he calls a “latent paradigm”, in which its usage will not be explicitly stated but tacitly observed in the research design and analysis (Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1983,

p. 373-376). Researchers Newes-Adeyi, Helitzer, Caulfield and Bronner (2000), however, maintain that this is a common fault in the model's application and that one must deliberately administer the model to all levels of the research process for proper accuracy.

There exists no procedural formula for operationalizing the Social Ecological Theory, especially since Bronfenbrenner agrees an amalgam of paradigms may work best for data interpretation (Bronfenbrenner, 1999). Additionally, there exists a "paucity of literature...that critically examines the systematic application of the ecological model to formative research and issues inherent in such a process" (Newes-Adeyi, Helitzer, Caulfield and Bronner, 2000, p.284). The limited literature available reveals that researchers employ various processes, but the simplest way of operationalization is to fit research findings into the scope of each systems level as defined by Bronfenbrenner (1993).

For example, Bronfenbrenner (1979) describes the domain of the microsystem as a setting where face-to-face interactions are made such as the home, family or school. Accordingly, the researcher must contain similar contextual variables in their study within this same system. This method continues to the extent of the macrosystem. Defining and analyzing data by distinctive zones of organization allows one to reveal the interdependencies between each level and therefore illustrates the most basic ecological proposition: "the power of developmental forces operating at any environmental systems level depends on the nature of the environmental structures existing at the same and all higher systems levels" (Bronfenbrenner, 1999, p. 11).

Defining functions on a “micro” level are important only if they are allowed to be contextualized into the “macro” system in which they exist (Bronfenbrenner, 1993).

This procedure is made possible by the identification of proximal processes and their subsequent relationships with the subject of interest, especially on the microsystem and mesosystem levels. A proximal process does not preclude or necessitate a certain environmental condition, yet it may vary “systematically as a function of the environmental context and the characteristics of the person” (Bronfenbrenner, 1999, p. 7). The inability to distinguish between proximal processes and the environment in which they happen is a common fault during operationalization and it may behoove the researcher to break processes into various typologies. This aids to uncover their relative “proximity” to the individual, allowing one to more aptly assign or refute its inclusion into the model (Tudge, et al., 2000). For instance, a children’s behavioral study coded proximal processes as one of two types: environmentally based activities that were “available to” children and those that they were directly “involved in”. These activities were further coded as those whose primary purpose was sleep, play, exploration, conversation, etc. One of these components, the conversation typology, was explored in order to more comprehensively capture environmental features. The researchers noted with whom children interacted, for what period of time, and their level of engagement (Tudge, et al., 2000). As a result, the researchers could rule out certain aspects of what was previously considered one proximal process (i.e. environmentally based activity) for its inclusion into the model. The inclusion of some variables in a particular model, and not others, is what makes the Social Ecological Model a useful analytical tool for illustrating relevant processes in

describing phenomena (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1994). Not only this, but this practice may have the secondary effect of identifying variables influential in the macrosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

This model functions within a greater systems-realm of micro and macro structures, forming a fabric whose parts may not be separated from the whole but may be loosely isolated for analysis. As a result, it is generally agreed that one must include an element of all four components of the Process-Person-Context-Time Model in order to properly administer the Social Ecological Theory (Bronfenbrenner, 2005; Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield & Karnik, 2009). Although the concept of time is perhaps the most pervasive of the analytical errors, Bronfenbrenner (1993) cedes that it is acceptable to merely place one's research within the greater contextual fabric when one cannot conduct a longitudinal study (Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield & Karnik, 2009; Adamsons, O'Brien, and Pasley, 2007; Campbell, Pungelo & Miller-Johnson, 2002). Due to the complexity of testing for psychological features specific to the individual, such as the demand, resource and force characteristics added in Bronfenbrenner's (1993) later versions of the model, these are often not included in the research design but acknowledged in most discussions (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2007).

The following variables of social mobility, referred to as "drivers" in this study, are tested in order to illustrate social mobility and operationalize the concept of Social Ecological Theory.

Drivers of Mobility

Placing drivers of mobility into the Social Ecological Model serves to inform the process of mobility in the second generation; additionally, it sheds light on the relative importance of societal and individual variables that determine mobility. Usually

associated with economics, the concept of capital is used to describe mobility drivers. In other words, drivers may be considered assets imperative to actuating mobility processes and outcomes; as such, their presence or absence may increase the “value” of the individual in his quest for upward mobility (Portes, 1998).

Social Capital

The presence of upward mobility in this study is measured by the acquisition of higher education, or in other words, the fortification of existing human capital. According to Coleman (1988), one of the most powerful variables influencing the creation of human capital may be social capital. Social capital serves as a strong driver of mobility because it is extremely inclusive; variables such as ethnic identity, family relations and issues of race all emerge as products of social relations and thus, may be folded into the concept of social capital (Adler & Kwon, 2002). Furthermore, social capital is easily converted into other forms of capital (the exception being economic capital, which may be more difficult) (Adler & Kwon, 2002). Although this process is possible, one cannot merely assume that those rich in networks are also rich in economic or human capital, as these things may only be converted in certain contexts or for certain immigrant groups. For example, Mexican migrants in Los Angeles may be rich in social capital but remain poor and uneducated (Waldinger, 1997).

The concept of social capital has been theorized by a number of scholars (Coleman, 1988; Adler & Kwon, 2002) but has proven difficult to operationalize and conceptualize (Portes, 1998). Pierre Bourdieu (1985, p. 248), one of the first researchers to theorize social capital, defines the concept as the “aggregate of actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition.” Following others’

research, this study defines social capital as intangible information or personal connections that may be present in a formal or informal setting among or between immigrant individuals or groups (cf. Portes, 1998; Li, 2004; Kasinitz, 2008).

Varied definitions of social capital make it difficult to measure. As a result, the alleged benefits of networks are often overly dependent on a theoretical prognosis rather than directly from experimental evidence (Foley, & Edwards, 1999). Furthermore, the evidence that does exist is often highly context-specific and ungeneralizable, making its validity questionable (Webber & Huxley, 2007). Li (2004, p. 171), who studies the relationship between social capital and economic outcomes in immigrant populations, reminds us that it “cannot replace other forms of capital to produce unrealistic outcomes beyond the material limits of its contextual boundaries”. In addition, most literature overemphasizes its centrality in influencing social mobility, when in reality it exists only as a “situation-based capacity bounded in specific social and class contexts” that can only be looked at in the context of other forms of capital (Li, 2004, p. 171). For example, a study on Dominican immigrants in New York City, social capital was essential for initial adaptation to the U.S. but was not suitable for achieving economic sustainability (Kasinitz, 2008). Despite its limited fungibility and various critiques, the literature and this thesis identifies social capital as a driver of social mobility in immigrants, as it serves as an access point for resources and opportunity and as a precursor for other forms of capital (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Portes, 1998).

Social capital by itself, however, is too broad a topic to stand alone (Hirsch & Levin, 1999). This study recognizes family, ethnic and cultural capital as relevant types of social capital that drive mobility. A separate section on the relationship between

African-Americans and Haitians is also included. Although it may be considered an extension of the issue of ethnic capital, it is so pertinent a topic to mobility that it is discussed separately.

Family Capital

The family represents an immediate site of resources from which the second generation may cultivate a variety of skills, gain access to various social and professional networks, or foster a set of norms and value systems (Coleman, 1988). Parents may also provide children material resources that encourage their upward mobility. For instance, parental provision of educational materials during child development, or money to fund academic activities builds human capital and encourages the child's success (Halpern, 1990).

Family also plays a major role in catalyzing downward mobility; for instance, Biblarz & Raftery (1993, p. 97) explain that "the experience of family disruption during childhood substantially increases men's odds of ending up in the lowest occupational stratum as opposed to the highest." Due to its significance in shaping the development of the second generation, the family is commonly used as a social origin and "strategic research site" by which the second generation is measured in mobility studies (Rumbaut, 1997, p. 4). The influence of the family is especially influential among immigrants, as it organizes migration decisions and serves as either an insulating unit or "fundamental foundation" from which the host society is perceived and navigated (Stepick, 1998, p. 31). Appropriately, intrafamilial relationships serve as the preferred method for assessing the "various modes of incorporation of immigrant groups in American society and the divergent trajectories of a new second generation coming of age in America" (Zephir, 2001, p. 126).

The study of social mobility in the family is often done intergenerationally, whose operationalization generally assumes the father as the sole conduit by which skills, knowledge and opportunity are passed (Ferris, 1971). Intergenerational comparison in immigrants is especially pertinent, as immigrant parents (with the exception of some Europeans) typically enter into the lowest socioeconomic strata of American society; measurement of mobility in subsequent generations is therefore a direct reflection of the family's influence with other drivers (Healey, 2010). As occupational status, income and educational attainment differences are most commonly measured against the father, the literature does not adequately account for gender differences and other family dynamics that affect mobility outcomes. For instance, daughters are not typically rewarded with the same social or economic inheritance as the son, especially true when considering the more gender stratified societies from which immigrants may come. Although these social conventions may be altered by the more liberal societies of receiving countries, some occupations remain "sex-linked" or sex-specific (Ferris, 1971, p. 114). This does not allow one to trace a reliable connection between a father's occupation and that of his daughter's, or make horizontal comparisons between male and female progeny.

Researchers, therefore, typically over-simplify the complexity inherent in intergenerational mobility. Factoring in the mother's social position, for example, is central to understanding social mobility in the second generation, particularly mother-daughter correlations. One study by Almquist & Angrist (1970) shows that if a mother works outside of the home, her daughters are more likely to work and choose occupations typically less filled by females. Consequently, using both parents as a point of reference is compulsory to "reflect the family's general social standing and

lifestyle and to indicate the occupation-relevant benefits provided by it for the next generation” (Rosenfeld, 1978, p. 39).

Although the research has stressed the significant influence of parental class position on their children, it has often done so exclusively, without regard to other influential factors. In one study, a measure of intergenerational correlations using the Socioeconomic Status Index (SEI) showed that there may not be as strong of a relationship between a father’s occupation and the mobility of the son as would be expected. Only 12-20% of variation in the son’s occupational status could be explained by that of the father’s (Hauser & Warren, 1997, p. 290). Researchers, therefore, all too often assume that all aspects of parental socio-economic status are inheritable and does not sufficiently account for things like luck, children’s innate abilities or host country characteristics when evaluating social mobility (Fernandez, 2006). Host country characteristics are especially pertinent in immigrant studies, as they may attenuate or emphasize existing cultural characteristics in the immigrant group (Rosen, 1959).

Differences between host country and immigrant groups are particularly problematic and may instigate fractures within the family. In the Haitian case, parents see American culture to be “free of rules and regulations” and the children as uncontrollable or disrespectful (Zephir, 2001, p. 136). Children are “central to all Haitian families and even nonfamily relationships” and considered the “social cement” by which families operate (Stepick, 1998, p. 22). This is highlighted by heavy ties between Haitian parents and children, resulting in the family being a primary site of social, economic and political resources whose absence may threaten mobility (Zephir, 1994).

Little research has been done as to how these fractures take place and what the consequences of this fracture are in terms of social mobility.

In order to get a comprehensive understanding of inter-generational mobility and the long-term relationship between parental status and their children, however, longitudinal studies are essential. Although there exist a number of five to ten year studies on immigrants and social mobility, they typically focus on newly arriving immigrants and their mobility with respect to a host population (Fielding, 1995). Only the Children of Immigrant Longitudinal Study, conducted over a 10 year period, sufficiently addresses the first and second generations concurrently throughout a breadth of immigrant groups (Portes & Rumbaut, 2005).

Ethnic and Cultural Capital

Ethnic capital (also called cultural capital) differs from family capital because the concept is specific to immigrant groups, while the idea of family capital may be extrapolated to all individuals (Bankston, Caldas & Zhou, 1997). Ethnic capital is most often employed by way of community and family relations within and among immigrant groups (Bankston, 2004). Immigrants may use their ethnicity as a primary form of social capital in order to gain access to the labor market, build new skills and obtain information, for example (Sanders, Nee, & Sernau, 2002). Although family capital may be a vehicle for ethnic capital, “normative relations among immigrants and their children are not inherent ethnic properties brought from homelands, but the results of responses to the challenges and deprivations of the host country” (Bankston, 2004, p. 176). It is therefore useful to view ethnic capital as a mutable quality not only between and among immigrant groups, but as a function of context (Keefe & Padilla, 1987).

Experience with new cultural groups requires a process of acculturation - or in the immigrant's case, a process of learning the social structure of a host society (Padilla & Perez, 2003). Research since the 1960s has disproved the Melting Pot theorists and their original model of acculturation, assuming the process was linear and that increased contact would result in assimilation (Park, 1914). In 1980, theorist Berry proposed four outcomes of acculturation: assimilation, integration, rejection and deculturation. This connoted the course of acculturation varied, multi-faceted and not of a single outcome.

This process is often looked at intergenerationally, assuming that ethnic norms and cultural capital are passed from immigrant parents to children (Borjas, 1992). For instance, work by Keefe and Padilla (1987) showed that in Mexican immigrants, cultural knowledge declined from the first generation to the fourth, with the most significant decline in knowledge between the first and second generation. Despite this, fourth generation Mexican-Americans still identified as Mexican. Padilla (1980) points to the experience of discrimination as one of the main reasons immigrants continue to identify with their cultural heritage. The more likely perceived discrimination is, the more likely it is that one will identify with his heritage group. Research findings do not typically reflect, however, how it transforms relations with other cultural or ethnic groups that may strengthen or weaken social networks. It also does not account for experiences and characteristics specific to the individual that may shape the acculturation process (Padilla & Perez, 2003). Still others purport that some "may be more inclined to undergo cultural changes not because of personal interest or inclination but due to political, social, and/or economic circumstances that may make certain types of cultural

adaptation preferable or beneficial or even to a condition of survival” (Padilla & Perez, 2003, p. 39; Marin, 1993).

Ethnic capital is therefore important for intergenerational social mobility studies in that the success of the second generation is dependent not only on skills passed down from the first, but the general skill set of their ethnic group as a whole (Borjas, 1992). For instance, bilingualism suggests an additional skill that may be beneficial for the upward or downward mobility of the second generation. Other types of ethnic capital may include cultural knowledge, skills or education that are provisioned or specific to a certain immigrant group (Bordeiu, 1986).

It is not, however, clearly understood how the social structure or “context of reception” of the host country interacts with immigrant ethnic capital and how it may open up spaces for which to exercise it. For instance, better social networks may be forged in multi-cultural societies that provide a positive “context of reception” (Rumbaut & Portes, 2001a, p. 231). The fungibility of ethnic capital between geographical areas or cultural groups, or the reflection of cultural changes as a result of acculturation and changes in ethnic capital have still not been extensively documented (Fields, 2008).

Furthermore, Foley & Edwards (1999) argue that researchers in this field have not yet recognized or documented the negative aspects of this kind of social capital. For instance, how inclusion in certain social spheres or the insulating effect of nesting within ethnic groups can influence downward mobility and may actually “involve a potential cost to the individual” (Li, 2004, p. 171).

The Haitian – African American Relationship and Issues of Race

Early research assumed that immigrant groups would naturally be absorbed into host country groups similar in race or culture (Gordon, 1964). As Haitians and African

Americans are both racial minorities, it was assumed that they share a common experience within the United States and Haitians would thus, assimilate into this existing group (Kelly & Schaufler, 1996). Yet cultural and ethnic disparities prove to be almost irreconcilable between the two groups, especially in the first generation. Characteristics Haitians associate with American blacks include:

an abundant use of profanities, to a constant holding of their crotches, vulgarity, teenage pregnancy, lack of motivation to succeed, a “nonstop” blaming of the White man for their misfortune, a desire always to make excuses, stealing, substance abuse, and a so-called I-don’t-give-a-damn mentality (Zephir, 2001, p. 72).

A negative perception of American blacks is not specific to the Haitian immigrant group; in fact, other black immigrants such as Trinidadians and Jamaicans also tend to distance themselves from this group (Sutton & Makiesky, 1975). It is no surprise, then, that the Haitian second generation finds themselves at an exceptional crossroads. From their parents, they are taught that they are Haitian and that a predominantly white society finds a black, foreign individual more virtuous than an American one (Zephir, 1996). On the other hand, they are simultaneously compelled to assimilate into a black racial and cultural aggregate at school and among peer groups (Stepick, 1998). Consequently, embracing their Haitianness allows them to benefit from ethnic capital and oftentimes, strengthen ties to family capital, while embracing black, American culture may allow them to reap benefits inherent in the acculturation process (Zephir, 2001).

Research on Haitians has well-documented the ways in which Haitians deny their ethnicity in favor of being accepted as more American. Stepick (1998, p. 64) explains that as “Haitians become more successful cover-ups, as they speak, walk and appear as African Americans, they gain acceptance from African Americans....[they] have

earned the right to be part of the local society.” One of the ways in which the second generation covers up their heritage is by way of stifling their native Creole language, a cultural marker of their Haitian identity.

Little research exists on what socio-cultural assignments the second generation places on those that speak Creole and how they view this in terms of limiting or promoting their social mobility. There is evidence that Haitian parents “encourage their children to stop speaking Creole in order to learn English as quickly as possible” (Zephir, 2001, p. 101). On the other hand, Stepick (1998, p. 80) contends that “most in the U.S. seek to preserve Haitian Creole as a marker of their heritage” and that Haitian parents consider it distasteful if second generation children cannot speak their native language. This is especially pertinent when Haitians are among African Americans, as this can be a way to distinguish themselves from this group or exclude others from their own (Zephir, 2001). It is not widely documented whether this mentality extends to second generation youth; more interestingly, it is also not documented whether this trend has changed over time as the United States becomes increasingly accepted as a multi-lingual society (Portes & Schauffler, 1996).

Racism also strengthens the Haitian and African American relationship, where the common experience of being a minority compels them to come together as allies. Some studies (c.f. Zhou, 1997; Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, & Haller, 2005; Alba & Nee, 1997) point to a concept called “segmented assimilation” to describe the Haitian-American, or Haitian, relationship with African Americans and greater American society. Segmented assimilation allows them to participate in and gain access to certain resources or networks while not in others, a phenomenon for which Haitians are

particularly at risk. According to Martinez and Valenzuela (2006, p. 217), “second generation Haitians may assimilate into a street oriented and largely impoverished African American culture. Such assimilation includes perceived and actual discrimination based on race, a devaluation of education and an oppositional culture, increasing the likelihood of downward socio-economic mobility.”

While downward mobility in the literature is usually attributed to Haitians becoming “contaminated” with black, American culture, it does not provide a comprehensive synthesis of how this interacts with other factors (employment, for example) that influence social mobility (Zephir, 2001, p. 72). It also does not illustrate how their bicultural, or multi-ethnic identities, contribute to issues of mobility and how this compares to a complete embrace or denial of their Haitian heritage.

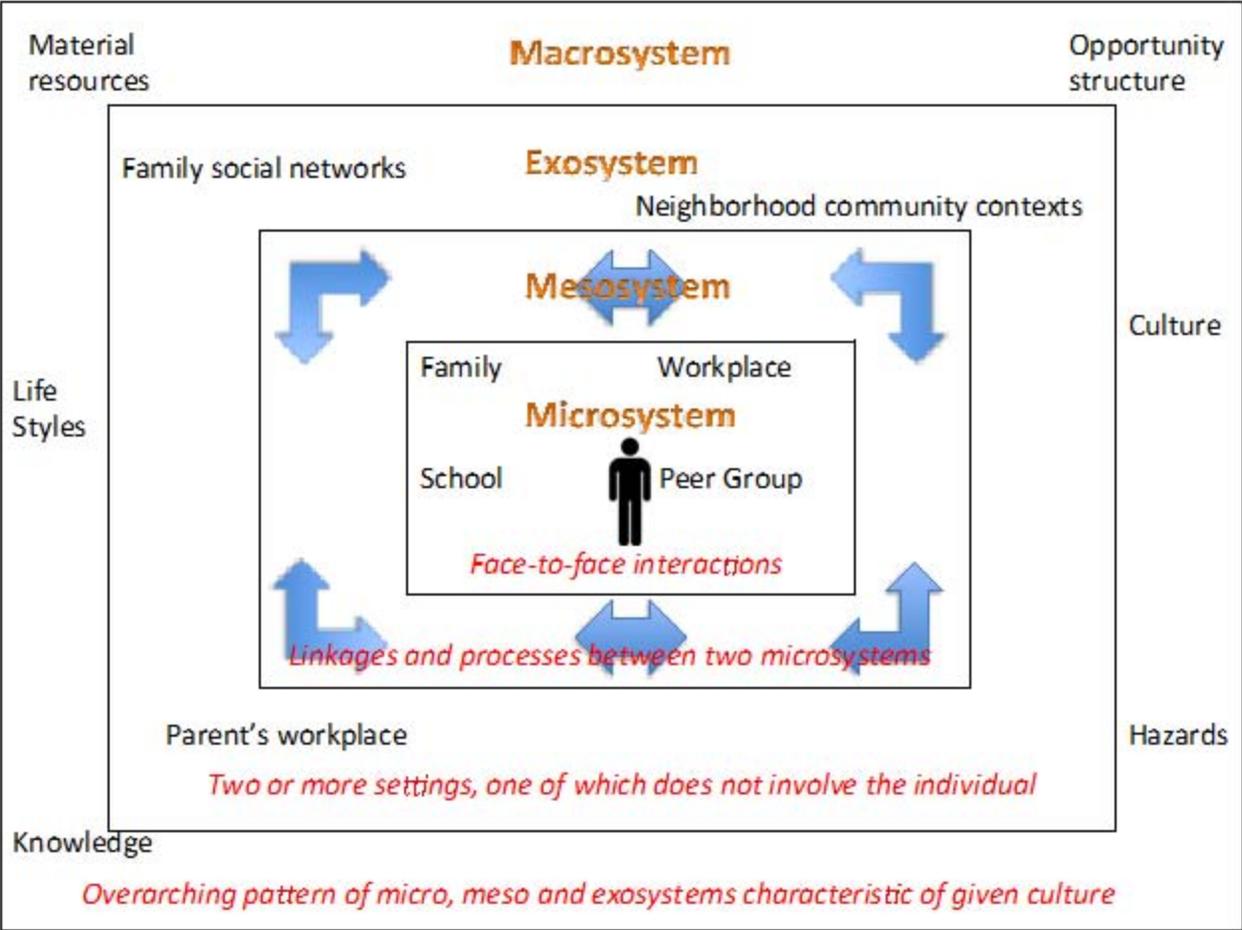


Figure 2-1. Overview of Bronfenbrenner's Social Ecological Model

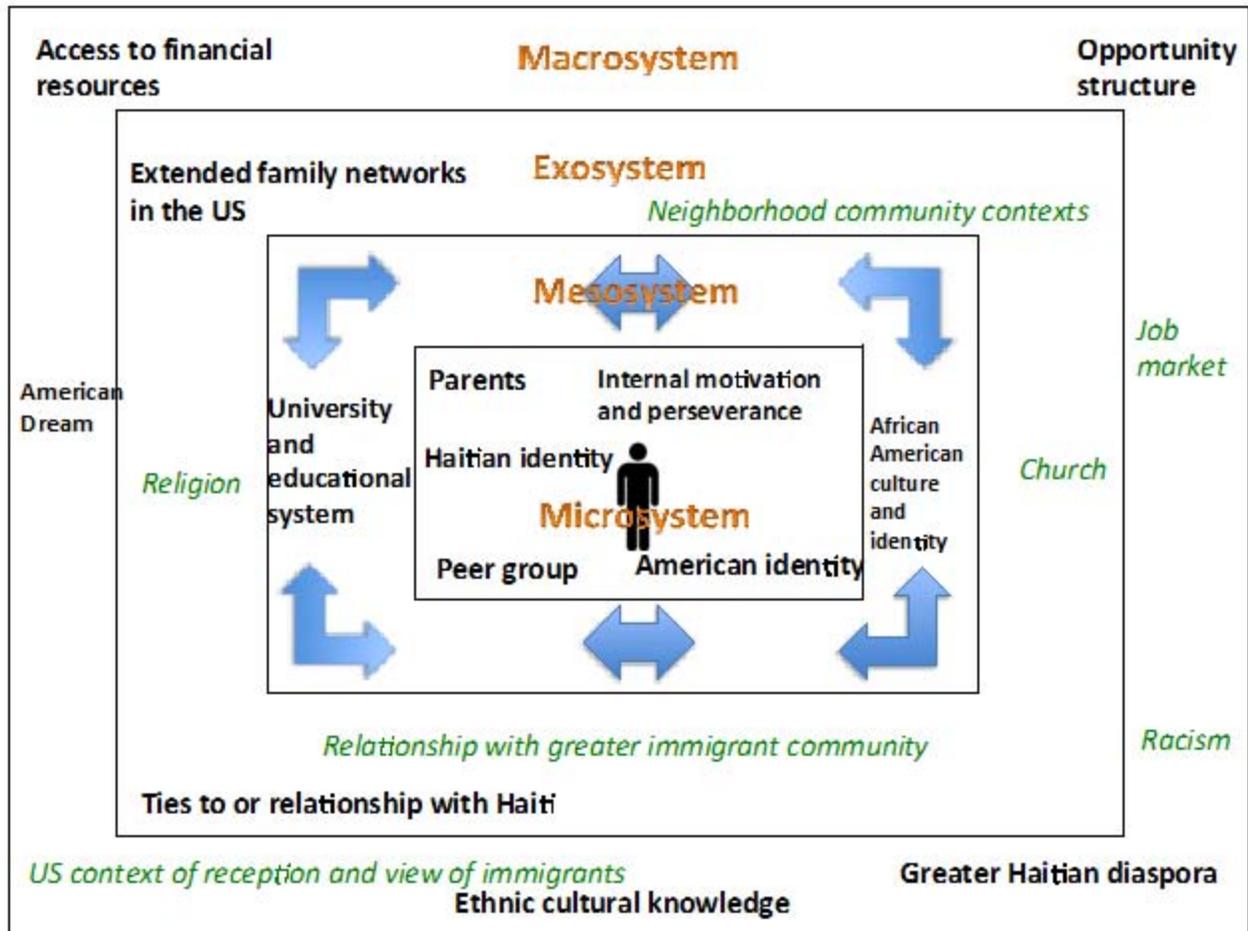


Figure 2-2. The Social Ecological Model as applied to the social mobility of second generation Haitians

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

Research Design and Data Collection

The study was designed as a case study since the outcome variable, educational attainment, was already defined. This type of study was chosen since it did not limit the analysis to a fixed number of variables; rather, a case study allowed for the exploration of a variety of drivers or other factors that would determine the outcome variable. Moreover, Yin (2009, p. 18) describes a case study as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real life context, especially when the boundaries between context and phenomenon are not clearly evident.” This applies specifically to this study, as the transnational nature of immigrants and the second generation assumes that social mobility be somewhat context driven or dependent (Schiller, Basch & Blanc, 1995). In addition, the pathway towards social mobility is not always formulaic; in fact, it is often described as a stochastic process (Wasserman, 1980; MacFarland, 1970). These properties did not allow for the employment of an experimental or quasi-experimental research design, as each of these necessitate clear assignments for grouping participants based on causal factors (Rossi, Lipsey & Freeman, 2004).

Social mobility researcher Chinoy (1955, p. 181) notes, “mobility data are of two kinds: data about individuals or data about population or aggregates.” From the “crude quality” of the aggregate, one may not make inferences about conditions of the individual; in other words, large-scale demographic shifts and occupational distributions are not adequately robust to infer issues of relative mobility (Miller, 1956, p. 24). Accordingly, the semi-structured interview was chosen as the primary method of data

collection. This allowed flexibility in exploring a wide range of topics and individually-based mobility drivers that could not have been executed by way of a more superficial survey. It is with the intent that data collected from these individuals may then be generalized to the aggregate level.

The interview, then, captures the “complexity that makes research realistic” and communicates contextual factors inherent in the qualitative analysis of social mobility (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 2). In order to avoid redundancy in responses and participant fatigue, the interview was kept to a maximum of forty-five minutes.

A written questionnaire was administered before the interview was conducted. This was designed in order to gain information about their place of birth (to determine if they were first or second generation), the highest level of education they were seeking or acquired (in order to determine social mobility and occupational status) (Appendix A). Additionally, the questionnaire gained demographic data about the first generation to compare mobility in the second. Questions about their mother and father addressed parent nationality, legal status and highest level of education. The questionnaire ended with a Likert-like scale of approximately twenty statements that addressed social mobility drivers such as race, social networks and identity (Appendix B). This allowed me to better compare response rates across interviews and between generations. It also provided the organization of the interview, as interview questions explored the reasons for responses on the Likert-like scale. The interview process continued until no new information was gleaned from participants.

Immigrant populations tend to be insulated due to their incorporation and arrangement into ethnic groups; consequently, first generation Haitians could be undocumented and difficult to find. This made snowball sampling a superior method of data collection for both the first and second generation, since key informants may serve as an access point to immigrant populations (Cornelius, 1982). Additionally, it allows for the “sampling of natural interactional units”, or the sampling of like respondents (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981, p. 141). First generation participants were included in the study to gauge their role in second generation success and also to strengthen understanding of the second generation as a whole.

Key informants were asked to give phone numbers or email addresses for up to five other individuals that might agree to be interviewed. Although the research commenced using this strategy, participants often did not provide referrals. Consequently, snowball sampling was used only in the event I obtained referrals; all other participants were recruited by directly approaching individuals on the street or by cold calling.

A long history of Haitian migration to Little Haiti, Miami made it a preferred site to sample participants; furthermore, the establishment of Haitian families made it possible to sample both first and second generation within the same area. Individuals qualified as second generation only if they were either born in the United States or came to the U.S. before or during high school. Their time in high school therefore reflected an adequate “length of exposure to American life” (Rumbaut, 2004, p. 1165). In addition, at least one of their parents must be Haitian. First generation individuals were those who were born in Haiti and had migrated to the U.S. any time after high school and had

therefore experienced their formative years in their home country (Portes & Zhou, 1993). Key informants were already identified at the University of Florida that gave me connections to both Little Haiti and the Haitian student body in Gainesville. Key informants were undergraduate students at the University of Florida and key informants for Little Haiti were individuals working at social services agencies in Miami contacted via email. Key informants in Little Haiti were first generation and key informants at the University of Florida were second generation.

Shortcomings of This Research

Although the intention of the research was to form a generalization of findings to the aggregate second generation, the sample size of approximately twelve individuals (twenty-one, including first generation) was not enough to gain a thorough understanding of this group as a whole. According to Sandelowski (1995, p. 179), “sample sizes may be too small to support claims of having achieved either informational redundancy or theoretical saturation, or too large to permit the deep, case-oriented analysis that is the *raison-d'etre* of qualitative inquiry.” Consequently, redundancy in responses that signaled the termination of data collection could have been premature. My research can only provide an illustration of some of the mechanisms in which a portion of the second generation has been upwardly mobile, and not an exhaustive study.

The lack of data was also a result of the failure of the snowball sampling method. This was a result of both my inexperience with sampling and misinformation from the literature, which “suggests that the referral method of sampling is a self-contained and self-propelled phenomenon, in that once it started it magically proceeded on its own”

(Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981, p. 143). Although I soon realized that the referral method of sampling required I deliberately develop the process, other factors prevented me from controlling the number of referrals and the method used to gain them. For instance, participants did not always voluntarily list additional individuals to contact afterward. Those that could provide a potential interview would not always return phone calls or emails, either. This relegated most of my referral sampling to only one additional person per interview instead of the preferred five – or sometimes, simply approaching people directly for interviews without their having been referred.

Yet another problem, perhaps more indicative of the shortcomings of snowball sampling itself, was a very biased sample. The majority of my key informants were university students; consequently, most of my subsequent referrals were students as well. This resulted in less deviation in responses than there would have been with a more variable sample set. The only way this may be overcome is by way of acquiring a diversity of key informants that represent those social networks outside of the university system, or those second generation individuals from different age groups (Heckathorn, 1997).

Sampling the first generation in Little Haiti proved to be even more difficult. Many of these individuals lived in poverty and did not own cell phones; for the same reason, they could rarely provide me information or a way to contact referrals. Consequently, sampling the first generation required I loiter around bus stops, churches or neighborhoods, some of which I avoided due to safety concerns. As a result, my findings are not particularly reflective of those social networks that usually suggest the containment of a particular group (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981).

Furthermore, second generation individuals sometimes provided both first and second generation contacts, which may have skewed both data points to be unrepresentative and overstated the experience of just one social network. Researchers may find it useful to employ different non-probability sampling methods for each the first and second generations in the future. Not only this, but acquiring data points between parents and children within the same family may allow one to better parse out causal factors affecting the mobility of the second generation. This was not done in this study because often parents lived elsewhere or did not have time for an interview.

My race, language barriers and indicators of my socio-economic status (such as owning a car or a cell phone) may have prevented my gaining interviews or altered participant responses. This was especially pertinent when interviewing the foreign born, first-generation Haitians, whose mistrust and suspicion of whites determined how much they would divulge during interviews, or whether they would allow to be interviewed at all (Biafora, Taylor, Warheit, Zimmerman & Vega, 2001). Wary of filling out forms, sometimes due to issues of illiteracy, I was only able to perform formal interviews for four out of the nine first generation individuals that I collected data from, all of which may all be considered middle to upper class. This was not considered particularly problematic, as the intent of interviewing the first generation was mainly for background data on the second generation.

Ryen (2001, p. 348) suggests that this “insider-outsider problem” may be attenuated by establishing and maintaining trust-based rapport; however, the transient nature of interaction between me and my participants did not allow this kind of

development. Many of the first generation that lived in Little Haiti also did not speak English and my limited Haitian Creole did not allow me to conduct full-scale interviews in this language. These problems may be solved by choosing another sampling method or employing those that are more culturally accepted by Haitians; however, this just as likely requires the researcher to compromise other areas of his research (Sandelowski, 2000).

Social mobility research is best illustrated when a variety of indicators are employed. Educational attainment does not encompass all social mobility outcomes; for instance, acquiring an education does not guarantee one a position in the job market (Iannelli and Paterson, 2004). An understanding of the inter-relationships between indicators could uncover inter-dependencies or maximizing effects of indicator combinations. I did not have the time or money to employ such a variety, or a longitudinal study, that would be more suitable for uncovering “many of the dynamic aspects of the effects of mobility upon behavior [that] depend upon the character of such interrelationships” (Miller, 1956, p.25). Elucidating the outcome of behavioral responses to increases and decreases in mobility could contribute predictive features for how this affects future mobility (Miller, 1956).

Data Analysis

I transcribed my notes into an electronic document by individual interview, noting which individuals were first generation and which were second generation. Transcription for each individual interview was organized by predetermined theoretical themes addressed by the interview questions. For example, notes on responses to questions about friends and family were placed under the heading “social networks” and issues dealing with race were placed under a “race” descriptor. If other topics were

explored during the interview that did not fit under these themes, they were placed in an “other” topic heading.

I then created a “master list”, in which I compiled both the themes and the responses for all the individual interviews for both the first and second generations. Large, inclusive themes such as “social networks” were further broken down into sub-themes, such as family and friends. After compiling notes under the “other” topic, new emergent themes warranted new topic or sub-topic headings. Summarizing main points under each sub-theme allowed for the creation of response categories. Due to the small sample size, a categorical response from even one outlier was considered significant and retained in the data set. In hopes of making a general representation of the second generation, these responses were not depicted in the Social Ecological Model; however, they are examined in the discussion section.

Only those environmental factors or processes qualifying as repeated proximal processes were considered for inclusion into the Social Ecological Model. Proximal processes were parsed out during transcription. Categorical responses were measured as proximal processes if respondents indicated they were integral to mobility either directly, or indirectly. For instance, some respondents told me that parental pressure was integral to their success; others only inferred it by stating their parents were strict or that they worked a number of jobs to send them to school. The disregard or excessive mention of some themes also indicated a proximity to the issue of mobility. Lastly, these same processes were used to gauge the importance of each theme relative to the others.

Next, I compared data collected from the written questionnaire to data collected from the interview. Demographic information was very similar intra-generationally; as a result, it was only used as a supplemental data series to better understand the interview respondents in terms of familial background and economic status. Included in this written portion of the interview was also a Likert-like scale. Since each item on the Likert-like scale served as an outline for the interview (and was therefore a reflection of both themes addressed during the interview and sometimes membership in categorical responses), the number of respondents within each category could be tallied by way of the scaled responses. This was done not only to corroborate evidence obtained in the interview, but also to construct a general model by way of response category frequency. Some of the items, however, did not fit neatly into certain themes or sub-themes created from the interview. In these instances, this data was used merely to inform placement of other themes into the Social Ecological rather than as actual data points themselves.

All themes were then fit into the Social Ecological Model as defined by Bronfenbrenner (Literature Review, Figures 2-1 and 2-2). Categories were listed in each system where appropriate; in other cases, the sub-theme could only be used. For instance, “family networks” was listed in the exosystem, but “parents” was listed in the microsystem. Themes most reflective of the second generation population as a whole appear in bold face. Categories that the literature indicated would be relevant, but were not found to be relevant, were italicized and in green.

CHAPTER 4 RESULTS

Twenty-one individuals were interviewed overall. Of the eleven interviews obtained from the second generation, only ten of them participated in formal interviews and completed the written questionnaire (Table 4-1). Only four of these individuals were not university students and had jobs as an insurance broker and an engineer; the others worked in the legal and non-profit sector. Incomes ranged mainly from \$5,000 or less to \$20,000-40,000; however, one participant had an income in the \$40,000-60,000 range. Four males and seven females made up the second generation participants, with a median age of twenty-four years old. Of those that filled out the demographic data, seven individuals were born in the U.S. and the remaining three, in Haiti. Eight of these participants had already completed a higher education of a bachelors or above, and nine indicated the highest level of education they would like to obtain was a PhD (the remaining wanted to obtain a master's). All but one of the participants had parents that were both Haitian and were in the U.S. as either naturalized citizens or resident aliens. Their mother's highest level of education was generally a GED or high school diploma; however, two respondents indicated that their mother's had completed ninth grade or had no schooling at all. Their father's highest level of education was generally an associates or bachelor's; however, three respondents indicated that their fathers had completed some secondary school or had a high school diploma.

Of the ten first generation individuals, only four had formal interviews (Table 4-2). One of these individuals, however, did not want to fill out the demographic data and only completed the Likert-like scale. Three males and one female participated in the formal interviews, all of which were born in Haiti. Of the three individuals that completed the

demographic data, one had an associates, another a masters and the last, a PhD. The two who did not have a PhD hoped to one day complete a PhD. Professions included a teacher, artist and an “educator”. The immigrant status and highest completed education for their parents was comparable to that of the second generation, except that two of the individual’s fathers still resided in Haiti. The median income was \$61,000-80,000. The first generation participants that did not complete formal interviews were generally those of a lower socio-economic status mainly recruited from outside of the Notre Dame church in Little Haiti, Miami; some were also community leaders interviewed for general information on Haitian immigrants and the second generation and not of lower socio-economic status.

Although the demographic data was integral to gauging upward or downward mobility for the second generation relative to their parents, the similarity in responses may indicate socioeconomic status is congruous for upwardly mobile individuals or that this information is not sufficient to draw conclusions about its relationship to mobility. The sample size is too small to tell. As a result, the demographic material is used as a way to understand the participant’s background rather than as a point of comparison between individuals of the second generation and relative levels of mobility.

The first point of the interview was to determine how participants defined success and if this differed inter-generationally. The second generation often maintained this meant moving beyond financial terms to make a difference and do something they were proud of. Most significantly, all but one respondent identified receiving a higher education as a central component to being successful. They made it clear, however, this was not just for the acquisition of a degree but rather for the acquisition of

knowledge itself, which helped them achieve in other areas of their lives. Not achieving a higher education would be considered a failure by their parents, who considered a degree as the evidence, or outcome, of success. One respondent conceded “it would be unthinkable not to go to school for us [kids]. It would be like going out of the house without a bra.”

The first generation would often define success as “not struggling” and most importantly, self-sufficiency. These individuals were more in touch with the material rewards of the “American Dream.” One Haitian responded that the most important factors for being successful were, in descending order, “getting a degree, having a white-collar job, having a nice house, car or money, having a pretty wife and living in a nice neighborhood.” They shared the same value of knowledge that the second generation did, but placed more of a value on their children getting a degree than did the second generation themselves. Participants agreed that if one had a lot of money but had never gone to school, that they would be considered a failure. Educational obtainment was especially associated with virtue and prestige; one first generation Haitian said, “every Haitian wants a PhD, but not necessarily for anything practical.”

The drivers that led to success were incorporated into the Social Ecological Model (Figure 2-1). Within the microsystems level, or those categories involving “face-to-face settings”, parents, peer groups, American and Haitian identity appeared (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 39). Although almost all participants identified as Haitian-American, one responded they considered themselves only Haitian (this was one of the respondents born in Haiti). Over half of respondents indicated that they could not separate the Haitian parts of them and the American parts and that Haitian and

American culture were not antagonistic. The others noted that at times, they had to defend their Haitian culture from their “Americanness”. The Haitian parts of them were associated with their sense of identity, values, life lessons and cultural things that one could express and see. Extensions of their Haitianness, such as speaking Creole, diversified their resumes and made them more well-rounded individuals that could offer different perspectives in the social arena. American parts of them included their place of birth here in the States and their sharing the “American Dream”. Respondents, however, did not believe that adopting an American lifestyle was essential for being successful. Although America was the land of “opportunity, resources and promise”, it also was associated with a breakdown of values and lower standards.

The theme of intrinsic motivation and perseverance was also included in the microsystem and was an emergent theme that developed throughout the interview process (Table 4-3). Respondents could not tell me the source of this motivation but they knew that it was definitely not just “luck.” Determination to succeed was also tied to the emergent themes of “paying it forward”, “giving back” or helping “others that come behind them.” This was an extension of their exceptional knowledge of Haitian history, something for which the second generation demonstrated a great deal of pride.

Peer group was also included in the microsystem, although this was not as strong a driver when compared to the others in the same system. About half of Haitians indicated that most of their friends were also Haitian. The other half indicated that they were friends with a variety of people, including those from other immigrant groups, African Americans and European Americans.

The relative role of the first generation in promoting upward mobility was significant and considered one of the most important features of the microsystem. Respondents indicated that their parents were responsible for their success, stating that “family was the most important thing” in their success or that they would not be where they are today without their parents. They also agreed that social pressure to be successful was carried out by way of strict parental discipline. One of the most common demands placed on their children, for instance, was the stipulation that they must “go to school.” This was also corroborated in the first generation. According to one first generation Haitian, parents often “take pride in affirming the upper hand over children.” Despite a strong parental presence in their lives, the second generation also felt a sense of disconnection with them because they were often gone working multiple jobs. Parents also served as a source, or conduit, in which they experienced their Haitian identity.

Next, African American culture and identity was a significant synthesis of microsystem level interaction between Haitian and American identity. Haitian participation in African American culture or social groups usually had a negative connotation in terms of mobility (something strongly agreed upon by the first generation). While the second generation generally did not mind being mistaken for an African American, they agreed that they did not share the same cultural values. American blacks did not “value education.” Most agreed that in the African American community, they had to fight to preserve their Haitian identity because it would often become “lost” or that they could “forget where they came from.”

The university and educational system was also placed in the mesosystem, a setting that hosted the products of microsystem relationships. The university was an establishment in which the second generation made significant social connections and asserted or developed a sense of identity. Most importantly, their role as student was prized and considered both a personal symbol for upward mobility and an affirmation of their success to their parents, both structures of the microsystem.

The exosystem included extended family networks and ties to their family's country of origin, Haiti. Extended family already residing in the U.S. was seen as a significant resource and gateway to the university system in America, as they knew how to navigate financial aid or the application process. Those that had already gone to school themselves could divulge significant insight into administration and logistical processes such as acquiring loans or filling out application forms. Connection with Haiti was a byproduct of parent involvement with other relatives and a way in which to maintain and confirm their Haitian identity. Although all Haitians agreed that these things had permanence in their lives, they were not ones in which they always had direct contact or participation. Religion, neighborhood community contexts, church, the relationship with the greater immigrant community were considered unimportant for determining upward mobility in the exosystem. Although Haitians had a clear sense of faith, they did not believe it was integral for it to be religiously based or that being of a certain religion was necessary to be mobile. The church was used as a place of social and material resources for the first generation, but second generation involvement was not significant. Although many commented that where you grew up could have a stake in one's downward mobility, none regarded this as a significant source of their upward

mobility. Reliance on or a strong sense of responsibility for helping in the success of other immigrant groups was also not essential or responsible for their own mobility.

Lastly, the second generation depended on the greater opportunity structure, their access to financial resources, and the ethnic cultural knowledge of the macrosystem for their upward mobility. Their perception of the American Dream and their ties to the legacy of the greater Haitian Diaspora were also relevant to the macrosystem. All of these things had effects on and were affected by subsequent systems; for instance, their knowledge of Haitian cultural things was developed by their parents (in the microsystem) but also effected by and served as their link to the greater Haitian Diaspora and relationship with Haiti (in the exosystem).

On the other hand, their motivation to acquire an education was not motivated by the status of the job market. Although most agreed that Haitian migrants may have it harder in the U.S. than other immigrant groups, they did not see this as an “excuse” for failure and believed that all second generation Haitians could be just as successful as they are. Likewise, most agreed that race “could not hold you back from what you want” and that Haitians have “moved past race”, despite their awareness of racial issues and stigmatization. Only one person in the second generation indicated that race could hinder one’s success more than being Haitian.

Table 4-1. Demographic characteristics for eleven second generation Haitian Americans in South Florida (2011)*.

Number interviewed	11		
Median age	24		
Occupation	Student: 6 Engineer: 1 Insurance broker: 1 Legal: 1 Non-profit: 1		
Gender	Male: 4	Female: 6	
Income	\$5,000 or less: 9	\$40,000-60,000: 1	
Born in the U.S.**	Yes: 7	No: 3	
Highest level of education	High school diploma: 2	Bachelor's or above: 8	
Anticipated level of education to be obtained	Masters: 1	PhD: 9	
Mother's highest level of education	No schooling or did not graduate high school: 2	GED/High school diploma: 8	
Father's highest level of education	Some secondary school: 1	Completion of high school: 1	Associates degree: 1 Bachelors: 7

* Data is included where possible for participants. Some demographic data could not be gleaned from those who did not want to fill out the questionnaires.

** Those that were not born in the U.S. were born in Haiti.

Table 4-2. Demographic characteristics for ten Haitian first generation immigrant interviewees to the United States in South Florida (2011)*.

Number interviewed	10		
Median age	47		
Occupation	Teacher: 2 Community educator: 1 Artist: 1		
Gender	Male: 3	Female: 1	
Income	\$41,000-60,000: 1	\$81,000 or more: 2	
Born in Haiti	Yes: 4	No: 0	
Highest level of education	Associates: 1	Masters: 1	PhD: 1
Anticipated level of education to be obtained	PhD: 2	Not applicable: 1	
Mother's highest level of education	High school diploma: 2	Technical college degree: 1	
Father's highest level of education	High school diploma: 1	Associates degree: 1	Bachelors: 1

*Data is included where possible for participants. Some demographic data could not be gleaned from those who did not want to fill out the questionnaires.

Table 4-3. Summary of Theoretical and Emergent Themes Relevant to the Social Mobility of Second Generation Haitians Depicted in the Social Ecological Model.

Level of Ecological Model	Theoretical Themes	Emergent Themes
Microsystem	Family resources	Social pressure from the first generation
	Assurance of identity	The interplay between Haitian and American identities
	Peer group	Individual motivation and perseverance
Mesosystem	African American issues of identity and culture	University and educational system
Exosystem	Social networking	Extended family networks that have been through the educational system
		Relationship with Haiti
Macrosystem	Access to financial resources	Financial resources (primarily those accessed through extended family and information from peers)
	Relationship with those of like ethnic background	Relationship with the greater Haitian Diaspora
	Acquisition of the American Dream (retained mostly in the first generation)	Acquisition of the American Dream (still very much present in the second generation)
	Ethnic knowledge and skills may be as sets or stigmatized by natives of host country	Ethnic knowledge and skills marketable to the host country
	Local opportunity structures	Greater opportunity structure

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION

In *Pride Against Prejudice*, Stepick (1998, p. 22) notes that “central to all Haitian family and even nonfamily relationships are children.” It is clear that children serve many purposes for Haitian parents, who view them as a sort of “wealth” and whose presence is “stronger than marriage” (Smucker, 1984, p. 38). As this study shows, parents invest much of their resources and sacrifice copious amounts of energy and time, usually by way of working multiple jobs at meager wages, to support their children. As one respondent said, “Haitian parents don’t have a 401k, they have kids.” It is no surprise, then, that the close ties between parents and children serve as the most significant determinant in upward mobility for second generation Haitians.

Portes (1998) explains that parents provide their children with experiences that eventually result in their reflecting the same socio-cultural tastes, preferences, capital and even socio-economic status. In this research, Haitian first generation influence was most conspicuously transferred by way of significant social pressure on the second generation to acquire an education and in most cases, a prestigious degree.

This intergenerational transfer is strongly affected by first generation experience in Haiti, corroborating evidence that “child-rearing is a trans-national process” (Levitt & Waters, 2002, p.177). In this case, the value placed on education may be a relic of their inability to access education themselves. According to a World Bank document, “less than half of the population can read and write and Haiti has the lowest enrollment rate for primary education in the Western Hemisphere (63%)” (Salmi, 1998). In this case, a legacy of educational scarcity ingrained in the first generation is socially reconstructed by way of parental expectations for their children to achieve in this same arena (Xao

and Bonstead-Bruns, 1998; Pamphile, 2001). Education therefore represents a way to access power and the promise of the “American Dream”, along with a more generous opportunity structure here in the states, facilitates the ability to achieve it (Pamphile, 2001).

Opportunities offered by America alone are insufficient to drive upward mobility, however. The added influence of family capital in harvesting opportunities serves as a strong determinant in the success of the second generation. This concept is especially true among immigrant groups, whose increased value placed on social networks may allow them to more strongly depend on the resources they provide (Waldinger, 1997).

These resources are transferred by way of socialization processes in the Haitian family, facilitated by a strict and conservative parent-child relationship where-in significant social pressure is abundant. Haitian parents see child rearing as a process that needs to be tightly controlled; without strict discipline and initiative, children may stray or lose direction (Davidson, 2005). Furthermore, Stepick (1998, p. 23) explains that “Haitian children are taught to absolutely respect their parents, to never question anything parents say or do.” This strict relationship allows for a clear directing of parental expectations, which according to a study by Xao and Bonstead-Bruns (1998, p. 175), may be integral for purposes of mobility: “parents’ and children’s educational expectations are spurred by between-family social capital and within-family social capital and that agreement between parents and children on educational expectations facilitates children’s achievement.” Coleman (1990, p. 318) attributes strong social networks between parents and children to success in immigrant groups because it “establishes social norms and reinforces...the sanctioning of children.” He goes on to

say, however, that if family capital alone constituted the reason for success, it would not matter which values or norms were transmitted – in this case, scholastic principles may be just as valuable as social networks (Coleman, 1990).

Although this study did not focus on downwardly mobile second generation Haitians, second generation Haitians in this study concurred that unsuccessful Haitians were usually those that lacked this same parental involvement or discipline. First generation Haitians attributed downward mobility with those “out of control” children that fall victim to sub-standard U.S. values and act like “disrespectful and ill-behaved” American children (Stepick, 1998, p. 24). Although not documented in this research, failed assertion of control by the first generation may result in a “laissez-faire” policy of parenting. The first generation often talked about this reaction as being catalyzed by allegations of child abuse (or the fear of being accused) from their own children, a strategy of parenting common in Haiti. This requires involvement by American legal authorities, who challenge the role of Haitian parents by taking over a role of guardianship (Benjamin, 2007). On the other hand, parents may also compensate for strictness not only by submission to more democratic methods of control in American society, but by becoming overly nurturing (Davidson, 2005; Benjamin, 2007). The first generation in this study demonstrated a disapproval of these practices, however, as they allowed the child too much freedom and left her or him feeling entitled to a lack of work ethic.

Whatever the case, parenting styles of the Haitian first generation may be more wide and varied than is suggested by this study, as bias sampling of the first generation could have resulted in only one response set. Interviews were mostly acquired from

those of lower income levels, for example. According to Halpern (1998, p. 14), poverty is a powerful variable affecting parenting strategies and therefore, the mobility of children: “personal, situational and systemic forces can combine to undermine low-income parents’ immediate intentions and long-term aspirations, both for themselves and for their children.” This research, then, may reflect a view of parenting contingent only on this social group. Although immigrant status (and sometimes poverty) contributes to high expectations for children, future research should focus on the relative importance of factors determining the level of parent’s stringency within the same social group (Xao & Bonstead-Bruns, 1998). Even more useful would be to interview parents and children within the same family, as this could contribute more explanatory value to causative agents in the socialization process and family capital in second generation development.

Generally speaking, however, the exertion of control by Haitian parents may be an extension of a “language of brutality and oppression” transferred intergenerationally since the times of slavery. According to an educator for Haitian parents in Miami-Dade, this has been deeply internalized by Haitians, limiting their ability to adapt and excel in American society (Benjamin, 2007). Benjamin maintained that, “their perceptions of themselves are what hold them back – it outlasts a reality” (Benjamin, personal communication, July 2010). This is especially pertinent in parenting strategies of the first generation, who experience the added “challenge of raising children as they transition to an environment whose cultural values differ significantly from their own, where they experience difficult living conditions heightened by stigmatization” (Benjamin, 2007, p. 1). This is significant in terms of mobility, as second generation

social adjustment processes are shown to mirror those of their parents (Aronowitz, 1992).

Despite positive views of what American could offer both themselves and their children, this study revealed this sentiment to be true among the first generation, who saw discrimination as an impervious force both in America society and among Haitians, who “will never get better because they won’t help each other once they are here in the States.” Accordingly, Clark (1983, p. 116) shows that successful parents “possessed a belief in their own ability to see to it that somehow their child’s needs would be provided for...[also] deep self pride and personal integrity, a sense of the salience of the needs of their children.” The interpretation and management of such discouragement among immigrant parents in their acculturation process, then, may also have an effect on the upward mobility of their children (Halpern, 1990; Portes, 1996).

A pessimistic view of discrimination among the first generation was also complimented by a wealth of emotional support and encouragement - despite stern demands or expectations (Zephir, 2001). Positive persuasion is another powerful way in which parent influence inculcates educational values in children and may include providing financial resources (Duncan, Featherman & Duncan, 1972), acting as role models (Rumberger, 1983), praising positive child behaviors (Astone & McLanahan, 1991) or encouraging goal setting (Cohen, 1987). The wealth of resources that are duly bestowed upon the second generation suggests Haitian parent-child relations are just misinterpreted by American legal and school systems due to variation in cultural norms (Stepick, 1998; Halpern, 1990). For example, Widmayer, Peterson and Lerner (n.d.) pointed out the customary Haitian belief that infants are incapable of cognition and are

thus expected to be obedient and quiet. This view of the child may cause the parent to raise them to be unprepared for American societal demands and expectations; as a result, the parent may be blamed for their inadequacy, despite other resources given to children that are seen to be beneficial and sufficient (Halpern, 2010).

Although social pressure served as the most conspicuous driver to educational attainment in the second generation, one cannot relegate the value of the first generation to simply one role. One recognizes their influence reflected in other areas of the Social Ecological Model; for instance, parents are the sole benefactors of ethnic knowledge, the acquisition of which strengthens the second generation's ability to take advantage of ethnic capital (Zephir, 2001; Waters, 1996). This study did not document the wide range of ethnic ideals or conduct instilled by Haitian parents. Zephir (2001) and Stepick (1998), however, both point out language as one of the primary ways parents may strengthen or hinder their children's reserve of ethnic capital. Although it is difficult to find a reliable estimate of how many second generation Haitians speak Creole, one piece of research found that children of Haitians had one of the lowest rates of foreign language proficiency (Portes & Schauffler, 1996). Although Stepick (1998) points out that this may be a result of bias self-reporting as a result of illiteracy, it could also indicate a dislocation between first and second generations that disallow the passage of skills and cultural practice. It may also indicate resistance from the first generation to pass on a skill that is stigmatized in Haiti, providing another example of how the second sometimes acts as an involuntary beneficiary of first generation's cultural values (Stepick, 1998). Since cultural ideals and experiences vary by immigrant

group, generalizing the relative roles Haitian parents play to other immigrant groups may not be entirely accurate (Xao & Bonstead-Bruns, 1998).

The breadth of roles the immigrant parent undertakes is so large in fact, that the external family often assumes roles left unfulfilled by parents. For example, Stepick (1998) describes how Haitian aunts and uncles may take over parental or financial roles for other family members. Much like parents, the extended family may also provide a significant source of ethnic capital by links still had in the sending country, therefore acting as a significant social resource for Haitian culture and knowledge (Schiller, Basch & Blanc, 1995). The role of extended family departs from typical parental roles in that its role is not to exert significant social pressure or expectation.

Although Haitian culture stresses the importance of maintaining connections with extended family (a value which has been successfully distilled to the second generation), participants in this study did not reveal that their extended families provided significant cultural resources as is suggested in the literature (Zephir, 2001; Stepick, 1998). Instead, extended family, or friends of extended family (most often Haitian), played a role in the process of acquiring a higher education. The use of extended family networks was not compulsory for upward mobility but helpful for those who could use it as a resource, so it was placed in the exosystem. Although this seems to indicate that the extended family is not used often as a form of capital, it more likely means that an individual did not have anyone in their extended family that had been through the educational system before and could thus, not serve as a resource. However, the seeming insignificance of the extended family for fulfilling other purposes may be because the term was simply misinterpreted; since many immigrant households may be

multi-generation, those living within the house may not be considered truly “extended” (Angel & Tienda, 1982). Since data was not collected on household structure, future studies may find it insightful to do so.

While family capital provides social pressure and resources to navigate institutional systems, the Haitian second generation also exhibits an exceptional sense of personal motivation where these things are not concerned. Researchers Douglass, Roebken and Thomas (2007) regard this to be a significant type of socioeconomic capital for success, especially when combined with cognitive and social capital. Although many participants could not trace the source of this, existing research shows that it may be a result of a deeply ingrained immigrant status which places increased significance on overcoming adversity to “become somebody” through the educational system (Suárez-Orozco, & Suárez-Orozco, 1995, p.181). Also called “aspiration capital”, this driver of mobility is influenced by environmental factors, personality traits, and issues of identity (Douglass, Roebken & Thomas, 2007, p. 6).

The second generation regards themselves as an extension of Haitian legacy and history and they feel compelled to fulfill the expectations this legacy entails. This sense of duty is tied tightly to their self-perception as Haitian and issues of ethnic identity (Zhou, 1997, Portes, 1996). For example, those that identify highly with their own immigrant group feel a greater sense of obligation to investing in that group culturally and (Padilla, 1980). On the other hand, Zhou (1997b) explains that despite their self-identifications as Haitian, the second generation still holds different ideas and may “lack meaningful connections” to their parents’ homeland. They more likely tend to evaluate themselves with reference to the host society (Gans, 1992). In this case, it would be

assumed that only those “communal solidarities, cultural attributes, and historical memories grounded in real-life context and social experience” in the U.S. would shape the desire for Haitians to help other Haitians (Conzen, et al., 1992, p. 4-5).

The Haitian second generation seems to assign variable meanings to their identity. Zephir (2001, p. 60) corroborates this finding, as she explains that Haitian identity in second generation youth is more fluid than that of the first generation, encompassing a different “context of reality in the United States” that more aptly reflects their immediate social environment. Haitian identity in the second generation is not as homogenized as it is in the first; in fact, there are many different definitions of what it means to be Haitian. In this research, all participants agreed that speaking Creole was a general requirement and of course, having a good understanding of Haitian history. In her research on Haitian-Americans in New York, however, Zephir cites having one or both parents being born in Haiti, whether one had relatives still in Haiti, or even sharing the brunt of prejudices towards Haitian people in the U.S. as reasons one may claim Haitian ethnicity (Zephir, 2001).

This is not to say, however, their Haitian identity is diluted or less genuine than the first generation. In all cases, second generation participants viewed their Haitian identity as an exceptionally intimate asset useful for accessing different social structures. The fluidity of Haitian identity in the second generation did not come at the expense of their cultural knowledge or obligation to help others of the same ethnicity. This is in stark contrast to the first generation migrant, whose Haitianness may serve as a barrier to finding work, acquiring social networks here in the United States or escaping

common prejudice from the dominant host society (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Consequently, ethnic capital for these two groups may have varying effects.

The fortitude of identity development in the second generation is a strength in terms of social mobility. LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton (1993) indicate ethnic minorities with identity confusion are more likely to experience problems in school, both academically and socially. In a study of Mexican-Americans, “children's beliefs about their ethnicity were related to their perceptions of their social and behavioral competence, their self-worth, their attitudes toward school, and their intrinsic motivation for learning” (Okagaki, Frensch, & Dodson, 1996). Other research notes that grade point average correlates strongly with academic self-concepts and attitudes about one’s race and ethnicity (Witherspoon, Speight, & Thomas, 1997). Although Rumbaut (1994) notes that this process is dependent on the ethnic group in question, it is clear that perceptions and beliefs surrounding Haitian identity only strengthen one’s propensity to be upwardly mobile.

The issue of ethnic identities in subsequent immigrant generations cannot be separated from the issue of American identity. Identifying as American correlated strongly with whether one shared the attainment of the “American dream” through the “American promise” of opportunity and resources. An American identity was compulsory to assimilate into dominant society; likewise, an element of assimilation was necessary in order to access and navigate social structures and therefore, be social mobile. Although participants in this study viewed their identity as strategic in this way, Zhou (1997b) reveals that retention of ethnic identity does not necessarily assume downward mobility. For example, the retention of a strong religio-ethnic backgrounds in

first generation individuals did not influence educational outcomes (Hirschman & Falcon, 1985).

This is not to assume, however, that Haitian and American identities are mutually exclusive. Half of second generation respondents agreed that the fluidity of Haitian identity allowed for a blending of both Haitian and American cultures, forming what one participant cited as a “hybrid individual.” Zephir (1994, p. 63) explains that Haitians share the same “cultural blending” phenomenon as many Mexican-Americans:

“Mexicanos find Mexican people and Mexican cultural superior to what they encounter in the United States [but] are aware of both their Mexican cultural heritage and their ‘American roots’ as they manifest joint cultural traits. Generally speaking, [they] are at ease with their mixed heritage and their dual identification.”

This is in contrast to this study’s outlier, who identified as strictly Haitian. This participant came to the U.S. later in high school and since that time, was extremely active in Haitian campus organizations. His late arrival in the U.S. and the reification of Haitian identity by way of exclusive social involvement probably contributed to his aversion for identifying as American (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). For example, Zephir (1994) explains that ethnic school organizations serve as a venue for the assertion of ethnic identity and the subsequent exclusion of an American one. At the same time, Haitian identification could have served as a vehicle for mobility in this particular arena, as this individual’s social networks were deeply entrenched in the involvement of this organization.

The ability to draw from or identify with certain aspects of both of their ethnicities in different environments is especially useful in the second generation’s relationship with

African Americans. African American culture and identity is placed in the mesosystem, as Haitian ascription to black conventions is determined by the interaction between their American and Haitian identities in the microsystem. Similar to Zephir's (2001) findings of Haitian-Americans in New York City, the second generation may attenuate or exaggerate multiple identities depending on their situational context; for instance, Haitians may change their language, dress or the subject matter of their discourse when in the company of African Americans (Stepick, 1998). At the same time, Haitians feel compelled to defend their "Haitainness" in these circles, as they are easily mistaken for African-Americans by both whites and blacks (Waters, 1996). This signals their departure from the first generation's predicament; while their parents may find it more difficult to separate themselves from their immigrant status, the second generation must work actively to assert their backgrounds to avoid becoming "invisible ethnics" (Waters, 1996, p. 172).

Although negative views of African Americans from the first generation are distilled to the second, the interplay between African Americans and Haitians is extremely dynamic. For example, in Waters' work "Second Generation Black Immigrants in New York City", three different typologies of Haitian-African-American assimilation were found: black immigrants identifying as black Americans, black immigrants that partially distanced themselves from blacks and maintained some sense of their ethnicity and lastly, those that rejected any sense of black, American identification. Each of these methods of assimilation has costs and benefits in terms of one's social mobility. For example, those that maintained similar sentiments as their

parents about African Americans found it easier to share other sentiments or resources beneficial to their mobility like superior family values or social resources (1996).

The rewards of family capital came at an expense, however, for those that identified strongly with American culture. Zephir (2001, p. 99) refers to these individuals as “cover-ups”, who find it more costly to express their Haitian ethnicity than to identify as a black American. In these cases, Haitians may fabricate entire family histories or identify as another kind of migrant due to perceived discrimination (Zephir, 2001; Stepick, 1998). Although there was much anecdotal evidence by those interviewed to suggest this was true, Zephir did not come across these individuals in her study. This was also the case in this research; participants, however, were self-selected as Haitian or Haitian-American so those that did not identify as such would not be expected to appear in the study (Research Design).

Complete identification with American culture and values follows the path of modern assimilation theories that suggests absorption into a dominant, host society (Padilla & Perez, 2003). This behavior was not documented in this research, but may be catalyzed by second generation contempt for their parent’s lack of understanding or acceptance of American culture (Waters, 1996). In conflict with parental expectations, it has the opposite effect as identifying as completely Haitian in terms of family relations (Pamphile, 2001).

Most common, however, was exhibition of what researchers call “segmented assimilation” (Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, & Haller, 2005; Alba & Nee, 1997). In a type of segmented assimilation that Portes (1995) terms as “selective assimilation” or “selective acculturation”, second generation Haitians deliberately preserve their Haitian

background. They may consciously and selectively cede or emphasize their ethnicity while participating in American society or in this case, black culture. It is this type of assimilation that is known to lead to rapid upward mobility in immigrants, as it does not always necessitate the cost associated with rigid identification (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996; Gibson & Bhachu, 1991; Zhou & Bankston, 1994).

The ability for Haitians and blacks to come together under a shared social legacy aids in the forging of relationships, as does a shared racial experience in the United States (Pamphile, 2001). Although this is a point of similarity, the perception of race is also something that may distinguish these two groups. Apart from differing in cultural and educational values, second generation Haitians perceive African Americans as using race as a crutch: "Some [black people] are like...this place is trying to keep me down, and they sulk and they cry about it, and they're not really doing that much to help themselves...It's just like hyping the problem if they keep [saying] everything is racial, everything is racial" (Waters, 1996, p. 182). Unlike their ethnicity, race is a feature they may not selectively remove; however, it does allow them justify alliances with African Americans or other black immigrant groups (Zephir, 2001). The second generation Haitian's disregard of race removes a perceived barrier to their mobility. This is significant, as increased perception of discrimination tends to lessen tendencies to identify or associate with other groups, thereby weakening social networks (Padilla, 1980). The perceived role of race in outcomes of mobility was so minimal among the second generation that it was placed within the macrosystem, despite the contention that race is an institution experienced on an individual level (Smith, & Stewart, 1983).

According to Levitt and Waters (2002, p. 186), “as young people mature they develop multiple, overlapping and simultaneous identities and deploy them in relation to events they experience at home, at work, in school and in the country of their birth and in the country of their ancestry.” The process of acculturation and identity formation is therefore created and imposed upon one’s environment, and no venue is more appropriate to explain this process and one of mobility than that of the university.

Much like the issue of African American culture and identity in the mesosystem, the university system is an institution in which many other social mobility variables may be forged or maintained. For example, the construction and maintenance of one’s peer group is usually centered around school; likewise, a study by Wentzel and Caldwell (1997) shows that membership in a successful peer group is the most important factor in determining good grades. The effect of the family may also manifest itself as an educational outcome – parents more involved in their children’s education shows a positive effect on behavioral outcomes that promote achievement (McNeal, 1999). Findings from this study departs from the literature in that despite Haitian parents’ minimal involvement in their children’s schooling (most likely due to their lack of knowledge of American school systems), Haitians still showed the ability to be upwardly mobile (Portes & Rumbaut, 2005). In this case, parents simply “demanded they go to school”, presuming this should automatically assume their success in the educational system. Consequently, social pressure seems to have a greater effect than the added resource parental involvement presents.

Especially among the Haitian community, the university serves not just as a venue for expressing other drivers of mobility, but as a destination by itself. This is

typical of many immigrants, as education is viewed as the primary source for the acquisition of skills and is therefore, a definite marker of success (Zephir, 2001). The value of education, however, may vary depending on the immigrant group. This may be largely influenced by cultural factors; for example, Zhou and Kim (2006) show that “cultural attributes of a group . . . particularly tangible ethnic social structures on which community forces are sustained and social capital is formed”, were imperative to high levels of Chinese and Korean academic achievement.

On the other hand, school achievement can also be a function of immigrant generation. According to Douglass, Roebken and Thomas (2007, p. 5) “immigrant groups not only have different cultural and economic backgrounds that influence college attendance rates, but they vary substantially among themselves in their drive and interest in education, depending, among other factors, on whether they are first, second, or third generation immigrants.” Caribbean immigrants, similar to Africans, South Americans and those from the Middle East, are shown to reach U.S. levels of achievement after ten years and subsequent generations perform remarkably well. On the other hand, Mexican immigrants reach U.S. levels in about four years, but begin failing after the third generation (Schoeni, McCarthy & Vernez, 1996). The way future Haitian generations perform in the university system will need to be addressed in future studies. It would be assumed, however, that later generations will follow a course that is increasingly distant from the immigrant values of their parents. Due to the importance of intergenerational closure in transmitting principles and discipline, especially in the Haitian case, it is possible educational outcomes may come at a cost (Coleman, 1990).

Perhaps most importantly, the university is a venue that bridges the divide between the Haitian reality and their access to a larger societal structure. A study by Conchas (2001) found that minority groups are less likely to succeed in school if they believe the larger opportunity structure is limited. This is not the case for the Haitian second generation. This is most likely because the pursuit of education is not just a means to an end, but signifies a process of capacity building and method of general self-enhancement. Consequently, education is sought out regardless of the job market, how well one is able to actually apply their degree, or the financial reward inherent in the macrosystem.

Although Bronfenbrenner (1979) defines the school context as one existing in the microsystem, the university system may be an exception. As suggested previously, it is the confluence of factors at the microsystem level that may influence the propensity to enroll (Zhou & Kim, 2006; Coleman, 1990; Xiao & Bonstead-Bruns, 1998). Likewise, it is an institution in which all respondents participated; as such, it was better suited in the mesosystem rather than the exosystem. Kazinitz and Waters (2002, p. 60) acknowledge that the same drivers encouraging enrollment in the university may become amplified as a result of the university atmosphere and radiate out to both the exo- and macrosystems. For instance, students come in contact with a variety of other cultures and ideas that may alter their social consciousness (Douglass, Roebken & Thomas, 2007). The university system, therefore, may have the effect of synergistically reorganizing variables in the Social Ecological Model in favor of (or in disfavor of) achieving more success.

Although peer groups may be forged or fractured while in the university, this does not exist exclusively within this institution, so it was placed in the microsystem.

Coleman (1988) highlights three functions of peer groups, all of which are relevant to the second generation Haitian. First, peer relations among immigrants of the same ethnic status are expected to be stronger in terms of reciprocity due to “a shared experience of migration and the sentimental attachment to one’s country of origin” (Kao, 2004, p. 172). Although Haitian participants recognized the relative importance of their ethnicity, they did not feel an obligation or expectation to partake solely in these social networks as this research would suggest. In doing so, they may take advantage of resources that other social networks offer; for example, Coleman’s (1988) second feature of social capital, information networks.

This is a central feature to peer groups, as they may provide insider information about teachers, information about applying to college, or financial aid (Kao, 2004). These are things that that extended family may be able to sometimes provide, but that first generation parents often cannot (Zephir, 2001). Lastly, the transmittance of social norms is important among peer groups and often challenge those inculcated at home. This is especially true between Haitians and their black American peers; for example, Zephir (2001, p. 137) cites a Haitian parent as saying, “American kids are really a bad influence on Haitian children. They are the ones telling Haitian children that they should rebel when their parents don’t want them to stay out late, or what to do when they slap them.” Haitians may not find this as challenging a barrier to their mobility, as they indicated they only surround themselves with peers similar to them in ambition and interests, and this also seems to be the case with their relationship with American

blacks. The synergy of both peer and parental influences in the microsystem, however, shows that second generation Haitians may draw on two powerful proximal processes acting in a close sphere of influence (Bronfenbrenner, 1999).

A similar line of reasoning was seen with the issue of religion and religious networks, which Haitians considered irrelevant to their success but one that Kao (2004) would consider a social norm heightened in immigrant groups. Research by Yang and Ebaugh (2001) shows that religion is an integral part of identity formation and a way to forge social ties. Other than providing social networks, especially institutions of religion like churches and Vodou temples, the presence of religion in a mostly nonsectarian society may not be a powerful asset to mobility. Likewise, although this is a strong source of ethnic capital for many immigrant groups, second generation Haitians do not seem to value it in terms of their mobility.

In the future, it is unclear whether educational attainment will be such a central tenet to issues of migration, especially as the second generation has children of their own. It is inconclusive whether Haitians will continue to have significant success in the American educational system, or whether they will follow a slowed path typical of other immigrant groups (Douglass, Roebken & Thomas, 2007). It does not seem likely, however, that participants indicating such a level of motivation would either drop out of college or abandon their quest for capacity building. In the event that these individuals do fail, it is most likely a commentary on a dysfunctional job market than it is their ambition for achievement (Iannelli & Paterson, 2004).

This study is intentionally general in hopes it will guide future research specific to some of the more complicated issues in any of the structures of the Social Ecological

Model. The influence of the Diaspora or the larger economic structure are both pertinent topics affecting mobility in the second generation but may be harder to study and were outside the scope of this research (Zhou, 1997a). The most useful aspect of the Social Ecological Model, however, may be in that it shows nested relationships between social phenomena; in other words, no one driver of mobility may stand alone (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). As this study shows, “social resources are thus viewed as important factors intervening between origin and destination socioeconomic positions” and can serve as important mediating drivers of mobility between systems-levels for the second generation immigrant (Marsden & Hurlbert, 1988, p. 1039).

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

The study of immigration has never been more pertinent in contemporary America – in 2000, approximately 11.1% of the U.S. population was foreign-born and according to a 2009 Gallup poll, 25% of the 700 million adults wanting to migrate to another country permanently chose the United States as their first choice destination (Gibson, & Jung, 2006; Esipova & Ray, 2009). The immigration debate is all too often informed by initial consequences of migration reflected in the first generation's acculturation and adaptive processes; however, enduring effects of migration can only be revealed by subsequent generations.

Today, approximately one in five school-age children now come from an immigrant family and the numbers continue to grow (Zhou 1997a, Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco 2001). The spawning of what Portes (1996, p. 1) calls the “new” second generation, or children of those individuals migrating after 1965, continues to form a demanding and significant social influence on American society. This group will surpass the second generation of earlier European immigrants that reached 28 million in the 1940s and in doing so, will significantly alter the social, economic and political fabric of America (Portes, 1996, p. 2).

This study illustrates the challenges and accomplishments of the second generation and helps us unearth the processes associated with second generation socialization; however, it cannot accurately delineate outcomes for all second generation immigrants, nor predict how this group will alter the existing structure of American society as a whole (Kasinitz & Waters, 2004). Still, social mobility studies may be useful in the construction of hypothesis on the trajectory of this immigrant group.

Upwardly mobile immigrants may suggest the success and staying power of future generations, while an abundance of downwardly mobile groups may signal necessary changes in our social system by way of more accessible and effective public assistance programs, for example. Whatever the case, immigrants are no longer transient communities typified by economic incentives and as engines of the low-wage labor market – they are here to stay. As a result, we must collectively acknowledge and accommodate their presence in today’s society.

Remarkably perplexing about the second generation, however, is the seemingly insurmountable odds they overcome in order to find success in America. The socio-economic position of the second generation, for example, is highly dependent on their first generation counterparts, who typically fill low-skilled positions in the U.S. (Neill, 2010). With parents that typically cannot show them how to effectively navigate the system in which they now live, and often with little available resources, it is both curious and impressive the vigor with which they take on challenges. In fact, researchers Gibson and Ogbu (1991) maintain that immigrant youth have greater educational aspirations and confidence in the usefulness of their abilities than their native born peers, despite the greater challenges and setbacks they may face while pursuing a degree.

In the future, it will also be telling to chronicle the course of third, fourth or fifth generation immigrants, as the immigrant mentality will not be so fresh and pressure to ascribe to ethnic heritage may not be as strong - especially if subsequent generations are more likely to intermarry with other cultural groups (Pagnini & Morgan, 1990). Will their presence promote a more pluralistic society or will they fuse with a dominant,

American convention? Surely, evidence suggests that contemporary immigrants do not desert their cultural and ethnic tradition as they become swallowed into American society, as was suggested by the early assimilation theorists (Padilla & Perez, 2003). Instead, segmented assimilation into different social arenas and aspects of society may result in the reinvention or reconstruction of cultural groups, perhaps altering what it means to be an immigrant altogether (Zhou, 1997a). According to Kelly and Schauflier (p. 31), “the immigrant condition forces individuals to observe themselves even as they are being observed by others.” Yet changing social structures may demystify the stigma associated with being a child of an immigrant and no longer stigmatize those ascribing to various ethnic or cultural circles; maybe, eventually, this may stand to moderate discrimination altogether.

Perhaps most pertinent to the scientific community, how will the evolution of this process change our theoretical understanding of immigration? Portes (1996, p. 5) explains that our early understanding of this phenomenon was reduced to a political and economic framework and that now, “less abstract conceptual approaches are necessary to understand how the process unfolds in everyday reality.” In order for the research community to comprehensively and accurately describe the complex labyrinth of immigration, it is now necessary to work across concentrations and research specialties. It is increasingly obvious that anthropological data may be just as relevant to describing these processes as that of the economic variety, for example. The research community can no longer simply acknowledge the synergistic quality of these concentrations, but must begin heavily borrowing ideas and approaches from places once previously thought to be extraneous to their studies.

In our quest to seek out more applicable, reality-based research, we may find that one grand theory is simply not sufficient to describe the process of adaptation in the United States. Perhaps multiple theories specific to immigrant groups are more apt to accurately describe subsequent generations and the way they move through various institutions and social structures. As researcher Levitt & Waters (2002, p. 170) explain concerning Haitians, for example, “there is not a single voice of the Haitian Diaspora, either in Haiti or in the diaspora.”

APPENDIX A
INFORMATIONAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Informational Questionnaire

Please fill out the following questionnaire to the best of your ability by checking the corresponding box that applies to you.

Name: _____

Age: _____

Sex:

- Male Female

1. Place of birth:

- The United States
 Haiti

Date you came to the U.S.: _____

- Other (please specify): _____

2. Your highest level of education:

- GED
 Associates degree
 Bachelor's degree
 Master's degree
 PhD
 Technical college degree
 None of the above

3. The highest level of education you would *like to obtain*:

- GED
 Associates degree
 Bachelor's degree
 Master's degree
 PhD
 Technical college degree
 None of the above or not applicable

4. Your profession:

- Student
 Medical field
 Law/legal
 Retail
 Construction

- Agriculture
- Restaurant industry
- Other (please specify): _____

5. Your *mother's* highest level of education:

- High school diploma
- GED
- Associates degree
- Bachelor's degree
- Graduate degree
- Technical college degree
- Other (please specify): _____

6. Your *mother's* nationality:

- Haitian
- Other (please specify): _____

7. Your *mother's* legal status:

- American citizen
- Naturalized citizen
- Temporary protected status
- Resident alien
- Does not yet have documentation

8. Your *father's* highest level of education:

- High school diploma
- GED
- Associates degree
- Bachelor's degree
- Graduate degree
- Technical college degree
- Other (please specify): _____

9. Your *father's* nationality:

- Haitian
- Other (please specify): _____

10. Your *father's* legal status:

- American citizen
- Naturalized citizen
- Temporary protected status
- Resident alien

- Does not yet have documentation

5. Your yearly income:

- \$5,000 or less
- \$6,000-20,000
- \$21,000-40,000
- \$41,000-60,000
- \$61,000-80,000
- \$81,000 or more

6. Compared to your neighbors in the community you live now, would you consider yourself:

- Lower class
- Middle class
- Upper class

7. I consider myself:

- Haitian
- American
- Haitian-American
- Other: _____

APPENDIX B
LIKERT-LIKE SCALE RESULTS FOR THE FIRST GENERATION

<i>For each statement, check whether you strongly agree, agree, are neutral, disagree, or strongly disagree.</i>					
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I would not have been able to make it where I am today without the help of my family.	4				
I felt/feel a lot of pressure from my parents to be successful.	1	2			1
Helping my family is very important.	4				
Helping other Haitians is very important.	4				
I feel completely comfortable accepting assistance from government programs.	1	1	1		1
Most of my friends are also Haitian.	3	1			
I am more likely to succeed if I have a higher education.	3	1			
Speaking Creole hinders my success.		1			3
I am more likely to succeed if I am of a certain religion.			1		3
Being Haitian hinders my success.				2	2
Staying loyal to my Haitian heritage is important to me.	3	1			
It is important that other people see me as Haitian.	1	1	2		
I am more likely to succeed if I adopt an American lifestyle.			1	2	1
American culture gets in the way of preserving my ethnicity.			1	2	1
I do not like being considered African American.			2		2
There are limits to my success.		2		1	1
Being of an immigrant family, I am less likely to succeed in life.		1	1	1	1
Haitians have it harder than other immigrant groups.	2	1	1		
Other second generation Haitians can be just as successful as I am.	1	2		1	

APPENDIX C
LIKERT-LIKE SCALE RESULTS FOR THE SECOND GENERATION

<i>For each statement, check whether you strongly agree, agree, are neutral, disagree, or strongly disagree.</i>					
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I would not have been able to make it where I am today without the help of my family.	8		2		
I felt/feel a lot of pressure from my parents to be successful.	8	1	1		
Helping my family is very important.	7	3			
Helping other Haitians is very important.	5	5			
I feel completely comfortable accepting assistance from government programs.	1	3	2	2	1
Most of my friends are also Haitian.	3	2	3	1	
I am more likely to succeed if I have a higher education.	6	3	1		
Speaking Creole hinders my success.				4	6
I am more likely to succeed if I am of a certain religion.		1	1	2	6
Being Haitian hinders my success.			1	3	5
Staying loyal to my Haitian heritage is important to me.	6	2	1	1	
It is important that other people see me as Haitian.		6	2	1	1
I am more likely to succeed if I adopt an American lifestyle.			5	2	3
American culture gets in the way of preserving my ethnicity.		2	1	5	2
I do not like being considered African American.		3	2	1	4
There are limits to my success.			3	1	5
Being of an immigrant family, I am less likely to succeed in life.			1	2	6
Haitians have it harder than other immigrant groups.	2	1	2	4	1
Other second generation Haitians can be just as successful as I am.	8		1	1	

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Originally from Detroit, Michigan, Eryn Duffield earned her BS at the University of Michigan in biology and African American studies. She has studied French, Spanish and Haitian Creole. She has a wide range of volunteer experiences from serving as a youth mentor for teens to helping refugees learn English; she was also a founder and member of numerous advocacy campus groups, eventually leading her to be a Chairman on the Inter-Humanitarian Council at the University of Michigan. After earning her MA graduate from the Geography Department at the University of Florida, she will be pursuing a second master's degree in the Molecular Microbiology and Immunology at Johns Hopkins University and then attending medical school.