Globalization, Migration, and National Identity: A Global Perspective on the Role of Education in Second-Generation Immigrants

Raquel Y. Saenz

Abstract—Globalization has restructured relationships between countries around the globe, creating systematic dependencies between developing and developed countries. These dependencies are part of the structure that drives international migration; these cycles of migration have created substantial communities outside of the countries of origin, which in itself affects concepts of socio-cultural identity. In regions with mass emigration, the phenomenon typically occurs based on economic push and pulls factors. In effect, the migrants are those who chose to seek a better life in the receiving country. Although an identity shift most certainly occurs in those migrants who choose to stay in the receiving country, the children of immigrants are also affected by the situation they are caught within, between two or more cultures. This conflict, one of national and familial cultural identity, arises to a greater extend in the moment when the child begins their educational experience. Thus, the educational system represents a structure of reproduction for the national cultural identity of the receiving country while the cultural identity of the country of origin is represented in the family environment. This struggle symbolizes a larger reality of the shifts in identity due to a globalizing atmosphere, but it is one that demands recognition through the struggles that many of these immigrant children face on a daily basis.

Index Terms—Globalization, international migration, ethnicidentity, education.

I. INTRODUCTION

In the context of globalization, the world has changed drastically on a variety of levels, both cultural and economic. The world has become further intertwined through global technology, transnational business, and international trade. Globalization affects daily livelihoods at international, national, and regional levels. Through the processes of globalization, economic transitions have occurred around the global, stimulating inequities. This transition is one that has created a capitalist world system around the globe, with marked and growing inequalities [1].These inequalities are part of a system of dependencies that represents the complex reality of globalized capitalism. Mass undocumented migration results from these processes as individuals lose jobs in their countries of origin due to neo-imperialistic policies reflected by unequal trade agreements, such as NAFTA. However, beyond the struggles of the migrants themselves, exists a growing group that is further disenfranchised due to personal histories of poverty and a lack of opportunities. This group is the so-called second-generation immigrants, the children of immigrants, especially those who are raised in an impoverished state with a lack of opportunity in the countries they live within. In many cases, these children are nationals in the receiving country, but are forced to confront both covert and overt racism on a daily basis. In this struggle, the education system often represents an element of discrimination in the attitudes of teachers, as well as an often ethnocentric curriculum.

II. THE EFFECTS OF GLOBALIZATION

Immanuel Wallerstein's groundbreaking world-systems theory postulates the development of a structure of inequalities on a global level in the modern world. Wallerstein argues that by the end of the 15th century with the appearance of the feudal crisis, Europe began to move towards the present system through the appearance of an economic system that extended beyond national boundaries [2]. This capitalist world economy appeared in a moment during which regions and empires began to depend more heavily on international trade as a fundamental element in the national economies. Wallerstein, in rethinking Marx's division of labor on aglobal scale, observes that there exists an international division of labor within this modern capitalist world-system [2]. He divides the regions of the world in core, semi-periphery, periphery, and external. The core countries are those that benefit most from the current world system through the "appropriation of surplus from the producers of low-wage (but high supervision), low profit, low capital intensive goods" produced in periphery or semi-periphery countries [1]. Both the periphery and semi-periphery countries thus become increasingly dependent on the core countries. These dependencies stimulate immigration as individuals recognize the possibility for better salaries outside of their countries of origin. Thus, the governments of many semi-periphery and periphery countries also become dependent on undocumented migration as an important element in the national revenue. In a study presented for the United Nations, DeveshKapur found that remittances are often the most stable capital for many developing countries [3].In this form, remittances present a further aspect of the interdependencies between core, semi-periphery, and periphery countries.

Nestor GarcíaCanclini, an Argentinian anthropologist,sees globalization as an expression of these growing interdependencies between countries around the globe, which also result in shifts in cultural identity [4].He recognizes these interdependencies as something different from the previous modes of domination: "Globalization is not a new form of colonization or imperialism. It creates, in its neoliberal development, new modes of dependency and

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subordination" [4]. Although the interdependencies between separate nations in the globalized era are most certainly different from imperialism and colonization, they share a certain psychological effect with the latter. Albert Memmi, in his reflections on colonization in Tunisia remarks that "privilege is at the heart of the colonial relationship- and that privilege is undoubtedly economic" [5]. The same is true for the relationships between core and semi-periphery, as well as periphery countries. In extension of this relationship, labor migrants typically are incorporated into existing systems of inequalities within the core countries. Due to low-wage, high labor work conducted by many immigrants in the receiving countries, these individuals and their families typically live in a state of poverty, where their children are born and raised,in the case of those families who choose to stay in the receiving countries.

III. Migration and National Identity

In relation to migration, particularly to the realities inherent in the lives of many immigrant children, the implications of citizenship and national identity become complex reflections of discrimination within the core countries. The immigrant child first faces these complexities by way of the educational system in primary school where the national identity of the receiving country is forced upon the child through the language of the education system, as well as the curriculum, which frequently fails to take into account the immigrant experience. Thus, the limits of national identity become evident through the struggles of these youth. Although these young men and women are often citizens of the receiving country, citizenship is simply a socio-historic construction and socio-political concept that implies membership to the nation. Juan Carlos Ocaña, a history and geography professor in Madrid, defines citizenship:

We can define citizenship as a legal and political status in which citizens acquire certain rights as individuals (civil, political, social) and certain duties (taxes, traditionally military service, loyalty…) in respect to a political collective, as well as the ability to act in the collective life of the State [6].

SeylaBenhabib, a philosopher on the topic of citizenship, comments that both identity and citizenship are constructed through cultural elements that establish difference between certain countries; citizenship traditionally implied a shared language, culture, and often religion [7]. Due to the cultural nature of citizenship, discrimination against cultural minorities often finds a certain level of support in the national political system. Minority groups, especially immigrants, find themselves without representation. Thus, many immigrants, and in particular the children of immigrants, seek assimilation. Such assimilation often implies a rejection of the culture of origin. Benhabib terms this rejection a "self-hatred", which can become a particularly destructive force in the lives of second-generation immigrants who are citizens without representation (or at least without sufficient representation). This self-hatred can lead children to look for power and recognition in disparaging organizations, such as gangs; studies have shown that aggressive behavior is often

associated with social rejection [8]. In cities with large immigrant populations, although multiculturalism may be promoted in the schools, immigrant children often face a certain level of rejection at a cultural level, especially if they are not among the dominant cultural groups present in the school. In many cases, religion also plays a part in the struggle that these youth face in the search for recognition of their cultural identities. The face for this struggle in France has become the debate surrounding the use of the Islamic headscarf in schools. This particular battle began with the expulsion of three Muslim students from a secondary school in northern Paris in 1989 due to their use of the headscarf. The issue was brought to the Council of State, where it was ruled that the wearing of the Islamic headscarf was not incompatible with the system of *laïcité*(French secularism) [9].Nonetheless, the issue has been brought to the Council of State time and time again since the first incident. In 2004, the law was passed, banning the use of any conspicuous religious symbol in schools, thus banning the use of the headscarf [10].

In general, the relationship between national identity and cultural identity represents a larger struggle that second-generation immigrants face beginning at a young age. This conflict arises in the implications of national identity in terms of language and shared culture. In many nations, especially those in which large scale immigration is still relatively new, language often represents national identity [11]. In terms of education, the construction of a national identity in each individual begins in primary school as part of what Althusser designates as the "ideological state apparatus".

In Althusserian terms, the power of a nation resides in its cultural and political hegemony, which are reproduced through "ideological state apparatuses". Althusser builds upon Marxist theory which recognizes "state apparatuses", such as the military, that use force to maintain the power of the dominant group. According to Marx, the dominant group maintains power through the forces that reproduce the modes of production, which create the inequalities that exist between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Ideological state apparatuses, on the other hand, control the ideologies of the people as a means to maintain power. Althusser argues that education is the most powerful structure in creating and maintaining class relations [12].Although Althusser, like Marx, focuses on inequalities based on socio-economic class, these inequalities augment in cultural minority groups. In these groups, the difference between the familial context and the context they encounter at school is often substantial. Adolescents become trapped between these two disparate social contexts:

The children of immigrants, especially adolescents in the process of constructing and crystallizing a social identity, are challenged to incorporate what is 'out there' into what is 'in here', often in dissonant social contexts [13].

Ruben Rumbaut conducted a survey of 5,264 students in eight and ninth grade in the Miami and San Diegourban areas in order to analyze the possible psychological implication that the experience of being a second-generation immigrant might have. The survey included questions on the respondents' demographic backgrounds, family structure, ethnic self-identity, peer relationships, use of spare time,

perception of discrimination, self-esteem, and questions analyzing the presence of depression [13].Half of the respondents were born in the United States, while the other half had immigrated with their families before the age of 12. In order to determine ethnic identity, an open ended question was asked, allowing the students give their identity in the terms that they chose. Thus, in the interpretation, the author divided the responses in four types:

1) an ancestral, immigrant, or national-origin identity (e.g., Jamaican, Nicaraguan, Hmong);

2) an additive, syncretic, or hyphenated identity (e.g., Cuban-American, Filipino-American, Vietnamese-American);

3) an assimilative or American national identity, without the hyphen; and

4) adissimlative racial or panethnic identity (e.g., Hispanic, Latino, Chicano, Black, Asian) [13].

In the analysis of the students' responses, the author found that more foreign born students (43%) chose a national-origin identity, whereas more U.S. born students (49%) chose a hyphenated identity. The hyphenated identity choice was the most popular with 32% of foreign born also choosing this. The assimilative identity was chosen by 3% of foreign born and 20% of U.S. born [13]. Of course it must be taken into account that the majority of the students are most likely to not have consciously analyzed their choices. In many cases, their responses may reflect the identification of the parents. In either case, the respondents' choices reveal a deeper conflict in relation to national identity in the children of immigrants. The majority of second-generation immigrants naturally struggle to find an identity within the national and familial identities. However, it does make a difference whether the student was born in the U.S. or outside of the country. In relation to self-identification, along with other factors, Rumbaut recognizes that the respondents came from a wide range of socio-economic backgrounds, but attempted to identify the characteristics that pertain to the group as a whole, as well as to each national-origin group. Rumbaut found that among all groups, English was generally the preferred language, reflecting the education of the students.

Very few of the respondents spoke English only (7.3% of the total sample). However, nearly three-fourths of the total sample preferred English […] the single exception are the Mexicans, who are most loyal to their mother tongue, although even among them 45 percent preferred English [13].

Among the different national-origin groups, there were greater differentiations in relation to self-esteem, academic success, and experiences of discrimination. These differences may be due to variances in values and traditions in the numerous countries of origin. It may also be due to the wide-ranging treatment that differing groups experience in the receiving countries. "Significantly, the Mexicans and especially the Indochinese showed the lowest global self-esteem scores, with the lowest score found among the Hmong" [13]. In relation to discrimination, it was found that discrimination was expected more among students who identified with a dissimilative identity. In particular, 71.5 percent of students who identified as Chicano had experienced discrimination [13]. In this case, the experiences may reflect a higher awareness of occurrences of discrimination in society among these groups.

In relation to the differing experiences of the students, it must be noted that adolescents have differing conceptions of their own ethnic identity based on personal histories. William Cross, in his studies of African-Americans, postulated the existence of certain stages of identity transformation common to all individuals. Although Cross' study was based on a non-immigrant population, it can easily be applied to an immigrant population. Cross postulates four stages: pre-encounter, encounter, immersion, and internalization [14]. The pre-encounter stage is characterized by a desire for assimilation and a rejection of the individual's ethnic, racial or cultural identity. The encounter stage characterizes the moment in which the individual becomes conscious that complete assimilation is not an option due to an experience of discrimination or stereotyping. Cross then proposes that the individual would then begin to revalue their cultural origins and seek association with members of their own group through immersion. This immersion stage is often characterized by a rejection of the hegemonic group. The last stage would then be one of self-assurance and acceptance of individuals both in one's own cultural group, as well as others outside the group. In this stage, many individuals also choose to dedicate their careers toward the betterment of their own group or other oppressed groups [14].

In relation to Cross' schema, as well as the findings of Rumbaut, a large population of second-generation immigrants have responded to discrimination through a reaffirmation of their ethnic identity. This affirmation has been most evident in social movements such as the Chicano movement in the United States and the *MouvementBeur* in France. The Chicano movement utilized the concept of Aztlán, the mythical heritage land of the Aztecs, as a justification for the presence of Mexicans immigrants and their descendants in the United States [15]. The Aztec empire was centered it what is now Mexico City in Central Mexico, however Aztlán was said to be in Northern Mexico or what is now the Southwestern United States. In the case of the Chicanos in the 1960s and 1970s, the concept of Aztlán was adopted as a nationalist identity, giving birth to a Chicano nation. This nationalist ethnic identity was developed in contraposition to the identity of the hegemonic group. David Emmett Hayes-Bautista examined the construction of a Chicano identity in medical students at the University of California, San Francisco in the early 1970s. He noticed, similarly to Cross' theory, that individuals of Mexican descend passed through several stages before allowing themselves to be identified as Chicano [16]. The majority of the subjects in his study entered medical school with an assimilative American identity. However, as students recognized inequalities in the university system or by means of national news in relation to the Chicano movement, students began to gain an interest in affirming their Mexican heritage. Hayes-Bautista documented cultural and ideological projections of this new identity; certain students adopted a traditional Mexican peasant dress, began to relearn Spanish, and started to use the proper Spanish pronunciation for city names with Spanish-language origins [16].

In the case of France, the *MouvementBeur* arose in response to occurrences of violent racism in the country in the early 1970s. During this period, "militant North Africans took the lead in mobilizing the immigrant community" [17]. By the end of the decade, the North African community had developed a series of organizations, the most well-known being Radio Beur, which reaffirmed their ethnic identity. The term *Beur* arose in the 1970s as a "self-designating neologism" among "second-generation Maghrebis in the banlieues of Paris as a *verlan* [backslang] inversion of Arab" [18]. However, in the case of the Beurs, a nationalistic ethnic identity was generally not sought. Even so, the movement reflected the lack of recognition given to the children of immigrants in France. The solution to this conflict of national identity in a globalized era must occur through the educational system.

IV. CRITICAL PEDAGOGY

In relation to disenfranchised ethnic groups, critical pedagogy has been used to address inequalities in the education system. Paulo Freire, considered to have developed this particular pedagogy, created this educational practice in reaction to mass illiteracy in his country, Brazil. Freire, along with other critical educators, recognized the role of education as an ideological apparatus of the state and the necessity to work to change this system that reproduces inequalities in society. Freire recognizes the reality that education often becomes a tool in the oppression of subaltern groups:

Rather than being encouraged and equipped to know and respond to the concrete realities of their world, they were kept 'submerged' in a situation in which such critical awareness and response were practically impossible [19].

Freire postulates the need to establish dialogue between educators and students in order to stimulate critical thinking in the classroom. In top private schools around the globe, a focus was long ago placed on critical thinking in recognition of the importance of this ability in order to succeed in the globalized era. Meanwhile, many public schools, even in core countries, have fallen behind in this matter. Especially in low-income classrooms where the majority of students come from minority groups, it should be essential that the educator take into account the diverse social realities that affect the student [19].Freire also mentions, reinterpreting the postcolonial concepts of Albert Memmi and Franz Fanon, that inequalities exist due to the fact that, beginning at an early age, students from minority groups desire to assimilate into the hegemonic group; a certain psychological and cultural colonization exists that causes youths to reject their culture of origin [19].Although Freire proposes his theories in the context of rural Brazilian laborers, it still shares many similarities with the situation that low-income second-generation immigrants are born into in core countries,

In most cases, the educator supports the desire for assimilation and accepts social inequalities without considering the root causes and possible methods for change. Critical educators, on the other hand, recognize the need for change and seek creative methods to stimulate discussion in their classrooms. These teachers analyze the relationship between schools, power, and society, as well as their own innate prejudices [20].In the case of national identity, the educators in core nations have an important role in rethinking the concept of citizenship and national identity in relation to their students, especially those of immigrant origin. The maintenance of the culture of origin should be encouraged in order to encourage a high self-esteem beginning at a young age. At the same time, the national identity must be reconceived in core nations in order to include the growing populations with foreign origins.

V. CONCLUSION

The education process in a globalized era has become increasingly complex with the varying necessities of diverse populations. The role of the educator is a vital one, which deserves a critical analysis. Henry Giroux considers the education practice to be a political and socio-economic process, which forms social values. In core nations today, there are frequently drastic differences between schools depending on the populations they serve. Often times, schools in richer neighborhoods provide a fuller education. In these areas, the burden of the educator is often lessened due to the academic support that the student receives at home. In the case of many immigrant children, parents often lack the educational level necessary to fully support their child through the educational process. In the analysis of instruction, Henry Giroux emphasizes that schools are political entities that must be analyzed in consideration to the socio-economic context in which they are situated [20]. Giroux stresses that schools have the responsibility of recognizing their role in society and restructuring this role. Change must begin with the recognition of the problem, which is the lack of a critical pedagogy and a truly multicultural system.In relation to second-generation immigrants, critical pedagogy must also be a multicultural pedagogy. Multicultural education, like critical education, seeks the mental liberation of the students in order to escape the cycles of repression, which maintain the hegemonic domination [21].The shift toward a multicultural society has become increasingly difficult due to a rejection of diversity in many core countries:

The attack on diversity is clearer every day. The dominant euro-centrism, which, we can humbly call occidental provincialism, that conceptualizes and defends [the idea] that everything produced and/or consumed in that part of the world is superior, is better, is something which makes it enormously difficult to convert our societies into multicultural [22].

In relation to national identity, experiences of discrimination and dissimilation present a conflict for the cohesiveness of the nation. Thus, the place of multiculturalism in the national education system has been widely debated in countries across the globe. In general, there has been an agreement that something must be done to combat the rampant discrimination toward minority groups in society today. In the face of globalization, core nations must begin to develop truly multicultural policies, especially in relation to education. Education represents the reproduction of the national structure, in terms of power and opportunity. Although many core countries have begun to

address these inequities by means of innovativeeducation programs, these programs are often lacking in funds or not fully supported by the national education system.In the United States, the non-governmental program *Teach for America* seeks to lead an educational revolution in low-income communities across the country. This particular program trains top U.S. college graduates to become teachers in low-income schools across the nation. However, the program does not exist in all low-income schools. The district, as well as each school, must choose to accept the program, which due to local politics does not always occur. Furthermore, teachers coming from this program are typically not given any training in the fields of critical pedagogy and multicultural education practices. Many teachers, who were raised in drastically different cultural backgrounds, struggle with their teaching assignments in these low-income districts.

In France, the government has begun a similar initiative designated as priority education in certain areas, denominated as a*zone d'educationprioritaire.* This program works to creatively restructure the pedagogy and human resources in these areas to enhance the educational experiences of these students. However, in the case of France, teachers typically do not have a choice as to where they teach in their first teaching job and, similarly to many educators in *Teach for America,* often end up struggling greatly if placed in one of these zones. Educational policy makers must begin at the root of the problem, analyzing the immigrant situation and the complexities of identity construction in the children of immigrants to understand where change must occur. These populations have the tools to strengthen the nation if their multicultural identities are supported. In the globalized era, transnational companies and government organizations seek multilingual and multicultural individuals. Second-generation immigrants are the ideal candidates for such positions if a critical education is provided in their youth. National identity must be reconsidered in the face of globalization and international migration.

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