

PART I

EDUCATION

GETTING an education is both the biggest individual challenge facing children of immigrants as they grow up and the most important institutional sorting mechanism that will send them off into different life trajectories. Norman Nie, Jane Junn, and Kenneth Stehlik-Barry (1996) have underscored the paradox of education: that individual investment in education pays off in upward mobility, but that growing social investment in education has not produced a more equal social or political system. To the contrary, the educational system continues to be a defining element in our national patterns of social stratification. For the children of immigrants, just as for those with native parents, education thus represents both the most obvious path of upward mobility and a highly potent set of institutional barriers to that mobility.

Family background, school context, and individual talent and effort interact to shape the ways in which young people make their way through this system. Children from middle-class backgrounds with highly educated parents start with obvious advantages, while those whose parents have little education, difficulty speaking English, and low incomes are at a clear disadvantage. Family form also counts. Having more adult family members in the labor force provides more resources for each child. A nonworking mother seeking to support several children on her own can give each far fewer resources. Factors such as father's or mother's education and parental income also explain a good deal of the variation in children's educational experience, as do such closely related factors as the language spoken at home and the race of the household. But family resources, family strategies for investing in the children, and parental expectations are not the only significant factors. Not all children from better-off backgrounds succeed in reproducing their parents' level of education, nor are all children of poorly educated parents doomed to a similar educational position.

The kinds of schools to which young people have access are also vitally im-

Best predictor of SAT scores = family income
21
vocational vs. college Prep.

*
agency structure

ents have more education and income than the Hispanic parents and speak English, yet they are also more likely than Hispanic parents to live in highly segregated neighborhoods with the worst public schools and the least access to private schools. The fact that most native African Americans and West Indians are Protestant may also give even the most educationally oriented families among them fewer connections to parochial schools than are enjoyed by their largely Catholic Latino and Russian Jewish counterparts. Finally, we heard many stories from both those second-generation youth who reacted to their family and school environments by focusing on their schoolwork and avoiding the temptations or threats in their environment and those who succumbed to or were even pushed into life outside the classroom.

The educational outcomes for different groups of our respondents in the Second Generation Study are given in table P1.1, which looks at an age group, those age twenty-two and older, who are old enough to be well beyond high school and to have graduated from college if they went straight through their schooling. This table provides further support for many of the themes raised in the following chapters. It is not really surprising that Russian and Korean respondents—not to speak of native whites—have high rates of college attendance given their parents' similarly high levels of education. The Chinese second generation, however, shows a similarly high level of educational attainment despite the modest education of many of their parents. West Indians also show stronger levels of college attendance and graduation than African Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Dominicans, although their rate of college graduation remains only half that of whites, Russians, Koreans, and Chinese.

Even the lowest-performing groups, the Puerto Ricans and Dominicans, have generally become more educated than their parents, although the meaning of this fact is not always clear: parents with very modest educations by U.S. standards, for example, may have been relatively well educated by the standards of their poor rural village in the Dominican Republic. In contrast to predictions of "second-generation decline," it is noteworthy that "native" minority groups—African Americans and mainland-born Puerto Ricans—include a significant number who are downwardly mobile relative to their parents.

In almost every group it is also notable that women outperform men (see Stepick et al. 2001). As the chapters by López and Trillo make particularly clear, the young women in our study tend to be more insulated than the young men from the temptations of the street. Parental social control is stronger than for the boys, who may also face more challenges within their peer group to assert a macho personality that may be inconsistent with spending long hours doing homework. The gap between men and women is particularly sharp among Dominicans, a low-performing group, and Chinese, a

religion

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gender

TABLE P1.1 EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF RESPONDENTS AGE TWENTY-TWO TO THIRTY-TWO, BY GROUP AND GENDER

Sex Group	GED				Total
	High School Dropout	or High School Diploma	Some College	B.A. Degree or More	
Males					
Colombian, Ecuadorean, and Peruvian	8.4%	17.5%	52.4%	21.7%	143
Dominican	17.0	20.8	43.4	18.9	106
Puerto Rican	16.2	29.7	39.6	14.4	111
West Indian	6.3	25.2	43.2	25.2	111
Native black	14.2	35.0	35.0	15.8	120
Chinese	2.8	5.6	34.1	57.5	179
Korean	0.0	2.0	15.0	88.2	98
Russian	4.7	8.1	34.9	52.3	86
Native white	2.0	10.6	17.9	69.5	151
Male total	8.3	18.2	37.0	36.4	1,007
Females					
Colombian, Ecuadorean, and Peruvian	7.6	16.8	47.3	28.2	131
Dominican	15.7	12.6	43.4	28.3	159
Puerto Rican	23.5	20.6	38.2	17.6	170
West Indian	7.1	7.1	54.8	31.0	126
Native black	13.3	18.7	48.8	19.2	203
Chinese	0.0	2.0	26.4	71.6	148
Korean	0.0	1.0	6.0	94.0	107
Russian	1.3	9.1	27.3	62.3	77
Native white	4.9	9.8	20.7	64.7	184
Female total	10.1	12.7	38.6	38.6	1,198

Source: Authors' compilation.

high-performing group. In the former, it may be that conservative social norms within Dominican families provide space for accomplishment in school. For the latter group, the difference is between high-achieving men and even higher-achieving women, perhaps owing to family pressure on the young men to enter the labor force (for a further exploration of this theme, see López 2003).

The various groups of young people also attend systematically different kinds of schools. Although a majority in all groups attended ordinary public high schools, table P1.2 shows that a significant minority of the youngsters in

Kinds of schools

TABLE P1.2 TYPE

Colombian, Ecuadorean and Peruvian	
Dominican	
Puerto Rican	
West Indian	
Native black	
Chinese	
Korean	
Russian	
Native white	
Total	

Source: Authors' compilation.

the most educational of the Chinese—the attended public schools tend New York's community of Chinese parents less available to grow market. (To a lesser into these magnet schools, did not.) Many their avenues of opportunity and parochial schools other group. The results all made significant

The three ethnographic snapshots of López examines the predominantly Dominican expectations of their administrators focus on students, especially their and cynicism. The because they fear their rations and better schooling particularly striking in light chiefly the Dominican

TABLE PL.2 TYPE OF HIGH SCHOOL ATTENDED, BY GROUP

	NYC				Total
	Public	Magnet	Parochial	Private	
Colombian, Ecuadorean, and Peruvian	79.8%	1.5%	15.6%	3.2%	405
Dominican	87.6	0.0	11.0	1.4	419
Puerto Rican	86.4	1.4	11.0	1.2	419
West Indian	86.0	3.8	7.1	3.1	392
Native black	90.5	1.7	5.6	2.2	412
Chinese	76.2	18.0	3.0	2.9	596
Korean	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Russian	75.3	7.2	16.4	1.0	304
Native white	67.1	1.7	19.2	12.0	401
Total	81.1	5.1	10.5	3.4	3,348

Source: Authors' compilation.

the most educationally successful groups used other options. Some 94 percent of the Chinese—the most upwardly mobile group in terms of education—attended public schools, but they were also far and away the most likely to attend New York's competitive public magnet schools. This also reflects the tendency of Chinese parents to move to areas with good local schools, an option less available to groups facing higher levels of discrimination in the housing market. (To a lesser extent, Russians and West Indians also found their way into these magnet schools, while many other groups, especially Spanish-speakers, did not.) Many educationally ambitious members of other groups found their avenues of opportunity outside the public schools. Whites attended private and parochial schools and made far heavier use of private schools than any other group. The Russians, who were in Jewish schools, and the Latino groups all made significant use of parochial schools.

(X)
Magnet Schools
Kinds of schools

The three ethnographic studies presented in the following pages present graphic snapshots of different parts of New York's educational terrain. Nancy López examines the bottom end of the system, a huge public high school in a predominantly Dominican neighborhood. Many of the teachers have low expectations of their students and do not offer them much. They and their administrators focus much of their effort on simply maintaining order. The students, especially the male students, respond to this treatment with hostility and cynicism. The authorities show more lenience toward the girls, perhaps because they fear them less, and the girls in return respond with higher aspirations and better school performance than the boys. This finding is particularly striking in light of the fact that most of their parents hail from places—chiefly the Dominican Republic—that do not have strong traditions of

low expectations
policing bodies
disidentity
culture
not values

(X) (X)

B.A. Degree or More	Total
21.7%	143
18.9	106
14.4	111
25.2	111
15.8	120
57.5	179
88.2	98
52.3	86
69.5	151
36.4	1,007

28.2	131
28.3	159
17.6	170
31.0	126
19.2	203
71.6	148
94.0	107
62.3	77
64.7	184
38.6	1,198

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female education. Thus, López concludes, "the differing outlooks of men and women were not innate, but were the outgrowth of . . . different experiences . . . in the high school setting. In short, men's and women's understandings of the opportunity structure were shaped by their cumulative experiences with racialization and gender processes in the school setting."

Alex Trillo looks at a rung on the educational ladder that, while still relatively low, is much higher: a community college campus of the City University of New York. Located on a major transportation node in a mixed-neighborhood, this community college attracts a largely 1.5- and second-generation student body, mostly from Hispanic backgrounds. He notes that "on the one hand, community colleges must accommodate a precariously situated population with diverse needs, interests, and constraints. They must orchestrate a self-empowering discourse that speaks to the historical experiences of the student population. On the other hand, the colleges must deal with the reality that most of their students will not even graduate, much less go on to four-year universities. Therefore, they find ways to channel students into other reasonable opportunities." Here too the institution aims to channel groups toward opportunities that match their circumstances and manage their expectations. In contrast to López's high school, however, the community college does actually convey some useful skills and link many students, through its work-study program, to stable, if modest, jobs. Especially important is that this institution provides a second chance to people who have had negative school experiences of the kind described by López. One positive aspect of a system that may otherwise seem dismal is that such second-chance entry points are fairly plentiful in New York City. The community college is also a place where young people work out their identities and learn leadership skills. Trillo concludes that, although their career opportunities are still highly constrained, many students come away from their college experience feeling that they have made real progress. Vocational

Vivian Louie turns to the group that has made the most remarkable inter-generational progress from relatively modest beginnings: Chinese Americans. She examines young people from both working- and middle-class backgrounds—those whose families are "downtown" as opposed to "uptown" Chinese—in two settings: one of the better four-year colleges in the CUNY system, Hunter College, and one of the nation's elite universities, Columbia. Louie finds that Hunter students are mostly "downtown" Chinese, while Columbia students are "uptown." Regardless of family background, however, all the parents put strong pressure on their children to pursue "practical" majors that will lead to success in well-remunerated professions. Their motives for doing so are multiple: a need for the children to contribute to family incomes; the fear that whites will discriminate against their children in the absence of

credentials and measurable performance. The professional job is their children's, enced by the immigrant generation. ily background or gender, conform choices, they do so with considerable same time, both family class back tion mediate their ability to reach backgrounds and attendance at a lumbia, Hunter students are en Hunter—to move into "second-t ing. Though many Chinese Amer "last choice" rather than a "prefer wider range of options than the c at the community college and th and adjusting them to realistic p tional dynamic.

These three chapters thus pr young people are currently expe tem, from the lowest stratum— Columbia University. One can class background operates to lim stitutions and their students er reconciled to these choices. Fin The lives of some of these resp plan—but sometimes with pos

REFERENCES

- López, Nancy. 2003. *Hopeful G Urban Education*. New York: F
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 Stepick, Alex, Carol Dutton Ste Labissiere. 2001. "Shifting Ide Haitian in Miami." In *Ethni Rubén G. Rumbaut and Alej Foundation and University of*

credentials and measurable performance; and a pervasive sense that a good professional job is their children's only defense against the privation experienced by the immigrant generation. Most of the children, regardless of family background or gender, conform to these expectations; if they make other choices, they do so with considerable guilt and against parental advice. At the same time, both family class background and choice of educational institution mediate their ability to reach this goal: with their more modest family backgrounds and attendance at an institution that lacks the prestige of Columbia, Hunter students are encouraged by their parents—as well as by Hunter—to move into “second-tier” professions like pharmacy or accounting. Though many Chinese American families and students see Hunter as a “last choice” rather than a “preferred option,” it nonetheless facilitates a much wider range of options than the community college. At the same time, just as at the community college and the urban high school, managing expectations and adjusting them to realistic possibilities is an important part of the educational dynamic.

These three chapters thus provide a sampling of how second-generation young people are currently experiencing the New York City educational system, from the lowest stratum—“urban” high school—to one of the highest—Columbia University. One can sense in these chapters not only how family class background operates to limit and frame choices but how educational institutions and their students engage each other in matching and becoming reconciled to these choices. Finally, one sees some scope for individual choice. The lives of some of these respondents do not always work out according to plan—but sometimes with positive results.

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Stratific
inequality

CHAPTER 2

UNRAVELING THE RACE-GENDER GAP IN EDUCATION: SECOND-GENERATION DOMINICAN MEN'S HIGH SCHOOL EXPERIENCES*

NANCY LÓPEZ

Poverty doesn't necessarily cause crime. . . . People come from New Jersey, buy their drugs, and what kind of life do they lead?

—Leo, second-generation Dominican high school student,
New York City

I read about a study in the newspaper that states that 40 percent of "weed-heads" are in the inner city, but 60 percent are from the suburbs!

—José, second-generation Dominican high school student,
New York City

THE SOCIAL critique articulated by Leo and José, both seniors at what I refer to as Urban High School in New York City, points to the ever-present awareness of racial stigma among Dominican youth, particularly young men. These social critiques are part and parcel of the race-gender gap in education that I witnessed at Urban High School's graduation in June 1998. At the end of the traditional graduation processional, rows of young women had to be paired with each other because they were graduating at greater rates than their male counterparts (López 2003; Sum et al. 2000; Kleinfeld 1998; Lewin 1998). While at the beginning of the twentieth century men attained higher levels of education than women, at the dawn of the twenty-first century we

*All names of individuals reported throughout the chapter are pseudonyms.

Women attaining higher schooling than men race + gender

see the opposite pattern—women. It is predicted that by 200 million women enrolled in co

The race-gender gap in from racially stigmatized groups were twice as likely as men Boston public high school black and Hispanic males black and Hispanic females schools, where the majority (86 percent), more women (86 percent). Even at t education 2000). Even at t overwhelming majority o women—up to 70 percent

The race-gender gap is tion—the children of pos bean, and Asia. Second-g in California and Florida attainment, grade point 1998; Portes 1996). Th nameuse students in New (Zhou and Bankston 19 York City, home to over gap in education is alr from the Caribbean Ba (Mollenkopf et al. 199 López 2003).¹ Our own York Study revealed th attainment than their generation Dominican many of the male part or had dropped out males had graduated graduate education, b for the race-gender g In explaining disp mainstream literature simulation process. S eration will experien ber of characteristic into U.S. society; se

Women attaining higher levels of schooling than men race + gender → crisis of masculinity
Unraveling the Race-Gender Gap 29

see the opposite pattern—women attaining higher levels of schooling than men. It is predicted that by 2007 the gender gap will reach 2.3 million, with 9.2 million women enrolled in college compared to 6.9 million men (Lewin 1998).

The race-gender gap in education is most pronounced among women from racially stigmatized groups. During the 1990s African American women were twice as likely as men to obtain a college degree (Dunn 1988). In the Boston public high school graduating class of 1998, it was estimated that 100 black and Hispanic males were going to a four-year college for every 180 black and Hispanic females (Sum et al. 1999). In New York City public high schools, where the majority of the student population is considered nonwhite (86 percent), more women graduate than men (New York Board of Education 2000). Even at the City University of New York (CUNY), the overwhelming majority of enrolled black and Latino undergraduates are women—up to 70 percent in graduate programs!

The race-gender gap is already discernible among the new second generation—the children of post-1965 immigrants from Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia. Second-generation female students from diverse backgrounds in California and Florida outperform their male counterparts in educational attainment, grade point average, and educational aspirations (Rumbaut 1998; Portes 1996). This is also the case among second-generation Vietnamese students in New Orleans and Mexican-origin youth in California (Zhou and Bankston 1998; Matute-Bianchi 1991; Valenzuela 1999). In New York City, home to over one million public school students, the race-gender gap in education is already discernible among the children of immigrants from the Caribbean Basin—the largest new immigrant group in New York (Mollenkopf et al. 1998; Waters 1999; Hernandez and Rivera-Batiz 2003; López 2003).¹ Our own Immigrant Second Generation in Metropolitan New York Study revealed that across all groups women achieve higher educational attainment than their male counterparts. The targeted sample of second-generation Dominicans surveyed for the project uncovered that over twice as many of the male participants (31 percent) were still enrolled in high school or had dropped out as female participants (15 percent). Fifteen percent of males had graduated from either a two- or four-year college or had pursued graduate education, but 22 percent of females had done so. What accounts for the race-gender gap in education?

In explaining disparities in education among the second generation, the mainstream literature has focused on the ethnicity paradigm—namely, the assimilation process. Segmented assimilation theory posits that the second generation will experience upward or downward mobility depending on a number of characteristics of a given ethnic group: first, its mode of incorporation into U.S. society; second, the type of neighborhoods it lives in; third, the so-

segmented assimilation theory

Dominicans 2x men drop out compared to women

Segmented assimilation

↑ assimilate
draw on resources from ethnic unity
Becoming New Yorkers
↓ assimilation to oppositional cultures - close to native

cial and cultural capital available within the ethnic community; and finally, differences in its "color" (Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes 1996; Rumbaut 1998; Zhou and Bankston 1998; Kim 1999). Accordingly, ethnic groups experience upward mobility in one of two ways: either they assimilate into mainstream society or they draw on the resources of their ethnic community. However, those ethnic groups that, because of "color," are at risk of assimilating into the "oppositional" cultures of downtrodden native-born minority groups may experience downward social mobility.

In this study, I shift paradigms (see López 2003). In a departure from segmented assimilation theory's focus on the characteristics of a given ethnic group as predictors of educational success, I utilize a race-gender framework. A fundamental assumption is that racialization processes frame the very resources, neighborhoods, educational facilities, and social networks that are open to the second generation.

Another key dimension of my approach acknowledges that "race is gendered and gender is racialized" (Omi and Winant 1994, 68; Frankenberg 1993; Hill-Collins 1990; Roberts 1997; Hurtado 1996). This understanding of race and gender differs in fundamental ways from essentialist perspectives, which tend to present race and gender as givens—that is, as static and innate characteristics.²

Although race is incorporated as an independent variable into the segmented assimilation framework, it is operationalized as "color"—an unproblematic, static essence. Likewise, gender is not considered as a key variable that is central to the analysis.

Therefore, I bring race and gender processes from the margins of analysis to the center. Racialization and intersecting gendering processes can be examined at two levels: at the macro level, from the way in which funding is allocated to particular schools to the public discourse articulated by state officials and the way in which security measures are implemented in schools; and the micro level of pedagogical practices and teacher-student interactions in the classroom (Omi and Winant 1994; Feagin and Sikes 1994).

policing bodies - punishment

RESEARCH DESIGN

I chose to focus on second-generation Dominicans because although they were the single largest origin group in New York City during the 1980s and 1990s, there is a dearth of research on the education of Dominicans (Hernandez 1995; Torres-Saillant and Hernández 1998; Hernandez 2002; López 1998a, 1998b, 1999, 2003). To date, studies on the second generation have relied exclusively on surveys that attempt to capture differences in ethnic identity, but there are scarcely any qualitative portrayals of the actual lived ex-

periences of youth in schools and in the home as a process rather than an event (Feagin and Sikes 1994).

To uncover race and gender processes in the lives of youth, particularly young men, I analyze how race and gender processes intersect with the social relations between the individual and the rules, policies, regulations, and institutions that shape to-day social interactions among students in the classroom dynamics, racialized and gendered.

I conducted five months of participant observation in 1998 at the New York City neighborhood of East Harlem Urban High School. I chose this neighborhood that has experienced a long history of racialized Republican. During three days of fieldwork in the social studies department, I observed Mr. Green, a self-described biracial teacher, and Ms. Gutierrez, a Latina teacher. Mr. Green, for white in terms of phenotype; Ms. Gutierrez, a Latina teacher from Puerto Rico. America and could not "pass" for white. Mr. Hunter, a teacher who taught in the classes had between twenty-five and thirty students. Economics classes had unequal gender dynamics. One-third of the students were female. One-third of the class was male. I was interested in examining how race and gender processes intersected in the classroom.

When I was not sitting in the classroom, I was floating around the school campus, such as bilingual special education classes in the trailer complex. I spent time in the lunchroom, college office, social studies office, and attended parent-teacher meetings. I participated in dances, guest speakers, and community events. I also attended community for parents. I often ran into students and teachers in the hallway.

Reactions to my presence in the classroom by students and teachers alike surprised me. Since I was in my room, I noticed some of the older staff authors. On one occasion an evaluator sitting in the classroom the previous day's class notes.

periences of youth in schools and in their classrooms that illustrate racialization as a process rather than an essence (skin color) (Lewis 2003; Fine 1991; Feagin and Sikes 1994).

To uncover race and gender processes in the lives of second-generation youth, particularly young men, I am guided by the following questions: How do race and gender processes intersect in large public high schools vis-à-vis the social relations between the school and the surrounding community, rules, policies, regulations, and institutional practices? How are ordinary, day-to-day social interactions among students, faculty, and staff, as well as classroom dynamics, racialized and gendered?

I conducted five months of participant-observation during the spring of 1998 at the New York City neighborhood public high school that I refer to as Urban High School. I chose this public high school because it was located in a neighborhood that has experienced extensive migration from the Dominican Republic. During three days of the week I regularly observed four mainstream classes in the social studies department: two senior economics classes taught by Mr. Green, a self-described biracial man in his early twenties who could “pass” for white in terms of phenotype; an American history course for juniors taught by Ms. Gutierrez, a Latina teacher in her early twenties who was from South America and could not “pass” for white; and a global studies course for sophomores taught by Mr. Hunter, a white man in his midtwenties. Each of these classes had between twenty-five and thirty students. Only Mr. Green’s economics classes had unequal gender proportions. In his first class fewer than one-third of the students were female. Conversely, in the second class only one-third of the class was male. This skewed gender ratio proved quite useful for examining how race and gender intersect in classroom dynamics.

When I was not sitting in the back row of one of the four classes I was observing, I was floating around the school, sometimes visiting other classes, such as bilingual special education classes and the ninth-grade courses held in the trailer complex. I spent the afternoons hanging out with students in the lunchroom, college office, security office, hallways, and library. I also attended parent-teacher meetings, club activities, and other special events such as dances, guest speakers, and festivals. Since I lived in the neighborhood, I also attended community forums, parades, and political gatherings, and I often ran into students and teachers outside of the school setting.

Reactions to my presence in the field were varied. Depending on my attire, students and teachers alike sometimes mistook me for an older high school student. Since I was in my midtwenties and often wore jeans and a T-shirt, some of the older staff automatically assumed that I was a student. On one occasion an evaluator sitting in on Mr. Green’s class asked me if he could see the previous day’s class notes. Students, on the other hand, usually saw me as

cultures - close to native
community; and finally, ^{minority}
Portes 1996; Rumbaut
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a co-ethnic and approached me in Spanish, sometimes inquiring about what part of "the DR" my family was from.³ If I dressed in more professional clothing, students whom I encountered in the hallways and lunchroom, particularly young men, asked me in Spanish if I was a psychologist reporting on students who were "misbehaving."⁴ Other students, particularly young women, simply saw me as a college student and asked me about getting into college.

My analysis of field notes centers on identifying how racialization and gendering processes intersect at Urban High School. I focus on two levels: first, the formal and informal institutional practices, in the form of rules, regulations, and policies; and second, the micro level of social relations and interactions among students, teachers, and other school personnel in the classroom setting. I find that although second-generation Dominican men and women are members of the same ethnic group, attend the same high schools, and come from the same socioeconomic background, they have fundamentally different *cumulative lived experiences* with the intersection of race and gender processes in the school setting. As we see in the discussion in this chapter, these processes are significant because they begin to frame the outlooks of these young men and women toward education and social mobility.

This chapter is part of a larger study on the origins of the race-gender gap that I conducted using focus groups and life history interviews with second-generation Dominicans, West Indians, and Haitians (see López 2003). This chapter focuses specifically on second-generation Dominican men's racialization at Urban High School (for an analysis of girls' experiences at Urban High School, see López 2003, ch. 5). Before delving into the dynamics of Urban High School, I briefly describe the neighborhood and institutional context in which it is embedded. Next, I bring into focus some of the "invisible" racialization and gendering processes that transpired at Urban High School in Mr. Green's classroom. I end with a discussion of the implications of my findings for future studies on the education of the second generation, particularly of racially stigmatized young men.

RACIALIZATION AND EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

The de facto racial segregation of people of color, particularly those who are racialized as being of African ancestry, remains one of the most enduring "American dilemmas" of post-emancipation U.S. society (Myrdal 1944). Although racial segregation is no longer codified by law, it persists in federal redlining guidelines and practices among mortgage lending institutions (Massey and Denton 1994), and racial discrimination continues to play an important role in the housing conditions of immigrant and native-born communities of African phenotype (Myrdal 1944; Massey and Denton 1994).

Racial segregation: redlining, mortgage lending institutions.
Dominicans: hard to obtain good housing
Same SES as Europeans

Sanjek and Gregory 1994: 1 percent of Dominicans, 22 percent of African Americans, and 27 percent of African Americans that suffered from rat or bathroom (Schill, Friedr pean immigrants from similar housing.⁵

According to the 2000 census, the group with the largest number of members who identify themselves as "other" (63 percent) lives on the census, the overall racially black because of our of teaching undergraduate York, the University of Ma Mexico at Albuquerque, I anonymously guess what quarters of students define and Latino, again highlighting any trace of discernible A how a person identifies he

Owing to racial segregation, ics do not have the same quality of white and Asian counterparts on the census are most significantly black neighborhoods for the quality of study of racial imbalance National Center for Education finds that the level of segregation decade of the 1990s. Indian and Hispanic youth in the

Jean Anyon (1997) refers to Latinos and blacks are subject to no exception to the de youth. Both inside and outside appeared to be falling apart in 1998 (New York Immigrant entire four-story, turn-of-

inquiring about what the professional clothing, the lunchroom, particularly reporting on studiously young women, getting into college. Socialization and gender on two levels: first, form of rules, regulations and interaction in the classroom for men and women in high schools, and we fundamentally of race and gender in this chapter, the outlooks of mobility.

the race-gender gap shows with second (López 2003). This men's racialization at Urban High dynamics of Urban educational context in "invisible" racialization at Urban High School in Mr. of my findings, particularly of

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Sanjek and Gregory 1994; Lieberson 1980). Specifically, in the 1990s, 34 percent of Dominicans, 22 percent of Africans and those from the Caribbean, and 27 percent of African Americans were living in New York City apartments that suffered from rat infestation, lack of water or heat, and no kitchen or bathroom (Schill, Friedman, and Rosenbaum 1998). In contrast, European immigrants from similar class backgrounds were able to obtain better housing.⁵

According to the 2000 census, among all Latino groups, Dominicans are the group with the largest number of members who marked "black" as their race (13 percent) (Logan 2003). Dominicans also have the lowest number of members who identify themselves as "white" (23.3 percent) and the largest number of members who reject the white-black binary and identify themselves as "other" (63 percent). Regardless of how Dominicans identify themselves on the census, the overwhelming majority of us would be classified as racially black because of our phenotype. For instance, over the last ten years of teaching undergraduate sociology courses at the City University of New York, the University of Massachusetts at Boston, and the University of New Mexico at Albuquerque, I begin my first day of class by asking students to anonymously guess what race I am. Anywhere from two-thirds to three-quarters of students define my race as black and African American, or black and Latino, again highlighting the permanence of the one-drop rule whereby any trace of discernible African ancestry is defined as "black" regardless of how a person identifies herself.

Owing to racial segregation, even the most successful blacks and Hispanics do not have the same quality of neighborhood amenities enjoyed by their white and Asian counterparts (Logan 2002b). Latinos who identify as black on the census are most segregated from whites and tend to live in predominantly black neighborhoods (Logan 2003). This reality has severe implications for the quality of schools available to racially stigmatized youth. In a study of racial imbalance in American public schools based on data from the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES), John Logan (2002a) finds that the level of segregation in our schools did not improve over the decade of the 1990s. Indeed, racial segregation places the majority of black and Hispanic youth in the poorest schools.

Jean Anyon (1997) refers to the grossly inferior education that low-income Latinos and blacks are subjected to as "ghetto schooling." Urban High School is no exception to the de facto segregation that confronts racially stigmatized youth. Both inside and outside, the main building at Urban High School appeared to be falling apart and bursting at the seams when I was present in 1998 (New York Immigration Coalition 1999). Scaffolding enveloped the entire four-story, turn-of-the-century building. Sections of the roof regularly

Dominicans marked black but identify as other

Perception

more segregated than Brown vs. Board of Ed.

collapsed, and pigeons flew around in the auditorium and hallways, sometimes making their nests in the stairwells. overcrowded - trailers

Originally intended to accommodate approximately 2,500 students, Urban High School had a student population of about 3,000. To accommodate the overflow of students, all incoming ninth-graders were housed in two dozen makeshift, neon-orange trailer classrooms that had been squeezed onto the crumbling baseball field located behind the main school building. Despite the fact that the trailer classrooms had only one toilet for about forty students, these facilities, ironically enough, appeared more hygienic than those in the main building.⁶ Indeed, during the course of my fieldwork I could not locate a single working water faucet, so I always had to bring a water bottle with me. I dreaded using the bathrooms in the school: even the coveted, locked teachers' bathrooms in the main building were unsanitary, had missing doors and toilets that did not flush, and lacked toilet paper and working faucets. no water faucet free lunch

Despite the fact that Urban High School is located in one of the city's most populated neighborhoods—one that has experienced intensive migration from the Caribbean—it is the only high school in a six- to eight-mile radius. While the election of Dominican representatives to local and state government has led to the creation of a handful of elementary and junior high schools to address the problems of overcrowding, the dire need for a new high school remains (Marwell, this volume). When queried about the possibility of moving to a habitable school building, Mr. Perez, the middle-aged Latino principal, lamented, "There is no public will to build new schools."⁷

Although the majority of teachers at Urban High School are white, the student population is officially designated as Latino (90 percent)—mostly Dominican, with a number of Puerto Ricans and Cubans and a sprinkling of Mexicans. The remaining students are categorized as black but include second-generation youth from Haiti, the Anglophone West Indies, and parts of Africa. The enrollment of Asian and white students is negligible (1 percent). During the entire course of my fieldwork, I did not see a single white or Asian student in the entire school. Although I did not attend a New York City neighborhood high school during the 1980s, I attended a school that was segregated. During my four years in high school I never saw a single "white" student. Free lunch = low income good predictor

The majority of students are from low-income families; three-quarters of them are eligible for the free school lunch program. One in four students are categorized as immigrants who entered the school system in the previous three years, and 39 percent of students are entitled to English Language Learner services. Over half of ninth- and tenth-graders are overage for their grade, and 7 percent of the students are classified as "special education." Only

one-quarter of students graduate within ally takes to earn a diploma, and about third of the cohort remaining enrolled

In part to deal with overcrowding who were behind in their course work, schools throughout the city, had adopted classes designed to deal with the large in their classes but were too young or c lency diploma (GED) classes (López 19 graduate than men, it was men who w yond the fourth year, making Urban H male than female (55 percent). I often men, commenting that they had been years but had not been able to gradua

INSIDE URBAN HIGH SCHOOL

At our first meeting, Mr. Perez expressed concern because he had been observing the during his eight-year tenure as principal would find. Mr. Perez believed that the seek independence through the streets men," Mr. Perez noted. "Girls in track and seek independence through art asked Mr. Perez about his position supported them, but added, "More in ing a facility that does not have the juggle on a daily basis."

Mr. Perez soon introduced me to who was an assistant principal and vivacious veteran teacher of twenty split-second, she gave me a whirlwind Spanish, Ms. Rivera commented that minican graduate student who had public schools; she hoped I could School students. Ms. Rivera added depictions of Urban as a dangerous other criminal behavior at Urban. I quite cordial toward each other. W latest gossip, students conversed in

one-quarter of students graduate within the traditional four years that it usually takes to earn a diploma, and about one-quarter drop out, with over one-third of the cohort remaining enrolled beyond four years.

In part to deal with overcrowding and the growing number of students who were behind in their course work, Urban High School, like many other schools throughout the city, had adopted "p.m. school"—extra after-school classes designed to deal with the large number of students who were behind in their classes but were too young or did not want to attend general equivalency diploma (GED) classes (López 1998a). Ironically, because more women graduate than men, it was men who were more likely to remain enrolled beyond the fourth year, making Urban High School's enrollment slightly more male than female (55 percent). I often overheard students, particularly young men, commenting that they had been at Urban High School for five to six years but had not been able to graduate.⁸

INSIDE URBAN HIGH SCHOOL

At our first meeting, Mr. Perez expressed enthusiasm about my research project because he had been observing the race-gender gap for quite some time during his eight-year tenure as principal and was curious to learn what I would find. Mr. Perez believed that the gender gap was present because boys seek independence through the streets. "The streets are more attractive to the men," Mr. Perez noted. Girls in traditional Latino families are kept at home and seek independence through arming themselves with school. When I asked Mr. Perez about his position on single-sex schools, he replied that he supported them, but added, "More important than a single-sex school is having a facility that does not have the major infrastructure problems that we juggle on a daily basis."

Mr. Perez soon introduced me to Ms. Rivera, a middle-aged Latina teacher who was an assistant principal and chair of the social studies department. A vivacious veteran teacher of twenty years who could not remain still for a split-second, she gave me a whirlwind tour of the school. As we chatted in Spanish, Ms. Rivera commented that she was pleased to learn I was a Dominican graduate student who had been born and educated in New York City public schools; she hoped I could serve as a "role model" to Urban High School students. Ms. Rivera added that I should ignore all the stereotypical depictions of Urban as a dangerous school. The negative media representations of the neighborhood included images of drug wars, gang fights, and other criminal behavior at Urban. I noted, however, that Urban students were quite cordial toward each other. While changing classes and exchanging the latest gossip, students conversed in the hallways in a mixture of English and

teacher belief

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Spanish. Young men usually greeted each other in Spanish by gliding, not shaking hands, while young women embraced and kissed each other on the cheek.

As Ms. Rivera and I made our way through the crowded hallways to the department office, I noticed that some classrooms were filled with students but had no teacher in sight. When I asked about this, Ms. Rivera lamented that at the beginning of every semester there was always a shortage of teachers. Close to one-third of the social studies teachers that spring were new recruits. Some of the veteran teachers in the social studies department informed me that in the fall the teacher turnover rate had been close to two-thirds of the department. Ms. Rivera later admitted that she had only recently joined the staff after teaching for over twenty years in another high school. Indeed, the need for teachers was so great that before the end of the semester Ms. Rivera tried to entice me into considering teaching at Urban High School, even though I had no prior experience with high school students and was not certified.

Every time I entered the social studies office I was struck by how dedicated and committed the teachers were to their jobs and their students despite the fact that they were neither treated nor compensated as professionals. Although Ms. Rivera was an assistant principal and the head of the social studies department, owing to lack of office space her office had been transformed into the makeshift headquarters for the two dozen teachers she supervised. This office was always abuzz with activity. During their "free" periods, these teachers were huddled elbow to elbow, crammed into a space designed to accommodate comfortably only a few people. Without access to a computer, teachers filled in attendance sheets, planned lessons, organized school trips, graded tests, advised students and, in the few minutes that remained, tried to eat their lunches. Since they did not have a place where they could sit down and do their grading, teachers had to walk around with all their class materials on their person. Since my official designation was "volunteer," before the end of my first day at Urban Ms. Rivera had me fixing billboards and distributing fliers to teachers for upcoming events. teachers lacked basic supplies

I marveled over how teachers were able to perform their duties when they lacked the most basic supplies, such as books, chalk, or even a desk to sit at and prepare for their next lesson. Teachers improvised by sitting in the back row of their colleagues' classrooms to do class preparation. Remembering that the roof regularly collapsed, I always made it a point to sit away from the window in Mr. Hunter's class, where the ceiling was visibly patched up. I always sat through homeroom in Mr. Green's class, where announcements, sometimes bilingual, came over the outdated and barely audible intercom system; you were lucky if you could decipher every third word. Working under such

teachers receive message the

Unraveling the Race

dreadful conditions, even the most student-centered sage that their job is not important to the bureaucracy," such as President Bush and his No Child Left Behind fail to provide equitable funding. Likewise, even students at Urban High School invariably learn that education is not important since they are not expected to

In Ms. Gutierrez's American history class the e One time a young man named Julian remarked, "Santo Domingo" (Look, a blackout like in Santo Domingo but here in the United States).

ON OVERCROWDING, POLICING, RACIAL GENDERING

Beyond the decrepit conditions of the school building, the most rudimentary school supplies and basic striking aspects of Urban High School is the ub All students have to enter the main building through the main entrance is boarded up. Upon present their picture identification cards and pass through airport-style, full-body metal detectors monitored by black and Latino security personnel, including an armed white police officer. The head of security was a Latino man in his fifties. I asked him whether the teachers who were involved in fights were also involved in drug sales. He responded that there were rarely any incidents of fights were primarily squabbles over property. He explained that police officers were brought in School was among the most violent schools in the city among the most overcrowded.

Crowd control is one of the major functions of the school. During the five minutes that students are given to enter their period classes, security guards with bullhorns stand in the hallways, yelling: "Move it!" Long after students enter their classrooms, teachers often have to compete with security guards' walkie-talkies as they patrol the hallways. Students are also schooled against the backdrop of the school from the security guards and the police officer

teachers receive message that job not imp.

No Child Left B

dreadful conditions, even the most student-centered teachers receive the message that their job is not important to the bureaucrats who design "high standards," such as President Bush and his No Child Left Behind Act (2001), but fail to provide equitable funding. Likewise, even the most school-oriented students at Urban High School invariably learn that in the U.S. context their education is not important since they are not expected to amount to much.

message to kids
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In Ms. Gutierrez's American history class the electricity often went out. One time a young man named Julian remarked, "Mira, un apagon como en Santo Domingo" (Look, a blackout like in Santo Domingo)—an ironic reminder that poverty and lack of resources were present not only back home but here in the United States.

ON OVERCROWDING, POLICING, RACIALIZATION, AND GENDERING

Beyond the decrepit conditions of the school building and the lack of even the most rudimentary school supplies and basic resources, one of the most striking aspects of Urban High School is the ubiquitous security presence. All students have to enter the main building through a smaller side door because the main entrance is boarded up. Upon entering, students have to present their picture identification cards and pass through state-of-the-art, airport-style, full-body metal detectors monitored by video cameras staffed by black and Latino security personnel, including guards, peace officers, and an armed white police officer. The head of security was Mr. Castellanos, a Latino man in his fifties. I asked him whether the majority of students who were involved in fights were also involved in drugs or weapons possession. He responded that there were rarely any incidents over drugs—most of the fights were primarily squabbles over property. I queried Mr. Castellanos about why police officers had been introduced to Urban High School in the early 1990s, years before Mayor Rudolph Giuliani made it a citywide policy. He explained that police officers were brought in not because Urban High School was among the most violent schools in the city but because it was among the most overcrowded.

Security

not that much drama

Crowd control is one of the major functions of the security personnel. During the five minutes that students are given to change their forty-minute-period classes, security guards with bullhorns are positioned at the corners of the hallways, yelling: "Move it!" Long after students are seated quietly in their classrooms, teachers often have to compete with the noise emanating from security guards' walkie-talkies as they patrol the corridors and stairwells. Students are also schooled against the backdrop of the eminent threat of violence from the security guards and the police officer permanently assigned to the

Crowd control policing

school as they walk down the hallways (Pastor, McCormick, and Fine 1996; Rosenbaum and Binder 1997).

gendered
women
frivolous

One afternoon while spending time in the security office, I asked a Latino security guard, who was in his thirties, about his interactions with female students. He assured me that young women were involved only in frivolous spats over jealousies, unlike male students, who were involved in more "serious" fights over property. Remembering my own experiences at the last all-girl New York City public high school, I pressed him to describe how he dealt with female students who had been involved in "real" fights. Before the guard had an opportunity to respond, another Latino male security guard interjected, joking that male security personnel were not allowed to make physical contact with female students; only female guards were allowed to do that. Since there were only two uniformed female security guards in the entire school, compared to over two dozen uniformed and plainclothes male security personnel, the informal institutional practice was to police the men but not the women. Male security guards were allowed to chase, manhandle, and apprehend male students. Although the official discourse maintained that security guards were there to protect and supervise all students, in practice the only students under constant surveillance were young men. In due course, the problematic student was profiled as male.

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Security measures in the trailer classrooms were even more extreme. Ninth-graders, all of whom were housed in the trailers, were required to wear school uniforms or face penalties, including having their identification card confiscated and losing their lunchroom privileges. Only students with swipeable identification cards were permitted access to the overcrowded lunchroom located in the main building. Not surprisingly, school administrators, students, and teachers colloquially referred to the gated trailer park complex located on the decaying baseball field behind the main building as "Rikers Island" a jail located in New York City. message?

reinforced
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school to
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During the late 1990s Mayor Giuliani insisted that crime could be reduced in the city if police officers had access to school yearbooks as a way of apprehending potential criminals (Van Gelder 1997). The memo issued by the Detective Bureau stated: "Every precinct detective squad must have the current yearbook for each secondary school [high school or junior high school] in their respective command" (Van Gelder 1997). Of course, police have always been able to examine yearbooks in individual cases, but this was the first attempt at making such access a citywide policy, thereby subjecting mostly low-income youth from racially stigmatized communities to the possibility of being mistakenly identified as suspects in criminal cases. Mayor Giuliani insisted, "I think maybe there's a certain level of discomfort because

people aren't analyzing it correctly, but we do face an issue in New York City" (Van Gelder 1997, emphasis added).

The mere suggestion that every student in public schools would be automatically included in police racialization. Given that the New York City public schools are predominantly Latino and black and most students are second-generation immigrants from the Dominican Republic, the Anglophone White Puerto Rican demand can be interpreted as what Howard Winant (1994) defines as a racist racial projection, this discourse links dark-skinned (male) bodies to a discourse of community organizing and protest, the policy was not only an attempt to reallocate resources based on that less, the association of racially stigmatized youth as "troublemakers" in investigations was accomplished. Not surprisingly, shortly after in September 1998, police officers finally gained control of security personnel at all New York City public schools. The discourse of how racialization processes occur at the macro level directly refer to a given racial or ethnic group (Bonilla-Silva 2003).

These larger macrolevel racializations eventually occur at the school level. I witnessed much physical and symbolic violence toward young men at Urban High School (see Herron 2003). One morning, while making our way through the crowd, I bumped into Samuel, who was supposed to be walking in the opposite direction but instead was walking in the same direction. I asked him in Spanish about where he was going, he explained that he was going to meet with his guidance counselor in order to discuss his suspension. As Samuel continued walking toward the guidance counselor, he asked me to remove his hat, but he just kept on walking. Rivera then pointed Samuel out to one of the security guards who was to be patrolling the hallway and who quickly pulled Samuel into the overcrowded and the subsequent increase in crowding in urban public high schools, which are supposed to be spaces in which urban, low-income, second-generation youth, particularly young men, are humiliated through everyday meaning encounters. low income youth + racialized

The prevailing assumption that low-income youth, particularly Latino and black, especially young men, are positioned in the normalization of violence as well as the normalization of violence in urban schools nationally (Stanton-Salazar 2003). The discourse of male-only classrooms, Kathryn Herr and C

racialization

people aren't analyzing it correctly, but we do face an issue of youth crime in New York City" (Van Gelder 1997, emphasis added).

The mere suggestion that every student in public schools (not private schools) would be automatically included in police lineups was a powerful racialization. Given that the New York City public school system is predominantly Latino and black and most students are second-generation children from the Dominican Republic, the Anglophone West Indies, Haiti, and Puerto Rico, this demand can be interpreted as what Michael Omi and Howard Winant (1994) define as a racist racial project.¹⁰ Regardless of intention, this discourse links dark-skinned (male) bodies to crime and simultaneously attempts to reallocate resources based on that definition. After much community organizing and protest, the policy was not instituted; nevertheless, the association of racially stigmatized youth as "suspects" in criminal investigations was accomplished. Not surprisingly, shortly after the controversy, in September 1998, police officers finally gained complete control of the security personnel at all New York City public schools. This is only one example of how racialization processes occur at the macrolevel without the need to directly refer to a given racial or ethnic group (Bonilla-Silva 2003).

racialization minority students as criminals

These larger macrolevel racializations eventually trickle down to the high school level. I witnessed much physical and symbolic violence directed toward young men at Urban High School (see Herr and Anderson 2003). One morning, while making our way through the crowded hallways, Ms. Rivera and I bumped into Samuel, who was supposed to be on his way to her class but instead was walking in the opposite direction. When Ms. Rivera queried him in Spanish about where he was going, he explained that he was on his way to meet with his guidance counselor in order to change his program. Just as Samuel continued walking toward the guidance office, Ms. Rivera asked him to remove his hat, but he just kept on walking, ignoring her request. Ms. Rivera then pointed Samuel out to one of the security guards who happened to be patrolling the hallway and who quickly proceeded to chase him down. Overcrowding and the subsequent increase in security personnel is turning urban public high schools, which are supposed to be institutions of learning, into spaces in which urban, low-income, second-generation Dominican youth, particularly young men, are humiliated through searches and other demeaning encounters. low income youth racialized as black or Latino are prone to aggression

The prevailing assumption that low-income youth who are racialized as Latino and black, especially young men, are prone to aggression has resulted in the normalization of violence as well as the threat of violence against them in urban schools nationally (Stanton-Salazar 1997). In a study of single-sex, male-only classrooms, Kathryn Herr and Gary Anderson (2003) unpack

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multiple episodes of critical incidents of symbolic violence against male students, namely young Chicano and Latino, Native American, Vietnamese, and Cambodians. Herr and Anderson credit Bourdieu (1998, 2000, 2001; Bourdieu and Passeron 1990) with pointing out that the very invisibility of symbolic violence is what makes it so powerful. The proliferation of the punishment industry in the United States has made the criminalization of low-income youth from racially stigmatized communities who attend overcrowded, urban, public schools a "normal" occurrence (Davis 1997; Ayvazian 1995; Lewis 2003; Herr and Anderson 2003; López 2002a, 2002b, 2003).¹¹ It is not surprising, then, that young men who are racialized as black and Latino continue to be disproportionately arrested and convicted and are being absorbed by the burgeoning prison industrial complex in ever greater numbers (Davis 1997).

school to
prison
pipeline

One of the worrisome by-products of school overcrowding that I witnessed at Urban High School was the forging of a pipeline between public urban schooling and the prison industrial complex (see Herr and Anderson 2003). While at Urban High School, I learned of one fight involving young men who were in the special education program. The Latino security guards involved in the incident spoke angrily about pressing charges against the students. On other occasions, I witnessed young men who had been engaged in scuffles being whisked away in handcuffs by the white police officer who was permanently assigned to the school.

Security measures are even more pronounced for special education students, most of whom are male. Originally destined for "Riker's Island," special education students were segregated on one section of the second floor, directly above the principal's office and the security headquarters. When asked why they were not placed in the gated and guarded trailer complex, security personnel answered that it was too risky to have them housed off of the main building. One afternoon I visited a ninth-grade special education global studies class taught by Mr. Jimenez, a bilingual Latino teacher in his thirties who was indistinguishable from the ubiquitous plainclothes security guards; he was equipped with a walkie-talkie that connected directly to the security office should any student require disciplining. The classroom was quite claustrophobic; it was really just part of a classroom that had been walled off. The chairs were pushed up against each other, and of the fourteen students in class that day, the four female students were seated farthest away from the entrance and closest to the window. As I entered the classroom, one young man jokingly announced, "Yo pongo las mujeres loca" (Women go crazy over me). The young men sitting beside me berated each other in Spanish for misbehaving in front of "la visita" (the visitor). While Mr. Jimenez drilled students on true or false questions about ancient civilizations, I noticed that the stu-

dents struggled with reading and pronunciation. I was quite distracted by the teacher's aide as a woman in her fifties who spent much of her basis with a young man seated in the front. "education" was simply a dumping ground for students who did not "behave." ^b special e

UNEARTHING INVISIBLE RACE-GEN CLASSROOM

Classrooms are not impervious to the social institutional practices that "frame" young men, as "tized groups, particularly young men, as" economics class for seniors provides a white hegemonic race and gender narratives about filter down to the classroom and ultimately women from the same ethnic group experience

One morning, seconds after the bell rang, shirt and tie to his economics class, slams "You will have exactly seven minutes to your hats."¹² Since the doors were locked, ers had to knock in order to be let in, at book.¹³ While students were completing down the crowded aisle, grasping his D ing for homework; he often had to walk Disappointed at the number of student work, Mr. Green remarked, "Students of you have submitted your homework handing in homework."

One young man in the class called out "us homework last year?" Mr. Green replied "want to be here? I suggest that you follow board. A large piece of cardboard stands Green's Rules for Success":

1. Be present every day.
2. Be in your seat when the bell rings.
3. Homework is due at the beginning.
4. Do not wear hats, walkmans, or

dents struggled with reading and pronunciation. While Mr. Jimenez lectured, I was quite distracted by the teacher's aide assigned to the classroom, a Latina woman in her fifties who spent much of her time working on a one-to-one basis with a young man seated in the front row. I wondered whether "special education" was simply a dumping ground for bilingual young boys who did not have much formal schooling in their home countries, as well as for students who did not "behave."

*
special ed. overrepresentation
bilingual boys.

UNEARTHING INVISIBLE RACE-GENDER PROCESSES IN THE CLASSROOM

informal curriculum

Classrooms are not impervious to the social narratives and formal and informal institutional practices that "frame" youth who are from racially stigmatized groups, particularly young men, as "problems" (Fine 1991). Mr. Green's economics class for seniors provides a window to the invisible ways in which hegemonic race and gender narratives about racially stigmatized communities filter down to the classroom and ultimately affect the ways in which men and women from the same ethnic group experience racialization processes.

Young Black men framed as problems

One morning, seconds after the bell rang, Mr. Green, who always wore a shirt and tie to his economics class, slammed the door shut and announced: "You will have exactly seven minutes to complete this quiz. Please take off your hats."¹² Since the doors were locked shut from the outside, all latecomers had to knock in order to be let in, and they were required to sign the late book.¹³ While students were completing the quiz, Mr. Green inched his way down the crowded aisle, grasping his Delaney grade book as a shield, checking for homework; he often had to walk over desks just to get to the next row. Disappointed at the number of students who did not hand in their homework, Mr. Green remarked, "Students, this is unacceptable! Only a handful of you have submitted your homework. Many of you will lose points for not handing in homework."

One young man in the class called out: "How come you didn't used to give us homework last year?" Mr. Green retorted: "You guys quiet down! Do you want to be here? I suggest that you follow the rules," pointing to the blackboard. A large piece of cardboard stapled over the blackboard listed "Mr. Green's Rules for Success":

1. Be present every day.
2. Be in your seat when the bell rings.
3. Homework is due at the beginning of class.
4. Do not wear hats, walkmans, or beepers.

Behavior

5. Be quiet and attentive when someone is speaking.
6. Do not bring food or drinks to the classroom.
7. Raise your hand and wait to be recognized before speaking.
8. Be prepared for school.
9. Treat faculty and other students with respect.

There was another rule that did not appear on Mr. Green's list but was strictly enforced, not only in his class but throughout Urban High School: English only. One time Mr. Green asked students about their favorite musicians, and a male student called out, "La Banda Loca" (the Crazy Band), a famous Dominican merengue band popular throughout the 1990s. Mr. Green ignored him—"Okay, no music artist"—and moved on to the next student, who answered in English.

At Urban High School the hegemonic understanding of Spanish was that it was a barrier that students had to overcome to become successful. At a day-long teachers' workshop held in the crumbling auditorium on the phasing in of the infamous statewide Regents examinations as a graduation requirement, many of the two hundred white teachers in attendance openly expressed their belief that students should speak only English in school. On a number of occasions some teachers, mostly whites, stopped students in the hallway and scolded them for speaking in Spanish. In one such instance a white, middle-aged, female teacher stopped a young man in the hallway and berated him for speaking his native tongue: "Pedro, you should never speak Spanish in my class. You know English. Speak English!" Understandably dejected about the informal prohibition of his native language in the school setting, Pedro just stared down at the floor while being scolded. During the course of my fieldwork, I, like Pedro, received a number of disapproving glances from some teachers and staff because I was speaking Spanish with students, personnel, and Latino teachers as well as some of the "white" teachers who did respect Spanish. Against this hostile background, it is not surprising that those still learning English feel humiliated, devalued, and symbolically violated throughout their schooling process (Herr and Anderson 2003; Ybarra 2000; Valenzuela 1999).

In an ethnography of Mexican-origin youth in a public high school in Houston, Texas, Angela Valenzuela (1999) finds that Mexican youth and their families value education. These families speak about having come to the United States not only to improve their socioeconomic status but also to provide their youth with the better educational and employment opportunities that are unavailable to them in their home country. However, schools as in-

stitutions are organized to undermine the cultural resources of other Spanish-speaking youth by defining the language grounds of these youth as deficient and problematic, as so move beyond. The logic is that by subtracting Spanish and other languages of their Mexican families, students can assimilate and be at the end Mexican students experience schooling as a subtle cultural and language backgrounds are defined as "problematic" and stripped away if they are to succeed (see also Gibson 1998). High School teachers all have "good intentions" in wanting students to speak only English; however, despite their good intentions, the school premises gradually undermines the academic success of students. Valenzuela finds that Mexican-origin students do not object to this, but rather that they may disinvest from a schooling system that devalues their families and communities and their cultural resources.

Mr. Green was a dedicated teacher with many "good intentions." He was working within the institutional confines of a school system that was grossly inadequate and resistant to change. The fact that he had to cover a given amount of material within a forty-minute block of the five classes he taught was not his doing; he simply had to meet obligations within the time blocks he was given as a teacher. One day when Mr. Green gave the quiz, exactly six minutes before the bell rang he warned, "Okay, students, you have one minute left." He added, "Okay, students, time is up. Put your pens down, stop your papers, and pass them forward. If I see you writing, I will take them off." Mr. Green's classroom often felt like a very constrained space, an inviolable time schedule that often gave priority to rote learning over dialogue and meaningful learning.

Despite his "good intentions," during classroom discussions he inadvertently "framed" young men from black and Latino backgrounds in terms of potential drug and crime statistics (Fine 1991). Another way of framing them by asking students to talk about the major problems in their communities. Male students called out, "Crime, drugs, pollution. Homelessness, poverty, homelessness."

Mr. Green continued: "Is crime directly or indirectly caused by poverty? As reflected in the epigraphs to this chapter, Leo and Leo's family on the relationship between poverty and crime. Leo's family way to escape from reality; therefore we have a drug problem. Leo doesn't necessarily cause crime. People come from all over the world, and what kind of life do they lead?" Leo's co-

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stitutions are organized to undermine the cultural resources of Mexican and other Spanish-speaking youth by defining the language and cultural backgrounds of these youth as deficient and problematic, as something they must move beyond. The logic is that by subtracting Spanish and the cultural values of their Mexican families, students can assimilate and become successful. In the end Mexican students experience schooling as a subtractive process: their cultural and language backgrounds are defined as "problems" that need to be stripped away if they are to succeed (see also Gibson 1988). Likewise, Urban High School teachers all have "good intentions" in wanting their students to speak only English; however, despite their good intentions, the fact that some of them try to prohibit the culture and language of their students on the school premises gradually undermines the academic success of those students. Valenzuela finds that Mexican-origin students do not object to education per se, but rather that they may disinvest from a schooling system that consistently devalues their families and communities and chips away at their social and cultural resources.

Mr. Green was a dedicated teacher with many "good intentions," but he was working within the institutional confines of a school system that was grossly inadequate and resistant to change. The fact that Mr. Green had to cover a given amount of material within a forty-minute time block for each of the five classes he taught was not his doing; he simply worked to meet his obligations within the time blocks he was given as a teacher. For instance, the day when Mr. Green gave the quiz, exactly six minutes after the quiz had begun he warned, "Okay, students, you have one minute," and seconds later he added, "Okay, students, time is up. Put your pens down. Put your names on your papers, and pass them forward. If I see you writing, I will take points off." Mr. Green's classroom often felt like a very controlled environment with an inviolable time schedule that often gave priority to "coverage" over critical dialogue and meaningful learning.

Despite his "good intentions," during classroom discussions Mr. Green inadvertently "framed" young men from black and Latino communities as potential drug and crime statistics (Fine 1991). Another morning he began class by asking students to talk about the major problems in contemporary society. Male students called out, "Crime, drugs, pollution." Female students called out, "Poverty, homelessness."

Mr. Green continued: "Is crime directly or indirectly caused by poverty?" As reflected in the epigraphs to this chapter, Leo and José had a different read on the relationship between poverty and crime. Leo called out, "Drugs are a way to escape from reality; therefore we have a drug problem. But poverty doesn't necessarily cause crime. People come from New Jersey, buy their drugs, and what kind of life do they lead?" Leo's comment about New Jersey

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was a direct reference to white suburban youth who come to Latino neighborhoods in New York City to purchase drugs; in spite of the presence of white youth in these neighborhoods, Latinos, particularly those who are of African phenotype, are systematically racially profiled as drug dealers or targeted for criminal behavior. As discussed by Sherri-Ann Butterfield (this volume), young men of African phenotype in particular are subjected to the stereotype of the hoodlum or drug dealer, more so than young women. This racial stigmatization of the Dominican community was ever present in the minds of the second-generation Dominican youth, particularly young men, growing up in New York City during the 1980s and 1990s (López 1998a; Candelario and López 1995).¹⁴ José chided: "I read about a study in the newspaper that states that 40 percent of 'weedheads' are in the inner city, but 60 percent are from the suburbs!" The rest of the young men clapped, made remarks in Spanish, and cheered Leo's and José's social critique and resistance to negative racialization. Noticeably upset, Mr. Green replied: "Students, I don't need the heckles! You need to raise your hands!"

Mr. Green continued in textbook fashion: "In an indirect way poverty can lead to drugs." Flustered by the "symbolic taint" that was cast on his community, Leo muttered under his breath, "Just because you're poor doesn't mean that you use drugs." Given that the majority of the students at Urban High School are from low-income Latino families and that the media has stigmatized Dominican young men as drug dealers, the young men in Mr. Green's class were understandably upset by his comments.

José continued the debate by saying, "Many of the people who engage in crime do not have drugs." Again, the rest of the class applauded and made remarks in Spanish. Oblivious to his students' social critique, Mr. Green continued to press them to agree with his class-based prescriptions: "What is the broad social goal of the minimum wage? Come up with alternative methods."

After a deafening silence, which could be interpreted as a form of resistance to the racialization processes that had taken place in the class thus far, Mr. Green offered another textbook solution: "Tax breaks to employers who create jobs." After another pause, Viscaino offered, "Train people for higher-skilled jobs." Other students clapped, and from his seat, Viscaino took a bow and looked at his friends. But José chided, "What good is job training if the jobs are not there?" Mr. Green reproached, "There is a demand for skilled workers, such as actuaries. They make over \$100,000 a year." Lionel rejoined, "You have to understand that there are people out there who have an education but who still sell drugs because the jobs are already taken by people out there who have experience." Missing an opportunity to engage in a substantive dialogue on white-collar crime, racism, police brutality, and job ceilings,¹⁵

no critical thinking
textbook solutions

Mr. Green regurgitated the textbook answer for the day before the bell rang.

It is interesting to note that Mr. Green men to participate in classroom dialogue generation Dominican young men participating each other when articulating counter origins of racial and class inequality—we banking education. Banking education empty receptacles to be filled with the know an instrument of oppression (Freire 1987) young men in Mr. Green's economics classroom discussion by making biting referencings, racism, and police brutality, their so an institutional pedagogy fixated on "covering and producing official" responses. More Green's class were once again racialized as blem students when in fact they were bright (1998).¹⁶ In the end, Mr. Green's laudable discussion were undermined by his author

As Alex Trillo discusses in this volume black students who attend New York City enough to graduate from high school or even private schools or even the top four-year system; rather, they join a revolving door large part because of inadequate academic attended by the vast majority of racially black undergraduates struggle with college on academic probation and forced to take low-paying jobs for which many communities preparing them (Trillo, this volume).

The gender balance of the class had a interactions with the students. He was a class, which comprised mostly young men years younger than Mr. Green himself. most instantaneously for his fourth-period students were women. Mr. Green descended night and day.

One morning, just as Mr. Green began period class, Juan, who had arrived a few order to be let in. While Juan was signing

Mr. Green regurgitated the textbook answers and proceeded with the lesson for the day before the bell rang.

It is interesting to note that Mr. Green did succeed in getting the young men to participate in classroom dialogue, but the ways in which second-generation Dominican young men participated—speaking in Spanish, cheering each other when articulating counterhegemonic interpretations of the origins of racial and class inequality—were not palatable in the context of banking education. Banking education, which conceives of students as empty receptacles to be filled with the knowledge of an omniscient teacher, is an instrument of oppression (Freire 1985, 1993; Hooks 1994). While the young men in Mr. Green's economics class were trying to participate in classroom discussion by making biting references to white-collar crime, job ceilings, racism, and police brutality, their social critique was often muffled by an institutional pedagogy fixated on "covering" a given amount of material and producing "official" responses. More important, the young men in Mr. Green's class were once again racialized as disruptive and experienced as problem students when in fact they were bright and engaged (Gilbert and Gilbert 1998).¹⁶ In the end, Mr. Green's laudable attempts to encourage classroom discussion were undermined by his authoritarian pedagogy (Ybarra 2000).

As Alex Trillo discusses in this volume, the vast majority of Latino and black students who attend New York City public schools and are fortunate enough to graduate from high school or earn a GED do not end up in the top private schools or even the top four-year schools within the public university system; rather, they join a revolving door of community college students. In large part because of inadequate academic curricula in the secondary schools attended by the vast majority of racially stigmatized youth, many Latino and black undergraduates struggle with college-level work. Often they are placed on academic probation and forced to leave or are simply funneled into the low-paying jobs for which many community college vocational programs are preparing them (Trillo, this volume).

The gender balance of the class had a visible effect on Mr. Green's social interactions with the students. He was always on guard for his third-period class, which comprised mostly young men, some of whom looked only a few years younger than Mr. Green himself. However, his demeanor changed almost instantaneously for his fourth-period class, in which the majority of the students were women. Mr. Green described these two classes as being like night and day.

One morning, just as Mr. Green began to take attendance in his fourth-period class, Juan, who had arrived a few minutes late, knocked on the door in order to be let in. While Juan was signing the late book, Mr. Green demanded

Banking education

Authoritarian pedagogy

Vocational low level jobs

that he remove his hat. Juan refused and asked why Mr. Green had not asked the women in the class to remove their hats. Indeed, four women were wearing hats. Angrily, Mr. Green replied, "Ladies can wear it because it's fashion!" Unscathed by Mr. Green's insistence, Juan replied, "I'm fashion too, Mr. Green." Noticeably irate, Mr. Green threatened to send Juan to the principal's office, but Juan would not budge. After an uncomfortable silence, Mr. Green glanced at me, then back at Juan, and reluctantly asked the women to remove their hats. Juan then finally obliged. However, toward the end of the class the "ladies," but not Juan, had their hats back on, without a word from Mr. Green. Shortly thereafter, Juan stopped coming to class. Later that month I found Juan in the college office. When asked what happened, Juan said that he left because he had "problems" with Mr. Green. At Urban High School, school rules stipulate that no student may wear a hat in the school building. However, this rule was strictly enforced for young men but never for young women, who, unlike men, were not considered "threatening" by teachers, security, and other school staff and administrators.

The next month, in the same fourth-period class, a young woman who, just like Juan, was a class clown and often came in late wearing a baseball cap, greeted her classmates, joking about Mr. Green's resemblance to comedian Pee Wee Herman. Because of Mr. Green's likeness to the television personality, the entire class burst out laughing, including Mr. Green. In disbelief, a young man sitting beside me turned to another young man and whispered, "Imagine if we had said that he would have kicked us out of the class!"

In part because some teachers appeared to feel intimidated by young men who were considered racial "others," they tended to respond more abrasively toward them. While I did note that young women "misbehaved" less often than men, teachers, regardless of gender and race, were generally more lenient toward young women who broke the same school rules for which their male counterparts were sanctioned. Even though it was against school rules to wear a hat on the school premises, I never witnessed a security guard chase down a young woman for wearing a hat, although this was a common occurrence for young men.

When their experience is compared to that of their female counterparts, men from groups that have been racialized as black and Latino have been more likely to believe that teachers did not encourage them to pursue their goals (Kleinfeld 1998). Valora Washington and Joanna Newman (1991) have found that black men are given less praise for their work in school and are more likely to be diagnosed as retarded or emotionally disturbed. Some research suggests that teachers tend to discriminate against young men who misbehave, particularly those from groups that are racialized as black and Latino, such that late-maturing boys are more likely to be tracked into low-

level curriculum programs (Kleinfeld 1998; Kerker and Sadker 2002; Newkirk 2002). Given ways in which school rules and policies are implemented in public urban schools, it is not surprising that black and Latino make up a disproportionate number of students who are discharged, expelled, or tracked into special education.

CONCLUSIONS

I began this study with the question of whether the experience of schooling for young women of color is more difficult than men. I examined the ways in which school rules and policies are implemented in public urban schools, it is not surprising that black and Latino make up a disproportionate number of students who are discharged, expelled, or tracked into special education. I have found that both for young women and young men, the ways in which school rules and policies are implemented in public urban schools, it is not surprising that black and Latino make up a disproportionate number of students who are discharged, expelled, or tracked into special education. I have found that both for young women and young men, the ways in which school rules and policies are implemented in public urban schools, it is not surprising that black and Latino make up a disproportionate number of students who are discharged, expelled, or tracked into special education. I have found that both for young women and young men, the ways in which school rules and policies are implemented in public urban schools, it is not surprising that black and Latino make up a disproportionate number of students who are discharged, expelled, or tracked into special education.

What are the implications of these findings for other people concerned about eradicating the educational achievement gap? What are the implications of these findings for the education of the second generation? I stress that teachers are not responsible for the problems mentioned, the majority of the staff are very caring professionals who went into teaching because it is a perfect example of the sacrifice, particularly those in low-income,

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level curriculum programs (Kleinfeld 1998; Ginorio and Huston 2001; Sadker and Sadker 2002; Newkirk 2002). Given the racialized and gendered ways in which school rules and policies are implemented at many low-income public urban schools, it is not surprising that men who are racialized as black and Latino make up a disproportionate number of the students who drop out or are discharged, expelled, or tracked into low-level curriculum tracks, including special education.

CONCLUSIONS

I began this study with the question of why more women attain higher levels of schooling than men. I examined the racial meanings that have been assigned to second-generation Dominicans in the setting of a large neighborhood public high school in New York City. This chapter focuses on men's racialization. I have found that both formal and informal institutional practices as well as pedagogical practices within schools, "racialize" and "gender" students in ways that significantly affect their outlooks toward education. While the intersecting and stigmatizing processes of racialization and gendering that second-generation Dominicans undergo in educational institutions can be seen at the micro level, such as in the interactions among students and teachers in the classroom setting, they are also emblematic of larger processes that occur at the institutional level. These latter processes are manifested in the dilapidated infrastructure problems at low-income and immigrant schools; the dearth of resources, such as books and computers; the absence of challenging curricula, as seen at Urban High School; and the framing of low-income youth of color as potential criminals, as seen in the New York City Police Department's abortive attempts to obtain every public high school and junior high school yearbook as a method of combating crime. Against a hostile backdrop that views them as hoodlums and drug dealers, men expressed social critiques about racism, job ceilings, and their prospects for social mobility (López 2003). Men's outlooks were the outgrowth of their experiences with race and gender processes.

What are the implications of these findings for teachers, policymakers, and other people concerned about eradicating race and gender disparities in education? What are the implications of these findings for the current debates on the education of the second generation? First and foremost, it is imperative to stress that teachers are not responsible for the race-gender gap. As previously mentioned, the majority of the staff and teachers at Urban High School were very caring professionals who went above and beyond their duties. Mr. Green is a perfect example of the sacrifices made by many teachers across the nation, particularly those in low-income, racially stigmatized communities. One cold

and blustery February on my way to Urban, I bumped into Mr. Green at the bus stop; he was carrying a huge army duffel bag filled with student journals and fresh photocopies he had just picked up for distribution in class. Throughout the semester, none of the classes I observed had received textbooks, so they had relied on handouts and journal writing. Mr. Green, as well as many of the other teachers, often paid for basic school supplies for his students out of his own pocket. To Mr. Green's credit, students were engaged in his classroom; however, because of his fixation on maintaining order and producing "textbook" responses, students, particularly male students, were experienced as "problem boys" if they called out answers or challenged the "official" textbook definitions of the course work. To ameliorate this situation, schools should make an effort to incorporate teacher training that directly addresses issues of race, power, class, and gender as well as issues of student engagement and dialogic pedagogical strategies (Freire 1985, 1993; Aronowitz and Giroux 1993; Hooks 1994).

Second, it is imperative that school administrators and principals reexamine whether and how their security practices reproduce or challenge hegemonic racialization of youth, particularly young men from racially stigmatized communities as potential criminals. Are metal detectors more important than books? At Urban High School, because male security guards were not allowed to make physical contact with female students and the vast majority of security guards were male, in practice only young men were under constant surveillance. To redress this disparity, school administrators can make a conscious effort to employ representative proportions of male and female security guards that reflect the student population.

Third, participant-observation at Urban High School has led me to question segmented assimilation theory as a framework for unraveling the education of the second generation. Notwithstanding the differences in identity among members of the same ethnic group, it is the collective racialization of a given ethnic group that frames its educational opportunities. As they walk down the New York City streets, attend de facto segregated schools, and work in deplorable conditions, Dominican youth, particularly young men, are keenly aware of their racial stigmatization. Studying the assimilation process can provide interesting taxonomies about differences in ethnic identity, but racialization processes play a more significant role than ethnic differences in explaining the educational trajectories of the second generation. Given that the very neighborhoods, schools, jobs, resources, and networks that are open to the second generation are structured along racial lines, it is the racial meanings assigned to the second generation in the high school setting and beyond that influence their educational trajectories—not their ethnic identification

and assimilation, as segmented assimilation and Zhou 1993; Gans 1992).

Another shortcoming of the segmented assimilation theory is that it generally does not examine gendering processes as well as race. Second-generation Dominicans are treated as "raceless" genders, but rather as racialized in a specific high school setting.¹⁷ As seen at Urban High School, racialized youth can produce quite different lived experiences among those with the same ethnic and class background in the school setting. The different conceptions of racial stratification in the United States can lead to different educational trajectories of the second generation, both in public spaces, in their schools, in their homes, and in their lives. To inform their view about the dynamics of socialization in their lives (for more on the race-gender

If our goal is to eliminate the race-gender binary, we must move from the experiences of the second generation to a new paradigm. Instead of asking, "Are youth assimilating, there are several other racial meanings have been assigned to a given neighborhood, city, or nation? In what ways are gender meanings racialized and operationalized and enacted through the given neighborhood, city, or nation? In what ways are these racial meanings reproducing these racial meanings? In this case, the center of analysis, and instead racialization processes, becomes the focus of analysis and

NOTES

1. John Smith (1999) found a similar pattern in the Bronx, New York.
2. I draw on the insights of critical theory and postcolonial theory to unveil processes of domination, oppression, and resistance (Fine 1991; C. Delgado 1992; R. Delgado and Winant 1994; Hill-Collins 1990).
3. "The DR" is a colloquial term for the Dominican Republic among second-generation Dominican youth.
4. It is important to note that the race and gender binary should be a part of the data collection and analysis. The quantitative nature of much social science research is the problem. As discussed by Jill Morawski (1998), the adoption of much social science research is the problem of otherness, all the while largely neglecting

and assimilation, as segmented assimilation theorists would suggest (Portes and Zhou 1993; Gans 1992).

Another shortcoming of the segmented assimilation theory is that it generally does not examine gendering processes as central to the schooling experience. Second-generation Dominicans are treated not as “genderless” ethnics, or “raceless” genders, but rather as racialized and gendered bodies in the school setting.¹⁷ As seen at Urban High School, racialization and gendering processes produce quite different lived experiences among men and women from the same ethnic and class background in the school setting. It is not students’ perceptions of racial stratification in the United States that influence the educational trajectories of the second generation, but their *actual lived experiences*—in public spaces, in their schools, in their homes, in their workplaces—that inform their view about the dynamics of social mobility and the role of education in their lives (for more on the race-gender gap, see López 2003).

If our goal is to eliminate the race-gender achievement gap in education from the experiences of the second generation, it is extremely important that we switch paradigms. Instead of asking, to what sector of American society are youth assimilating, there are several other questions we need to ask: What racial meanings have been assigned to a given ethnic group? How are racial meanings gendered, and gender meanings racialized? How are these meanings operationalized and enacted through the political-economic culture in a given neighborhood, city, or nation? In what ways are schools interrupting or reproducing these racial meanings? In this light, assimilation ceases to be the center of analysis, and instead racialization, conjointly with gendering processes, becomes the focus of analysis and action.

NOTES

1. John Smith (1999) found a similar pattern among Mexican-origin youth in New York.
2. I draw on the insights of critical theory and critical race theory, which seek to unveil processes of domination, oppression, and resistance (Gramsci 1971; Fine 1991; C. Delgado 1992; R. Delgado 1995; Crenshaw et al. 1995; Omi and Winant 1994; Hill-Collins 1990).
3. “The DR” is a colloquial term for the Dominican Republic used frequently by second-generation Dominican youth.
4. It is important to note that the race and gender of the researcher should always be a part of the data collection and analysis in all research, both qualitative and quantitative. As discussed by Jill Morawski (1997, 14, 15), a fundamental paradox of much social science research is that it is preoccupied with “the nature of otherness, all the while largely neglecting the meanings and implications of

- whiteness." Morawski adds, "Many research programs harbor a dual model of persons: at least when the experimenter is white, the race of the experimenter is held to be unrelated to his or her cognition, whereas the race of the subject is held to possibly affect his or her cognition."
5. The process of residential segregation is a deliberate outcome of middle-class whites' institutionalized discriminatory practices: many formed neighborhood improvement associations whose purpose was the exclusion of blacks (Massey and Denton 1994, 25).
 6. Not once during the course of fieldwork did I find a student smoking or doing drugs in the stairwells or in the bathroom.
 7. While the majority of New York City public school students attend schools that are in the same deplorable state as Urban High School, new school buildings have been constructed for New York's elite public examination high schools.
 8. Previously I found that second-generation Dominicans are reluctant to enroll in GED programs because they believe that if they obtain a GED instead of the traditional diploma, they will be stigmatized by potential employers and colleges (López 1998a). Therefore, many students choose to remain enrolled beyond the traditional four years of high school.
 9. The occupational hierarchy of the security personnel also formed a racial pyramid: a white police officer on top, a layer of Latino or Puerto Rican uniformed security guards, and a bottom rung of plainclothes Dominican parasecurity guards and school aides who patrolled the hallways.
 10. Omi and Winant (1994, 56, emphasis added) define a racial project as "*simultaneously an interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial dynamics and an effort to reorganize and redistribute resources along particular racial lines*. Racial projects connect what race means in a particular discursive practice and the ways in which both social structures and everyday experiences are racially organized, based upon that meaning."
 11. Schools as institutions are not impervious to the racial constructions that occur in the wider society. In *Framing Dropouts*, Michelle Fine (1991) poignantly details how black and Latino students are "framed" as the cause of poor schools, while the structural inequities of society remain unquestioned. Fine argues that much of this "framing" is unintentional and occurs despite the "good intentions" of overworked and underpaid teachers and other school personnel, many of whom are also "framed" as lazy, unqualified, and deficient in their ability to teach students to pass standardized tests.
 12. Students usually kept their coats on because they did not have lockers.
 13. I was often a few minutes late for class myself: the five minutes that students are given to change classes is not enough time to get to their destinations because the hallways are so crowded.
 14. Dominican women are regularly "framed" as welfare queens and perpetrators of welfare fraud, now known as Transitional Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) (see Candelario and López 1995; Sexton 1997). In prosecuting a case

- of welfare fraud, federal judge Jack Weinstein held the Dominican community "must assume responsibility for any acceptable criminal behavior such as involved in the case," though Judge Weinstein said that the majority of the blame for his denunciation of the leadership insinuates the moral fabric of the community. I wonder how much was made about the moral fabric of Russian immigrants in New York City and had the highest rate of welfare use of any ethnic group in New York City during the 1980s.
15. Logan's (2003) study also found that in spite of the stigmatization of Latinos who identify as black, those who identify as white, those who identify as black have a higher income than those who identify as white.
 16. Mr. Green was quite amicable toward young students. On another day, a young male student asked me about the origins of an Asian landscape painting he had acquired in the shade. Mr. Green said he had acquired it on a trip to New York City and asked the male student to comment on an Asian landscape painting and traditional Chinese art. Mr. Green pointed out that while Asian paintings represent nature, Western paintings tend to focus on humans.
 17. Second-generation students who are racialized as Chinese, Japanese, Korean, or Japanese, are subjected to racialization, which, despite its seemingly benign appearance, has a history (Lee 1997; Dae Young Kim, this volume). Likewise, second-generation youth who identify as Russian, are racialized as "white" and their schools are segregated and inferior schools that the vast majority of their counterparts are subjected to (Zeltzer-Zubida, Logan, and Stults 2000). In contrast, ethnic groups with African phenotype, regardless of their cultural background, West Indians, and Haitians, are subjected to racialization and segregation that have historically plagued people in the U.S. context (Massey and Denton 1994; Butt, Logan, and Stults 2000). Moreover, as members of a Spanish-speaking community of African phenotype, second-generation Dominicans are racialized through the lens of the deficit model: as racialized and "English proficient" and live in households where parents have high career expectations for their children.

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of welfare fraud, federal judge Jack Weinstein said that the leadership of the Dominican community "must assume responsibility for dealing with unacceptable criminal behavior such as involved in these cases" (Fried 1993). Although Judge Weinstein said that the majority of Dominicans are law-abiding, his denunciation of the leadership insinuates that there is something missing in the moral fabric of the community. I wonder if similar comments would be made about the moral fabric of Russian immigrants, who are racialized as white and had the highest rate of welfare use of any immigrant group in New York City during the 1980s.

15. Logan's (2003) study also found that in spite of the fact that the educational attainment of Latinos who identify as black is higher than that of those who identify as white, those who identify as black have a lower average household income than those who identify as white.
16. Mr. Green was quite amicable toward young men outside of the classroom context. On another day, a young male student asked Mr. Green after class about the origins of an Asian landscape painting he used as a makeshift window shade. Mr. Green said he had acquired it on a recent trip to Asia. He further asked the male student to comment on any differences he saw between the Asian landscape painting and traditional European paintings. Mr. Green pointed out that while Asian paintings revere nature, traditional European paintings tend to focus on humans.
17. Second-generation students who are racialized as Asians, whether they are Chinese, Korean, or Japanese, are subjected to the "model minority" racial project, which, despite its seemingly benign appearance, is also oppressive and patronizing (Lee 1997; Dae Young Kim, this volume; Louie, this volume; Lee, this volume). Likewise, second-generation youth who are of European phenotype, such as Russians, are racialized as "white" and therefore are not subjected to the racial segregation and inferior schools that the vast majority of their African-phenotype counterparts are subjected to (Zeltzer-Zubida, this volume; Waters 1999; Alba, Logan, and Stults 2000). In contrast, ethnic groups that are predominantly of African phenotype, regardless of their cultural heritage, such as Dominicans, West Indians, and Haitians, are subjected to the same racial stigmatization and segregation that have historically plagued people of African phenotype in the U.S. context (Massey and Denton 1994; Butterfield, this volume; Trillo, this volume). Moreover, as members of a Spanish-speaking group that is predominantly of African phenotype, second-generation Dominican students are often seen through the lens of the deficit model: as racial others who are also "limited English proficient" and live in households where parents do not push education or have high career expectations for their children (Valenzuela 1999).

REFERENCES

- Alba, Richard, John Logan, and Brian Stults. 2000. "How Segregated Are Middle-class African Americans?" *Social Problems* 47(4): 543-58.