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Being and Becoming: A Grounded Theory Study of the Racial and Ethnic Socialization Processes of Fifteen Haitian Immigrants Living in the United States

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

BEING AND BECOMING: A GROUNDED THEORY STUDY OF THE RACIAL
AND ETHNIC SOCIALIZATION PROCESSES OF FIFTEEN HAITIAN
IMMIGRANTS LIVING IN THE UNITED STATES

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PROGRAM IN APPLIED CHILD DEVELOPMENT

BY

LUD ABIGAIL DUCHATELIER-JEUDY

CHICAGO, IL

DECEMBER 2015

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	x
ABSTRACT.....	xi
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION.....	1
Background.....	1
Problem Statement.....	2
Research Summary and Questions.....	6
Study Significance	10
CHAPTER II: THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK.....	13
The Developmental Niche	13
Physical and Social Setting.....	14
Customs and Practices of Child Care	14
The Psychology of the Caregiver.....	15
Theoretical Perspectives of Racial and Ethnic Socialization: An Integrative Framework of Identity, Black Identity, Ethnic Identity Theories and the Developmental Niche.....	16
Racial Socialization	22
Ethnic Socialization	23
Conclusion	24
CHAPTER III: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	25
Empirical Domains of Racial and Ethnic Socialization Literature: The Developmental Niche in Action.....	25
Parental Ethnotheories of Racial Socialization.....	25
Parental Ethnotheories of Ethnic Socialization.....	41
Racial and Ethnic Socialization Research Among Haitian Immigrants	51
Racial Socialization	59
Ethnic Socialization	60
CHAPTER IV: METHODOLOGY.....	62
Research Design	62
Participants.....	62
Sampling and Recruitment Procedures.....	62
Sample Demographics	66
Process of Consent.....	68
Instrument Development.....	70
Part A: Self-identification and Language	71
Part B: Values, Beliefs, and Information Shared on Racial and Ethnic Labels.....	71

Part C: Racial and Ethnic Socialization Messages	72
Part D: Racial and Ethnic Socialization Practices	72
Part E: Demographics	73
Pilot Study.....	73
Data Collection	73
Role of Researcher.....	74
Data Collection Overview.....	77
Data Analysis.....	79
Transcription of Interviews.....	79
Data Analysis Procedure.....	80
Coding Book.....	87
Reliability and Validity/Credibility and Dependability.....	91
Limitations of the Study	92
CHAPTER V: RESULTS.....	94
Introduction.....	94
Racial Socialization	94
Ethnic Socialization	95
Results of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group A.....	96
Racial and Ethnic Socialization of Haitian Immigrant Mothers Who Migrated to the United States After the Age of 21 (Group A).....	96
Racial Socialization Process	96
Ethnic Socialization Process.....	109
Results of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group B	121
Racial and Ethnic Socialization of Haitian Immigrant Mothers Who Were Born and Raised in the United States or Who Were Born in Haiti, Migrated to the United States at or Before the Age of 5 and Were Raised in the United States (Group B).....	121
Racial Socialization Process	121
Ethnic Socialization Process.....	135
Results Summary and Contrast.....	149
Comparative Racial Socialization: Results of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group A and Group B.....	149
Comparative Ethnic Socialization: Results of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group A and Group B.....	151
CHAPTER VI: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION.....	155
Emerging Grounded Theoretical Concepts about Racial and Ethnic Socialization Process of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group A and Group B	155
Comparative Analysis of the Racial and Ethnic Socialization Processes of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group A and Group B.....	157
Discussion of the Racial and Ethnic Socialization Processes of Haitian Immigrant Mothers	163
Racialization Socialization Processes.....	163
Ethnic Socialization Processes.....	166

CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS	174
Implications for Practice	177
Implications for Future Research.....	179
APPENDIX A: RECRUITMENT FLYER.....	182
APPENDIX B: IN-PERSON CONSENT FORM	184
APPENDIX C: OVER-THE-PHONE CONSENT FORM	188
APPENDIX D: RECRUITMENT AND SCREENING FOR PARTICIPANT IN GROUP A (IN-PERSON OR OVER THE PHONE).....	192
APPENDIX E: RECRUITMENT AND SCREENING FOR PARTICIPANT IN GROUP B (IN-PERSON OR OVER THE PHONE)	195
APPENDIX F: MATERIALS INTRODUCTION LETTER	199
APPENDIX G: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL	201
APPENDIX H: RESULTS	207
REFERENCE LIST	217
VITA.....	233

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Group A Demographics (N=8)	67
Table 2. Group B Demographics (N=8)	68
Table 3. Initial Coding Excerpt: Racial Socialization Messages	82
Table 4. Focused Coding Excerpt: Racial Socialization Messages	83
Table 5. Axial Coding Excerpt: Racial Socialization Process	85
Table 6. Code Book for the Results of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group A	88
Table 7. Code Book for the Results of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group B.....	90
Table 8. Racial Socialization Messages of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group A	97
Table 9. Racial Socialization Practices of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group A	101
Table 10. Racial Assignment from Mother to Child of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group A	102
Table 11. Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group A Explanation of Racism.....	107
Table 12. Ethnic Socialization Dimensions of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group A	110
Table 13. Ethnic Socialization Practices of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group A	113
Table 14. Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group A Ethnic Identity Assignment	114
Table 15. Racial Socialization Messages of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group B ...	122
Table 16. Racial Socialization Practices of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group B	127
Table 17. Racial Assignment from Mother to Child of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group B.....	128
Table 18. Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group B Explanation of Racism.....	133

Table 19. Ethnic Socialization Messages of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group B ... 136

Table 20. Ethnic Socialization Practices of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group B 139

Table 21. Ethnic Identity Assignment from Mother to Child..... 141

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Developmental niche of child development	14
Figure 2. Developmental niche of child development	157
Figure 3. Theoretical framework and racial and ethnic socialization processes among 15 Haitian immigrant mothers living in the United States.....	157

ABSTRACT

This study examined and described the racial and ethnic socialization processes of 15 Haitian immigrant mothers, eight of whom were born and raised in Haiti and migrated to the United States after the age of 21 (Group A) and seven of whom were born and raised in the United States or born in Haiti and migrated on or before the age of the five and raised of the United States (Group B). The two groups of Haitian immigrant mothers were recruited from cities throughout the Northeast region of the United States.

Using Harkness and Super's Developmental Niche as a theoretical guide, the researcher developed a qualitative interview protocol to assess the three components of this study's conceptualization of racial and ethnic socialization: (a) Haitian immigrant mothers' racial and ethnic messages and practices; (b) role the place in which the mothers were born and raised plays in their racial and ethnic socialization messages and practices; and (c) the factors that influence the mothers' racial and ethnic socialization messages and practices.

Constructive grounded theory procedures were used to find themes and patterns of racial and ethnic socialization within the two groups of Haitian immigrant mothers and to identify similarities and differences among the two groups. The results from this study reveal that racial and ethnic socialization are processes of child development that are intricately related to the culture in which the family lives. Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A had similar racial socialization messages and practices to the Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B; however, the two groups differed greatly in their ethnic socialization

messages and practices. Their messages and practices were influenced by the lessons they learned from their parents and the experiences that they had with race and ethnicity in Haiti and in the United States. In addition, being born and raised in Haiti and in the United States dictated the social contexts that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B were exposed to, which shaped their understanding of and beliefs about race and ethnicity, their racial and ethnic identity, and the racial and ethnic identity they prescribed to their children.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There are also critical points of deep and significant difference which constitute what we really are; or rather - since history has intervened - what we have become (Stuart Hall, 1994, p. 435)

Background

In June of 1998, I boarded a plane for permanent residence in the United States just after I completed the Haitian Baccalaureate Exam. Upon my arrival, my aunts, who had lived in the United States for approximately 11 to 28 years, gave me two pieces of advice, which I felt were more like warnings. They said, “You are not like the others, [which I later discovered meant African Americans¹] you come from a long line of diligent and persistent people, you can achieve anything through education” and “do not trust White people.” I was not offered an explanation with these warnings; I was expected to live my life in my peculiar new home by these rules. Over the next three years, the messages were continually reinforced with practices that kept me at bay from Whites, African Americans and Haitians who have become “like the others” because they did not appear to live by my aunts’ moral and religious values nor to value education. Embedded in my aunts’ messages was their understanding that in the United States, Black skin color mattered; it was not the preferable skin color regardless of social standing. More importantly, their stance implied that my survival and success in the

¹The term African American refers to individuals who self-identify as such, are born in the United States, and are primarily descendants of Africans enslaved in America prior to 1865.

United States was solely contingent upon the ability to remain “Haitian,” distinctive and different from their definition of African Americans.

Problem Statement

During the 2010 Census, a number of Haitian immigrants wrote “Haitian” as their racial/ethnic identity instead of or in addition to a pre-set marker of racial/ethnic identity. For these Haitians, it can be inferred that categories such as Black-non Hispanic on the Census form did not meet or satisfy their understanding of their racial and ethnic identity and could not be used to represent them. For many researchers (e.g., Bryce-Laporte, 1972; Wodelmikael, 1986; Zephir, 1996), these results should not come as a surprise, because they argue that most Haitian immigrants living in the United States perceived themselves to be different. However, as the “Black²” community grows heterogeneously, it is important for the literature on racial and ethnic identity to move beyond a list of the perceived differences between Haitian immigrants and African Americans. There is an urgent need to explore and understand: (1) the messages about race and ethnicity that are conveyed from parents to children in the Haitian community; (2) the role that historical context, which in this study is measured by the place in which the mother was born and raised, plays in the messages that are transmitted to the children; and (3) the way in which parents arrive at these messages, or their ethnotheories. These three components are referred to as the racial and ethnic socialization processes throughout the study.

It can be argued that the racial and ethnic socialization processes are integral parts of childhood socialization in Haitian immigrant families and should be embedded in the child development literature. It is within the context of the family that a child learns and

understands the meaning of his ethnicity and race, a definition that will eventually shape² his or her life experience in the United States. Racial socialization is a process that may occur in societies in which racial oppression and stratification are present. Racial socialization primarily has been researched among African American parents. It is presumed to emerge out of African American parents' need to confront racism and to promote the well-being of their children in a racially stratified system (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Lesane-Brown, 2006; Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, Johnson, & Stevenson, 2006). The ethnic socialization process, on the other hand, emerged as a response to the ethnic pluralism in the U.S. and is driven by ethnic minorities' efforts to preserve and transmit cultural values to the next generation (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987). As such, these processes are strongly influenced by and embedded in the culture in which children develop and are being reared. Yet, the current research fails to provide a concise examination and description of the racial and ethnic socialization processes among people from African descent whose families did not originate in the United States.

Given the growing number of Haitian immigrants, including children, in the United States, the dearth of research on racial and ethnic socialization in the child development literature is of concern. This dearth may be due to a number of factors. Hughes, Stevenson, Rodriguez and Spicer (2006) argue that the "concept of racial and ethnic socialization overlap" in the literature because they capture processes that are similar in nature (p. 748). More importantly they posit that it is difficult to develop a clear argument for which concept to use since both seem "applicable across all ethnic and

²In this study, the term Black is used to refer to indicate the race of people who have African ancestry.

racial groups” (p. 748). Such an argument may not reflect the experience of Haitian immigrants whom Stafford (1987) called a “minority within a minority.” While they are phenotypically Black, they are foreigners and they are non-English speakers (Bryce-Laporte, 1972).

Bryce-Laporte (1972) and Zephir (2001) posit that the marginalization, hostility and rejection that Haitian immigrants face in the United States often prompt them to strengthen their ties with their country of origin and “retain their country of origin as a primary reference group” (Zephir, 2001, p. 40). This ethnic consciousness is sometimes manifested in ethnic enclaves that Haitian immigrants have created in cities like New York and Miami (Stafford, 1997; Zephir, 1996). In that sense, race and ethnicity may be of different value and may hold different meanings for Haitian immigrants. Zephir (2001) argues, “for Haitian immigrant parents being Haitian is a mental state that drives them to practice Haitian traditions the exact same way they practiced in Haiti and to create Haitian homes, networks and communities and neighborhoods that facilitate the continuity of these traditions for their children” (p. 60). Yet racial and ethnic socialization processes are not solely guided by the parents’ racial or ethnic consciousness; the changing conditions of the Haitian immigrant family’s immediate and extending environment also play an intrinsic role (Bryce-Laporte, 1972; Stafford, 1987; Trouillot, 1990; Waters, 1994; Woldemikeal, 1989) as well as other factors such as child characteristics (Rumbaut & Portes, 2001).

There are not clear and concise theories of racial and ethnic socialization in the child development literature. The racial identity and ethnic identity theoretical frameworks that have outlined the study of racial and ethnic socialization processes,

along with the absence of racial and ethnic socialization theory, may also contribute to the dearth of research. These theories are mostly concerned with the processes of racial and ethnic identity construction and do not look at these processes through the lenses of child development. As such these theories have not provided a clear and concise explanation for the systematic relationship between racial and ethnic socialization and racial and ethnic identity construction. These theories do not explain the mechanisms by which racial and ethnic socialization processes lead to the construction of racial and ethnic identity; more importantly, they do not explain the influence of parents' theories and ideologies and the family's social and historical context on the child's racial and ethnic identity construction among Black immigrant families.

Given the increasing diversity within the U.S. Black population, it is important to integrate theories of child development with identity theories in order to develop a comprehensive understanding of the racial and ethnic socialization processes. By looking at racial and ethnic socialization processes through lenses of child development theories, particularly the *developmental niche*, we can begin to understand the content of messages that Haitian immigrant parents give to their children regarding race and ethnicity, the purpose of these messages, the role that the historical context plays in these messages and more importantly the way in which Haitian immigrant mothers arrived at these messages. Secondly, we can delineate the processes of racial socialization from those of ethnic socialization (Shaw-Taylor, 2007).

In using the *development niche*, this study looked at racial and ethnic socialization as processes of parenting. As such, these processes are nested in the parental reasoning system and the social and cultural context in which children are being raised. In this

manner racial socialization and ethnic socialization exist within the reality of the Haitian immigrant family. For Haitian immigrant parents the reality of race in the United States may be completely distinctive from that of ethnicity. Many researchers (e.g., Bryce-Laporte, 1972; Stafford, 1987; Trouillot, 1990; Waters, 1994; Woldemikeal, 1989; Zephir, 1996, 2001) have indicated that meanings that Haitian immigrants construct about race differ significantly from those they construct about ethnicity. By looking at these processes through the lenses of the *developmental niche*, the researcher was able to separate the messages and practices motivated by real-life situations around race and those that are motivated by ethnicity. As such, this theoretical approach allowed the researcher to examine or investigate the unique construction of race and ethnicity in parenting and the transmission of each construction within the Haitian immigrant parents' historical and social setting. This theoretical approach to the study of racial and ethnic socialization processes was necessary to advance our understanding of racial and ethnic socialization and identity development of Haitian immigrant children.

Research Summary and Questions

The study used constructive grounded theory approach to explore and explain racial and ethnic socialization processes in Haitian immigrant families. I recruited Haitian immigrant mothers who were born and raised in Haiti and migrated to the U.S. after the age of 21. These mothers formed the first group, Group A. The second group of mothers - Group B - comprised of Haitian immigrants who were born and raised in the U.S. or born in Haiti, were raised in Haiti before the age of five, migrated to the U.S. before age five and then were raised only in the U.S. To that end, this study had the following aims:

1. To describe the content of each group of Haitian immigrant mothers' racial and ethnic socialization messages and to compare the racial socialization messages and practices of Haitian immigrant mothers in group A to the messages and practices of mothers in group B.

There is a dearth in the child development literature on the types of racial and ethnic socialization messages that are transmitted to children in Haitian immigrant community, as the literature is mostly focused on African-Americans. However, researchers from the fields of sociology and social psychology have posited that Black immigrants do not always see themselves akin to African-American and as such think differently about in-group and out-group membership (Joseph & Hunter, 2011; Walters, 1999). These differences may be translated through the racial and ethnic socialization messages that they convey to and practices that they are engaged in with their children. To examine these issues the following research questions were addressed:

What are the explicit messages about race that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B transmit to their children?

What are the explicit practices about ethnicity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B engage with their children?

What is the racial identity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B assign to their children?

What are the explicit messages about ethnicity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B transmit to their children?

What are the explicit practices about ethnicity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B engage with their children?

What is the ethnic identity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B assign to their children?

2. To describe, explore and explain the role that the place where Haitian immigrant mothers were born and raised plays in the racial and ethnic socialization of each group.

For Haitian immigrants, the place that they were raised may play a vital role in the way in which they socialize their children. It is plausible to argue that Haitian immigrant racial and ethnic socialization processes will not solely be influenced by their social context but also by the subjective and personal meanings that they assign to their social context. The values and views, whether positive or negative, that Haitian immigrants attach to their historical context as well their current U.S. context will find their way into the strategies of care and practices of racial and ethnic socialization. Furthermore, the context in which beliefs about race and ethnicity were developed is of critical importance. Haitian immigrant mothers who grew up in Haiti were raised in a societal structure in which Haitians (Black and mulattos) have, for the most part, had political and economic control of the country since 1804. Such political and social structures have contributed to a narrative about race and ethnicity that is unique to Haitians living in Haiti or who grew up in Haiti. By using the developmental niche as a theoretical framework, the researcher hopes to explain the way in which the place that Haitian immigrant mothers' grew up shapes the messages on race and ethnicity that they transmit to their children. To explore these issues the following research questions were examined:

What role does the place in which Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B were born and raised play in their messages about race?

What role does the place which Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B were born and raised play in their messages about ethnicity?

3. To describe and explain mechanisms that Haitian immigrant use to arrive at these messages (message development) and to transmit their beliefs about their particular race and ethnic to their children.

Most, if not all, of the study on the racial and ethnic socialization of Haitian immigrants has focused on the content of the messages (Joseph & Hunter, 2011; Walters, 1994; Wodelmikael, 1989; Zephir, 2001). Knowing the content has helped to explain the racial and ethnicity identity that Haitian immigrants develop or might develop. However, of equal importance is the way in which Haitian immigrants have arrived at these messages, or message development. Many researchers (e.g., Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Stevenson, 1994, 1995; Thornton, 1994, 1997; Thornton, Chatters, Taylor & Allen, 1990) have demonstrated that socialization is not simply a verbal process. Parents use many overt and covert mechanisms to socialize their children. These mechanisms also contribute to the messages development by changing or reinforcing their beliefs. In order to fully understand the racial and ethnic socialization process among Haitian immigrant families, it was important to explore the subtle ways in which they demonstrate their beliefs about race and ethnicity to their children, such as being a member of Haitian church or an African-American church, sending children to Haiti on regular basis, or speaking Creole, or frequent exposure to the food, music and culture of other ethnic groups and the meaning attached to these mechanisms. Such understanding helped to delineate the differences in meaning along with the beliefs that

are attached to race and ethnicity for Haitian immigrant parents. To examine these issues the following research questions were addressed:

What factors influence Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B messages and practices on race?

How do Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B explain racism to their children?

What factors influence Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B messages and practices on ethnicity?

How do Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B explain ethnic discrimination to their children?

The researcher used a series of racial and ethnic socialization survey tools (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Lesane-Brown, Brown, Cadwell & Sellers, 2005) to assess the messages and practices that Haitian immigrant mothers transmit to their children about race and ethnicity. The researcher used semi-structured interviews to acutely explore the messages and practices that Haitian immigrant mothers use in the racial and ethnic socialization processes of their children. These interviews allowed the mothers to elaborate on the perceived racial/ethnic identity of their children. These interviews also allowed the researcher to understand the effects of the historical and social contexts, measured as the place where the mothers were born and raised, have on racial and ethnic socialization processes of Haitian immigrants.

Study Significance

The study of ethnic and racial socialization among Haitian immigrants is imperative. To date, child development literature has focused on the racial and ethnic

socialization processes among African-American families while overlooking Afro-Caribbean and African immigrant families. Afro-Caribbean and African immigrants (including Haitian immigrants) have contributed to a fifth of the growth of the U.S. Black population (Kent, 2007). As a result, the U.S. Black population is becoming more heterogeneous in its ethnic and racial ideologies along with the messages that are transferred to children about ethnicity and race. While Haitian immigrants are of the same race as African-Americans, the contextual meanings and value of race may be different and merit our attention.

Many Black immigrants, including Haitian immigrants, come from racial contexts that are distinct from the United States. For many, there is not a mental representation of racism. Many, such as my aunts, may have come to the United States with an achieved identity that did not include systematic discrimination based on race alone. Contrary to Hughes et al.'s (2006) argument, for Haitian immigrants in this study there were clear and concrete differences between race and ethnicity. Currently, the child development literature does not offer explicit theories and/or empirical evidence on these racial and ethnic socialization processes. Consequently, there are not any clear frameworks for understanding the well-being and racial and ethnic identity development of children of Black immigrants, including Haitian immigrants, which account for 11% of all U.S. Black children (McCabe, Braga & Batog, 2010).

In this study, I argued that children of Haitian immigrants are not born with an intrinsic understanding of race and ethnicity. Their understanding of race and ethnicity begins with the explicit and implicit meanings that their parents and community have attached to race and ethnicity (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987). As such, the processes of

racial and ethnic socialization are at the core of racial and ethnic identity development. Yet, there are many unanswered questions regarding the racial and ethnic socialization of Haitian immigrant families in the child development literature.

Using the developmental niche as a guide, this study not only explained the racial and ethnic socialization processes among Haitian immigrant families but also framed the study and understanding of racial and ethnic socialization processes among Black immigrants living in the United States. As such, this study begins to close the gap in the literature.

The current dissertation is comprised of seven chapters. This first chapter introduces the study. The second chapter presents the theoretical and conceptual perspectives that outline this study. The third chapter examines research on racial and ethnic socialization processes among the non-Haitian minority population, mainly African-, Mexican- and Asian-Americans. Because of limited research on Haitian immigrant families, the racial and ethnic socialization processes and practices of these groups mentioned above are relevant to understanding these processes in Haitian immigrant families. The fourth chapter describes of the methodology used on the study. The fifth chapter presents the results of the study. The sixth chapter analyzes and discusses the results in light of the theoretical framework and literature review and the seventh chapter presents the conclusion and implications of the study.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The Developmental Niche

Parenting involves applying beliefs and knowledge to concrete life situations with children (Sigel, 1994). These life situations are embedded in large societal context that encompass social rules, media, social systems, culture, peers and community. For Haitian immigrant parents, these life situations may also emerge out of immigration laws, the historical past, racial stratification, and discrimination. As such, parenting is not simply about teaching their children appropriate cultural values and behaviors, but also involves transmission of values, strategies and beliefs for success as children of the “triple minorities,” specifically children of Black, Haitian immigrants, and non-English speakers. Such transmission is known as racial and ethnic socialization.

Amidst limited theoretical perspectives for study of racial and ethnic socialization among Black immigrant groups, the *developmental niche* framework of Harkness and Super (1986) illustrated below frames child development, parenting and the processes of racial and ethnic socialization. Harkness and Super (1983, 1993, 1997, 2006) argue that the interaction between culture and the child development manifests itself in three major subsystems: (a) the physical and social setting in which the child lives; (b) the customs and practices that parents use in the care and the rearing of their children, and (c) the psychology of the caretakers (see Figure 1).

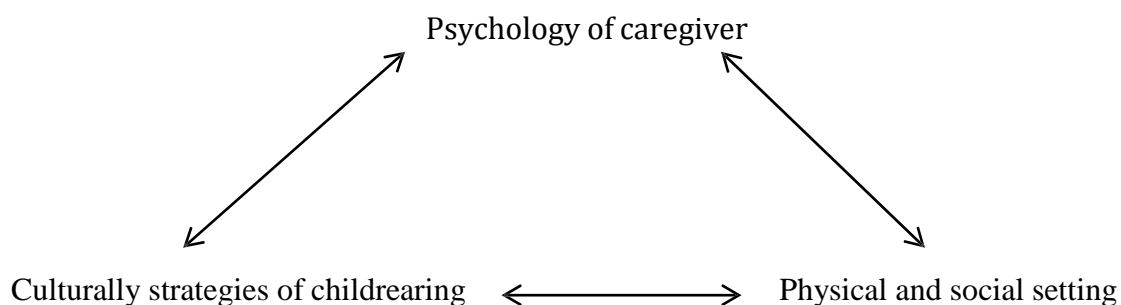


Figure 1. Developmental niche of child development

Physical and Social Setting

The physical and social setting represents the physical space in which development occurs and is structured (Harkness & Super, 1983, 2006; Super & Harkness, 1986, 1999). According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), the physical and social setting is made of multiple systems (*macrosystem, exosystem, mesosystem and microsystem*) that are constantly evolving and interacting with each other (Rogoff, 2003). For Haitian immigrants this physical space and social setting include at the macro and exosystems level: U.S. immigration laws and policies, dominant beliefs about race and ethnicity, systematic racial stratification, discrimination practices and policies toward Haitian immigrants in housing, jobs and social services (Stepick, Stepick, Eugene, Teed, & Labissiere, 2001; Zephir, 2001). At the mesosystem level, their physical space and settings also include their neighborhoods, schools, local churches, ethnic networks, and peers. These three systems find their way into the microsystem in which racial, ethnic socialization from parent to child occurs, and parental ethnotheories are exerted.

Customs and Practices of Child Care

Super and Harkness (1986) argued that the customs and practices of child care, and child rearing, and the behavioral organization of care, are nested in the culture in the

child lives and his/her development and are the vehicles of parental ethnotheories. To promote the child's well-being parents engage in a series of behaviors, which seem to be of second nature. These child rearing strategies are not simply individual measures to caregiving but also community responses to common issues in child rearing (Harkness & Super, 2006; Super & Harkness, 1986). These behavioral tactics are also part of the obvious, shared, and rational methods of caregiving used to promote culturally appropriate conduct in the child. As a result, children learn their behaviors, beliefs, and values from the thematic continuities within their community (Harkness & Super, 1983, 2006; Super & Harkness, 1986, 1999).

The Psychology of the Caregiver

The psychology of the caregiver includes cognitive and affective influences that parents develop and carry about "the nature of children, the structure of development and the meaning of behavior" (Harkness & Super, 1996, p. 2). The orientations that correspond to parents' awareness of themselves as parents within the context of their cultural community are referred to as parents' cultural belief systems or parental ethnotheories (Harkness & Super, 1996; Super & Harkness, 1986, 1999). Parental ethnotheories, or parental belief system, are defined as cultural beliefs and scripts that guide the parenting process (Harkness & Super, 2002). Parenting in this sense is an interpretative process of solving daily life issues stemming from situational contexts such as racial and ethnic prejudice (Valsiner & Litvinovic, 1996).

**Theoretical Perspectives of Racial and Ethnic Socialization:
An Integrative Framework of Identity, Black Identity, Ethnic Identity
Theories and the Developmental Niche**

From an applied child development perspective, parenting involves applying beliefs and knowledge to concrete life situations with children (Sigel, 1994). These life situations are embedded in large societal context that encompass social rules, media, social systems, culture, peers and community. For Haitian immigrant parents these life situations may also emerge out of immigration laws, historical past, racial stratification, and discrimination. For them, parenting is not simply about teaching their children appropriate cultural values and behaviors, but also involves transmission of values, strategies and beliefs for success as children of the “triple minorities” racial, ethnic and language minorities group. A transmission, as we have discussed, is known as racial and ethnic socialization.

Parental ethnotheories are at the core of the racial and ethnic socialization process for they represent parents’ beliefs about the race and ethnicity but also are embedded in the parents’ reference group which may be Haitian or Black or African-American or others (Julian, McKenry, & McKelvey, 1994). For Haitian immigrant parents, the reference group represents the group that associated with; the group that they perceived embodies their beliefs and values and gives them a sense of self in the United States. It is in the context of their culture and reference group that beliefs about race and ethnicity are developed, prioritized, and acted upon to yield solutions to their current life problems. Yet the processes of racial and ethnic socialization do not solely involve parental ethnotheories. Racial and ethnic socialization are processes that occur in daily contextual

interactions with the historical context and setting, translated through the customs of are but are driven by parental theory (Gaskins, 1996). In that sense parental ethnotheories are the vehicle by which parental cultural scripts and models are elaborated and gain directive force to shape parents' responses to the demands of their context (Harkness & Super, 1996; Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1997). To explore and describe the parental ethnotheories of race and ethnicity and his role on messages development, the researcher poses these questions:

What are the explicit messages about race that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B transmit to their children?

What are the explicit messages about ethnicity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B transmit to their children?

What are the explicit practices about ethnicity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B engage with their children?

What are the explicit practices about race that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B engage with their children?

In the U.S. Haitian immigrants move into a physical space and social setting in which there are racial classifications based on social political dominance. As such their assignment to the Black racial group is determined by "socially defined inclusion criteria" (Cross, 1991) such as phenotype. Cross' Black racial identity development is directly related to the physical and social setting in which individuals are being reared and developed. Cross (1978) first proposed his theory of psychology Nigrescence during the height of the U.S. Black social movements including the Civil Rights and Black power movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Cross believed Black racial identity

development to be a normative process in which a person who was phenotypically Black moved from Negro to Black (Cross, 1978). According to Cross (1971), being Black in America is a complex process in which the Black person moves from prejudicial and stigmatized internal meaning of Blackness to a constructive understanding of who oneself is within the context of their Black skin in America. Following empirical examination of his theory, Cross (1991) revised his Black racial identity model. In his reconstruction of Black American identity theory, Cross posited that Black American identity is not static; it is evolving and changing (Vandiver, 2001; Worrell, 2008)

In this physical space and social setting Haitian immigrant become member of a racial group what has endured discrimination and oppression. Their sense of being is not solely defined by their physical space and social setting but is also a response it. For Haitian immigrants their moving to the United States also prompts the relevance of their ethnic identity. Phinney (1994, 2003) defined ethnic identity as a “dynamic, multidimensional construct that refers to one’s identity or sense of self” (Phinney, 2002, p. 63). Ethnic identity is a fluid awareness and comprehension of oneself within the context of a dominant group (Phinney, 1994, 2003).

According to Cross (1978, 1991) and Phinney (1994, 2002) Haitian immigrants’ sense of identity as Black and Haitian in the United States may be to different to that in Haiti, as their sense of being is changing and evolving according to the current racial context of the United States and present meaning of Blackness in their immediate community. Consistent with Cross’s (1978, 1991) and Phinney’s (1994) theories, it can be implied that the context of Blackness and the racial landscape in the United States prompted many Haitian immigrants to included in parental ethnotheories not only the

ethnic label that they develop for themselves but also the affective meanings that they attach to their ethnic label such as being Haitian, which mean pride, freedom and strength (Zephir, 1996). Within the racial and ethnic landscape, Haitian immigrants' context of Blackness and meaning of beings find itself in their customs of child-rearing as Haitian immigrants parents seek to prepare their children to be successful member of U.S. society. To describe and explain the role that the historical and social context play in the messages that Haitian immigrant parents transmit to their children, the researchers poses the following questions:

What role does the place in which Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B were born and raised play in their messages about race?

What role does the place in which Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B were born and raised play in their messages about ethnicity?

How do Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B explain racism to their children?

How do Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B explain ethnic discrimination to their children?

The cultural strategies Haitian immigrant parents use with their children are associated with beliefs and concepts about themselves, not just as parents, but as Haitian immigrant parents in the United States. These beliefs are developed through the integration of their experiences in Haiti and the United States and their active participation and awareness as parents in both cultures. Within the context of racial and ethnic socialization customs of child care may include immersing second generation Haitian children into Haitian Creole and exposing them to Haitian culture through social

and religious organizations or even through frequent trips to Haiti (Kasinitz, 1992; Stepick et al., 2001; Waters, 1996; Zephir, 1996, 2004). These practices, which may be part of Haitian racial and ethnic socialization processes, can be considered as behavioral strategies and mechanisms to help cope and handle the second-generation developmental issues of being Black and being Haitian in a racially stratified society. As such these practices manifest themselves primarily in the customs of care but are nested in the parent or caretaker psychology.

Alex Stepick's (1998) ethnographic study of Haitian immigrants in South Florida illustrated the complex interaction between parental ethnotheories, historical and social context and customs of care. Stepick argued that the constraints of immigration and lack of resources forced many Haitians who migrated in the 1990's to South Florida to poor neighborhoods. In these neighborhoods the children of these immigrants faced teasing and prejudice from children in their neighborhood and schools (Stepick, 1998). To counteract anti-Haitian prejudice, many Haitian immigrant parents in his study reinforced education by displaying achievement certifications, graduation photographs, and trophies of their children in their living rooms for plain view (Stepick, 1998). In doing so, these Haitian immigrant parents organized an environment that was promoting education as means to fight discrimination and prejudice. Harkness and Super (1986) would argue that this setting created by Haitian parents might reflect their parental ethnotheories on race, ethnicity and success.

The processes of racial and ethnic socialization are not first initiated by the Haitian immigrants' parents' migration to the United States rather by the stage of personal identity. For Haitian immigrants, parenting brings a new stage of development

which Erikson called sense of generativity. Erikson (1960) posits, “generativity is primarily concern in establishing and guiding the next generation” (p. 267). In this stage, Haitian immigrant development extends beyond the self to her family and her community.

In becoming parents, Haitian immigrants’ psychosocial development includes generative action (such helping their children deals with racist messages, teaching their children to work hard, to respect the elders in their community, teaching their children to speak Creole) to ensure the sustainability of the humanity by preparing the next generation to become productive members of society even in the presence of destructive human behaviors such as racism, prejudice and discrimination (Maier, 1969).

The generative actions that Haitian immigrant parents take instantiate their ethnotheories on race and ethnicity and the meaning that these concepts play in their lives as well the lives of their families. It is within the generative stage that the racial and ethnic differences between Haitian immigrants and within Haitian immigrants come to the surface. Haitian immigrants who experienced successful identity synthesis in Haiti may have different understand of race and ethnicity than Haitians who experienced identity synthesis in the United States.

Erikson (1968) defines identity achievement versus identity confusion as a period during adolescence and early adulthood in which a person establishes a sense of who he or she is. In this period, the individual searches who she is and who he/she wants to be while assessing his/her strength and weaknesses. This search if successful can result in identity achievement in which the individual understands who he/she is and is comfortable with his/her strengths and the attributes that he/she brings into the world.

This search also leads to personal ideology or philosophy of life that serve as the individual's frame of reference.

It is feasible to argue that Haitian immigrants form their ideology and develop their beliefs about being Black and being Haitian where they have successfully achieved their personal identity. Although Cross (1990) would suggest that Black identity development is a process that might occur across the life course, this simply means that Haitian immigrants who migrate to the United States after the age of 21, who come out of the state identity achievement versus identity confusion with being Haitian as their individual frame of reference move to the United States with "being Haitian" as established sense of reference. Haitian immigrants who complete identity achievement versus identity confusion state in the United States might develop a frame of reference that represent the racial and ethnic contexts and discourse around them. As such concept of Black race and concept of "Haitianness" may hold different values, values that are transmitted to children during the generative stage through the racial and ethnic socialization processes. This distinction is important because differences in racial and ethnic orientations may not only be due to generational differences as many researchers suggested rather stem from where (*Haiti or in the United States*), identity achievement was successfully completed which are stressed during the racial and ethnic socialization process. The researcher will use the entire research questions pose in this study to get at these differences:

Racial Socialization

1. *What are the explicit messages about race that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B transmit to their children?*

2. *What are the explicit practices about ethnicity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B engage with their children?*
3. *What is the racial identity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B assign to their children?*
4. *What role does the place in which Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B were born and raised play in their messages about race?*
5. *What factors influence Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B their messages and practices on race?*
6. *How do Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B explain racism to their children?*

Ethnic Socialization

7. *What are the explicit messages about ethnicity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B transmit to their children?*
8. *What are the explicit practices about ethnicity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B engage with their children?*
9. *What is the ethnic identity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B assign to their children?*
10. *What role does the place in which Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B were born and raised play in their messages about ethnicity?*
11. *What factors influence Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B their messages and practices on ethnicity?*
12. *How do Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B explain ethnic discrimination to their children?*

Conclusion

In conclusion here are four points that I want to make about racial and ethnic socialization among Haitian immigrant families. First, children are not born with an innate understanding of racial and ethnic identity and cultural roles; rather, the meaning of these identities are taught to them by parents and their communities and are integrated into their identity as they develop (Harkness & Super, 1992). Second, the process of socialization from parent to child derives from a complex reasoning system that includes an amalgamation of the parents' past and current experiences, their beliefs about race and ethnicity in the U.S., the new role that Black race plays into their lives, and their physical space (Harkness & Super, 1992). Third, the process of racial and ethnic socialization is also prompted by their children's daily experiences with race and ethnicity and their understanding of the meaning that these experiences are having on the social-emotional success of their children. Fourth, parents' current beliefs about race and ethnicity become generalized based on their prior experiences and daily examples and function as a repertoire of internalized beliefs known as parental ethnotheories (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987).

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

Empirical Domains of Racial and Ethnic Socialization Literature:

The Developmental Niche in Action

This chapter is divided into three subsections. The first two sections review and critique the literature on racial and ethnic socialization respectively. The third subsection provides a review of important empirical work on racial and ethnic socialization among Haitian immigrants since literature on racial and ethnic socialization among Haitian immigrants seems to neither fit in the racial socialization or ethnic socialization.

Parental Ethnotheories of Racial Socialization

For all parents with U.S. markers of Black phenotypic characteristics (skin pigmentation ranging from darkest through very lightest, dense hair texture) including Haitians, the socialization task is compounded by a social environment that has cultivated and promoted negative conception of Blackness (Cross, 1978, 1991). Black parents often feel the need to prepare Black children to grasp the meaning of membership in an oppressed and marginalized group and to understand their unique heritage (Lesane-Brown, 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Stevenson, 1994; Thornton et al., 1990). It is within the family context that a Black child first becomes aware and comes to grips with the significance of racism and discrimination (Thornton, 1997).

This racial socialization process is of extreme importance for a host of reasons. First, it is associated with life course development (psychosocial outcomes) and identity

formation (Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002; Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009; Stevenson, 1997; Stevenson, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2002; Taylor, Biafora & Warheit, 1994). Second, messages about Black race and being Black, which are referred to as dimensions and taxonomies and derive from parental ethnotheories, have been shown to interact with the content of other socialization messages such as gender. Third, it predicts racial attitudes across one's life span. Fourth, it is an essential part of the development of Black children's racial identity, self-esteem, and values about race and race relations in the U.S. (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Hughes et al., 2009; Hughes et al., 2006; Stevenson, 2001). Yet, this literature has focused solely on the racial socialization process of African Americans and has ignored the process of the increasing and visible Black immigrant population (Hughes & Chen, 1999). This section provides a comprehensive and critical review of racial socialization research that describes and explains the intentional process of molding children's racial identity and cultural transmission of racial identity.

Definition. Embedded in the cultural construction of parenting is the response and adaptation to the ecological demands and milieu of development (Harkness & Super, 2002; Hughes & Chen, 1997). In the United States, parents who have the phenotypic characteristics of the Black race live in an ecological context in which they are stigmatized and discriminated against because of their skin color and stratified to the bottom of society (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Thornton et al., 1990). As a result, Black parents engage in a complex process aimed at helping their children successfully navigate the racial landscape, develop strategies to cope with racism, and avoid negative social images and social stratification. This intricate process

involves parental schemas on racial identity and racial relations in the United States and is guided by parental ethnotheories (Brown, 2008; Scottham & Smalls, 2009; Thomas & Speight, 1999; Thompson, 1994). This process, known as racial socialization, holds a reactive and proactive stance in that Black parents not only prepare children to successfully cope with oppressive experiences but also teach them to be proud and appreciative of their history and African heritage (Stevenson, 1995). The ultimate goal and outcome is to raise children who are psychologically and emotionally healthy, have a strong sense of identity, and are able to prosper in a society that often devalues them because of the color of their skin and racial origins (Caughy et al., 2002; Hughes & Chen, 1999; Hughes et al., 2009; Stevenson, 1994; Suizzo, Robinson, & Pahlke, 2007).

The racial socialization process of Black parents is varied and multidimensional. It is marked by parents' ideologies and values as well as their long-term and short-term goals for their children (Suizzo, Robinson, & Pahlke, 2007). Accordingly, many researchers have studied Black families, particularly African-Americans in order to understand the multidimensionality of the racial socialization process. In the following paragraphs, I summarize pertinent studies on racial socialization and transmission and critically analyze problems and gaps left by the studies.

In 1985, Boykin and Toms proposed a model to describe cultural scripts of the racial socialization process among African American families. For them, it involved the following three dimensions: the mainstream experience, which focuses on the importance of achievement, moral values, race equality, and positive self-image; the minority experience, which stresses coping mechanisms and strategies to counteract racism and discrimination; and the cultural experience which is the promotion of Afrocentric values

including spirituality, harmony, affect, and African American history and traditions (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Constantine & Blackmon, 2002).

Thornton et al. (1990) used Boykin and Toms' model (1985) to investigate the racial socialization messages and behaviors of African Americans living in the Western, Southern, North Central, and Northeastern regions of the United States using data from the National Survey of Black Americans (NSBA). This survey is a nationally representative sample of 2,017 African Americans 18 years and older and is one of the first to comprehensively assess the life experiences of African-Americans throughout the country. They used logistic regression to establish the effect of sociodemographic factors, the independent variables, on racial socialization practices, the dependent variables (Thornton et al., 1990). They found that two-thirds of African Americans in the study were not only engaged in racial socialization practices but also modified the practices to their ideologies, experiences, and environment. Most of the parents engaged in the "minority experience and mainstream experiences". The messages that they conveyed to their children focused on the social stratification of Blacks, acceptance of the Black race, the value of hard work and education, and/or intrinsic worth (Thornton et al., 1990).

Demo and Hughes (1990) also used the work of Boykin and Toms (1985) to construct cultural scripts of racial socialization in adulthood using data from the National Survey of Black Americans. To develop a measure of parents' racial socialization, the participants were asked open-ended questions about "the most important things they had told their children to help them know what it is to be Black and to get along with White people" (Demo & Hughes, 1990, p. 368). Participants whose racial socialization

messages to their own children differed from those of their parents, or participants who had not passed any messages to their children were asked “what their parents had taught them about what it is to be Black and what other things they had been told about getting along with Whites” (p. 368). From the responses, the researchers developed two measures. The first measure captured the teachings that participants received about being Black. The second specified the teaching that they received about “getting along with Whites.” The responses were integrated into four categories: (1) individual or universalistic attitudes (attitudes without specific racial references: work hard, excel, take a positive attitude toward self, be a good citizen, all are equal); (2) integrative/assertive attitudes (racial pride, importance of Black heritage, acceptance of being Black, importance of getting along with Whites, try to understand Whites, stand up for Whites); (3) cautious/defensive attitude (racial distance, deference, White prejudice, Whites have the power; and (4) no messages. They found that more participants had individual/universalistic attitudes and integrative/assertive attitudes. Their work further supports the three essential parental ethnotheories of racial socialization (mainstream experience, minority experience and cultural experiences) among African Americans as argued by Boykin and Toms (1985).

To assess the concise variation in the racial socialization messages beyond the three cultural scripts developed by Boykin and Toms (1985), Hughes and Chen (1997) explored ecological prediction of African American parent-child communication on racial issues. They examined specific cultural scripts of racial socialization, the relationship between frequency of messages and the association between messages and

parental upbringing and race-related experiences, which are embedded in parental ethnotheories (Hughes & Chen, 1997).

For the purpose of this review I will focus on the results related to dimensions of racial socialization. The researchers interviewed 79 fathers and 78 mothers, who were married and employed and had a child between the ages of 4 and 14 years old. Their study resulted in three principal ethnotheories of racial socialization: a) cultural socialization which involves teaching children about their heritage, history, and cultural pride; b) preparation for bias, defined as teaching and giving children tools to deal with the racial discrimination and prejudice that they will encounter; and c) promotion of mistrust which endorses guardedness and encourages social detachment from the dominant White Anglo culture (Hughes & Chen, 1997).

They found specific messages under cultural scripts that parents were communicating to their children. Preparation for bias involved nine messages including telling a child that people might treat him or her badly due to his or her race, talking to a child about the fight for equality among Blacks, talking to a child about racial differences in physical features, and about things they mislearned in school. Cultural socialization encompassed five behaviors including reading a child a book about Black history and/or culture or taking a child to Black cultural events. Racial mistrust had two messages: telling a child to keep their distance from Whites and telling a child to distrust Whites. They also found that although most families engaged in racial socialization, the parents did not convey messages or engage in racial socialization behaviors frequently. Their findings also indicated that most of the parents engaged in each of the five cultural socialization behaviors at some time in the previous year. Communications about

preparation for bias were less common and only a third of the parents stated that they had engaged in communication that involved racial mistrust.

Caughy et al. (2002) adopted the racial dimension framework developed by Hughes and Chen (1999) to examine the relationship between parent racial socialization and their preschoolers' cognitive competence (face recognition, triangles, word order, arithmetic and riddles, factual knowledge, sequential processing and high order problem solving) and behavioral competence (internalizing and externalized behaviors). However, they simplified the cultural socialization dimension to a single message – racial pride. They also added spirituality as a fourth dimension based on the work of Stevenson (1999), Denby (2002) and Thomas (2000). They assessed the racial socialization messages through interviews and home observation with a sample of 200 African American families. The researchers used univariate and bivariate descriptive statistics to find the most prevalent racial socialization dimension in the sample. They found that the majority of parents were routinely engaged in the racial socialization process and it was an intricate part of their parenting practices. Eighty-eight percent of the parents reported focusing on the racial pride dimension, 74.1% on spirituality, 66.5% on preparation for bias, and 64.8% on promotion of mistrust (Caughy et al., 2002). Their findings strongly supported the following four dimensions as conventional racial socialization practices in the African American community: (1) racial pride, (2) spirituality, (3) preparation for bias, and (4) promotion of mistrust.

Suizzo, Robinson, and Pahlke (2007) built on the work of Caughy et al. (2002) and tested the universality of these dimensions of parental ethnotheories on racial socialization among African Americans by investigating the racial socialization practices

that motivate mothers in their daily interactions with their 3- to 6-year old children. They did a qualitative study with 12 mothers and their children in the Southwestern region of the United States and developed a semi structured interview protocol that included questions about the child's experiences with racial discrimination and about the mothers' racial socialization process (beliefs and practices).

They found that the mothers in their sample were engaged in three racial socialization practices: knowing ancestral history, religion/faith/spirituality, and racial pride. Eight of the mothers believed that teaching ancestral history to their children helped them to understand the meaning of being African American and to prepare for potential discrimination. Eight of the mothers also emphasized religion/faith/spirituality as a means to cope with racism. The mothers also felt that racial pride was related to teaching their children about their heritage. Nine of the mothers stated that they explicitly incorporated teaching racial pride into their interactions with their children. Suizzo, Robinson, and Pahlke (2007) also found numerous strategies that mothers used to convey these messages to their children. These included reading books about African American heritage, teaching about African American holidays, buying African American dolls, attending African American cultural celebrations and events, and teaching children that people come in different shapes, sizes, and colors. These strategies mirror those found by Hughes and Chen (1997).

Racial socialization scholars argue that the racial socialization process is the main vehicle by which children and adolescents of African descent develop a healthy racial identity (Anglin & Whaley, 2006; Miller, 1999; Stevenson, 1995; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009; Thomas & Speight, 1999; Thompson, 1994). The literature defines

racial identity as an individual's sense of belonging to a group that is based on perceived shared physiology. To date, the literature can be divided into two parts: (1) research on the relationship between parents' own racial identity and parents' racial socialization messages and (2) research on the relationship between parents' racial socialization messages and child/adolescents' racial identity development.

Thompson (1994) studied the relationship between family racial socialization processes and the development of racial identity. The sample was comprised of 225 African Americans who lived in the St. Louis area. Data were collected using individually administered racial socialization surveys and the Multidimensional Racial Identification Questions (racial identity was measured by assigning scores to four parameters: physical, cultural, sociopolitical, and psychological). The researchers found that racial socialization was correlated with the degree of racial identification. They also found that racial socialization messages from adult family members other than parents influenced racial identification on the physical, sociopolitical, and psychological parameters. This suggests that racial socialization messages that children received from other adults in their lives can be as influential as the ones they receive from their parents. The researchers found age differences based in the types of socialization messages that participants recalled receiving. Participants between the ages of 18 and 35 reported getting messages of racial barriers and racial pride while participants age 36 and over reported higher rates of self-development and egalitarian messages. This finding reinforces the societal nature and the fluidity of the racial socialization process.

Thomas and Speight (1999) examined the relationship between racial identity development and racial socialization of African American parents. A sample of 105

mothers living in the Mid-Southern region of the United States participated in the study. They completed the Racial and Social Awareness subscale of the Black Parental Attitude (BPA) that measures parental messages (racial pride, reality of racism, and historical information) and beliefs on teaching children about racial issues. They also completed the Racial Attitudes Scale (RIAS) developed by Parham and Helms (1981) that measures attitudes related with the Cross' (1971) model of racial identity development (preencounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization). Finally, the participants completed a four-item open-ended questionnaire on racial socialization messages that they shared with their children. The researchers found that the internalization stage was rooted with racial socialization messages from parents who deemed the racial socialization process important. The preencounter stage was negatively correlated with racial socialization. The encounter stage had a positive correlation with racial socialization messages but did not predict the sustainable practice of racial socialization. The authors concluded that racial identity and the racial socialization messages are linked such that parents with preencounter, encounter, and immersion practices did not have strong racial socialization attitudes. They did not deem the racial socialization process as important to development and engaged in it sporadically. Parents in the internalization stage (dimension of the RIAS) did.

Scottham and Smalls (2009) investigated the influence of racial identity on the racial socialization messages used by African American mothers or female caregivers. Participants (n=208) were drawn from a longitudinal study on racial identity in a Southeastern Michigan school district. Participants' racial identity was assessed using three subscales from the Multidimensional Model of Black Identity (centrality, private

regard, and public regard) and the Racial Socialization Questionnaire-Parent (RSQ-P) that measures socialization typologies (egalitarian, racial pride, racial barrier) and racial socialization behaviors. Racial centrality indicates “the extent to which an individual normatively emphasizes racial group membership as part of his or her overall self-concept” (p. 809). Racial regard is defined as “positive or negative feelings about African American group membership” (p. 809). It is divided into public and private regard. Public regard refers “to the extent to which an individual feels that others view the African American community in a positive or negative manner” (p. 809). Private regard refers to “the extent to which an individual feels positively or negatively toward the African American community as well as how he or she feels about being a member of this community” (p. 809). The researchers used multivariate statistics as the analytic procedure. They found that racial centrality and private regard were positively associated with parents’ messages of racial barrier and racial pride, and with racial socialization behaviors.

Neblett, Smalls, Ford, Nguyen, and Sellers (2008) investigated the relationships between parent racial socialization practices and racial identity in African American middle and high school students. There were two goals developed for this study. First, the researchers wanted to identify patterns of racial socialization based on the report of the adolescents. Second, they wanted to investigate the relationship between patterns of racial socialization and racial identity of adolescent at a later time. Participants were divided into two cohorts and data was collected in three waves. However, the researchers only used data from the first two waves for the study. Three hundred fifty-eight participants completed the Racial Socialization Questionnaire-Teen, which assessed the

frequency of six types of racial socialization practices (racial pride, racial barrier, egalitarian, self-worth, negative, racial socialization behaviors). The participants also completed the Multidimensional Inventory of Black identity-teen that measured racial centrality, assimilationist ideology, and nationalist ideology). The researchers also collected demographic data. The researchers used latent class analysis to develop a three-cluster model consisting of three subgroups: (a) a high positive group which had high means relative to the rest of the sample on racial pride and high means on egalitarian and racial barrier messages; (b) a moderate positive group which had scores near to the sample mean for most of the subscales, had high scores for egalitarian, racial pride, and self worth messages, moderate scores on the racial barrier and socialization behavior subscales and low scores on the negative subscale; (c) a low frequency group which had low scores on most of the racial socialization variables, and scores close to sample mean on negative messages. Participants in the high positive cluster initially felt that race was more central to their self-concept when later surveyed and were less likely to emphasize similarities between African Americans and all Americans. Participants in the low frequency cluster tended to feel race was not a part of their core identity and interpreted being African American as similar and not distinct from being American.

Beyond the parental ethnotheories of racial socialization, researchers have focused on the intricate relationship of this process on children and adolescents' development. Empirical evidence indicates that the racial socialization process serves as a protective shield for children and adolescents and is associated with positive psychosocial outcomes, high levels of self-esteem, good academic achievement, and high

resiliency (Brown, 2008; Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Hughes & Chen, 2006; Hughes & Johnson, 2001).

Critique. The problem with the way racial socialization is studied begins with its definition. Researchers have described and operationalized racial socialization as a unidirectional phenomenon, from parents to children (Coard & Sellers, 2005). It is centered exclusively on the messages that parents give to their children regarding the meaning of being Black. It does not include children's experiences, behaviors, and attitudes and their effects on the messages that are transmitted to them (Coard & Sellers, 2005). This is especially problematic for Haitian immigrant families. Haitian immigrant parents come to the United States having already learned attitudes and values pertinent to their societal roles including race (Stepick, 1998). They may attempt to impart these Haitian values and attitudes on race to their American-born children (Stepick, 1998; Stepick et al., 2001). However, these children become exposed to and learn different messages about race and racial relations through school, peer interactions, and the media. Their experiences may challenge the racial socialization messages of their parents (Benson, 2006; Bryce-Laporte, 1972; Laguere, 1984; Ostine, 1998) that may in turn force their parents to adjust their racial socialization messages.

Without discounting the significant contributions that these research studies make to the understanding of the racial socialization process and intergeneration transmission of racial identity, there are significant problems that need to be addressed. The core issue is with cultural scripts of racial socialization. As discussed previously, these cultural scripts are strongly associated with and derived from African American ideologies and beliefs (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002). For Haitian immigrants, beliefs about race

come not only from their interactions and experiences in the United States but also from their experiences in Haiti as well. Taylor, Biafora, and Warheit (1994) argued that Haitian immigrants suffer from “a triple social marginality” (p. 301). They are Black; they often come to the United States with no English ability; and they hold many cultural beliefs that conflict with both the American majority and minority culture, including that of African Americans (Bryce-Laporte, 1972; Taylor, Biafora & Warheit, 1994). Haitian parents might pass down to their children preconceived notions about race that are rooted in the group’s historical experiences and their racial and ethnic identity in the United States. It can then be argued that the parental ethnotheories that Haitian immigrant parents hold regarding race might differ from those of African Americans that making their racial socialization process different and distinct.

Second, the generalizability of the findings is severely limited by the contextual lives of the samples used. As previously discussed, the social environment in which families live and function, including their schools and neighborhoods, affects the racial socialization messages that parents transmit to their children. Furthermore, the racial socialization process is bi-directional as parents often find themselves having to adjust their racial socialization messages to conform to their children’s real lived experiences with discrimination. For the children of Haitian immigrants, this is significant as the parents’ messages on race might differ significantly from those messages outside of the home (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

The identity formation of all Black children and adolescents is intricate and problematic (Spencer & Markstorm-Adams, 1990). Much of the research on racial socialization and racial identity is based on disjointed measures that have often merged

concepts of race and ethnicity. Although racial and ethnic identity may overlap for African Americans, it may not be the case for Haitian immigrants (Burrow, Tubman, & Montgomery, 2006; Murray et al., 2009; Spencer & Markstorm-Adams, 1990). Furthermore, many of the items in the measures lack validity across ethnic groups and even within ethnic groups (Spencer & Markstorm-Adams, 1990). For example, the five-stage model of psychological Nigrescence used by Thomas and Speight (1999) to measure racial identity was developed on and for African Americans. There is no evidence that these concepts will hold true for Haitian immigrants. Additionally, scholars have posited that these racial identity measures force individuals into categories that mask the complexities underlying context-specific variation in the significance of identities for individuals (Burrow et al., 2006).

Conclusion. Empirical evidence suggests that cultural socialization (cultural experience), preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust (minority experience), egalitarianism (majority experience) and spirituality form the major dimensions of parental racial ethnotheories in the African American community. While nested in the parental ethnotheories, the attitudes and expressions that African American parents exert vary according to their societal context (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Boykin & Toms, 1985; Caughy et al., 2002; Frabutt, Walker, MacKinnon-Lewis, 2002; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes et al., 2006; Stevenson, 1995; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009; Thornton et al., 1990; White-Johnson, Ford, & Sellers, 2010). However, there is considerable variability in the attitudinal and behavioral expressions that researchers have studied, which suggests that the racial socialization process is not homogeneous across families.

Rather that racial socialization process is rooted in the parent's ecological context – the psychology and parental reasoning of racial socialization of the individual parent.

As Haitian immigrants and their children have increased visibility in the United States, these cultural scripts are derived from familial symbolic, communal, interactionist, and contextual experiences of African American families may not hold true for them. Haitian immigrants come from societal contexts in which people are not discriminated against solely on the basis of their race and where Blacks hold positions of political and economic power and status. The reception they received in the host country paired with language barriers make their experiences in the United States different from those of African Americans. Such experiences feed into Haitian parents' reasoning on ethnic and racial socialization and guide their parental ethnotheories on these processes (Benson, 2006; Bryce-Laporte, 1972; Butcher, 1994; Colin, 2001; Doucet, 2005; Jackson & Cothran, 2003; Kent, 2007; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Waters, 1994; Zhou, 1997). It may very well be that as Haitian immigrant families forge lives in the United States, the cultural scripts mentioned above fit into their ethnic and racial socialization schema. However, until research is done on the ethnic and racial socialization of Black immigrant families, we run the risk of incorrectly describing the parental ethnotheories of Haitian immigrants, incorrectly defining their ethnic and racial socialization processes, and severely limiting the literature on ethnic and racial socialization. Given all the literature and critique that I have raised on parental ethnotheories of racial socialization, I will explore the following research question to help address the gap in the literature:

What are the explicit messages about race that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B transmit to their children?

What are the explicit practices about ethnicity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B engage with their children?

What is the racial identity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B assign to their children?

Parental Ethnotheories of Ethnic Socialization

Rotheram and Phinney (1987) defined ethnic socialization as the “developmental processes by which children acquire the behaviors, perceptions, values and attitudes of an ethnic group and come to see themselves and others as members of the group” (p. 11). It is the vehicle by which parents engage their children on the nature and meaning of their ethnic status in relationship to personal and social identity, and the hierarchical position of the ethnic group in the larger society (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Tran & Lee, 2010). More than a system, the family serves as the platform for ethnic identity development. It is within the family that the meaning of one’s ethnicity is developed and schemas for successful developmental adaptation are constructed (Phinney, 2007).

Knight, Bernal, Garza, Cota, and O’Campo (1993) studied the socialization of Mexican American children to describe the role of family and explain the implicit assumptions that family develops regarding ethnicity. They developed a model consisting of five constructs and posited that the family ecological context affects the children’s socialization process. Furthermore, children’s ethnic socialization comes from cultural agents in their own ethnic group such as their parents as well as people outside of their family. Also, they argued through this model that the construction of ethnic identity

resulted in what they called “ethnically based behaviors” (p. 100). The researchers hypothesized a direct association between parents’ time of immigration, ethnic identity, and acculturation status with parents’ ethnic socialization.

The researchers enrolled 45 Mexican American children and their mothers in the study. Thirty-five percent of the mothers identified themselves as Mexican American while 26.7% identified themselves as Hispanic. Most of the mothers (64.4%) were third generation Mexican immigrants and spoke both English and Spanish to their children. The researchers interviewed the mothers and their children separately. For the mothers, they assessed their degree of comfort with Mexican and American culture, their generation and socialization practices regarding teaching about the Mexican culture, teaching about ethnic pride and discrimination, and discussed the presence Mexican objects in the home. The children were given an ethnic identity questionnaire, which measured ethnic self-identification, ethnic constancy, and use of ethnic role behaviors, ethnic knowledge, and ethnic preferences. Ethnic self-identification was divided into three subcategories: ethnic label, ethnic grouping of others and ethnic self-groups. Ethnic constancy refers to children’s understanding that their ethnicity is immutable over time and settings.

The researchers found that mothers whose customs, practices, and cultural beliefs were more aligned with the Mexican culture (Mexicanism) and whose husband’s families had strong ties to Mexico had stronger socialization practices. Meaning these mothers strongly educated their children about Mexican culture, ethnic pride, and discrimination, and displayed more Mexican objects in their home. Mothers who exerted mainstream American views and values and whose husbands’ families had lived in the United States

for more than a generation instilled less knowledge about Mexican culture, ethnic pride, and discrimination, and displayed fewer Mexican objects in their homes. The researchers used the term “correct” to indicate children who identified themselves according to pre-determined American ethnic label, a notion that I later critique. The researchers found positive correlations between all aspects of socialization in this study. Regarding children’s ethnic identity, the researchers found that mothers whose children scored high on ethnic identity, correct ethnic self-labels, correct out-group labels, and correct ethnic self-groups had higher scores in Mexicanism. The researchers found family background to account for 40% of the variance in children identity variables. Mothers who educated their children about Mexican culture and displayed more Mexican objects in their homes had children who showed higher number of correct ethnic self-labels, exerted more ethnic behaviors, and showed more ethnic preferences in choosing friends. Mothers whose socialization messages focused on ethnic pride and discrimination had children who had higher scores in correct out-group label and displayed more ethnic behaviors such speaking Spanish, wearing traditional Mexican clothing, and eating traditional Mexican food (Knight et al., 1993).

The researchers posited that their results validated their socialization model in four ways: (1) family background variables such as mothers’ ethnic orientation and husband families’ generational status in the United States were positively correlated with socialization practices; (2) family background influences were associated with children’s ethnic self-identification, use of ethnic role behaviors, ethnic knowledge, and ethnic preferences; (3) socialization practices were major determinants of children’s ethnic self-identification; and (4) the association between family background variables and

children's ethnic identities became statistically insignificant when socialization practices were controlled. Consequently, socialization processes, which are rooted in parental ethnotheories, are the vehicle by which parents transfer the meaning of who they are ethnically to their children and shape children's ethnic self-identification.

Phinney and Chavira (1995) studied the ethnic socialization process to describe socialization issues of minority parents and to highlight the socialization process of ethnic minorities in the United States. The aim of their study was three fold: (1) to investigate ethnic socialization among African American, Japanese American, and Mexican American parents; (2) to examine the impact of their socialization practices on adolescent behaviors and attitudes; and, (3) to investigate the way in which parental socialization affects adolescent strategies for coping with discrimination.

The researchers enrolled 60 U.S.-born adolescents between the ages of 16 and 18 and 60 mothers or fathers. The ethnic breakdown of the adolescent group was as follows: 26 were Mexican Americans, 18 were Japanese Americans and 16 were African Americans. The sample was recruited from a suburban Los Angeles area and included middle- and working-class families. The adolescents' ethnic identity was evaluated by the Multigroup Ethnic Identity measure, a 14-item questionnaire that measures three facets of ethnic identity: "a sense of belonging to and attitudes toward one's ethnic group; ethnic behaviors and customs; and ethnic identity achievement" (Phinney & Chavira, 1995). The researchers also assessed adolescents' understanding of their parents and their own ethnicity.

To measure parent ethnic socialization practices, researchers developed an interview protocol consisting of four closed-ended questions that focused on parents

teaching about cultural practices, ethnic heritage, mainstream culture, bias and discrimination preparation. They also interviewed the parents about other socialization practices.

There were significant differences in the ethnic socialization practices between the three ethnic groups. Mexican Americans and African Americans in their sample tended to teach their children to obtain harmony with mainstream society. These groups also emphasized more preparation for bias and prejudice than Japanese Americans. The results showed that African American parents were the most engaged in ethnic socialization practices teaching their children about the value of hard work, cultivating appreciation for their ethnicity, and helping their children to develop coping mechanisms for prejudice and discrimination. Japanese Americans focused on academic achievement while Mexican American parents focused on cultural mainstreaming. The researchers also found that parents whose ethnic socialization focused on recognition and appreciation of diversity had children with high ethnic identity scores.

Okagaki and Moore (2000) sought to advance the literature on ethnic socialization by moving beyond the role of family in ethnic socialization (Knight et al., 1993) and differences in socialization issues (Phinney & Chavira, 1995) to a comprehensive study of the effect of parents' ethnotheories and parent-child relationships on ethnic identity development and intergenerational transmission of identity (Okagaki & Moore, 2000). The researchers used Goodnow's (1992) conceptual model of intergenerational correspondence and divergence to investigate the ethnic socialization process of Mexican immigrant families. They developed four hypotheses for their study: (1) young adults' perception of their parents' beliefs mediate the relationship between parent ethnotheories

and young adults' beliefs; (2) there is a correlation between degree of parents' ethnic socialization practices and young adults' perception of parent ethnotheories; (3) there is a correlation between parent-child relationship and young adults' perception of ethnic identity salience and intergenerational transmission of parental ethnotheories on ethnic identity; and (4) divergence between young adults' beliefs and parental ethnotheories will stem from young adults' ability to exactly perceive parent's ethnotheories and a propensity to adopt their parents' ethnotheories on ethnic identity (Okagaki & Moore, 2000).

The researchers enrolled 135 participants between the ages of 17.3 and 23.4 years. They also enrolled 69 mothers and 60 fathers of the young adults. Young adults' ethnic identity beliefs were assessed through three questionnaires: (1) young adults' own ethnic identity beliefs; (2) perception of mothers' ethnic identity beliefs; and (3) perception of fathers' ethnic identity beliefs. The ethnic identity of young adults was assessed through two different questionnaires. They used a cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty questionnaire, which assessed cultural awareness, ethnic loyalty, and ethnic social orientation. Second were the Multigroup Ethnic Identity measures (Phinney, 1992), which assesses ethnic identity achievement, affirmation and belonging, and ethnic behaviors. The researchers also measured perception of parental socialization, young adults' expressed desire to be like parents, and perception of the warmth of parent-child relationship. The parents' ethnic identity was also measured through the cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty questionnaire and the Multigroup Ethnic Identity measures. Parental ethnic socialization was assessed through a Likert scale measuring of socialization messages and practices.

Forty-seven percent of the young adults described themselves as bicultural; 42% used Mexican as their ethnic label; 11% described themselves as solely American. Parents' ethnicity were as follows: 44% of mothers and 60% of fathers described themselves as bicultural; 36% of mothers and 24% of fathers saw themselves as Mexican; and 20% of mothers and 16% fathers used American as their ethnic identity. The researchers found significant differences in ethnic beliefs and behaviors between the three groups. Young adults who identified themselves as Mexican had a stronger preference for Mexican culture, more personal ties to Mexico, greater understanding of their Mexican heritage, and higher regard for their ethnic identity. The researchers found significant differences in the cultural awareness and loyalty measures between mothers who identified themselves as Mexican compared to those who identified themselves as bicultural and American.

In their study, the researchers found that young adults' perception of their parents' ethnotheories on ethnic identity (both mother and father) served as a mediator between parental ethnotheories and ethnic identity. However, the researchers found that parental socialization and parental transmission of ethnic identity was not associated with accuracy of young adults' perceptions of parental ethnotheories. Interestingly, the researchers found a significant relationship between strength of parents' ethnic identity and young adults' desire to embrace parental ethnotheories.

The findings of this study demonstrate the importance of parent ethnotheories and the development and transmission of identity. In this study, parents and young adults who identified as Mexican valued their Mexican heritage and culture and believed in promoting and continuing this heritage. According to the findings, it can be inferred that

parental ethnotheories are a driving force in the transmission of ethnic identity since the perceptions that young adults develop comes from parental reasoning and orientations ethnic identity.

Critique. Ethnic socialization relies heavily on family as the vehicle for the ethnic socialization process (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987). Although the significant role of the family cannot be discounted, it is critical that the community role in the ethnic socialization process be considered. Many families, including Haitian immigrant families, are nested within communities that impact their ethnic socialization process. The values, behaviors, and ethnic group that families develop also come from exchanges and interrelations within their ethnic group in the United States.

In the literature on ethnic socialization, the lack of standardized measures across groups is a major impediment. Although the studies listed above used the same measure to assess ethnic identity, they used different measures to assess ethnic socialization (Knight et al., 1993; Okagaki & Moore, 2000; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Two of the studies, Knight et al. (1993) and Okagaki and Moore (2000) used quantitative tools to study ethnic socialization. Phinney and Chavira (1995) used qualitative interviews but used descriptive analysis to examine the themes in relationship to ethnic identity. Using a quantitative approach to study ethnic socialization tends to present ethnic socialization as a cause and effect event that is stable. Such approaches do not provide a clear understanding of the process of ethnic socialization and the evolving nature of this process (Schofield & Anderson, 1987).

In studying ethnic socialization, most of the researchers have tended to box families into these preconceived American labels. Phinney and Chavira's (1995) study

argued that Japanese families were not engaged in ethnic socialization because their focus was on academic achievement compared to the other ethnic groups. Knight et al. (1993) argued that ethnic socialization which focused on Mexicanism lead to more “correct” ethnic labels among the participants. These assertions are challenging; they seem to indicate that researchers approach these studies with expected patterns of ethnic socialization without a strong regard for the ecological context of the families’ lives. Families who fall out of these patterns are perceived either as disengaged in ethnic socialization or feeding messages to their children that lead to “incorrect” ethnic identity labels. This approach can be blinding and prevent researchers from finding multiple patterns of ethnic socialization as well as parents’ own objectives.

The process of ethnic socialization transcends the explicit messages, values, and behaviors that are transmitted to children. As this process is guided by parental ethnotheories, it involves an implicit shaping of children’s ethnic identity that is rooted in the individual parent’s experiences. Haitian immigrants’ experiences, their reception in the U.S. and ecological context, impact their ethnic socialization. Although the ethnic socialization process might be the same between Haitian immigrants and the ethnic groups studied above, their patterns might differ based on their ecological context. Research that focuses on the ethnic socialization process and parental ethnotheories of ethnic socialization of Haitian immigrants alone are thus critical to the understanding of this process among Haitian immigrants.

Conclusion. The ethnic socialization process extends beyond the transmission of perceptual ethnic differences such as food and language to encompass cultural beliefs, customs, and conduct for social engagement (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987). It begins in

the family but also takes place within larger social groups. For Haitian immigrant families, the ethnic socialization process is the vehicle by which children are made aware of their ethnic identity. The ecological context impacts parental ethnotheories of ethnic socialization because the parents' experiences with their children, their implicit assumptions and explicit experiences are nested within the family, neighborhood, social group, community and society in which the Haitian immigrant parents live (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Phinney & Rotheram, 1987; Stepick, 1998; Waters, 1994).

In parental ethnotheories, parental reasoning on ethnic socialization does not imply transmission of cultural values. The exercise of this reasoning is mode of transmission. It is not enough for the parents to be from Haiti and see themselves as Haitian for children to learn about Haitian ethnic identity. The parents must engage in socialization practices and behaviors that develop the Haitian ethnic identity of their children (Knight et al., 1993; Okagaki & Moore, 2000). Moreover, parent engagement feeds into the socialization process. As children move to adolescence and young adulthood, the perception of their parents' ethnic identity, ethnic identity commitment, and salience strongly impacts ethnic identity transmission and shapes their own ethnic identity (Okagaki & Moore, 2000). As the ethnic socialization process reflects ethnic family context, history, and experiences, it is important that more research be conducted on the processes of ethnic socialization and ethnic identity transmission among Haitian immigrant families in order to inform the structures and schemas that guide this process among these families but also add to the gamut of theories on ethnic socialization (Phinney & Rotheram, 1987). Given all the literature and critique that I have raised on

parental ethnotheories of ethnic socialization, I will explore the following research question to help address the gap in the literature:

What are the explicit messages about ethnicity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B transmit to their children?

What are the explicit practices about ethnicity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B engage with their children?

What is the ethnic identity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B assign to their children?

Racial and Ethnic Socialization Research Among Haitian Immigrants

Waters (1994) analyzed racial socialization practices and its relation to racial identity formation among adolescents from Caribbean descent including Haitian. The sample was between 14 and 21 years old, 15% were from poor families, 49% were from working class families and 35% were from middle class families. Most of them were born in the U.S. or had moved there before age 7. Waters found three emerging racial/ethnic identities in the sample: (1) American; (2) ethnic American; (3) immigrant identity. Forty-two percent of the adolescents identified themselves as American and did not perceive a difference between Black American and their respective Caribbean origin. Waters argued that these adolescents deemphasized their parents' country of origin and embraced many aspect of the Black culture. Their racial and ethnic identity placed them at odds with their parents and created conflict between first and second generation as the adolescents were well aware of the negative connotations that their parents held about being Black American.

Thirty percent of the adolescents expressed a strong ethnic identity. These adolescents tended to adopt their parental view on race relations and worked at distancing themselves from Black Americans in their community. This group experienced less discord and tension with their first-generation parents. They also seemed to have internalized the cultural values and beliefs of their ethnic group and took conscious measures to identify themselves as “other” and not Black, such as having key chains with the flag of their country of origin, or displaying a Haitian accent.

Lastly, 28% of the adolescents had an immigrant identity. That is, they identified themselves as being of Caribbean origin. These adolescents tended to have kinship with the Caribbean because they either moved to the United States after the age of 7 or visited the Caribbean very often. In the United States, they kept their Caribbean clothing and accents. Although they felt that they were treated better than Black Americans in their communities, they expressed experiencing discrimination and anti-immigrant sentiments. Still, Waters (1994) found they had developed a sense of pride in their immigrant identity, which allowed them to bypass the prejudice they encountered.

In their groundbreaking work on children of immigrants, Portes and Rumbaut (2001) explored the factors that mold and influence the ethnic and racial identities of second-generation youths in late adolescence. Among the sample population were Haitians living in the Miami/Fort Lauderdale areas. There were 177 children of Haitian origin in the 1992 survey and 134 in the 1995-1996 survey. The researchers found four types of ethnic self-identities: (1) foreign national-origin identity (Haitian); (2) hyphenated American identity (Haitian-American); (3) plain American national identity; and (4) panethnic minority-group identity (Black). The researchers found that ethnic

identities were neither rigid nor unstable. Results from the second survey showed that most adolescents either adjoined a hyphen in describing their ethnic identity or moved from hyphenated American identity to foreign national. More than 71% of the adolescents had a foreign national identity; 57.2% adopted a hyphenated American identity; 52.8 % a panethnic identity; and, 42% plain American. Since the researchers did not report the results by ethnic group, it is not possible to determine the percentage of children of Haitian origin in each ethnic self-identity category. However, they reported that Haitians and Filipinos mostly used national origin or hyphenated American descriptors of self-identity and expressed an emblematic fondness for their parents' country of origin above any other groups in the study.

The researchers found geographical region to be associated with ethnic identity, however they did not report their results according to the varying ethnic groups in their study. Children who lived in an area of large concentration of people from their parents' ethnic groups, such as Haitian in South Florida, tended to use panethnic label such as Haitian American and mixed labels and moved away from using the sole immigrant label to define them. The school environment also influenced second-generation identity formation. Children who attended suburban schools defined themselves in what the researchers called "plain American identity" and children who attended urban schools used panethnic labels and minority group labels to define themselves in junior high school. However, by the last year of high school most children from both suburban and urban high schools had moved toward a panethnic identity showing the developmental nature of ethnic identity as posited by Phinney (1990). The researchers argued that these results show panethnic identity orientation transcends socio-economic status and no

longer can be described as the ethnic identity of people from immigrant people from underprivileged background. The participants also reported experiencing racial discrimination with students who used their parents' national identification reporting higher incidence of discrimination. The students were also aware of racial tension and adverse American attitudes toward immigrants.

Portes and Rumbaut's (2001) study examined the racial and ethnic identity formation of second-generation immigrants. However, second-generation Haitians represented only 6% of their study, which did not allow them to systematically study racial identity development among this population as well as the influence of ecological factors on their identity. They did not concisely discuss the intersection of race and ethnicity for this population and the process by which these two identities collide.

Zephir (2001) studied ethnic identity development among second-generation Haitian immigrants in New York City (Brooklyn and Queens). Her goal was to assess difference in ethnic identity trends between first and second-generation students. She interviewed between 45 to 60 second-generation immigrant high school and college students. Zephir posited that the participants in her study fell on a continuum between "strong form of Haitianness and weak form of Haitianness" (p. 66). According to Zephir, Haitian immigrants with a strong form of Haitianness preferred to be called Haitian, were involved in Haitian community, had manifested interest in affairs of Haiti, and had visited Haiti more than one time. These participants also tended to retain Haitian values of their parents such as sense of self-worth, Haitian racial pride, and commitment to academic education.

Zephir (2001) argued that a weaker form of Haitianness was a trait of bicultural Haitians. These participants preferred to be called Haitian Americans and had a sense of kinship both with Americans and with Haitian people. However, their reality is rooted in the United States not Haiti. Most often, they have not visited Haiti and do not have a strong command of Haitian Creole but they are knowledgeable of Haitian food and music. Yet, they are not really involved in sociopolitical affairs of Haitians in the United States or in Haiti. These participants, however, did not agree with their parents' rules and regulations and most importantly with their parents' perceptions of White and Black Americans. These differences in opinions created tensions between these second-generation Haitian immigrants and their parents as the second-generation she argued were more open-minded and welcoming of other ethnic groups than their parents.

Woldemikael (1989) examined the racial identity of Haitian immigrants by investigating the reasons that prevent them from developing a Black race consciousness. In his study, Black racial consciousness was defined as "affective commitment to Blacks in their relations to Whites" (p. 225). He collected data between 1978 and 1980 from Haitians living in a small city close to a major metropolitan city in the Midwestern region of the United States. The number of participants was not disclosed. He explained the lack of Black race consciousness among Haitians as follows. First, upon arriving to the United States, Haitians joined networks, such as churches, and relied on family and friendships to assist them in finding work and in accessing other resources. Thus, Haitians limited their interactions with each other and did not reach out to African Americans in their surroundings. Second, Haitian immigrants and African Americans find themselves competing for the same occupational positions which then fosters a sense

of animosity between them. Finally, most Haitian immigrants interviewed stated that they were better off in the United States than in Haiti and did not feel robbed or exploited in their jobs. Many Haitian immigrants in his study stated that they did not feel the brunt of racism at work, housing, and other social resources. These Haitian immigrants saw racism as an African American/White problem and felt treated fairly by Whites.

Woldemikael posited that Haitians did not feel that American racial system affected their living and sense of self.

Benson (2006) addressed the issue of national identity and racial identity in her study on racial identities among Black immigrants. She used data from the Multi-City of Urban Inequality, which surveyed adults in Boston, Atlanta, Detroit, and Los Angeles between 1992 and 1994 to investigate variation in racial group identification and racial group consciousness by national origin among Black immigrants. The sample constituted of 2,251 African American and 233 foreign-born Blacks. The foreign Black population was comprised of Puerto Ricans, Haitians, Dominicans, Jamaicans, Blacks from Central America, Africa, and the English-speaking West Indies (Jamaican, U.S. Virgin Islands, Barbados, Trinidad, Tobago, England and British Virgin Islands). They were 41 Haitian immigrants in the study. The overall sample of foreign-Blacks had more human capital (years of education, employment status) than their native counterparts; had obtained an average of 14 years of education; had been in the U.S. for an average of 13 years; and had mostly been employed.

In her study, Benson (2006) found that the Haitian immigrants had been able to enter the U.S. labor market successfully and found better work options compared to their home country. However, the Haitian immigrants in her study tended to live in racially

segregated housing that translated into discrimination in housing. The labor and housing experience shaped the racial group consciousness of Haitian immigrants. The Haitian immigrants in her study did not see race as a barrier to “labor market opportunities” and they sensed less discrimination in the labor market than immigrants from the Dominican Republic and English West Indies. Despite experiencing discrimination in the housing market, Haitian immigrants have significantly lower odds on developing an African American racial group consciousness and identifying with African Americans. However, she also found years of living in the United States were positively correlated with Black racial group identification among Black immigrants. In addition, she found that education attainment was correlated to racial group consciousness. These correlations were not explored for Haitian immigrants specifically.

Critique. Four of the published studies (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Stepick et al., 2001; Waters, 1996; Zephir, 2001) have primarily focused on the by-product of racial and ethnic socialization. They do not explain the mechanisms by which racial and ethnic socialization occurs nor do they make clear the ways by which the physical context and settings shape racial and ethnic messages that parents convey to their children. Furthermore, these scholars are not in agreement about the effects of racial and ethnic socialization on children of Haitian immigrants. Stepick et al. (2001) have argued these racial socialization messages have not always resulted in positive psychosocial outcomes. The messages often failed to prepare the children of Haitian immigrants for the discrimination that they face in their schools and neighborhoods. Instead, the messages that Haitian parents conveyed may provoked alienation between them and their children.

This alienation is a form cultural dissonance and may have psychological (e.g., sense of alienation) and social practices.

In their study, Stepick et al. (2001) found that cultural dissonance resulted in lower self-esteem and elevated depression among children of Haitian immigrants in Miami, Florida. Zephir's (2001) study, on the other hand, boxed children of Haitian immigrants into categories of ethnic identity. She failed to highlight the developmental nature of ethnic identity and did not recognize the cultural dissonance and the potential psychosocial effects to the development of children of Haitian immigrants in her study.

All of these studies treat the relationship between ecological factors and ethnic identity as a cause and effect occurrence in which an event in the ecological system will produce an effect in racial and ethnic identity development. Although there is certainly a cause and effect aspect to this relationship, it is mostly a process in which occurrence and action in the ecological context are continuously changing prompting racial and ethnic socialization processes to evolve along with these changes. Using this cause and effect approach, these researchers quantified contextual factors but do not details the intricate "dance" between parent ethnotheories, child rearing strategies and setting in which they live.

A significant flaw in Woldemikael's (1989)s study is that it assumed that Black race consciousness only manifests itself through mirroring racial attitudes of African American. As such, Woldemikael's argument that Haitian immigrants do not show Black race consciousness is somewhat flawed because it failed to explore the meaning of being Black for Haitian immigrants and their consciousness about Black race. Furthermore, Woldemikael's study does not explain the role of Haitian immigrants' national identity

play in the development of their beliefs about race. It is unclear whether the Haitian immigrants in his study separated themselves from African Americans because of their own improved social and financial standing in the United States or if they consciously decided to hold on to their national identity as a means to differentiate themselves from African Americans.

Benson (2006) argued that Haitian immigrants adopted a national identity instead of a racial identity in the United States. However, the sample sizes of African Americans (n=2,252) compared to Haitian immigrants (n=41) in her study do not allow for fair comparison. The variation in the sample is far too great to generalize the finding of this study. Moreover, Benson did not explain the reason why Haitian immigrants initially hold on to their national identity even when they understand and perceive racial discrimination against them in the housing market in the United States. Finally, although Benson argued for direct correlation between racial group identification and length time in the United States, she did not explain the process by which Haitian immigrants make the change from just Haitian to Black. To address the gap and add to the literature on racial and ethnic socialization among Haitian immigrants, the researcher will address the following research questions:

Racial Socialization

What role does the place in which Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B were born and raised play in their messages about race?

What factors influence Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B their messages and practices on race?

How do Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B explain racism to their children?

Ethnic Socialization

What role does the place in which Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B were born and raised play in their messages about ethnicity?

What factors influence Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B their messages and practices on ethnicity?

How do Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B explain ethnic discrimination to their children?

Conclusion. At the core of racial and ethnic socialization processes is the crucial need to assert one's culture and respond to the pressure of the dominant groups (Phinney, 1990). For first generation Haitian immigrants, there may be a fear of being seen as just a racial being. For being racial which is being "Black" denies their Haitianness and the meanings attached to it. For first generation Haitian immigrants, being identified solely by race may also place them at the lowest echelon in U.S. society (Bryce-Laporte, 1972; Waters, 1994; Zephir, 2001). As such, first generation Haitian immigrants may attempt to reconstruct their identity solely based on their place of origin, Haiti. Researchers (Laguerre, 1984; Woldemikael, 1989; Zephir, 1996) argued that by placing themselves on the outside of the U.S. racial stratification system, first-generation Haitian immigrants do not seem to display a race-consciousness. It begs to ask whose race-consciousness they are referring to. Haitian immigrants' historical experience with race differs from that of U.S. Blacks and has not been accounted for in models of Black racial development

(Trouillot, 1990). It is then problematic to look for expression of Blackness or Black race consciousness among Haitian immigrants that mirror that of U.S. Blacks.

For second-generation Haitian immigrants, the process of racial and ethnic identity development seems to be more complex. Within this group, the development of ethnic and racial identity extends beyond the familial juncture of racial and ethnic socialization. While the ethnic and racial identity development of the second-generation is beyond the scope of this paper. It is important to understand that identity for second-generation immigrants is a developmental and fluid process. Unlike first generation Haitian immigrants who tend to continue to define themselves as Haitian regardless of changes in their social context, the second-generation ethnic identity development changes over time with age and/or according to social context. In turn these “social and psychological forces” may push parents to adjust their racial and ethnic socialization practices and strategies to promote the well-being and positive racial and ethnic identity of their children.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the sample, instrument development, qualitative inquiry, research questions, instrumentation, data collection and data analysis procedure. The limitations imposed by this research paradigm are also discussed.

Research Design

I used constructivist grounded theory as the qualitative strategy of inquiry. Grounded theory is a method of “collecting and analyzing qualitative data to construct theories grounded in the data themselves” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 2). For constructivists, human relations (including racial relations) and interactions are guided by thoughts and ideologies that are rooted in their historical and social context (Creswell, 2009; Jackson & Sorensen, 2006). Moreover, constructivist grounded theory allows the research to engage participants as dynamic agents in their lives and their worlds rather than as passive beneficiaries. In that sense, as the researcher I too am a vital part the research process as theories are constructed through the meanings that are developed from my interactions with people, their perspectives and the context in which they live.

Participants

Sampling and Recruitment Procedures

For this study, I recruited 20 women of Haitian ancestry who are living in the United States and raising a child whose age falls between 8 and 18 years old, for a total of 15 interviews. I used theory-based and snowball sampling methods to recruit the

potential participants. The participants were divided into two groups based on where they were born and raised. I only recruited participants who fit the study criteria. Each participant in *Group A* met the following criteria:

1. Was born in Haiti to Haitian parents
2. Was raised in Haiti
3. Is the primary care provider of a child between the ages of 8 and 18 years old, who resides with her and whom she is raising in the United States
4. Migrated to the United States after 21 years of age
5. Has lived solely in the United States for the past five years.

There were a total of eight participants in *Group A*.

To be recruited into the research study for *Group B*, a participant must meet the following criteria:

1. Was born in Haiti to Haitian parents and migrated the United States before the age of 5 and was raised in the United States; or, was born in the United States to Haitian parents and grandparents who were born in Haiti and was not raised outside of the United States past the age of 5.
2. Was raised solely in the United States.
3. Did not live outside of the United States for more than six months.
4. Is the primary care provider for a child who is between the ages of 8 and 18 years old, who resides with her, and whom she is raising in the United States
5. Has lived solely in the United States for the past five years.

There were a total of seven participants in *Group B*.

Upon approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Loyola University Chicago, I posted the English translation of the study flyer on my Facebook page along with the criteria of the study, asking potential participants to email me if they were interested.

Using social media as a snowball recruitment tool in social and health sciences research is gaining ground. Kapp, Peters and Oliver (2013) describe social media as an innovative and convenient means to recruit participants. Other researchers have described social media as a useful tool for recruitment of a small sample (Valdez et al., 2014). I also solicited potential participants by posting the study criteria on five other Haitian Facebook groups whose actual names were: Haitians on Facebook, Haitian Community Living in Maryland, Haitians Living in the DMV, Haitians Living in NY-NJ-CT and Haitians and American Professional Alliances. The study criteria and my contact information were also copied and posted on Haitian friends and acquaintances' Facebook pages.

None of women contacted from these Facebook posts lived in the District of Columbia metro area. They contacted me directly on Facebook and provided email contact information, which I used to obtain their telephone numbers. I contacted each of the potential participants via telephone to discuss the recruitment procedure, explain my study, and conduct the screening interview. I attempted to contact the potential participants four times by telephone. I discarded the potential participants who did not respond after the fourth time and moved to the next potential participant. Four women were found eligible for the study from these Facebook contacts.

I recruited the remaining of 20 participants through snowball sampling. I explained the purpose and recruitment criteria of my study to family members, Haitian friends and colleagues. I gave them study flyers that were translated in English and Haitian Creole and asked them to let me know if they knew of anyone who might be interested in participating or who might have questions about the study. I also explained the purpose of the study to the head of the multicultural ministry at my church, which prompted her to send a mass email along with the English translation of the study flyer to the members of the multicultural ministry. Many of the interested women contacted me personally. Some women granted me permission to contact them directly by asking their families and/or friends to share their contact information with me.

During my initial contact with the potential participant, I explained the purpose of the study and scheduled a time to administer the screening interview (see Appendices D and E). All of the screening interviews were conducted over the telephone.

The screening interview was scheduled on a day and time of the potential participant's choosing. It was conducted in the potential participant's language of choice: English or Haitian Creole. Many potential participants chose to do the screening interview during the initial phone call. I administered the screening interview and used this encounter to determine if the participant met the criteria for the study. Thirteen potential participants did not meet the study's criteria and one met the study's criteria but refused to participate. I thanked them for their time and ended the recruitment process. All information on these prospective participants was immediately destroyed, but a log of the number of ineligible participants was kept until the process of data collection was completed.

For the participants who met all of the criteria for the study and agreed to participate in the study, I did the following:

- Obtained the participant's mailing address.
- Scheduled a time to discuss the consent form with the participant on a day and at a time of the participant's choice.

After the telephone-screening interview, I mailed through the United States postal service a packet of pertinent information to participants whose interviews would be conducted over the phone. I made appointments with participants whose interviews would be conducted in-person. This began the consent process, which is described in the next section.

Sample Demographics

Group A and Group B were similar in age distribution, place of residency and number of children. The overall sample of 15 participants has a mean age of 45 years with a range of 28 to 49. Fourteen of the mothers live in the Eastern States of Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Florida and Ohio, while one is a resident of Louisiana. The mothers have 2.5 children on average. Their children range in age from 8 to 18 years old and the gender distribution between Group A and Group B was similar. The mothers in Group A and Group B were also similar in their marital status.

There were, however, some demographic differences between Group A and Group B. The mothers in Group A had fewer years of education than the mothers in Group B. Four of the mothers in Group A have less than a high school education, one had a nursing assistant certificate, two had a college degree and one had a medical doctor

degree. The mothers in Group A were less likely to be employed or have skilled employment than the mothers in Group B. Two of the mothers in Group A were unemployed; the remaining six were, respectively: a housekeeper, a certified nursing assistant, an unskilled worker, a registered nurse, a recreational therapist and a medical doctor. The mothers in Group B had more years of education and were more likely to be skilled or professional workers. One had a high school diploma, three had college degrees, one had a master's degree, one a Juris Doctorate, and one a medical degree. They were employed, respectively, as a retail manager, registered nurses, contract educator/doula, benefits specialist, lawyer, and anesthesiologist. Finally, all of the married mothers in Group A were married to Haitian men, while only one of the married mothers in Group B had a spouse of Haitian ancestry.

Table 1. Group A Demographics (N=8)

Pseudonym	City	Age	Number of children	Marital status	Highest diploma/degree/certificate earned	Occupation
Aldine Kontan	Pembroke Pines, FL	35	2	Married	MD	Physician
Rodele Sejour	Silver Spring, MD	44	2	Married	College Degree	Registered Nurse
Solange Ciprian	Stamford, CT	56	2	Separated	Less than high school	Unemployed
Lolita Fleurimon	Stamford, CT	49	3	Married	Less than high school	Housekeeper
Mireille Benoit	White Plains, NY	39	3	Separated	Less than high school	Unskilled
Rosette Etienne	White Plains, NY	39	3	Married	Less than high school	Unemployed
Francine Jean	Elmont, NY	49	1	Single	Less than high school	Certified nursing assistant
Regine Vital	North Bergen, NJ	49	2	Married	College Degree	Recreational Therapist

Table 2. Group B Demographics (N=8)

Pseudonym	City	Age	Number of children	Marital status	Highest diploma/certificate/degree earned	Occupation
Sabine Voisin	Hyattsville, MD	28	2	Single	High school diploma	Retail manager
Berline Paul	Englewood, NJ	46	2	Married	Masters	Registered Nurse
Karine Georges	New Orleans, LA	37	3	Married	College Degree	Doula/Contract educator
Valerie Massenat	Baldwin, NY	46	1	Married	JD	Lawyer
Marie Delva	Cambridge, MA	40	2	Married	College Degree	Benefit specialist for Human resources
Betty Jean-Jules	Dorchester, MA	38	1	Single	College Degree	Registered Nurse
Emeline Courant	OH		1	Married	MD	Anesthesiologist

Process of Consent

The process of informed consent began after eligibility was established. Within *Groups A and B*, I determined which interviews would be conducted in person and via telephone. Eleven participants were identified for telephone interviews. Each of these participants received a large white envelope, which contained two copies of the letter of consent (see Appendices B and C), a study flyer (see Appendix A), a 20-dollar gift card, posted return envelope, and a thank you note with instructions (see Appendix F). The materials were sent to each participant in her language of choice, English or Haitian Creole.

I contacted each woman after three days to determine receipt of the materials. In case that the woman had not received the materials, I continued calling every two days until she confirmed receipt. Once the materials were received, I reviewed each section of the letter of consent (see Appendices B and C) and asked her if she had questions for me, which were followed up on during a phone call. During that phone call, I asked her if she

was still interested in participating. Some of the participants had questions about privacy and wanted to know if they could obtain a copy of the study after it was completed.

Women who expressed continued interest were asked to contact me if they had further questions or to sign the letter of consent and mail it to me if they did not have questions. None of the women had further questions after the receipt confirmation call. In all cases, I received the signed letters of consent within five to seven days of that receipt confirmation call. Once the signed letter of consent was received, I contacted the participant to schedule the interview. Each participant was asked to block two hours on her calendar for the interview and to arrange to find a place where she could have sufficient privacy and few interruptions.

Six participants were identified for in-person interviews. Once a participant was found eligible, we made an appointment at a time and place of her convenience to conduct the process of informed consent. During the appointment when the process of informed consent was conducted, I reviewed each section of the letter of consent (see Appendices B and C). I made sure that the participants knew that their participation was voluntary and that they could refuse to participate at any time. I also asked the participants for their questions. Some participants asked about the use of the data, privacy and confidentiality. I answered all of the questions and referred them to the section of the letter of consent that addressed these issues. After we reviewed the letter of consent, all of the participants felt comfortable signing it. None of the participants wanted to make a second appointment for the interview; all agreed to conduct the interview on the same day that they signed the letter of consent. During the interview process, one of the participants revealed that her parents sent her to live in Haiti with her

grandparents for five years. Because this information meant that she did not meet study criteria, her interview was discarded and not included in the analysis of the study. I attempted to recruit another participant for this study but did not find someone that successfully met the study criteria. I ended with a final count of 15 interviews from 15 participants.

Instrument Development

The interview protocol (see Appendix G) for this study was developed according to the theoretical framework of this study. This study used Harkness and Super (1986)'s Developmental Niche model and Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model, as well as theories of racial and ethnic identity development, to achieve three aims:

1. *To describe the content of each group of Haitian immigrant mothers' racial and ethnic socialization messages and practices and to compare the racial and ethnic socialization messages and practices of Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A to the messages and practices of mothers in Group B.*
2. *To describe and explain the role that the place where Haitian immigrant mothers were born and raised plays in the racial and ethnic socialization of each group.*
3. *To describe and explain the way in which Haitian immigrant mothers arrive at messages about race and ethnicity (message development) and transmit their beliefs about their particular race and ethnicity to their children.*

To develop the interview protocol, I reviewed instruments and tools used in the racial and ethnic socialization literature such as the *Racial Dimension Framework* by Hughes and Chen (1997), *Racial Socialization Messages and Practices* by Caughy et al. (2002), *Racial and Social Awareness Subscale of the Black Parent Attitude* by Thomas

and Speight (1999), *Racial Attitude Scale (RIAS)* by Parham and Helm (1981), *Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure* by Phinney and Chavira (1995), and the *Comprehensive Racial Socialization Inventory* by Lesane et al. (2004).

As discussed in Chapter 2, most of these tools measured racial/ethnic socialization and practices, and thus, they helped in developing questions about racial and ethnic socialization messages and practices. However, the few tools on racial and ethnic identity addressed issues of racial and ethnic belonging and the degree of favorable or unfavorable opinion an individual held about their racial or ethnic group, which helped in developing questions about the mothers' own racial and ethnic identities and the ways in which they arrive at the messages that they choose to transmit.

The interview protocol (see Appendix G) maps directly to the theoretical framework and addressed the aims. It contained five parts:

Part A: Self-identification and Language

During this part of the interview, I discussed the racial and ethnic label(s) that the Haitian immigrant mother assigned to herself and the ones that are assigned to her by society. We discussed the reasons for her choice and whether or not she preferred to be identified by her race or by her ethnicity. We discussed the values attached to her race and her ethnicity. Finally, I discussed her language of comfort and the language she used with her children, spouse/partner and family. This allowed me to understand the Haitian immigrant mother's racial and ethnic identity and the meaning behind these identities.

Part B: Values, Beliefs, and Information Shared on Racial and Ethnic Labels

During this part of the interview, I focused on the Haitian immigrant mother's meaning regarding her chosen race and ethnicity. We discussed her opinion (positive and

negative) of her racial and ethnic group. We discussed what she valued and appreciated most about her racial and ethnic group. Finally, we discussed the messages about race and ethnicity that she received at home, in her community, and at school and the messages that she is currently using with her children. These allowed me to understand the mother's ethnotheories about race and ethnicity and the role that the Haitian immigrant mother's past (the way in which she was raised) and her community played in her ethnotheories.

Part C: Racial and Ethnic Socialization Messages

During this part of the interview, I asked each mother to describe the messages that she gave to her child (ren) or plans to give to her children about race and ethnicity. During this part of the interview, I discussed the Haitian immigrant mother's understanding of racism, her experiences with racism, the feelings that racism evoked in her, the way in which these experiences influenced her ethnotheories on race and ethnicity, and the way in which she thinks racism had or may have affected her child(ren). Finally, I asked the Haitian immigrant mother to discuss her understanding of her child(ren)'s experiences with racism at school and in their community. This allowed me to understand her ethnotheories in practice.

Part D: Racial and Ethnic Socialization Practices

During this part of the interview, we discussed the racial and ethnic socialization practices that each Haitian immigrant mother engaged in or plans to engage in with her child/children.

Part E: Demographics

In the last part of the interview, I asked the Haitian immigrant mother about some key demographic information including her age, her marital status, level of education and employment status.

Pilot Study

I conducted a pilot study to assess the usability and effectiveness of my interview protocol. I recruited a convenience sample of three first-generation Haitian immigrant mothers in their late 30s and early 40s. I went through all of the sections of the interview protocol. From these mothers, I learned that I needed to either explain the word “ethnicity” or ask mothers to simply identify themselves. These mothers pointed out the items that were redundant and suggested that I move the demographics section to the end of the study.

Following the pilot, I removed the redundant items, combined some questions and added follow-up probes aimed at getting participants to explain the meaning of their identity, their ethnotheories on race and ethnicity, and the reasoning behind their racial and ethnic socialization practices. The final interview protocol (see Appendix G) was comprised of 38 open-ended items and had an average completion time of 1.5 hours (range 35 minutes to 3 hours).

Data Collection

As the investigator of this study, I carried out all tasks of the study including data collection. The open-ended questionnaire allowed interviews to flow as a conversation and allowed the participants to answer the questions according to their own interpretation. As the investigator, I also recognized that I am part of the research and

data collection processes. Charmaz (2014) posits that researchers must realize that they mold the very facts that they are investigating and that they need to be aware of the effect of their privileges and preconceptions on data analysis. In this process of data analysis, I as the investigator was continuously engaged in the construction and interpretation of the data. As such, it became critical that I explained my role in this study.

Role of the Researcher

I was born and raised in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. I migrated to the United States at the age of 18 and have completed my undergraduate and graduate education in the United States, where I have been living for the last 15 years. In the United States, I have been engaged in Haitian culture through interactions with Haitian immigrants in Connecticut, Southern Maryland and in Haiti, keeping myself abreast of cultural ideology in the Haitian community. This research study was born out of my own identity development process, personal conversations about race, ethnicity and identity with other Haitian immigrants, and my current interest in racial and ethnic socialization with my young son. Consequently, I began this constructivist grounded theory study with relevant background, knowledge and significant interest in the topic. Such an approach allowed me to capture the nuances and subtlety in conversation that emerged during data collection. It helped me to ask probing questions to get the mothers to think more deeply about their upbringing, values, and beliefs as they relate to the research study questions.

While I was knowledgeable about the phenomena of interest in the study, scholars such as Charmaz (1997), Glaser and Strauss (1967), and Carolan (2003) posit that I needed to remain reflective during data collection and analysis. Carolan (2003) described this process as “reflexivity” in that the researcher remains keenly aware of the influence

of knowledge, background and experience on data collection and is able to address it in the study.

During the data collection process, I found myself being perplexed at some of the answers that participants offered regarding their messages on race and ethnicity. I was surprised that some of the mothers stated that their child would not experience racism. I found such answers to be naïve and misguided. During the data collection, I also wanted to correct the mothers whose responses suggested that they were dissociated from the plight and fate of African-Americans in the United States. I remembered being baffled at one mother who suggested that Treyvon Martin might have played a part in his death. I engaged in the process of reflexivity through memo writing. I used memo writing to give voice to and acknowledge my own feelings and thoughts about the mothers' responses. This process of reflexivity allowed me to identify preconceived notions that I was holding regarding racial and ethnic socialization in the Haitian community. This process allowed me to keep my own notions about race and ethnicity at bay and refrain from imposing them on the mothers. Rather, I used each mother's answers to get a deeper understanding of her beliefs about race and ethnicity and to prompt her to expand on her views. I asked each mother to explain her answers and in doing so the mothers shared the root of their beliefs about race and ethnicity and the purpose behind their messages and practices about race and ethnicity. This allowed me to explore each mother's beliefs and thoughts as individuals. It also helped me to decipher the role of the mother's historical and social context in her beliefs.

The literature review that I conducted yielded studies that mostly present Haitian immigrants as "heroes" trying to triumph in the United States. I did not want to fall into

that trap. I wanted to create a space where each mother felt at ease to have an honest conversation about race and ethnicity. Many times during the interview, a mother would say, “You know how it is in Haitian culture” or “you know how Haitians do things.” I had to redirect the mother by explaining that I wanted to hear her thoughts and her opinions. I wanted to know her views, not the view of the whole Haitian population. In many cases, this approach allowed some mothers to express their views about Haitian customs, child-rearing practices and socialization processes. Many of the mothers reflected on what they called the “negative aspects” of the Haitian culture and customs. By simply listening to them and acknowledging what I heard, it allowed some of the mothers to trust me; they felt at ease and not judged. During the interview, I often thanked the mothers for elaborating on their answers or for explaining their interpretation of Haitian customs. It empowered some of the participants and turned the interviews into an educative experience.

Some of the mothers asked me to elaborate on questions and to explain what I meant by certain things. The question that required the most clarification was “what is your opinion of someone whose ethnicity is Haitian or what is your opinion of someone whose race is Black?” While I wanted to remain intellectually flexible, I did not want to give an answer that was prescriptive. I did not want the participant to give a socially accepted answer. I elaborated by saying, “When someone says Haitian or Black, what comes to your mind?” For mothers who were still unable to answer, I gave a list and asked them to add to it. I said that “some people that I talked to say Haitians are hard-working, are competitive--what other things can you add to this list?” While some mothers used the attributes from my list, it helped them to share their own attributes,

which I elaborated on by asking them the reasons for sharing these attributes and for examples. This helped in extrapolating the values and attributes that were most important to the participants besides the ones that I provided.

During the racial and ethnic socialization discussion, one mother expressed that she felt bad that her son did not know how to speak Haitian Creole. I shared with her that I was having the same struggles with my son. My sharing prompted her to talk about her current barriers in teaching her son and the way she hoped to remedy this in the future. My Haitian Creole speaking ability surprised one mother. This took away the feeling of language barrier between us and may have allowed her to feel at ease during the interview.

By being aware of my own racial and ethnic identity and my own racial and ethnic preferences and by remaining reflective and flexible, the participants saw me as “a fellow Haitian compatriot” who was capturing their voices, views, thoughts and opinions. I allowed the participants to own the interview and to discuss what was important to them regarding race, ethnicity, and racial and ethnic socialization within their social and historical contexts. The data that emerged was rich and diverse.

Data Collection Overview

The data collection for this study used a 38 open-ended item questionnaire that was administered as an interview. The data collection started in May 2014 and ended in mid-September 2014. Each of the in-person interviews were conducted in the participant’s living room. I conducted two in Maryland, two in Connecticut and two in New York.

Since I am fluent in English, French and Haitian-Creole, I asked the participants to choose the language of the interview from English, French and Creole. I wanted to ensure that they were comfortable answering the questions. Eight interviews were conducted in English with only some small Haitian Creole anecdotes, seven interviews were conducted in Haitian Creole only, and one was conducted in both English and Haitian Creole.

The first interview was short. It lasted 53 minutes. I reviewed the results from this interview and refined the probes asked during the racial and ethnic socialization messages to get at the mothers' ethnotheories of race and ethnicity. Two additional questions helped the mothers' elaborate on their ethnotheories: (1) What is the most important message you want your child to know or remember about his/her race? And (2) What is the most important message you want your child to remember about his/her ethnicity? All of the mothers answered these questions with ease, some of them linking their answers to their current racial and ethnic socialization practices. I also reviewed the section on self-identification and asked the mothers a different probe about their chosen and preferred identity in subsequent interviews: In what way does this label best describe you (in the way you interact with others, in the way you think and carry yourself)? Along with their answers, I asked the mothers to give examples that demonstrated the manifestation of their preferred identity in their daily lives.

Finally, at the end of the interview, I asked the mothers about the advice they will give to other Haitian or Haitian-American mothers who are raising children in the United States. All the mothers answered this question with a summary of their ethnotheories of race and ethnicity but some also added elements of their ethnotheories on parenting as

well. These probes added to the ease of the interview and allowed the mothers to elaborate on their views, values, ethnotheories and practices. On average the interviews lasted between 90 minutes and 60mns, with the longest lasting 180 minutes. The shortest interview lasted 30 minutes; the participant did not have a lot to say regardless of the prompts that I used.

Data Analysis

In this study, data collection and analysis occur concurrently in that data collection derives from the patterns and themes that emerge in the analysis. Corbin and Strauss (1990) argue that data analysis begins with the first interviews because it helps to shape and direct subsequent interviews. In this form of inquiry, analysis occurs in three stages, with coding as the main tool of analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Emerson, 2001; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). To analyze my data, I used Charmaz's (2006) method of coding. I used a constructivist grounded theory approach to draw out the following: a) messages given to and practices engaged with children about race and ethnicity; b) the role of the place of birth in racial and ethnic socialization messages and practices; and c) parents' belief about their children's racial and ethnic identity, in order to extrapolate the meaning of their racial and ethnic socialization processes (Charmaz, 2007).

Transcription of Interviews

The seven English interviews were sent as email attachments to VANAN services, a reputable company experienced in transcription and translation of academic materials. VANAN services returned the interviews within 11 days of the time of receipt. Upon receiving the transcript, I listened to the audio files to verify accuracy of the transcript. I also made notes of vocal hesitation and change in tone.

After searching around unsuccessfully for a Haitian translator, I decided to translate and transcribe the interviews conducted in Haitian Creole myself. I first translated the notes I took from Haitian Creole to English, and then I listened to the interviews to add missing information and to verify accuracy. It took about 10 days (80 hours) to complete the translation and transcription of the eight interviews.

Data Analysis Procedure

To analyze this data, I used Charmaz' (2006) method of coding for constructivist grounded theory and pre-set codes from the literature on racial socialization. These codes were used to analyze the data on racial and ethnic messages and practices. Charmaz posits that there are five steps to data analysis: (1) initial coding; (2) focused coding; (3) axial coding; (4) memo writing; and (5) development of theory. In the following section, the pre-set codes along with the four steps of data analysis are discussed.

Pre-set coding. Before conducting data analysis, I used racial dimension socialization as potential codes for racial socialization messages of the 15 Haitian immigrant mothers in this study.

Initial coding. Once the transcripts were completed, I started my analysis by turning each research question into an initial code of the data. The initial coding process started by dividing each transcript into segments. Each segment represented a respondent's answer to an interview question. Then, the data was divided into sentences. Each sentence was separated by a period. Within each sentence, I looked for actions and thoughts. I coded each thought or action separately. Sometimes each thought or action was separated by a colon or semi-colon; in that case the parts of the sentence before and after the colon or semi-colon were each used as distinctive units of analysis. This process

was extremely useful. It allowed me to focus on action words in the data and to capture nuances among participants. This type of coding also informed my data collection, as I used some of the terms and concepts that emerged during the first interviews to ask probing questions during the later interviews.

In coding the data by segment, processes of racial and ethnic socialization started to emerge. For example, the sample from a respondent which appears in the column of Table 3 was treated in the following way: (1) Segment was defined as the respondent's answer to the following questions: Do you talk to your children about being a person from the Black race? (2) Using a period as a marker, I determine that there were eight sentences in this segment, and each sentence was divided using the letters A, B and so on. (3) Each sentence was reviewed for actions and thoughts. Per example, there were three different actions in the first sentence. It was divided into two sections: (a) section 1: we to racism; section 2: we to Christian and (b) section 3: they to everyone. Each section was coded separately.

Focused coding. After I completed initial coding, I looked for similar codes and reorganized my transcripts so that sentences with similar codes were grouped together. Per example, Code A1 and Code B4 were grouped together to form one code (see Table 4). This began the process of Focused Coding where I used the most common and/or significant codes to describe the data. Contrary to the initial coding process, during Focused Coding, each sentence lost its individual nature to form the data. The Focused Codes were developed and refined by comparing initial codes to each other, which allowed for commonalities and differences among codes and between codes emerge.

Table 3. Initial Coding Excerpt: Racial Socialization Messages

Interviewer: Do you talk to your children about being a person from the Black race?	Initial coding
<p>Interviewee: A)-We talked to them about racism, we make them understand that they are Black and as Christian, they are supposed to love everyone.</p> <p>B)- Racism still exists; always do your best that you can.</p> <p>C)- Be careful and know your environment. Black people or group of Black people behaves differently.</p> <p>D)-Look for what is positive, take the choice that is good, and don't accept what is bad. I tell my children to know who you are, to believe in yourself and what you are.</p> <p>E)- Yes you are going to face a lot, it will affect you emotionally, know you can pick up you can achieve, you might be, be prepared that it might happen, be prepared mentally by being able to defend yourself, education, good choice, good work ethic.</p> <p>F)-When there is an event, I use it to educate about the news.</p> <p>G)-The minute they can ask, we can talk about it.</p> <p>H)-I don't want to impose race on them, it will have to come up somehow I let my children know that they are not only Black, they are Haitian</p>	<p>Codes A</p> <p>1-Talk to children about racism 2- Impart to children that they are both Black and Christian: joined identities 3-Children are to love everyone (regardless of race)</p> <p>Code B</p> <p>4- Racism is present in the United States 5- Children should always do his /her best regardless</p> <p>Codes C:</p> <p>6-children are to be careful 7-Black people behave differently</p> <p>Codes D</p> <p>8-Look for positive 9-Don't accept bad behaviors 10-Believe in self and 11-Know yourself</p> <p>Codes E</p> <p>12- Cautioning children that they will face a lot because of skin color 13- Children need to be prepared mentally for what may face because they are Black 14- Preparation including good choices in life, good behavior, education, good work ethic, interpersonal strength</p> <p>Code F</p> <p>15- Use the news to educate children about race</p> <p>Code G</p> <p>16- when children ask, parent talk about race</p> <p>Code H</p> <p>17- mother don't want to impose race on children 18- mother will wait for children to ask about race 19- mother let children know they are Black and Haitian</p>

Table 4. Focused Coding Excerpt: Racial Socialization Messages

Interviewer: Do you talk to your children about being a person from the Black race?	Initial coding	Focused Coding
<p>Interviewee: A)-We talked to them about racism, we make them understand that they are Black and as Christian, they are supposed to love everyone.</p> <p>B)- Racism still exists; always do your best that you can.</p> <p>C)- Be careful and know your environment. Black people or group of Black people behaves differently.</p> <p>D)-Look for what is positive, take the choice that is good, and don't accept what is bad. I tell my children to know who you are, to believe in yourself and what you are.</p> <p>E)- Yes you are going to face a lot, it will affect you emotionally, know you can pick up you can achieve, you might be, be prepared that it might happen, be prepared mentally by being able to defend yourself, education, good choice, good work ethic.</p> <p>F)-When there is an event, I use it to educate about the news.</p> <p>G)-The minute they can ask, we can talk about it.</p> <p>H)-I don't want to impose race on them, it will have to come up somehow,I let my children know that they are not only Black, they are Haitian</p>	<p>Initial coding</p> <p>Codes A: 1-Talk to children about racism 2- Impart to children that they are both Black and Christian: joined identities 3-Children are to love everyone (regardless of race)</p> <p>Code B: 4- Racism is present in the United States 5- Children should always do his /her best regardless</p> <p>Codes C: 6-children are to be careful 7-Black people behave differently</p> <p>Codes D: 8-Look for positive 9-Don't accept bad behaviors 10-Believe in self and 11-Know yourself</p> <p>Codes E: 12- Cautioning children that they will face a lot because of skin color 13- Children need to be prepared mentally for what may face because they are Black 14- Preparation including good choices in life, good behavior, education, good work ethic, interpersonal strength</p> <p>Code F: 15- Use the news to educate children about race</p> <p>Code G: 16- when children ask, parent talk about race</p> <p>Code H: 17- mothers don't want to impose race on children 18- mothers will wait for children to ask about race 19- mothers let children know they are Black and Haitian</p>	<p>Codes AA: Code A1, B4, E12 and E13 Children will face racism</p> <p>Codes BB: Code A2 and H19 Children have dual identities.</p> <p>Codes CC: Code A3, Code D8 Children are to love everyone and look for the positive in people.</p> <p>Codes DD: Code B5, D10, E14 Children should believe in themselves, should always do their best and can prepare to face for racism by good behavior, education, good work ethic.</p> <p>Codes EE: Code F15, Code G16, H17 and H18 Mothers use various venues to engage children about racism, media or children's experiences</p>

Axial coding. Once concepts have been coded, I used axial coding to group common and joint concepts into categories (Charmaz, 2001; Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) (see Table 5). Contrary to focused coding, this process moves the data from label concepts to categories (Charmaz, 1994). Categories are a higher order and are represented as the results of the research questions in this study (see Table 5). This resulted in the development of “theoretical categories” (Emerson, 2001, p. 342) in which emerging theories are integrated (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Emerson, 2001; Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

During all these stages, I engaged in memo writing. Charmaz (2000) posits, “Memo writing is the intermediate step between coding and the first of your complete analysis” (p. 347). Memo writing is defined as a detailed record of the researcher’s assumptions, internal reactions and actions during data collection and analysis. In this study, memo writing served as a guide in identifying patterns and concepts in the data (Charmaz, 2001; Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). It allowed me to explore without constraint the ideas that are attached to categories and the theories emerging from these categories (Charmaz, 2000; Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). It also informed the process of theoretical sampling discussed earlier, as it aided establishing a road map of concepts that needed to be pursued during the process of data collection (Charmaz, 2000; Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Table 5. Axial Coding Excerpt: Racial Socialization Process

Initial coding	Focused Coding	Axial coding
<p><u>Codes A:</u> 1-Talk to children about racism 2- Impart to children that they are both Black and Christian: joined identities 3-Children are to love everyone (regardless of race)</p> <p><u>Code B:</u> 4- Racism is present in the United States 5- Children should always do his /her best regardless</p> <p><u>Codes C:</u> 6-children are to be careful 7-Black people behave differently</p> <p><u>Codes D:</u> 8-Look for positive 9-Don't accept bad behaviors 10-Believe in self and 11-Know yourself</p> <p><u>Codes E:</u> 12- Cautioning children that they will face a lot because of skin color 13- Children need to be prepared mentally for what may face because they are Black 14- Preparation including good choices in life, good behavior, education, good work ethic, interpersonal strength</p> <p><u>Code F:</u> 15- Use the news to educate children about race</p> <p><u>Code G:</u> 16- when children ask, parent talk about race</p> <p><u>Code H:</u> 17- mother don't want to impose race on children 18- mother will wait for children to ask about race 19- mother let children know they are Black and Haitian</p>	<p><u>Codes AA:</u> Code A1, B4, E12 and E13 Children will face racism</p> <p><u>Codes BB:</u> Code A2 and H19 Children have dual identities.</p> <p><u>Codes CC:</u> Code A3, Code D8 Children are to love everyone and look for the positive in people.</p> <p><u>Codes DD:</u> Code B5, D10, E14 Children should believe in themselves, should always do their best and can prepare to face for racism by good behavior, education, good work ethic.</p> <p><u>Codes EE:</u> Code F15, Code G16, H17 and H18 Mothers use various venues to engage children about racism, media or children's experiences</p>	<p>1-Racism as Inherent to the United State (Code AA)</p> <p>2-Promotion of cultural identity/Haitian cultural identity (Code BB)</p> <p>3- Promotion of intrinsic behaviors as a mean to cope with racism (Codes CC and DD)</p>

Excerpt 1- Memo: On the reason for not emulating negative “Black” behaviors

Some Haitian mothers still observe negative behaviors in Blacks that they don't want their children to emulate. It is possible that the goal is not to separate their children from African-American but to keep their children from going to wrong path because they observe people (like them) who look like them going on the wrong path. Haitian mothers are aware that Whites have negative behaviors but the focus on Black may be because they recognize that their children are “Black” first in America.

Theoretical coding. Theoretical coding brings together the categories that were developed during axial coding. As discussed previously, the goal of this study was not to develop a new theory of racial and ethnic socialization but to add to the theoretical framework on racial and ethnic socialization by presenting a coherent description and explanation of racial and ethnic socialization among 1st and 2nd generation Haitian immigrant families. Using theoretical coding, I was able to specifically outline the social contexts and conditions in which the racial and ethnic socialization of Haitian immigrant children occurs. In addition, I was able to identify the various patterns of racial and ethnic socialization among these families. In using theoretical codes, I was able refine my results without forcing previous racial and ethnic identify frameworks onto these families.

Excerpt 2: Theoretical code of racial and ethnic socialization processes

The racial and ethnic socialization of children among 1st and 2nd generation Haitian immigrant families is a process of child development that involves the psychology of the mothers, which includes their racial and ethnic identity, their ethnotheories on race and ethnicity, and their stage of generativity. It also includes their physical and

social setting both in Haiti and in the United States and finally their cultural strategies of childrearing.

Coding Book

A total of 24 distinct codes emerged from this study, of which four were pre-set codes from the literature on racial socialization. Not all of the research questions required the development of a code. For questions 2, 3, 8 and 9, I used the exact answers given by the Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B; as such, I excluded these questions from this section. In Tables 6 and 7, I reported the codes for each applicable research question along with code definition for this study for Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B, respectively. It is important to note that the codes for each research question, along with their meaning, are reported again in Chapter VI, the results chapter.

Table 6. Code Book for the Results of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group A

Research questions	Codes	Code definition
1- What are the explicit messages about race that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A transmit to their children?	Cultural Socialization	Mothers' statements about the physical attributes of the Black race and discussion of pride in the Black race
	Promotion of egalitarian principles	Mothers' statements focused on commonality among races
	Spirituality	Mothers' statements focused on the development of religious attitudes and behaviors as a means to cope with racism
	Promotion of intrinsic behaviors	Mothers' statements focused on the development of positive intrinsic behaviors as a means to cope with racism.
	No racial socialization	Mothers' statements indicating they were not engaging in any socialization messages.
4- What role does the place in which Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A were born and raised play in their messages about race?	Framework for success	Mothers' statements indicating that growing up in Haiti gave them a framework for behaviors and principles necessary for success in the United States.
	Marker of strength, cohesion and discord	Mothers' statements indicating that growing up in Haiti gave them a model of Blackness.
5- What factors influence Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A in terms of their messages and practices on race?	Parental upbringing	Mothers' statements indicating that their understanding of Black skin comes from the message they received from their parents.
	Early experiences with racial group in the United States	Mothers' statements indicating that their experiences with people of other races in the United States influence their messages and practices on race
	United States media	Mothers' statements indicating they were using the events displayed in United media to engage their children on race
6- How do Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A explain racism to their children?	Inherent to the United States society	Mothers' statements indicating that racism was part of the innate experience of Black people living in the United States.
	Related to the behaviors of the individual	Mothers' statements indicating that racism is the result of the individual's behavior.
7-What are the explicit messages about ethnicity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A transmit to their children?	Development and enforcement of Haitian cultural identity	Mothers' statements indicating that they were focusing on cultivating and preserving Haitian culture with their children.

	Promotion of Haitian transnationalism	Mothers' statements indicating that they were fostering a physical and emotional connection to Haiti with their children.
	Cultural socialization	Mothers' statements indicating that they were sharing Haitian traditions and beliefs with their children.
10- What role does the place in which Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A were born and raised play in their messages about ethnicity?	Provide a roadmap for childrearing	Mothers' statements indicating the childrearing practices that they learned in Haiti and are now practicing with their children.
	Serve as the cornerstone of ethnic identity	Mothers' statements indicating the way in which growing up in Haiti has provided them with their sense of ethnic identity.
11-What factors influence Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A in terms of their messages and practices on ethnicity?	Parental influences	Mothers' statements indicating that their ethnic messages and practices were influenced by their parents.
	Experiences in Haiti	Mothers' statements indicating that their interactions and experiences with Haitians in Haiti shaped their ethnic messages and practices.
	Experiences with Haitians in the United States	Mothers' statements indicating that their interactions and experiences with Haitians in the United States affected their ethnic messages and practices.
12-How do Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A explain ethnic discrimination?	No code	No definition

Table 7. Code Book for the Results of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group B

Research questions	Codes	Code definition
1- What are the explicit messages about race that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B transmit to their children?	Preparation for bias	Mothers' statements indicating that they were teaching their children about racial bias against Black people in the United States.
	Promotion of egalitarian principles	Mothers' statements focused on commonality among races.
	Spirituality	Mothers' statements focused on the development of religious attitudes and behaviors as mean to cope with racism.
	Promotion of intrinsic behaviors	Mothers' statements focused on the development of positive intrinsic behaviors as a mean to cope with racism.
	No racial socialization	Mothers' statements indicating they were not engaging in any socialization messages.
	Development of Black race consciousness	Mothers' statements indicating that they were teaching their children to challenge the status quo and think about the plight of all Blacks.
4- What role does the place in which Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B were born and raised play in their messages about race?	Awareness of racism against all Black people	Mothers' statements indicating that growing up in the United States, they learned about racism against Black people in the United States.
	Behaviors for success	Mothers' statements indicating that growing up in the United States taught them about the proper behaviors to be successful.
5- What factors influence Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B in terms of their messages and practices on race?	Experience in the United States	Mothers' statements indicating that their experiences with race in the United States have shaped their views of race.
	United States media	Mothers' statements indicating they were using the events displayed in United States media to engage their children on race.
6- How do Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B explain racism to their children?	Inherent to the United States society	Mothers' statements indicating that racism was part of the innate experience of Black people living in the United States.
	Bred out of human ignorance	Mothers' statements indicating that racism is the result of people's ignorance.
7-What are the explicit messages about ethnicity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B transmit to their children?	Promotion of cultural identity	Mothers' statements indicating that they were teaching their children about the history and traditions of the ethnic group they assigned to their children.

	Cultural socialization	Mothers' statements indicating that they were sharing cultural markers such as food and language with their children.
10- What role does the place in which Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B were born and raised play in their messages about ethnicity?	Serve as the cornerstone of ethnic identity development	Mothers' statements indicating the way in which growing up in United States has provided them with their sense of ethnic identity.
	Roadmap for childrearing	Mothers' statements indicating that growing up in the United States influenced their childrearing practices and behaviors.
11-What factors influence Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B in terms of their messages and practices on ethnicity?	Parent and family	Mothers' statements indicating that their parents and family shaped their messages and practices about ethnicity.
	Experiences in the United States	Mothers' statements indicating that their interactions and experiences with ethnicity in the United States shaped how they see themselves ethnically and their beliefs about their chosen ethnic group.
12-How do Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A explain ethnic discrimination?	No code	No definition

Reliability and Validity/Credibility and Dependability

The concepts of reliability and validity do not hold the same meaning in qualitative research as they do in quantitative research. In qualitative research, the concern is with the credibility and dependability of the study (Golafshani, 2003). Reliability in qualitative research concerns the consistency of the study in that the research strategies of the study are congruous with various other research and projects using constructivist grounded theory (Creswell, 2009). Validity, in turn, is defined by Creswell as “meaning that the researcher checks for the accuracy of the finding by employing certain procedures” (p. 190) such as concerning the “authenticity and credibility” of the study (p. 191).

I interviewed a group of Haitian immigrant mothers living in the U.S. The racial and ethnic socialization processes of these mothers cannot be taken outside of their context. To promote reliability and validity in this study, I engaged in the following steps:

1. Listened to the transcript throughout data collection to prevent the possibility of missing data.
2. Established definitions of codes through memo-writing and used comparison strategy to promote consistent meaning across codes.
3. Described interest in the study and engaged in the reflexivity process throughout the study.
4. Conducted follow-up interviews when necessary with participants to ask for comments on codes, descriptions and theoretical categories.
5. Conducted regular briefings with dissertation committee.

By engaging in these procedures, I promoted the rigorousness of the study.

Limitations of the Study

For this study, I used non-random sampling techniques to recruit participants. With this sampling method, it is possible that I recruited participants who had a vested interest in the racial and ethnic socialization processes with their children, which may limit variability in the study. However, the results of the study showed that mothers were on different places of the racial and ethnic socialization spectrum. Some mothers were deeply engaged while some were not. These results also must be interpreted with caution given the size of the sample and the possibility that results might not be replicated in a study using a larger representative sample. The variability that was reported in this study

suggests that further investigation using other methods of study should be employed in future research.

The second limitation is regarding triangulation. In this study, I was not able use the triangulation process. All data was collected through a single interview conducted only with the interviewee. Using only a single interview to collect data can limit the study if my bias infiltrated the participants' responses, since I was not able to observe the participants (Creswell, 1994). I was not able to fully assess or observe actual parenting behaviors and practices that might indicate whether what the mothers state they believe and value is reflected in their interaction with their children. Further, I did not conduct interviews with others (mother's partner, child, neighbors) to gather additional perspectives on the study's research questions. Hence, further research should be conducted that involves mixed methods (e.g., interviews, questionnaires, and observations of mothers' behaviors, attitudes and beliefs regarding racial and ethnic socialization) and that includes the perspectives and experiences of others (e.g., children, partners, other family members) regarding key research questions.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

Introduction

This chapter describes the racial and ethnic socialization processes of Haitian immigrant mothers who were born and raised in Haiti but migrated to the United States at or after the age of 21 (Group A) and Haitian immigrant mothers who were born and raised in the United States or who were born in Haiti but migrated to the United States at or before age 5 and thus were mostly raised in the United States (Group B). It is divided into three parts. Part one presents the results of racial and ethnic socialization independently for Group A, part two presents the results for Group B, and part three summarizes and contrasts the results of Group A and Group B.

Each of the three major sections of this chapter addresses the six research questions investigated in this study. For clarity in presenting the results, the research questions primarily pertaining to race will be presented together, and those primarily pertaining to ethnicity will be presented together. The order of presentation is the following:

Racial Socialization

1. What are the explicit messages about race that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B transmit to their children?
2. What are the explicit practices about race that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B engage in with their children?

3. What is the racial identity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B assign to their children?
4. What role does the place in which Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B were born and raised play in their messages about race?
5. What factors influence Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B in terms of their messages and practices on race?
6. How do Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B explain racism to their children?

Ethnic Socialization

7. What are the explicit messages about ethnicity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B transmit to their children?
8. What are the explicit practices about ethnicity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B engage in with their children?
9. What is the ethnic identity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B assign to their children?
10. What role does the place in which Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B were born and raised play in their messages about ethnicity?
11. What factors influence Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B in terms of their messages and practices on ethnicity?
12. How do Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B explain ethnic discrimination to their children?

It is worth noting that in each section, the racial and ethnic socialization results are presented independently to explain the Haitian immigrant mothers' ethnotheories and reasoning systems and the social and cultural influences on each process.

Results of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group A

Racial and Ethnic Socialization of Haitian Immigrant Mothers Who Migrated to the United States After the Age of 21 (Group A)

This section presents the results from the interviews with mothers who were born in Haiti and migrated to the United States at or after the age of 21. The mothers are referred to as the Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A throughout the study. In Chapter II of this study, I argue that racial and ethnic socialization processes are each comprised of three components: (a) the messages and practices that are transmitted from mother to child; (b) the role of the place that the mother was born in the messages that are transmitted and practices in which she engages; and, (c) the way in which the mother arrives at these messages and practices. The data analysis suggests that these three components characterize Haitian immigrant mothers' ways of knowing and discussing their racial and ethnic socialization processes.

Racial Socialization Process

Question 1: What are the explicit messages and practices that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A transmit to their children about race? In describing the racial socialization of mothers in Group A, I used the racial socialization messages established in the racial socialization literature by scholars such as Lesane-Brown (2006), Hughes and Chen (1997), Stevenson (1994), and Thornton, Chatters, Taylor and Allen (1990). In using these dimensions, I did not seek to homogenize the experiences of

mothers in Group A with those of Native Blacks, but rather I sought to describe the distinct meaning that these messages hold for the Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A. Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A had five types of racial socialization messages: (a) cultural socialization, (b) promotion of egalitarian principles, (c) spirituality, (d) promotion of intrinsic behaviors, and (e) no racial socialization messages (see Table 8).

Table 8. Racial Socialization Messages of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group A

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age/gender	Racial socialization dimension
Aldine Kontan	8 year old girl	Cultural socialization Egalitarian principles Preparation for bias
Rodele Sejour	16 year old girl and 15 year old boy	Preparation for bias Promotion of mistrust Promotion of intrinsic behaviors Spirituality
Solange Ciprian	14 year old girl	Promotion of intrinsic behaviors
Lolita Fleurimond	10 year old boy	Promotion of intrinsic behaviors
Mireille Benoit	14 year old girl	Cultural socialization
Rosette Etienne	13 year old girl and 9 year old boy	Preparation for bias
Regine Vital	11 year old boy	Egalitarian principles Promotion of intrinsic behaviors Preparation for bias
Francine Jean	9 year old girl	No racial socialization messages reported

(a) Cultural socialization. In this study, “cultural socialization” messages encompass mothers’ statements about the physical attributes of the Black race or discussions of pride in the Black race. Some of the respondents indicated that they were teaching their children about the cultural legacy of the Black race to remind them that this legacy runs through their veins.

“We teach her that she is beautiful, to accept her hair textures and accept her skin color as it is. I tell my daughter that she needs to be proud to be black. Blacks have history, she needs to be proud to represent Black and represent Black in a good way.”

Aldine Kontan

“I tell my daughter that Black is a good color. Blacks can handle everything. Black is a beautiful color; do not change your color. I want her to be proud of her color. When she experiences racism, I tell her not pay attention to it, she is still Black. I tell her they might ask her why is she Black, why was she born in the Black race and she might want to change her color. So, I always tell her that Blacks are worthy. Blacks can run faster, can take more of the sunrays. They can resist more. Blacks always focus on work, always pushing forward. I tell my daughter Blacks are not lazy, Blacks are always looking for work.”

Mireille Benoit

“I tell my children that they are Blacks, they should not change their color, that if they witness other people changing their color, they need to know that Black is the way God made them they should not change their color. I tell my daughter to stay with her natural hair; her skin color is her natural color she is supposed to stay with her color that is the color God chose for her. I am preparing her so that she would not be ashamed to be Black, so that could always be proud of being Black. I explain to my daughter that Black is her natural skin color. She should stay with her natural skin color, she should always know that she is Black and should not be bothered by be fact that she is Black, there will always be problems in Black and White, regardless of the problem that she faces, and she should know that she is Black.”

Rosette Etienne

(b) Promotion of egalitarian principles. In this study, “promotion of egalitarian principles” is used to describe mothers’ messages that centered on the commonality among races. Responses suggested that mothers were teaching their children about racial equality. One mother’s response further suggested that she was teaching her son about color-blindness.

“I don’t talk to my son about Black and White but about behaviors of people.”

Regine Vital

“I don’t think because he is Black they will be against him. I tell him he has the same opportunities as everyone in the US because he was born here.”

Lolita Fleurimond

“I make them understand that we are all people. Blacks do bad things, Whites do bad things. That person did not do bad things because he is Black, he did bad things because he wanted to, the bad things are not in the skin color, and it is not a matter of race.”

Aldine Kontan

(c) *Spirituality*. In this study, “Spirituality” included statements indicating that the mothers were focusing on developing religious attitudes in their children as a means to cope with racism and discrimination. The messages included explicit references to behaviors that Christians should engage in toward people of other races in the face of racism and discrimination. It is worth noting that Christianity was the only religion discussed by Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A. While most mothers in Group A made reference to the Christian church and to God, only two mothers linked Church and God to racial socialization.

“We talk to them about racism, we make them understand that they are Blacks and Christians, they are supposed to love everyone”

Rodele Sejour

“I want my child to live according to principles of God. Black skin can’t prevent him from succeeding as long he stays in the church he will succeed”

Lolita Fleurimond

(d) *Promotion of intrinsic behaviors*. “Promotion of intrinsic behaviors” refers to statements indicating that mothers were preparing children to cope with racism and discrimination by encouraging the development and maintenance of positive intrinsic behaviors. These messages emphasize specific behaviors that should be cultivated and maintained, not just to be successful in American society but also to overcome racism and to deter racist attitudes and behaviors toward them.

“I tell my daughter what is important is not her skin color but what is inside of her that matters. I talked to my child about the American system, I tell her to stay in school, hold on to her education, hold on to her dignity, to stay away from friends who are not doing the right things.”

Solange Ciprian

“I don’t do comparison based on skin color but more based on behaviors. I tell my child as long as he has the right behaviors Black skin cannot prevent him from succeeding, as long as he obeys and he stays away from doing bad things, he stays in school, he stays in church, he will always succeed. I don’t think my child will experience racism as long as he stays on the right path, as long he does not steal, don’t misbehave, doesn’t get involve in people’s business”

Lolita Fleurimond

“I don’t want my child to follow American principles, I tell her not to copy the behaviors of friends. If her friends are doing something wrong, do not follow these friends. There are friends who like to fail other friends even if her friends stop, she should continue in the right path. I tell her to choose friends based on their behaviors, don’t follow friends who are not doing the right thing regardless of their skin color”

Rosette Etienne

“I don’t talk to them about Blacks and Whites but about behaviors of people. Your pants are not supposed to be below your waist, it is “vagabond” behaviors. You are not supposed to have a lot of hair on your head with a comb sticking to it, your teeth are not supposed to have shining object on them. The more you stay simple, the better it is. Also too many tattoos are not good, it is not presentable. I think if the child behaves with honesty, good attitude, and sincerity, he will prove to people that they are wrong to discriminate against the child.”

Regine Vital

“I tell my children to work hard and have good worth ethic, they can achieve a lot, don’t slack on things.”

Rodele Sejour

(e) No racial socialization messages. In this study, only one mother in Group A indicated that she did not talk to her daughter about race and responded no to all questions on racial socialization practices.

Question 2: What are the explicit practices about race that Haitian immigrant mothers engage in with their children? The mothers in Group A did not

report taking their children to Black social or cultural activities, or having or displaying Black arts or books at home. One mother's racial practices centered on the fact that she attends a Native Black church with her children where the pastor is a Native Black (African-American). Interestingly, four of the mothers' racial practices centered on modeling appreciation of their Black phenotype for their daughters. Their socialization practices were aimed at teaching their daughters that their skin and hair are beautiful. They reported that they avoided introducing products that would change their hair textures and skin colors to their daughters. They also said that they keep their own hair natural and stay away from bleaching their own skin. Three of the mothers answered "no" to the racial socialization practices questions, indicating that they were not engaged in the racial socialization practices highlighted in this study.

Table 9. Racial Socialization Practices of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group A

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age/gender	Racial socialization practices
Aldine Kontan	8 year old girl	Keeping her daughter's hair and skin color natural
Rodele Sejour	16 year old girl and 15 year old boy	Taking children to a Native Black church
Solange Ciprian	14 year old girl	Keeping her daughter's hair and skin color natural
Lolita Fleurimond	10 year old boy	None reported
Mireille Benoit	14 year old girl	Keeping her daughter's hair and skin color natural
Rosette Etienne	13 year old girl and 9 year old boy	Keeping her daughter's hair and skin color natural
Regine Vital	11 year old boy	None reported
Francine Jean	9 year old girl	None reported

Question 3: What is the racial identity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A assign to their children? All of the mothers in Group A considered their children to be Black and did not mention any other racial choice. The mothers expressed

that Black was the obvious choice since they themselves and their children's fathers were Black. For the mothers, Black was more of a natural genetic occurrence. One mother considers her son to be Black American because her son was born in the United States. However, she prioritizes Black over Black American.

Table 10. Racial Identity Assignment from Mother to Child of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group A

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age/gender	Racial identity assigned by mother
Aldine Kontan	8 year old girl	Black
Rodele Sejour	16 year old girl and 15 year old boy	Black
Solange Ciprian	14 year old girl	Black
Lolita Fleurimond	10 year old boy	Black/Black American
Mireille Benoit	14 year old girl	Black
Rosette Etienne	13 year old girl and 9 year old by	Black
Regine Vital	11 year old boy	Black
Francine Jean	9 year old girl	Black

Question 4: What role does the place in which Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A were born and raised play in their messages about race? All eight Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A were born and raised in Haiti and moved to the United States after the age of 21. Mothers reported that their Haitian upbringing has played and continues to play a strong role in their beliefs and messages about Black race. Two principal codes emerged about the role of place of birth: (a) Framework for success (successful future) and (b) Marker of strength, cohesion or discord.

(a) Framework for success. The mothers discussed the messages and behaviors that their parents imparted to them and nurtured in them while they were growing up that

they are transmitting to their children. They also reported the Haitian behaviors and principles that will help their children to succeed as a Black person in the United States.

“My parents told me to carry yourself with dignity, to have respect for yourself, to respect others, to work hard. I tell my son to stay in school, to hold on to his education, to hold on to his dignity and stay away from friends who are not doing the right thing.”

Solange Ciprian

“The way I was raised is different than the way children are being raised in the U.S. My parents raised me well, they taught me to go to school, and they gave me a moral education. I was raised to be obedient to my parents. I do not want my child to follow Black American behaviors. I do not want my child to put his pants below his waist, to have a lot of tattoos and earrings. I want my child to live according to the principles of God, to stay in school and obey his parents, with that he will succeed no matter what.”

Lolita Fleurimond

“My parents always told me to have respect for everyone regardless of their social standing, to know how to address people, to treat people well. My parents told me to obey teachers at school and to do my homework. I tell my children to have respect for themselves so tomorrow I can see one of my children become a doctor.”

Mireille Benoit

“My parents always talked to me and warned me about friends because friends can lead you into the wrong direction. My parents raised me to believe in God, to have respect for myself, to be honest, to work hard and value education. I don't talk to my child about Black and White but about behaviors”

Regine Vital

(b) Marker of strength, cohesion or discord. Some of mothers stated that growing up in Haiti taught them about the strength of Black people as well as the sense of discord among Black people. These messages encompass the value of Blacks, contributions of Blacks around the world, and positive and negative physical and psychosocial attributes of Black people and Black skin.

“To be Black means that my ancestors did a lot for me to get to where I am today. Black came from Africa. We fought, we work hard and we are strong. I tell my daughter she needs to be proud to be Black, Blacks have a history, they

need to be proud to represent Black and represent it in a good way. Both Black in Haiti and US have a history.”

Aldine Kontan

“I think Blacks give their children good education. I tell my daughter that her Black skin color is beautiful, she needs to appreciate her skin color”

Solange Ciprian

“A Black person can do any type of work because he/she is Black, he/she is focused on what he/she is doing and he/she would like to do it well. But Blacks tend to be jealous of other Blacks and will criticize you for getting a raise at work but they don’t see all the good work that you do and how much you invest in the work.”

Lolita Fleurimond

“They did not find Black worthy of having the same privileges as White in the US but Black like Martin Luther King Jr. fought for these privileges. America did not value Blacks. We had worth in Haiti but Americans did not want Black to be at the same table as Whites. Blacks endure a lot of harshness. I cannot reject my Blackness; we have to be proud to be Black. Blacks have more strength; we can take the rays of the sun whereas Whites cannot. I tell my child Black is good color, Blacks can handle everything, Black is a beautiful color, do not change your color, I want her to be proud of her color.”

Mireille Benoit

“I am Black; it is the way God made me. I cannot be against it, I am proud to be Black. Blacks are resistant and they are not lazy. If Black person sees someone in need of help, that Black person is not afraid to leave what she is doing to help that person. Blacks should support other Blacks regardless of where the other Black person is from. All Blacks are the same. There are no differences among Blacks; we have the same blood in our vein. Black Haitians are not superiors to other Blacks. I should help other Blacks regardless of social status. Sometimes you arrive somewhere and Blacks do not help other Blacks. I am preparing my daughter so that she would not be ashamed of being Black so could always be proud to be Black. She should always know that she is Black and she should not be bothered by the fact that she is Black.”

Rosette Etienne

Question 5: What factors influence Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A in terms of their messages and practices on race? In order to uncover these mothers’ ethnotheories about race, it was important to discuss the circumstances, actions, events, individuals and conditions that have shaped their views of race. These discussions led to

the discovery of the mothers' reference group in which their beliefs about race are developed, prioritized, maintained and carried out as racial socialization practices with their children. In this study, Haitian immigrant mothers reported three factors that influenced their messages and practices about race: (a) parental upbringing; (b) early experiences with a racial group in the United States; and (c) United States media.

(a) Parental upbringing. Some of the mothers in this study reported that their understanding about Blackness and/or Black skin came from the messages they received growing up from their own mothers and/or fathers. These messages contain the mothers' discussion of the attributes of Black skin, the contributions of Blacks and the power of Blacks.

“I talked to my son about Blacks around behaviors. My parents taught me to respect God, everyone and to focus on school. I tell my son that he needs to obey his parent so that he can stay on the right path. As long as he has the right behaviors, Black skin can't prevent him from succeeding.”

Lolita Fleurimond

“My parents influenced what I tell my son about race. My parents made me this way. My parents always warned me about friends because friends can lead you the wrong direction. I tell my son to mind his behaviors wherever he is, to have respect for himself, to be honest in everything that he is doing, if you make a big mistake, take responsibility for your mistake and people will respect you.”

Regine Vital

“My parents influenced what I tell my children about race. I tell my daughter to love God, respect herself and work hard at school.”

Solange Ciprian

(b) Experiences in the United States. Some of the mothers stated that they were using their direct or indirect experiences with race in the United States as a means to talk to their children about race. These mothers also discussed their early interactions with White people, as these interactions play a role in their beliefs about race.

“My experiences in the United States influence what I tell my children. I tell them not to trust American regardless of their color. There are many Haitian children who get in trouble because of their American friends. In the United States, it is my experience that if the child goes to school with a little skin mark, the teacher play in the child’s mind, tells the child lies so that child can make a story and says my mom beat me. In reality, it is teachers and social workers that will take the child out of his good home and put the child in a bad system. In the U.S., they attack Blacks; they are always trying to destroy the lives of Black children because they do not like black children. I am talking about the rules of America; these rules are against the development of Black children.”

Mireille Benoit

“In general America there are Blacks and Whites can be sincere with you, will help you, hold you, support you and push toward the path of success, I have a lot of example. It is not a question of race, if the person has value, he will help you. I don’t talk to my son about Black and White but about behaviors of people.”

Regine Vital

(c) *United States media*. Some of the mothers stated that they used the media as a tool to help their children be aware of racial issues in the United States. In that sense, what is reported in the United States media transcribes the reality of Black life in the United States and becomes part of their maternal reasoning system about race.

“There are things in the media that I used as example to tell my children what not to do. I tell them that going to the club is not a good thing; all sort of bad things can happen at the club, you may leave your house and not come back because of things that happen at the club. I bring them to church to show them where they should go and that it is a safe place.”

Rosette Etienne

“Media influences me a lot in what I tell my children about race, what you see, what is happening and something are racist. Where I use the media to compare good and bad things about race.”

Aldine Kontan

Question 6: How do Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A explain racism to their children? All of the Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A reported experiencing some form of racism in the United States. The mothers’ explanation for

racism to their children and to themselves fell under two main codes: (a) Inherent to United States society and (b) Related to the behavior of the individual.

Table 11. Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group A Explanation of Racism

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age /gender	Mothers' explanation of racism	Will child experience racism?
Aldine Kontan	8 year old girl	Inherent to US society	Yes
Rodele Sejour	16 year old girl and 15 year old boy	Inherent to US society	Possibly
Solange Ciprian	14 year old girl	Related to the behavior of the individual	Don't think so
Lolita Fleurimond	10 year old boy	Related to the behavior of the individual Inherent to US society	No
Mireille Benoit	14 year old girl	Inherent to US society	Yes
Rosette Etienne	13 year old girl and 9 year old boy	Inherent to US society	Yes
Regine Vital	11 year old boy	Inherent to US society Related to the behavior of the individual	Possibly
Francine Jean	9 year old girl	Offered no explanation	No

(a) Inherent to the United States society. Some of the mothers reported telling their children that racism in the United States is part of the innate experience of Black people living in the United States. For these mothers, Black people living the United States cannot escape racism or racist behaviors because it is part of the fabric of the United States society.

“Yes I believe my daughter will experience racism. This is why you need to prepare children very early for them to know how to defend themselves against racism through words or constructive actions.”

Aldine Kontan

“I teach them that racism is real, I tell my son you are young Black man in the U.S., when you are in the streets people can think differently about you whether you like it or not. It might be wrong but you are Black in the U.S. and they might see in the streets and think something wrong because that person is racist and racism still exist. I teach them that a lot people do not see equal friendship between Whites and Blacks. I taught him about Trayvon Martin, see, he was Black and he was young. He probably was not going to do anything wrong but

look at what happen, you are Black, they already have an opinion about you so there is a difference being Black in America.”

Rodele Sejour

“In the U.S. they don’t often value Blacks; because I am Black they often don’t give me opportunities. I have had experiences of racism or racial discrimination from Whites but my fellows Haitians have deceived me as well. There are White Americans at my job because I am Black they treat me bad, they embrace other Whites and treat me as a nobody.”

Lolita Fleurimond

“Yes I have experienced racial discrimination and racism at work. There are two supervisors, a Black one and a White one. The Black supervisor understands me and helps me. The White one does not value me and does not try to help me. It hurts me but I can still be proud of my color and of being Black. I think my daughter will experience racism mostly because she is Black but I do not want her to worry about it and I do not be frantic about it.

Mireille Benoit

“I tell my daughter she should expect to experience racism and she should not be bothered by it. I tell my daughter that she should not be bothered by the fact that she is Black. She will face racism and it will occur anyway. Expect that racism will occur and when it occurs don’t be demoralized by it, don’t feel humiliated by the fact that you are Black and don’t be discouraged.”

Rosette Etienne

“I think it is possible that my child will experience racism/racial discrimination. It frustrates me, you prepare your child and you know his background but what can you do. I experienced racial discrimination in the US, I was a supervisor in a department, and I had a lot of work to do. My supervisor was nitpicking my work because she wanted to put the son of her Jewish friend in my place. I had a real talk with her, I told her if you are not satisfied with my work, feel free to do what you need to do just do not touch my salary and my schedule. She told me that I was going to learn a lot from this kid, I told her that I was not going to learn from a kid, I went to school just like him. She discriminated against me and put a White person in my place. I understood the game.”

Regine Vital

(b) Related to the behavior of the individual. Some of the mothers reported that racist behavior, discrimination, and racism toward an individual can be a consequence of an individual’s own behavior or choices in life. These mothers also indicated their children can combat racism by persistently displaying the right behaviors.

“I think my children will possibly face racism as they grow older, they might feel it more. But, I tell them don’t let people stop you in your track, don’t let things that people say like you are not going to make it or because you are Black they are not going to give it to you become a reality for you. Do what you have to do, work hard and believe you can accomplish what you set your mind to do. If my children do not work, they will not achieve. I think there will be barriers but I give them example of family members who worked hard and succeeded. I used myself as an example. When I am at work I pray and God give me the knowledge to do what I am doing. I just have to do it right, you just have to have good work ethic, with that you can accomplish a lot, so always be on time, do what you do well, if you can’t make it make sure the supervisor know and don’t ever slack on things. If you don’t behave well, what they say about will happen but if you do things right then someone will realize that”

Rodele Sejour

“I don’t think my daughter will experience racism, as long she stays school, I don’t think she will have to face discrimination. I think these people will be too low to be her friends.”

Solange Ciprian

“No I don’t think my son will experience racism, as long as he stays on the right path. He does not steal, he does not misbehave and he is not involved in people’s business. I don’t think he will experience racism.”

Lolita Fleurimond

Ethnic Socialization Process

Question 7: What are the explicit messages about ethnicity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A transmit to their children? The literature on ethnic socialization does not offer specific dimensions of ethnic socialization. Some scholars (Hughes et al., 2006) have applied dimensions of racial socialization to ethnic socialization to support their argument that these processes are similar, particularly in studies with Native Blacks (African-Americans). However, the results of this study show that there are distinctive dimensions of ethnic socialization for these eight Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A. The messages that the mothers, all of whom identified themselves ethnically as Haitian, gave to their children about ethnicity were strongly

related to the mothers' own ethnic identity. Three codes emerged as dimensions of ethnic socialization: (a) development and enforcement of Haitian cultural identity, (b) promotion of Haitian transnationalism, and (c) cultural socialization. They described the explicit messages about ethnicity that these mothers conveyed to their children.

Table 12. Ethnic Socialization Dimensions of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group A

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age/gender	Ethnic socialization dimension
Aldine Kontan	8 year old girl	Development and enforcement of Haitian cultural identity
Rodele Sejour	16 year old girl and 15 year old boy	Cultural socialization
Solange Ciprian	14 year old girl	Development and enforcement of Haitian cultural identity
Lolita Fleurimond	10 year old boy	Development and enforcement of Haitian cultural identity
Mireille Benoit	14 year old girl	Development and enforcement of Haitian cultural identity Promotion of Haitian transnationalism
Rosette Etienne	13 year old girl and 9 year old boy	Development and enforcement of Haitian cultural identity Promotion of Haitian transnationalism
Regine Vital	11 year old boy	Cultural socialization
Francine Jean	9 year old girl	Cultural socialization

(a) Development and enforcement of Haitian cultural identity. Some of the mothers stated that their ethnic socialization messages were centered on the preservation of Haitian culture in the next generation.

“All my customs are Haitian. I live as Haitian at home; all the things that my parents gave to me, passed to me, all are from Haiti. All the customs such as respect, love for others, helping others. I have kept all these values and they are the values that I passed on to my children. My daughter was born in the U.S. but she is not American, all the things we are trying to instill in her are Haitian values.”

Aldine Kontan

“I tell her as Haitian to have respect for people, to be proud of yourself, to work hard, to stay in school. I tell my daughter her foundation is in the Haitian culture, her roots are Haitians.”

Solange Ciprian

“Regardless of what she faces in the U.S., I want her to always show that she is Haitian, in the way she behaves, in her attitude, I want her to be able to speak Creole. For her to always show that she is Haitian when she meets other Haitians by speaking Creole and show a respectful behavior and other people will recognize the Haitian system in her.”

Mireille Benoit

“When he is older, I want him to say that he is Haitian, I want him to be proud of Haiti, to be proud that his mom and dad are from Haiti.”

Lolita Fleurimond

“I want them to know all the principles, customs and values of Haiti. Everything that is in my blood in Haitian. Everything I do with them is Haitian. I tell my children to go to school so they can learn what they want to be tomorrow. I tell them to be respectful, to know how to address people, to talk gently to everyone regardless of the way the person approach them.”

Rosette Etienne

(b) Promotion of Haitian transnationalism. Some of the mothers indicated that they were promoting transnationalism by trying to foster a physical and emotional connection to Haiti in their children.

“I show my children images of Haiti and tell them stories about Haiti and I let them know that they are Haitians. It is important for me to talk to them about Haiti. They want to go to Haiti to see the country for themselves. I talk to them about Haiti, I teach them that I am Haitian and their father is Haitian. I tell them that they are also Haitian so that tomorrow when they are older they would not neglect Haiti. They could help the country by sending money, sending food if they can and help family send their children to school. I tell them that if there is something in the U.S. they will send us all home to Haiti regardless of the fact they were born in the U.S.”

Rosette Etienne

“I want to bring my child to Haiti so that she doesn’t see herself as high and uppity, so that she can have a sense of the needs of Haiti. I want her to help Haiti when she is older and help children who do not have parents. She has to understand that Haiti is her country if she does something wrong in the U.S., they will send her to Haiti.”

Mireille Benoit

(c) *Cultural socialization*. Discussion coded as “cultural socialization” included mothers’ reports that they were sharing Haitian traditions and beliefs with their children from what they learned in Haiti.

“We talked to them about Haiti all the times, I tell them the things that my parents use to tell me when I was growing up in Haiti. What is more significant to me to pass on to them is what I received in Haiti, I often give them the principles of Haiti but it is not always applicable. I talk to them about their choice, decision and all that I receive from my parents I pass to them. I am not raising them totally like I was raised in Haiti because they are not growing up in the Haitian culture.”

Rodele Sejour

“What I learned from Haiti, I bring it to my home. We should not reject the culture we had at home. The way we raise our children, the things we eat, the way we dress, our religious attitude. I have kept some of the principles that my parents taught me. I followed Haitian principles, education, respect for yourself, honesty, working hard, importance of church and in believing in God. I tell my children to respect the rules of law and not to do things to violate the law which will get them in trouble.”

Regine Vital

“I use Haitian principles in raising my daughter and I want to take her to Haiti so that she can know where I am from and that I am not from the U.S.”

Francine Jean

Question 8: What are the explicit practices about ethnicity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A engage in with their children? All the mothers in Group A were engaged in some form of ethnic socialization practices. The practices were centered on the Haitian culture and were reinforcing their ethnic socialization messages.

Table 13. Ethnic Socialization Practices of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group A

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age/gender	Ethnic socialization practices
Aldine Kontan	8 year old girl	Has books in Haitian Creole for children Displays Haitian Art at home Plays Haitian music and movies for daughter Speaks French and Haitian Creole to daughter Cooks Haitian food at home Took daughter to Haiti in the past Attended Haitian cultural with daughter in the past
Rodele Sejour	16 year old girl and 15 year old boy	Has book from Haiti in Haitian Creole Displays Haitian arts from Haiti at home Cooks Haitian food at home Plays Haitian music at home Speaks Haitian Creole with children Made children take French at school and helped them with French Took children to Haiti 5 or 6 times
Solange Ciprian	14 year old girl	Belongs and takes daughter to a Haitian church Cooks Haitian food at home Speaks Haitian Creole to daughter Plays Haitian music and movies at home
Lolita Fleurimond	10 year old boy	Belongs and takes son to an Haitian church Cooks Haitian food at home Speaks Haitian Creole to son Plays Haitian music and movies at home Took son to Haiti one time in the past
Mireille Benoit	14 year old girl	Belongs and takes daughter to an Haitian church Cooks Haitian food at home Speaks Haitian Creole to daughter Plays Haitian music at home Sent daughter to celebration of Haitian flag in the past
Rosette Etienne	13 year old girl and 9 year old boy	Belongs and takes children to a Haitian church Cooks Haitian food at home Speaks Haitian Creole to children Plays Haitian music and movies for children at home Took children to celebration of Haitian flag in the past
Regine Vital	11 year old boy	Displays Haitian arts from Haiti at home Cooks Haitian food at home Plays Haitian music at home Speaks Haitian Creole and French to son Attended Haitian concert with son
Francine Jean	9 year old girl	Cooks Haitian food at home

Many of the mothers in Group A stated that they are using ethnic socialization practices to dispel myths and counteract negative messages about Haiti. Many of the mothers stated that they were also using the ethnic socialization practices to develop their children's understanding of their maternal roots, not necessarily for their children to embrace these roots but to be able to have a broad view and appreciation of Haiti.

Question 9: What is the ethnic identity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A assign to their children?

Four of the mothers in Group A identified their children as Haitian-American, three of the mothers identified their children as Haitian and one identified her daughter as both Haitian-American and Haitian. Seven of the mothers assigned the ethnic identity to their children and one mother indicated that her son calls himself Haitian-American.

Table 14. Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group A Ethnic Identity Assignment

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age/gender	Ethnicity identity
Aldine Kontan	8 year old girl	Haitian-American
Rodele Sejour	16 year old girl and 15 year old boy	Haitian-American Haitian-American
Solange Ciprian	14 year old girl	Haitian-American/Haitian
Lolita Fleurimond	10 year old boy	Haitian
Mireille Benoit	14 year old girl	Haitian
Rosette Etienne	13 year old girl and 9 year old boy	Haitian Haitian
Regine Vital	11 year old boy	Haitian-American
Francine Jean	9 year old girl	Haitian-American

Question 10: What role does the place in which Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A were born and raised play in their messages about ethnicity? All eight mothers in Group A identified themselves as Haitian. The mothers reported that being born and raised in Haiti provided a roadmap for childrearing and served as the cornerstone of ethnic identity (referred to as a way of being).

(a) Provide a roadmap for childrearing. Some of the mothers stated that growing in Haiti provided them with a roadmap for raising their children. They discussed the way in which their upbringing in Haiti has and continues to influence and shape their child-rearing behaviors and practices as well as the customs and practices that were implicit and explicit in their Haitian households and the community in which they live.

“All my customs are from Haiti. I live as if I was in Haiti at home. All the things that my parents gave me and passed onto me are from Haiti. All the customs such as respect, love for others, helping others. I have kept all these values and they are the values that passed on to my children.”

Aldine Kontan

“I talked to my son and I tell my son about the way I was raised in Haiti. I tell him that I do not want him to come out the way that I came out. I want him to be more advance. I got married before finishing school because I was pregnant. I want him to do something tomorrow that is serious and finish college so that when he brings someone home for marriage, none will say anything to him because you did the right thing. I want my son to have respect for everyone, respect for himself, and respect for society. I want to remember what I taught him even if I am not around God is watching him and because of him and what I taught him, he will stay away from doing bad things.”

Lolita Fleurimond

“Haitians have more respect for others people than Americans do. Haitians behave better than Americans do and Americans will say anything anywhere. I tell them do not embrace the American system. I tell them do not copy the behaviors of people in American society. I emphasize the principle of respect for all with my children.”

Mireille Benoit

“I do not want my children to be ashamed of Haiti, I don't want them to follow American principles and I tell them not to copy the behaviors of friends. I tell them to choose friend based on their behaviors and do not follow friends who are not doing the right things regardless of their skin color or their race. I tell my children to go to school so that they can learn what they want to be tomorrow. I tell them to be respectful, to know how to address people and to talk gently to everyone regardless of the way the person approach them.”

Rosette Etienne

“I keep what I receive at home in Haiti and pass it on to my son, it is struggle. I am fighting with him until he gets it. What I learned from Haiti, I bring to my home. I followed Haitian principles, education, respect, honesty, working hard and belief in God”

Regine Vital

(b) Serve as the cornerstone of ethnic identity. Some of the mothers stated that growing up in Haiti gave them a sense of ethnic identity. They argued that being born and raised in Haiti has shaped how they see themselves ethnically. Mothers discussed their self-categorization and the psychological attachment to their ethnic group.

“Haiti is where I was born, where I was raised, it is where my parents raised me, it is where I feel a sense of belonging, it is my point of reference; it is where my roots lie. Many of us have a home in Haiti and we have a place we can return at any time.”

Aldine Kontan

“I was born in Haiti and I was raised in Haiti. All I know come from Haiti, it is where I learned all my values, and it is where I learn what is good and what is bad. All that the behaviors that I have, the things that avoid, life decision, guidance for decision all come from Haiti. My father taught me to buy what I need. I am raising my children to get what they need and what they want. If they want to go the mall to get 300 dollars pair of sneakers and there is one that is 60 dollars that is as good as the more expensive one, it is not important for you to get the one that is 300 dollars; you need to get the one that is 60 dollars. This principle comes from my father. In Haiti, I learned no disrespect of person. I also learned to make good choice such as school, work, have family, being independent, have respect for myself, and preserve myself sexually.”

Rodele Sejour

“Because I was born in Haiti, I am Haitian. I am proud to be Haitian, Haitians are not afraid to work, they are intelligent, they like good things for their children and they support their children.”

Solange Ciprian

“I am always happy to be Haitian, I was born in it. I was raised in it. It means a sense of country. Haitians work hard but there are some Haitians who do not want to work together, they have a sense of jealousy and sometimes they hate each other. However, if Haitians shoulder each other, things will work better. If there was food and security in Haitian, there is a lot of harshness that we’re facing in the U.S., there are a lot of deceptions that we are facing in U.S., we would stay in the U.S., and we would go to Haiti or stay in Haiti.”

Lolita Fleurimond

“Haitian is my nationality and I cannot reject my nationality for another country. I am already Haitian. I do not have a reason to change my system. I am Haitian and I cannot change it. It is my nationality, my parents, my grandparents are Haitians and I am from Haiti. I would like Haitians to live together and to work together, just like other nations do. When you come to the United States, you are still Haitian, even if you become a U.S. citizen and they still say Haitian citizen. There are Haitians who work working together but not all of them. I would like Haitians to always know that they are Haitians even if you become American, they will call Haitian-American but they will see you as American who was born in the U.S. If you give birth to a child in the U.S., even while they are American citizen, if they do something wrong they will send them to Haiti because Haiti is his country of origin. That is why we cannot reject our country, you cannot have repulsive attitude toward Haiti or depreciate Haiti. Haitians have more strength to raise children, they are always teaching children about what to do succeed in US society. I am proud to be Haitian because of the Haitians values, when I look at other nations I don’t see these values.”

Mireille Benoit

Question 11: What factors influence Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A

in terms of their messages and practices on ethnicity? In this study, three codes emerged to explain the things that influenced Group A mothers’ messages about ethnicity and the expression of these influences. They are: (a) parental influences, (b) experiences in Haiti, and (c) experiences with Haitians in the United States.

(a) Parental influences. Some of the mothers stated that their understanding of Haitian values and principles originated from their parents and/or their school.

“My parents taught me that Haitians are very loyal, that they don’t lower their personhood for every little thing. They prioritize family especially the women stay home to take care of the family. As time goes by, these values are loss.”

Aldine Kontan

“You are Haitian, you can survive in whatever the situation and you love to help people. You have compassion for people and do not consider that you are better. You have to have humility; you do not consider that you the best person and you help those who are less fortunate. I think growing up in Haiti has taught me to be compassionate.”

Rodele Sejour

“My parents told me you are Haitian and be proud of who you are. My parents told me to hold your sense of self, carry yourself with dignity, have respect for yourself, do not go and have a child quickly. I am proud to be Haitian. I was brought to have respect for everyone, to listen to my parents to share with people, to have values of respect, education and love for people.”

Solange Ciprian

“My parents always told me to always have respect for everyone regardless of their social standing, to know how to address people and to treat people well. My parents told me to obey teachers at school and to do the homework. I was told not to support people who are doing the wrong things. I tell my children to have respect for themselves for tomorrow to see my child being a doctor.”

Mireille Benoit

“My parents always told me not to reject my country, even if you are living in the U.S., they will return to Haiti. My parents told me not reject my country and to love my country. There are some people because of the state of Haiti, they have difficulty saying that they are Haitians, there are hunger and homelessness in Haiti, and some people are ashamed of Haiti because of the issues in Haiti. I am not ashamed of my country. As Haitian, I learn how to talk to people and how to address people. I was taught to respect everyone. I was also taught to love my country, to help my country by sending money, for food, for children’s school tuition or helping financially in any way I can. That is what means by loving your country and not rejecting your country.”

Rosette Etienne

“My father insisted that I keep Haitian principles. My father also talked about this Haitian president who wanted to build the Haitian airport, he asked other countries for money but no other countries wanted to help him so he build the airport with funds Haiti. My father said this president was very educated, he spoke French very well. My father also talked about Haitian professors who were teachers in France and Africa. This is why my father insisted that I became educated so I can have a sense of pride, so I can be proud of Haiti. My parents raised me to be proud of Haiti.”

Regine Vital

(b) Experiences in Haiti. Some of the mothers stated that their lives and experiences in Haiti shaped their messages about ethnicity.

“There are things that are occurring in Haiti that embarrass me like crimes, stealing. I feel embarrassed when I hear about crime, kidnapping when people are talking about these things. However, it will not cause me to deny the fact that I am Haitian. I would like Haitians to change and not remain like things but I am always thinking about the positive things as well. I had many good times when I was a child, when I was in Haiti, I did not have any experiences that cause me not to like Haiti. When I go on vacation, I go with my children, we go to beach, we go to my house in Haiti good air, good fruits, good fruits. I love the Haitian life regardless of what I see.”

Rodele Sejour

“When I was growing up, Haiti was really beautiful, there were beautiful celebration. People use to go out at any time without fears. There were beautiful church programs, youth programs. All of these things cause to be proud of Haiti. When I was growing up, the country was beautiful, I found beautiful fish tanks, beautiful Public Parks where people played music, and there were a lot of beautiful cultural program. People were happy, living without fears and went out at any time. I will always remember these things.”

Rosette Etienne

(c) Experiences with Haitians in the United States. Some of the mothers argued that their interactions with Haitians living in the United States have shaped their views of Haitians in the United States and influenced their understanding of their reference group.

“In general Haitians work hard, we are always working hard and fighting for a better life day by day. We love to work, we love people, we are strong physically and we are intelligent. The negative things I hear about Haitians are that our country is not good, we do not work together, we are dirty and our country is not safe. I also hear that we do not know how to behave when we are out somewhere and that our people are barbaric. All of this motivate me to prove them wrong. There are different group of Haitians who are living in the US who behave like they say, but what they say push me to do better. When I am talking to strangers I show the right behaviors, I show them that we have good things in us Haitians.”

Aldine Kontan

“Haitians are strong, resilient and compassionate. However, there are some Haitians who do not like togetherness, although I was not raised like that. I sometimes see that around me, I see not everyone like togetherness. I observe some Haitians that if they have an opportunity to destroy the other person they

would do that. If they could have worked together they refuse, they say I am not going to get anything out of it, therefore I am going to work together. However Haitians who behave as family, if there is a problem in a family like sickness, everyone will know, everyone will go and visit, support and help.”

Rodele Sejour

“Haitians work hard but there are some Haitians who don’t want to work together, they have a sense of jealousy and sometimes they hate each other. But if Haitians shoulder each other, things will work better. Sometimes the person come from the same Haitian city as you, but he acts like he is not from Haiti, he treats himself as superior and treat you as inferior but it should not be this way. As Haitians we come from the same place if the US is going to kick people out, it will kick all of us out, none is superior than others, we are all the same.”

Lolita Fleurimond

“We Haitians come to the U.S., we leave home but sometimes Haitians meet other Haitians in the U.S. and they don’t want to work together. You can be working somewhere and a lot of Haitian say negative things against you to the White man and cause you to lose the job. I am not saying all Haitians are like this. Sometimes Haitians hurt other Haitians badly. There can be a Haitian supervisor at a job and that supervisor holding other Haitians back and preventing them from advancing on the job. You can see another situation where the Haitian person who is under the supervisor is causing a lot of trouble for the supervisor, sometimes gossiping to the big boss causing the Haitian supervisor to lose his or her position. I have not lived these types of situation but I have people close to me who have endured these situations. I have met educated Haitians, people that I can trust who will not lead me in the wrong path, people with whom I shared the same objectives.”

Regine Vital

“Haitians work hard, they raise their children well but some Haitians are jealous, they don’t like for other Haitians to accomplish good things. Sometimes if a Haitian sees that you are trying to accomplish something good, he tries to deter you, to pull down. However White people and other nations do not behave these ways.”

Francine Jean

Question 12: How do Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A explain ethnic discrimination? Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A reported that they had not experienced discrimination because of their Haitian ethnic identity. They also stated that

they did not believe that they or their children will be discriminated against because they are Haitians.

Results of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group B

Racial and Ethnic Socialization of Haitian Immigrant Mothers Who Were Born and Raised in the United States or Who Were Born in Haiti, Migrated to the United States at or Before the Age of 5 and Were Raised in the United States (Group B)

In this section, I separately record the results of racial and ethnic socialization processes from the interviews of Haitian immigrant mothers who were either born and raised in the United States or who were born in Haiti, migrated to the United States at or before age five and were raised only in the United States. These mothers, of whom three were born in the United States and four migrated from Haiti, are referred to throughout this section as Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B. As with the previous section, this section discusses: (a) the messages and practices that are transmitted from mother to child, (b) the role of the place that the mother was born in the messages that are transmitted and the practices in which she engages, and (c) the way in which the mother arrives at these messages and practices.

Racial Socialization Process

Question 1: What are the explicit messages about race that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B transmit to their children? As with Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A, there were three common dimensions of racial socialization among Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B: preparation for bias, promotion of intrinsic behaviors, and egalitarian principles. One mother was also focused on developing Black race consciousness in her daughter.

Table 15. Racial Socialization Messages of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group B

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age/gender	Racial socialization dimension
Sabine Voisin	12 year old girl	Promotion of intrinsic behaviors Preparation for bias
Berline Paul	18 year old boy	Preparation for bias Promotion of intrinsic behaviors
Karine Georges	9 year old girl	Preparation for bias Development of Black race consciousness
Valerie Massenat	10 year old girl	Preparation for bias Egalitarian principles
Marie Delva	11 year old boy 9 year old girl	Egalitarian principles Spirituality
Betty Jean-Jules	8 year old girl	Promotion of intrinsic behaviors
Emeline Courant	8 year old girl	Preparation for bias Egalitarian principles Promotion of intrinsic behaviors

(a) *Preparation for bias.* Some of the mothers reported that they were preparing their children to be prepared for bias they might face in the United and to know and understand that racism exists in the United States.

“What can I teach her? I let my daughter know that racism exist. But that is not something she should take offense, I tell her about racism, you just a way of telling her to look both way before she crosses the street kind of like that.”

Sabine Voisin

“Well, I guess especially growing up and seeing how others are discriminated against, especially Black men. I think that is why we try to raise our boys as we did because like I said people look at them a certain way. We also talk to them about things that happened, just explaining to them that people will put you in a box. I tell my son that some people might not judge him that quickly, but be prepared that it might just happen, and that is often the reality. So always I am trying to let both of my sons know that they need to be the best of themselves.”

Berline Paul

“I want her to be informed. I want her to be aware. I want her to have tools to make decisions that are based on the truth as far as I know the truth to be. We talk about race; we have honest, informative discussion about race. I tell her that race is something that is used to be divisive, traumatic and hurtful. Something that was constructed and apply and judge people.”

Karine Georges

“I make her aware that racism exists and she will be subject to it however at the same token, I let her know that it is not right and it is not representative of what most people think and she should not harbor bitterness.”

Valerie Massenat

“I don’t have to talk to her about race; it is a touchy subject because my husband is blatantly anti-white. I find myself back-peddling. She needs to hear it all but it is his approach that ticks me off.”

Emeline Courant

(b) Promotion of intrinsic behaviors. As with Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A, some Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B stated that appropriate behaviors could shield their children from racism or minimize the effects of racism. Mothers listed the specific behaviors and/or attitudes that they were nurturing in their children to counteract the effects of racism or ultimately overcome racism.

“I think my daughter will experience racism, it doesn’t really bother me too much because of what I want to instill in her is self-esteem, self-assurance and once she has that, there is nothing that can hinder her.”

Sabine Voisin

“No matter what people say about being Black, it is not who you are. To be able to shake it off. Shake it off, I guess, you are Black. I tell my son that people will always going to automatically put in you in a box because of what they see and until they start talking to you, they’ll not realize that, you know you’re an education Black man. Both of my boys have gone to private school and then my eldest graduate from a great school and my youngest is now a freshman at Cornell. So I am always telling them you have look and present your self differently, speak business English, walk tall, wear a tie, and do not wear sneakers. They can initially put in that box, but once they get to know you, that you have travelled, you have been to places that you are from two parent families; they will realize that you are different. There are certain things that separate you from others. They can initially qualify you yes he is Black, but they will say he is

not like everyone else. He is educated. He does things a certain ways. He has values respect, education, family, and relationship with God. He has morals.”

Berline Paul

“I want my daughter to know that she is an important being no matter what race she is or ethnicity and she has to prove who she is as person, hold to education, believe that she can be the best that can be and she will achieve any accomplishments regardless of her race or ethnicity.”

Betty Jean-Jules

“I think my daughter will experience racism but it my job to prepare so she does not give anybody a reason to find fault in her. I teach her that you speak properly, pronounce your words.”

Emeline Courant

(c) *Egalitarian principles*. As with Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A, some of the Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B were focused on teaching their children to accept and embrace the differences in race and cultures in the United States.

“I want her to be aware that she’s a Black person. She is aware of her race. She is aware of the differences in the races in this society; however, I do not want to create biases because unfortunately, I think in this society there just so many biases and stereotypes and I think that is one of the issues in America where people attach these stereotypes to other people. So I do not want to feed her any of these biases. I want her to try to grow up as open-minded or as accepting of other races and other cultures. And the facts there are difference should not matter to you in term how you accept the person.”

Valerie Massenat

“I don’t talk to them about being Black; I don’t acknowledge that they are different. They should take advantage of every opportunity and not being limited by their race. The most important thing that I want them to remember is that they are not different but unique; do not judge any book by its cover. I do feel that racism still exist but in general I don’t focus on race.”

Marie Delva

“At the end of the day I want my daughter to know you have to judge people base on their character not the color of their skin. Judge people by how they treat you and how they act.”

Emeline Courant

(d) Spirituality. As with Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A, Christianity was the dominant religion among Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B. Some of the mothers reported using religious principles to counteract racism and discrimination. While other mothers referred to religion as a part of their upbringing, only one mother specifically linked her religious principles to race, racism and discrimination.

“We go to diverse church there are Asians, there are Haitians, and there are White people. There is all kind of different races. And these people you know are contributing in many ways, giving up their time and are generally good people. I mean who knows how they are really on the inside but at the end of day they are seemingly good generous Christian people but they are different. They are not necessarily Haitian-American or even Black, so it is hard because from a Christian perspective, God is calling us to embrace each other regardless of race. It is not right, it is not fair and it is not Christ-like, race and ethnicity do not exist in the eyes of God. Be a reflection of God, live life using Christ as an example. Ask what would Jesus do, what is this person’s purpose and to live life in accordance with that, they will achieve whatever God purposes in their lives regardless of race and ethnicity.”

Marie Delva

(e)) Development of Black race consciousness. In this study, one mother stated that she was teaching her daughter to challenge the racial status quo not just for herself but all people who were victims of racism. Her racial socialization messages were categorized as “Development of Black race consciousness.”

“I want her to feel comfortable to challenge things that are not right and I want her to be able to recognize oppressive behavior and challenge that, and I don’t want her to be you complacent. I do not want her to just go with the flow because it is this that thing that you should do. I want her to be inquisitive and curious true to our Haitian values. I want her to when it is appropriate to challenge. We are having honest conversation about the history of racism this country, what racism is, the foundations of racism, having honest conversations about the level of incarcerations of Black and Latino men and boys. She can spot the racial things that happened and be like this is messed up, because we are having these conversations with her. We’ve having them for a couple of years.”

Emeline Courant

Question 2: What are the explicit practices on race that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B engage in with their children? Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B were engaged in a variety of racial socialization practices. Their practices included exposing children to Black culture and history through visual arts such dance, theaters and movies and attending Native Black (African-American) churches. Haitian immigrant mothers of girls also expressed socialization practices aimed at developing self-acceptance and physical pride and at emphasizing the beauty of Black hair and skin. Some of them stated that they only purchased Black dolls for their daughters. Some of them were keeping their own hair and their daughter's hair natural. One mother removed her daughter from a private school because she noticed that her daughter "was not proud to be Black" and was wishing for different hair textures. One mother participated in a march for justice for Trayvon Martin. This mother stated that while her son did not want to go initially, she imparted on him the need to stand with all Blacks as they are subject to the same fate.

Table 16. Racial Socialization Practices of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group B

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age/gender	Racial Socialization Practices
Sabine Voisin	12 year old girl	Take daughter to a Black (African-American) Church
Berline Paul	18 year old boy	Participated in a March for Justice for Trayvon Martin Attend NAACP events during Black History month Attend a Native Black Church (African-American) with son
Karine Georges	9 year old girl	Keeps daughter's hair natural Daughter is part of multicultural performance troupe Displays art about Native Black bodies at home (Black visual arts)
Valerie Massenat	10 year old girl	Attend Native Black/African-American events with daughter Keeps books about Native Blacks who contributed to the US society Took daughter to see the movie "The Help"
Marie Delva	11 year old boy 9 year old girl	Removed daughter from school where she was the only Black girl Keeps books about Blacks
Betty Jean-Jules	8 year old girl	Attends cultural and social activities focused on Blacks with daughter Keeps daughter's hair natural Buys things that look like daughter such as dolls Attends a Native Black American church with daughter
Emeline Courant	8 year old girl	Participates in cultural and social activities focused on Native Blacks (African-American Play, Black theater, underground railroad) Belongs to Jack and Jill club Buys Black dolls for daughter

Question 3: What is the racial identity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B assigned to their children? Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B saw their children as either Black or Black American. One mother described her child's race as

Black African American. Many of the mothers found race to be synonymous to someone's skin color; as such, the race of their children is based on phenotype, which is Black. Some mothers chose Black American or Black African-American to signify the difference between American Black and non-American Blacks.

Table 17. Racial Identity Assignment from Mother to Child of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group B

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age/gender	Racial identity assigned by mother
Sabine Voisin	12 year old girl	Black
Berline Paul	18 year old boy	Black American
Karine Georges	9 year old girl	Black African-American
Valerie Massenat	10 year old girl	Black
Marie Delva	11 year old boy 9 year old girl	Black
Betty Jean-Jules	8 year old girl	Black American
Emeline Courant	8 year old girl	Black

Question 4: What role does the place in which Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B were born and raised play in their messages about race? Contrary to the Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A, Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B reported that being born and raised or being raised in the United States allowed them to (a) develop an awareness of racism against all Black people, and (b) develop a framework for behaviors for success.

(a) Awareness of racism against all Black people. Some of the mothers stated that in growing up in the United States, they have faced racism and discrimination, which made them aware of differential treatment based on their skin color in the United States.

“I have had many, many, many, many, many, many experiences with racism and racial discrimination and I continue to have them. I do not know if I will ever stop having them. That is why I think having those conversations and having those skills will not protect my daughter against racism, they will not protect her

against oppression necessarily. She will have the tools to help advocate better but she will not necessarily be protected against racism and racial discrimination.”

Karine Georges

“Between the ages of 5 and 8 we moved to the Midwest and that is when I experienced racism for the first time. It was the first time I was ever called the word nigger and I had no idea what it was, so that was a very eye opening experience. I would go to the store and people would stare at me, I think that was the first time where I was very conscious of race because before then it was never an issue. I think it was my first real introduction to being different. It was hurtful, maybe as kid you know you just felt like you were different and you know as a kid you do not want to be singled out or feel different. I just remember at the time it made very conscious about differences and skin color differences and hair textures. I think from that point it just made me aware that there are people in society who would not necessarily welcome you or like you and would express hatred toward you because of the color of your skin, I think until then I did not realized that was a possibility.”

Valerie Massenat

“I remember one time when I was in High school, I went to this hardware store to get something, I asked where the thing was and they pointed me upstairs. I went upstairs and come down the thing. And immediately, the manager or somebody from upstairs called downstairs to report to them that they just gave me this thing, make sure I pay for it, because the assumption is Black girls steal. I would have never stole that was never something that would have entered my mind to steal especially at a hardware store. It certainly did not make sense. It just show you how ridiculous this situation is That was sort of mind-altering experience, you know, the experience of racism, people suddenly treating other people better. Just thinking about my kids, I would not want them to have those kinds of experiences. But that said if discrimination is present, I prefer for them to know it than to be thinking that is not there, and not knowing. The Trayvon Martin situation was insane and the fact that the man got off was really a scary situation. So I had to bring that to my son and say look at this situation. This powerful thing happened. But at the same time, it does not make sense to live your life in fear. So it is like you're damned if you do and damned if you don't.”

Marie Delva

“Speaking for myself, my life with experience with racism has been one where I am simply not seen. I am invisible. I recently spent hours in a bloody trauma resuscitating a patient while the surgeon tried to stop a bleeding vessel. It took him a long time to find it. So I spent all that time keeping the patient ALIVE so he could patch the hole. At the end of the surgery, a White male colleague of mine walked in to ask if I needed anything. I told him we were done, the patient survived. The surgeon looked up and thanked him for saving the patient after I had been working with him for hours. He quickly told her that I was the one who

saved the patient's life. She then thanked me. Later that week she sent him a box of chocolates me and him as well. Why did he deserve a box of chocolates? I do not think being invisible has held me back. I was fortunate in that the right people noticed me. I have been offered plenty of leadership positions, often times being the only one considered."

Emeline Courant

(b) Behaviors for success. Some of the mothers stated that they had to learn to develop strategies and behaviors to help them succeed despite racism in the United States, which they are not sharing with their children.

"I don't want my children to be caught in the Americanized way, my experiences in the United States, have showed me that the American way lack values for success such as good work ethic, respect for parents, relationship with God."

Sabine Voisin

"There are things that I received from my parents and that I have experienced which led me to succeed. I press upon my children not to identify as American. I pressed these standards upon my kids, education, being eloquent in your speech, be someone I can trust, someone who is well behaved, who has respect for yourself, respect for family."

Marie Delva

"As a Black I have to work harder to prove myself. I am in the medical field, I just feel like I have to work hard to prove that I can do the job, to show that I am a real nurse."

Betty Jean-Jules

"I tell my daughter to pay attention. Being fortunate to watch other people, I just knew that people judge base on your name, how you speak, how you carry yourself. I was very conscious about that when I set an interview. I was very careful to enunciate very well so that people would not know my ethnicity; it was my way to even the playing field. I am careful with my child. There are certain that I would not allow her to wear and there certain things that I would not allowed her to wear in her hair."

Emeline Courant

Question 5: What factors influence Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B in terms of messages on race? Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B stated that two

factors influence their messages on race. They are: (a) experience in the United States and (b) the United States Media.

(a) Experience in the United States. The mothers in this study stated that racial events, incidents and occurrences have shaped their views of the role of race and its manifestation in the United States. They also discussed the way in which their experiences with other races have influenced not only how they navigate the racial landscape of the United States but also what they shared with their children about race in the United States.

“I don’t see Black as a race; I can see Black as a culture. Blacks are more caught up in the Americanized way as far as what they value. It is different, their values are different. I am a manager at a store and the people I hire seem to have no sense of responsibilities, they take things for granted. And you know when I was doing that I was working hard, I took my job seriously versus what I am seeing today on how they value their job and how they don’t want to come in. This made me think a lot. So that is why I say they do not have much value. And it is probably not their fault. It is probably the environment that they grew up. I would like for my children to understand that there are family are not from United States so they cannot be completely Black. I am instilling self-assurance in my daughter and once she had that there nothing that can’t really do whatever she goes through.”

Sabine Voisin

“I have certain experiences with race in the United States where I think it just makes me more intent of trying to make a point where I teach her to be more tolerant where hopefully you don’t the child to grow up with biases. It makes me intent on having her being more opened, more aware, more accepting of differences and to learn that differences are good. I have seen that happen where people maybe had a negative experience and as a result, they have taught their children to actually have a sense of hatred or distrust of their races or culture. I do not necessarily think that is healthy either. I have seen cases where some people grown up with an intense dislike or mistrust of White people. I don’t think all White people are racist I have White friends who are very open of having relationships and friendships outside of their races, or are opened to learning of different culture.”

Valeria Massenat

“I participate in program in high school and when I was in the program there were a lot of Black kids with generation wealth. It was not just that they had money but they were going to be successful. So it definitely was an eye opening experience and it kind of changed my view in terms of how I see things. I do understand what my parents were saying because their feeling was like you know African-American have had generation upon generation have certain opportunities and they just feel like they were being lazy, they have become kind of complacent. But in reality that is not near the majority. It might be what some people may seem but there is still a huge face of individuals who broken great stride. You might not know that you do not know something is different. So I think in that experience where all the leaders of the group were all Black and then going into companies and seeing Black people. You can see Black race in all levels of success, when I was kid was to see successful White people but it is different now.”

Marie Delva

“What I tell my daughter about race is based on my life experiences. I happen to be an extremely loyal person. I have been betrayed by people of color. I can say there are good White people and good Black people. I don't have an expectation of White people.”

Emeline Courant

(b) United States media. As with Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A, Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B reported using United States media as a tool to educate and/or help their children to be aware of racial issues in the United States.

“I think I find Media to be sometimes a very good learning tool to show her the instances of discrimination. Per example, I used what is going to know with respect the Palestinians. I have to show what hatred can do. You use things in the media to bring things to her awareness. I like to show her examples of people throughout the world who may be experiencing things to show her how ignorance can create certain circumstances.”

Valerie Massenat

Question 6: How do Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B explain racism to their children? All the Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B acknowledged that racism exists in United States. In addition, they all stated that their children would experience some form of racism in the United States. They explained racism to their children in one of two ways: (a) inherent to the United States society (this was similar to

the explanation of Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A), and (b) bred out of human ignorance.

Table 18. Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group B Explanation for Racism

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age/gender	Mother's explanation for racism	Will child experience racism?
Sabine Voisin	12 year old girl	Bred out of ignorance	Yes
Berline Paul	18 year old boy	Inherent to US society	Yes
Karine Georges	9 year old girl	Inherent to US society Bred out of ignorance	Yes
Valerie Massenat	10 year old girl	Inherent to US society Bred out of ignorance	Yes
Marie Delva	11 year old boy 9 year old girl	Inherent to US society	Yes Yes
Betty Jean-Jules	8 year old girl	Inherent to US society	Yes
Emeline Courant	8 year old girl	Inherent to US society	Yes

(a) Inherent to United States society. As with Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A, six out the seven Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B explained racism to be part of the intricate experience of Black people living in the United States. For these mothers, Black people living the United States cannot escape racism or racist behaviors because it is part of the fabric of the United States society.

“I told my son that people will see you as Black, you should not get too comfortable and you need to be more careful. There are people from different races and cultures and all they know is what they see on television which are the negative assumptions about Blacks such as not being educated, live in the project, going around having children and not having goals. It is bad that the world has not changed, but it’s the reality and I hope that I have prepared him enough.”

Berline Paul

“I know my daughter will experience racism in the United States, she already shared racist episodes that she has experienced with us. I feel upset that this is what the world can offer outside of home. I am feel angry about it. The same conversations that I was having with my eldest son about Stop and Friskk that is a

real thing, it is connected to racial profiling, and that is connected to a long history. The same conversations that I have had with my son about how to carry yourself as Black young man on the street is the same conversations that I am having with my daughter and it is the same conversations that I will have with my toddler.”

Karine Georges

“I think my daughter will experience racism in the United States. She may not experience it as much as I have in my lifetime but I think there will probably be some incidents at some point. I just try to make her aware that racism exists and she probably will be subject to it you know at some point in time, but on the other hand, I am trying to do my best to prepare her for that possibility. I do not want to shield her, to keep her in a bubble. I want her to be aware that racism exists and that at some points she may have to deal with it.”

Valerie Massenat

“I would like to say that I don’t know if my children will experience racism but I think racism is still very prominent out there. So, I would say yes and I just think it still very strong here. It is disappointing. It is like pushing water uphill because you do all this to prepare your children to be on a level playing field and they are, they have the same capabilities and maybe in even some cases more than somebody else who is not prepared but they might still be discriminated against.”

Marie Delva

“I think my daughter will experience racism, the media still make us feel that White is better than Blacks and there are some research that show that a lot of African American children will pick a White doll over a Black doll.”

Betty Jean-Jules

“My daughter will experience racism in the United States but it is my job to prepare her so that she does not give anybody a reason to find fault in her way. I teach her that you have to speak properly, pronounce your words. I feel sad for her, although I don’t think children today are going to experience it like it was 20 years ago, as time goes on, we are a going to see more mingling in US society.”

Emeline Courant

(b) Bred out of human ignorance. Some of the mothers stated that racism is the result of people’s ignorance. This explanation was unique to Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B.

“Racism is a disease and the way to protect yourself is to be self-assured”

Sabine Voisin

“I tell my children that race is construct, it is something that is divisive. It is something that comes from the deepest parts of somebody’s imagination and has festered into something that is traumatic and hurtful and harmful”

Karine Georges

“And as a Black person I am not going to teach my child to have the biases that I myself dislike in this country. I also think that two wrong do not make a right. I think that this racism is something that at some point I hope that we can start to eradicate in this country. But, I think that it starts with everyone trying to teach their children that there are people of different backgrounds and they may not necessarily feel comfortable with everything but at least they have to opened to the fact that there are differences and be tolerant. To the extent that you are more aware of the differences in other cultures that you may be more tolerant and accepting of it. I think if we had a lot of that going around in this society, we would not have many of the issues that we have now. I am personally convinced that racism is based on ignorance.

Valerie Massenat

Ethnic Socialization Process

Question 7: What are the explicit messages about ethnicity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B transmit to their children? Most of the Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B were engaged in some form of cultural identity promotion. Their ethnic socialization messages were directly related to the ethnic identity that they chose for their children and they were using these messages to reinforce the cultural nature of the perceived ethnic identity of their children. For some mothers, promotion of cultural identity involved teaching their children about Haitian history, culture and values. For others, their cultural socialization messages centered on teaching their children about African-American and/or Black history and/or the beauty of blackness. One mother was specifically trying to inculcate Haitian values in her children not just to instill pride in Haitian culture but also because she strongly believed that these values will lead to her children’s success in the United States.

Table 19. Ethnic Socialization Messages of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group B

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age/gender	Racial socialization dimension
Sabine Voisin	12 year old girl	Promotion of cultural identity (Haitian)
Berline Paul	18 year old boy	Cultural socialization
Karine Georges	9 year old girl	Promotion of cultural identity
Valerie Massenat	10 year old girl	Cultural socialization
Marie Delva	11 year old boy 9 year old girl	Promotion of cultural identity
Betty Jean-Jules	8 year old girl	Cultural socialization
Emeline Courant	8 year old girl	Cultural socialization

(a) *Promotion of a cultural identity/Haitian cultural identity.* The mothers reported teaching their children about the history, traditions, beliefs and values of the group whose identity they assigned to their children. Some mothers were teaching their children about Haitian history and traditions while others were teaching them about Black and/or African-American history and traditions.

“My daughter is Haitian-American because that is what I teach her, what she is around and what she going to use when she grows up, what defines who she is and where she is from. At the end of the day, it is the performance that you put at the table that truly defines you and that performance comes from the way you grew up. The same things my parents taught me are the same things I am putting in their head such as detailed manners.”

Sabine Voisin

“My husband talks a lot about his Jamaican culture. I talked them about us being Haitian and the Haitian culture and the fact we got our independence. I talked about those little things a lot but do not have a full education. But they are immersed in the Haitian culture because of the fact everyone that we know besides school is Haitian and because we are surrounded by our Haitian family. My family is large and everybody is here, every birthday party, the food, we are just constantly immersed in that. And the pressure of education, the importance of education. I have impressed upon my children not to really identify as being American. Yes, they are American and there are privileges of being American. But at the same way that my parents impressed upon me that, I am Haitian and we have the standard. I impressed these things upon my own kids. Such as the value of education, being eloquent, being somebody that you can be proud of and that your parents can be proud of, someone that your parents can trust, an individual that will respect himself and will have respect for his family. And you know I

feel those are Haitian values, in my mind they are Haitian values and those values I pass to my children.”

Marie Delva

“We are committed to talking about the pride that we feel in our ethnic background and our history. I talk to her a lot about what it was like for me growing up. We talk about the beauty of Blackness, the beauty of our culture, the beauty of our body, the beauty of our language and the beauty of self-expression.”

Karine Georges

(b) Cultural socialization. Some of the mothers reported that they were exposing their children to the concrete markers of the culture of their choice, such as food, language and music. These mothers were not sharing any particular messages about culture with their children but were mostly engaged in ethnic socialization practices (which is discussed below).

“I tell my son about our tribe as being the first Black nation that gained its independence. I tell about these little cultural things that my parents have told me about. It is important for me to pass these Haitian knowledge to my child because they have influenced how I raised him into who he is. So I hope he will be able to have some of these value in his household and when he eventually grows up and have children.”

Berline Paul

“We live in a very diverse community. My daughter has friends from different background they actually themselves in term of their ethnic identify. She identifies a lot with Haitian culture because she sees the distinction, probably more so because of the food and the music not because I am saying anything. She is aware that her grandparents were born and raised for the most part in Haiti My husband and I have never said that you if someone ask you tell them you are of Haitian American descent but she hears the language, although she does not necessary understanding or speak Creole, she know a few words but she has been exposed to Haitian language from a young age. I am passing the values that I learned because those are the values that were instilled in me but I do not necessarily think that she would identity these as Haitian values. In my opinion she identifies of more with Haitian and the Haitian-American culture because of the food she eats, the music, the fact that we took her to Haiti, let her see the country where her grandparents and her great-grandparents came from.”

Valerie Massenat

“I considered my daughter to be West Indian. I tell her to have respect for people to love herself and stick up for herself. Things don’t come easy she has to work hard and push herself.”

Betty Jean-Jules

“I want her to be confident in herself and comfortable in her skin. Learn body language, don’t let fact that historically Black people have been traditionally looked down upon get in her way. Speak up when face injustice. Be true to herself and do not apologize for who she is as long she does what she does with integrity. Her freedom is her power.”

Emeline Courant

Question 8: What are the explicit practices about ethnicity that Haitian

immigrant in Group B engaged in with their children? Contrary to Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A, the ethnic socialization practices of Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B were not mutually exclusive from their racial socialization practices. One of the seven mothers, Berline Paul, identified her son as Black American both racially and ethnically. Her racial and ethnic socialization practices were identical. The remaining six others were engaged in practices aimed at exposing their children to the culture that corresponds to their assigned ethnic identity, whether it is Haitian-American, Caribbean or African-American. Such practices included attending cultural and ethnic social events with their children, displaying Haitian, Caribbean and/or African-American books and arts, and/or exposing children to Haitian, Caribbean and/or African-American music, language and food.

Table 20. Ethnic Socialization Practices of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group B

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age/gender	Ethnic socialization practices
Sabine Voisin	12 year old girl	Daughter attends Haitian church with grandparents Daughter is exposed to Haitian food, Haitian Creole and Haitian music
Berline Paul	18 year old boy	Participated in a March for Justice for Trayvon Martin Attend NAACP events during Black History month Attend a Native Black Church (African-American) with son
Karine Georges	9 year old girl	Daughter is part of multicultural performance troupe Displays art about Caribbean, African Art at home (Black visual arts) Cooks Haitian food at home
Valerie Massena t	10 year old girl	Attend West Indian events with daughter Keeps books about Haiti and Haitian history at home Cooks Haitian food at home
Marie Delva	11 year old boy 9 year old girl	Attends Haitian events sporadically with children Display Haitian and Jamaican arts at Home Cooks Haitian food at home
Betty Jean-Jules	8 year old girl	Attends cultural and social activities focused on Haitian culture with daughter Display Haitian Arts and Haitian Flag at home
Emeline Courant	8 year old girl	Participates in cultural and social activities focused on Blacks (African-American Play, Black theater, underground railroad) Plays Haitian music at home Cooks Haitian food at home

Question 9: What is the ethnic identity that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B assign to their children? Two of the seven Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B identified their children ethnically as being Haitian-American. However, these two mothers had different reasons for their choice. Out of the two, one mother, Valerie

Massenat, stated that her daughter self-identifies as Haitian-American. She stated that their family lived in an ethnically diverse community and that her daughter sees herself ethnically as Haitian-American. Her daughter's identification of Haitian American stems from the fact she understands that she has a Haitian cultural heritage because of the Haitian language, music and food that surrounds her. On the other hand, Sabine Voisin stated that her daughter is Haitian-American because of her Haitian heritage, the Haitian cultural practices that she is exposed to and the Haitian values that she is trying to instill in her children.

Each of the remaining five mothers assigned a distinct ethnic identity to their children. Berline Paul, whose son is 18 years old, stated that he identified as Black American. She stated that while her son was raised by a Haitian mother (her husband is not Haitian), she attended a Black church with him, did not speak Haitian Creole at home, and did not raise him in the Haitian community. Her son also attended a predominantly White school. Furthermore, she stated that she did not raise her son exactly as she was raised. While she followed some Haitian values, she also included American principles.

Karine Georges assigned her own ethnic identity to her daughter, Haitian Afro-Caribbean. For her, this identity indicates that her daughter is of Haitian and Caribbean descent since she is from Haiti, which is in the Caribbean, and her daughter's father is, as she describes, American-Caribbean. It also represents her daughter's African descent, as the majority of Haitian and Caribbean people find their origin in Africa. Furthermore, she stated that she was raising her daughter with a Haitian Afro-Caribbean frame of mind meaning that the values she was instilling in her daughter and the child-rearing practices she was engaged in with her daughter were rooted in her Haitian Afro-Caribbean identity.

Marie Delva identified her two children as Haitian Jamaican American because of their heritage: she is Haitian and her husband is Jamaican. She also stated that she is immersing them in the Haitian culture and purposefully inculcating Haitian values in her children.

Betty Jean-Jules identified her daughter as being West Indian ethnically. She stated that this ethnic identity represents her daughter's heritage and background. Furthermore, she stated that she was reinforcing this identity by passing some Haitian values that have led to her success in the United States to her daughter.

Emeline Courant identified her daughter as African-American; for Emeline, African-American encompasses her daughter's culture, not her race. She stated that her daughter is African-American due to practices that she is engaged in with her children and because her daughter's father is African-American. Unlike Emeline, her daughter shares in the history of African-American and its culture.

Table 21. Ethnic Identity Assignment from Mother to Child

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age/gender	Ethnic identity assigned by Mother
Sabine Voisin	12 year old girl	Haitian-American
Berline Paul	18 year old boy	Black American
Karine Georges	9 year old girl	Haitian Afro-Caribbean
Valerie Massenat	10 year old girl	Haitian Jamaican American
Marie Delva	11 year old boy	Haitian-American
	9 year old girl	Haitian-American
Betty Jean-Jules	8 year old girl	West Indian
Emeline Courant	8 year old girl	African-American

Question 10: What role does the place in which Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B were born and raised play in their messages on ethnicity? Six out of seven Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B identified themselves as Haitian-American.

One mother identified herself as Haitian Afro-Caribbean. Haitian immigrant mothers stated that being born and raised in the United States or being raised in the United States shaped their messages in one of two ways. First, it served as the cornerstone for their ethnic development by exposing them to ethnic discrimination, ethnic isolation and Black immigrant (Caribbean and African) groups. Second, it provided a roadmap for raising their children.

(a) Serve as the cornerstone for ethnic identity development. Some of the mothers stated that the experiences that they had with ethnicity in the United States contributed to the development of their ethnic identity. These experiences include exposure to ethnic discrimination, ethnic isolation and exposure to Native Blacks and Black immigrants.

(1) Exposure to ethnic discrimination. Some of the mothers reported that they were discriminated against because they were of Haitian origin.

“Around the time I was eight, I was tortured at school. HIV/AIDS was tied to Haitian. We were constantly in the news for this essence of the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere. That came up so no matter how clean I was, no matter how well-presented I was, my mom was always making sure that we’re clean and that our hair was nice, we brushed our teeth, you know to make sure my fingernail was cleaned, but no matter how presented I was, I was always you dirty Haitians. I was being traumatized around my status as a little Haitian girl because I was not born here. There was a first generation Haitian-American girl, we were same age but she was born in Brooklyn. She was different from me, I was scary. I was exotic. My parents did voodoo so I was different. I was not enough from a lot of people in the Haitian community and I was not American enough from the American community.”

Karine Georges

“When I was a teenager, I grew up in a timeframe where Haitians were stigmatized. Where people just assumed if you were Haitian you were not polished, you were ignorant. At the time, there were many immigrants coming from Florida and I remember the term boat people and it was around the timeframe where they were tying AIDS to people of Haitian descent. Most of

friends and my cousins we did not want to be portrayed in that way, so we would not bring attention to the fact that we were Haitian. And as a result, most Haitian kids my age would try to do the best to pretty much not bring attention to the fact they were Haitian. For the first half of High School I did not hide it but I did not emphasize it. If someone asks me, I would tell him but I would not necessarily volunteer because I think during that time it just never really came. In the latter half of my High school years, I have to admit, I hid it, I would not even mention I was Caribbean. I would try to identify myself as Black and leave it as that. It was not until I think my last year of High School going into college that I fully embraced being Haitian and identifying myself fully as Haitian.”

Valerie Massenat

“In the neighborhood that I grew up most family were Caribbean family but Haitian were the least favorite. Prejudice came along in grade school. They used to say that Haitian dress funny. People will say all Haitians I know dress funny except you. I was thinking what does a Haitian person supposed to look like. When I was in High School, I identified myself as Black; I did not say Haitian because of the backlash. The whole AIDS came about when I was ready to leave high school, people will say it. It was something that I was confronted with, I did not feel personally insulted, and I was removed from it. I felt that it was more about newly immigrated Haitians.”

Emeline Courant

(2) *Ethnic isolation.* Some of the mothers stated that their parents kept them away from Native Blacks, Whites and anyone who exerted “American behaviors;” as such, they felt ethnically isolated.

“My parents always said there was a difference between Haitian and Black Americans. They would say that you are not like them, whatever that was. At the time, the people we people that lived around, some of them were not educated, their kids were disruptive. So my parents would say were not bad like them. We were not that, so they felt we were different.”

Berline Paul

“My parents actually really wanted to shelter or protect us and definitely create some distance between this American identity, even though they understood that they were here in American raising children. They were doing their best to raise us in their Haitian culture, our Haitian culture.”

Karine George

“I always felt different as a kid from American children whether it was Black American or White American. My parents told us that we were different; they made a point of saying it all the time. They had things where they would always

tell, you know; do not expect to like these Black American. They put in our head that American, Black and Whites were lazy. They told us that you had to understand that we need to go to school, that we need to be working that need to go to school and do something with ourselves. There was a level of expectation that was a higher standards in their view than what was happening with other people. Whether what was reality or not, I don't know but they would always say you are Haitian and they had a standards that they felt was higher and they felt that was part of being Haitian.”

Marie Delva

“My father would say you only have the friends that I choose for you. I did not have sleepovers; I did no go to birthday parties. I was not allowed in other kids' home and they were not allowed to come to our home. My parents made a difference between African-American and Haitians. My father said the African-American were having kids out of wedlock, were in gangs and did not know how to raise their children.”

Emeline Courant

(3) *Exposure to other Black groups and other aspects of Haitian culture.* Some of the mothers reported that while growing up in the United States, they were able to interact with other Black groups, particularly Native Blacks, Caribbean and African immigrants in their neighborhood or school. Mothers reported that these interfaces allowed them to develop a broader view of themselves which became integrated in their personal belief structure about ethnicity.

“Most of what I saw about Haitian was in the Haitian Church. But I went to college I joined the Haitian Student Association and they organized a voodoo ceremony to help people understand the cultural aspect of it. It was interesting because you know all I have ever heard the negative aspects.”

Berline Paul

“I was born in Haiti. I immigrated very young. We migrated from Haiti to Harlem, New York, which was in the 80s, and it was a beautiful things. There were predominantly Haitian folks and folks from West Africa. We did not have many Caribbean neighbors. When we moved to Brooklyn, we moved to predominantly a Caribbean community, so there were Haitians, Jamaicans, and people from Ghana; everything you could imagine was in my community. I was lucky to having been exposed and surrounded by all kinds of Caribbean folks and so part of my self-identity, self-awareness come from this exposure.”

Karine Georges

(b) Roadmap for childrearing. Some of the mothers stated that their upbringing in the United States has influenced and continues to influence and shape their child-rearing behaviors and practices. Mothers discussed customs and practices that were implicitly and explicitly in their parents' households and community which they now integrate or specifically counteract in their own teaching regarding ethnicity.

“I see my children as Haitian-American because it is what I teach them and what they know and they are around and what are going to use when they grow up to define who they and where they come from. I think it is good to place emphasis on your roots so that people know that you are not cannot be completely Black. From my point of view people in the Black culture have different values, there is a lack of respect for their parents, and they are spoiled because there are many demands to try to keep up how you look and all that stuff. My parents were very strict, they did not allow me to go out, but I do not think these are the values that are going to affect my children. The values that I am teaching them are respect for your parents, responsibilities, to be disciplined and not to take things for granted. I think they are older than they going to say, oh I remember this happened and I remember what my mom said. And it's all from back in the days, all from the way they grew up.”

Sabine Voisin

“The expectation from my parents and the Haitian community was that you had to do better, if someone did 100 percent, you had to do 110 or 120 percent. You had to outshine. You had to be the best. You had to try hard, you had to the hardest. You were told that you are not lazy like these Americans and people were not necessarily referencing Black-American. I was told you are different, you are Haitian. You come from a line people who are fighters and we do the best and we win at things. So it was very competitive. The ideology was also very traumatic, it was definitely do better, do better, and always do better, so there was a lot of pressure to succeed. I used my own experiences as a Haitian woman when talking about my daughter. I talked to her about feeling good about the work that she does and doing the best that she can do. So she understands working hard but she also understands that she has support when there are challenges. I am always having conversations about working, so what working means that she is trying and it is not connected to what is expected that is measure by external ideology. It not connected to a grade.”

Karine Georges

“My daughter is West Indian; I let her know that I am Haitian and her father in from the Island. I want her to know that things do not come easy. I teach her not

to rely on others. Just like I had to work hard and continue to prove myself in the medical profession.”

Betty Jean-Jules

Question 11: What factors influence Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B

in terms of their messages on ethnicity? As described above, Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B’s ethnic socialization messages mostly centered on promotion of cultural identity and cultural socialization. In this study, Haitian immigrant mothers’ messages about ethnicity were influenced by their parents and family and by their experiences in the United States.

(a) Parents and family. Some of the mothers reported that the beliefs that they have developed, kept and are now sharing with their children about ethnicity come from what they were told about ethnicity by their parents and family or from what they observed at home.

“The same way my parents raised, these are the same things I put in my daughter head such as respect for your parents, detailed manners, cleaning your house and washing the dishes. Because that is what they going to remember.”

Sabine Voisin

“My parents always said there was a difference between Haitian and Black Americans. They would say that you are not like them, whatever that was. At the time, the people we people that lived around, some of them were not educated, their kids were disruptive. So my parents would say were not bad like them. We were not that, so they felt we were different. I tell my son about our tribe as being the first Black nation that gained its independence. I tell about these little cultural things that my parents have told me about. It is important for me to pass this Haitian knowledge to my child because they have influenced how I raised him into who he is. So I hope he will be able to have some of these values in his household and when he eventually grows up and have children.”

Berline Paul

“I always felt different as a kid from American children whether it was Black American or White American. My parents told us that we were different; they made a point of saying it all the time. They had things that they would say such as do not expect to like these Black American. They put in our head that American,

Black and Whites were lazy. They told us that you had to understand that we need to go to school, that we need to be working that need to go to school and do something with ourselves. There was a level of expectation that was a higher standards in their view than what was happening with other people. Whether what was reality or not, I do not know but they would always say you are Haitian and they had a standards that they felt was higher and they felt that was part of being Haitian. My children are exposed to the Haitian culture from my family. My uncle talks to them. I pass to my children Haitian values that I received from my parents, education, respect for yourself and your family, being eloquent, someone that your parents and yourself can be proud of.”

Marie Delva

“My parents actually really wanted to shelter or protect us and definitely create some distance between this American identity, even though they understood that they were here in American raising children. They were doing their best to raise us in their Haitian culture, our Haitian culture. I have kept positive messages from home, messages about Haitian playfulness, and our genius, around being able to created and this is again not just the Haitian immigrants, that is mostly an immigrant kind of stamp is that we can create very much out of very little. That is something that I watched in my childhood. You know I learned such from my mom to have three ingredients in the kitchen pantry and in the refrigerator and make an amazing meal. I watched my mother make something pretty or create something pretty out of household materials and my father is an amazing craftsman. I learned all these things about kind of being creative, and being curious and being experimental through watching my Haitian parents and my community.”

Karine Georges

“My parents were big on education for me that is the same time. I look for school with the best scores, your child should do better than you. My parents controlled who walked in and out of my life. They monitored whom I was friends with. I do pay attention to the people my child hangs with.”

Emeline Courant

“My parents emphasized respecting adults and having good morals like don't do unto others what you don't want done unto you, treat people with respect and work hard. I have kept these values and I am teaching my daughter no matter what race she is or ethnicity, she has to prove who she is as a person. With education I believe that she can be the best that she can be, she will achieve any accomplishment regardless of race or ethnicity.”

Betty Jean-Jules

(b) Experiences in the United States. Some of the mothers reported that being raised in the United States in the midst of other ethnic groups shaped how they see

themselves ethnically and the reference group to which they cling. In turn, this influences what they tell their children about ethnicity within the context of their reference group and the ethnic identity that they are trying to promote in their children.

“I attended Barnard College and there have been times when I have worn my sweatshirt and have people come to me asking me who do I know that went there and I say I did and people look at me and they are thinking really, how can you go there, I could not have gone there. Also, I am a registered nurse, people look at me and they think I am nursing aide or an LPN not a registered nurse. So I used these experiences to remind my son of who he is and why he has to carry himself in certain ways as someone who is ethnically Black American.”

Berline Paul

“I was lucky of being exposed and surrounded by all kinds of Caribbean folks and so that’s part of my acknowledgement of self, like the self-identity and self-awareness. I am Haitian born and Haitian raised; my identity has been influenced by diverse Caribbean upbringing because of where we lived when we migrated. It implies my culture and replicates what my traditions look like, how I navigate myself in the world. My daughter was born in Brooklyn and when we moved she was 6, so she definitely has a similar experience in terms of being around a variety of Caribbean people and American people and so she’s been exposed to all kinds of things and has heard all kinds of dialects and accents and all kinds of things.”

Karine Georges

Question 12: How do Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B explain ethnic discrimination? Although some Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B reported experiencing ethnic discrimination in the United States, which shaped their ethnic identity, they stated that they feel that United States society no longer has negative feelings about Haitians. As such, like Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A, they stated that their children would not be the subjects of ethnic discrimination because of their Haitian ancestry.

Results Summary and Contrast

In this section, I narrate the racial and ethnic socialization story of Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B. Their stories are conveyed through the results of the six research questions in the study. Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B tended to be similar in their racial socialization processes with some small key differences. However, Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A differ greatly from Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B in their ethnic socialization processes.

Comparative Racial Socialization: Results of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group A and Group B

Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B were mostly similar in their racial socialization messages. The most common dimensions were preparation for bias, promotion of intrinsic behaviors and egalitarian principles. Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A starkly diverge from Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B in their racial socialization practices. Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B reported exposing their children to Native Black culture through visual arts, books, teachers and movies. One Haitian immigrant mother in Group B was engaged in a demonstration for justice for a Native Black. Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B reported racial socialization practices that aim at exposing their children to the overall African Diaspora in the United States. As a contrast, none of the Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A reported exposing their children to Native Black culture and other culture in the African Diaspora.

Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B tended to be similar in the factors that influence their messages about race. Both groups reported being influenced by their experiences with race and with racial groups, particularly Whites, in the United

States. They also reported being influenced by United States media and stated that they were using racial events that were reported in the media as teaching tools for their children. However, Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A reported parental upbringing as an additional factor that had some bearing on their messages. They stated that their understanding and beliefs about being Black are shaped by the messages they received from their parents.

The effects of growing up in Haiti versus the United States were modestly apparent in the racial messages and practices of Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B. Both groups of mothers stated that growing up in Haiti and in the United States has taught them about the behaviors and practices that will lead to success in the United States. They reported that these behaviors and practices, which they are now sharing with their children, came from their Haitian household and are rooted in their families' Haitian values. However, Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B reported that growing up in the United States also made them aware of the discrimination against people who are Black.

While they grew up in different countries, both Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B perceived their children to be Black. In addition, both groups of mothers reported choosing Black as a race for their children based on their children's phenotype and on the fact that they themselves and their children's fathers were Black.

Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A diverge slightly from Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B in their explanation for racism in the United States. Both groups of mothers believe racism toward Black people to be inherent in the United States. Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A also stated that racism is related to an individual's

behaviors. These mothers stated that an individual's behavior can cause racist actions to be perpetrated against him or her. In contrast, Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B stated that individuals are not responsible for racist actions against them but rather are victims of the ignorance of an individual or group of people in the United States. In addition, all Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B stated that their children will experience racism in the United States, as opposed to Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A who were ambivalent about whether or not their children will experience racism in the United States.

Comparative Ethnic Socialization: Results of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group A and Group B

Most Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A reported that their ethnic socialization messages were centered on the development and enforcement of a Haitian cultural identity and on the promotion of Haitian transnationalism. Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A also reported a cultural socialization dimension that centered on teaching their children Haitian traditions, customs and values. In contrast, Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B stated that their ethnic socialization messages were focused on promoting an Afrocentric cultural identity and that they were teaching their children about culture of the African Diaspora in addition to Haitian culture.

Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B also differ in their ethnic socialization practices. As with their messages, the ethnic socialization practices of Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A focused on Haitian traditions and customs such as Haitian cooking, language and celebration. In addition, most of the Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A stated that they belong to and attend a Haitian church with their

children. In contrast, the Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B stated that their ethnic socialization practices were aimed at exposing and teaching their children the customs, values and practices of people from African descent whether it be Native Black, Caribbean or African. Haitian immigrant mothers also reported belonging to groups that transcend Haitian immigrant population in the United States; none of them attended a Haitian church or belong to a Haitian social group.

The messages and practices that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B engage in with their children do not evolve in a vacuum. Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A reported that their messages and practices emerge out of the teachings about Haitian culture that they received at home, their life experiences in Haiti and their dealings with Haitians in the United States. As with Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A, Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B reported that their ethnic socialization messages and practices were partly shaped by what their parents shared about Haiti and being Haitians. They also reported being influenced by their experiences in the United States. However, the reported experiences with ethnicity in the United States of Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B are different than those of Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A. Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B stated that the ethnic landscape of the United States has also shaped how they see themselves ethnically.

Accordingly, the place in which the Haitian immigrant mothers in this study were born and raised determined the culture and people that they were exposed and the experiences with ethnicity that they had. While they were born and raised in different places, Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B described the role that their place of birth had on other messages and practices similarly. Both groups stated

that growing up in Haiti or in the United States served as the corner stone for their own ethnic identity development and provided a roadmap for the values, teaching, customs and practices that they were instilling in and sharing with their children.

Unlike Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A, Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B stated that in growing up in the United States, they encountered ethnic discrimination and felt isolated as Haitian immigrants. These encounters caused them to develop mechanisms for survival and success, mechanisms that became part of their ethnic socialization and practices. Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B also reported meeting and interacting with other Black immigrants from the Caribbean and Africa as well as Native Blacks. They reported that these interactions helped them to be familiar with the customs and practices of Blacks from the African Diaspora.

The culminating effects of the place in which Haitian immigrant mothers in this study were born and raised as well as the parental teaching and experiences in Haiti and in the United States are reflected in the ethnic identity that they assigned to their children. Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A were almost homogenous in their children's ethnic identity assignment. Five Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A labeled their children as Haitian-American and three labeled their children as Haitian. In contrast, there was a lot more variability in the ethnic assignment among Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B. Two Haitian immigrant mothers labeled their children Haitian-American, one labeled her son Black American, one labeled her daughter Haitian Afro-Caribbean, one labeled her son and daughter Haitian Jamaican American, another labeled her daughter West Indian, and finally, one labeled her daughter African-American.

While they reported considerable differences in their ethnic socialization processes, Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B both stated that they did not worry about their children facing ethnic discrimination. Both groups of Haitian immigrant mothers stated that ethnic discrimination against Haitians was a thing of the past. As such, both groups of Haitian immigrant mothers did not see a need to offer an explanation for ethnic discrimination to their children.

It is evident by the results of this study that the racial and ethnic socialization processes vary between Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B. The results of this study highlight the importance of the place in which the mothers were born and raised, as these places (Haiti and United States) shaped their beliefs and framed their experiences. In addition to the place in which the mothers was born and raised, their beliefs about race and ethnicity, and their children's experience with race and ethnicity in the United States, there may be other factors that can help explain the differences and similarities found between Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B. Such factors may be the ethnicity of the mothers' partner or spouse, the mothers' reference group and affiliation with Haitian, African Diaspora or Native Black groups, the mothers' education level and socio-economic status. In the next chapter, I discuss the results of the study, describe the similarities and differences and analyze these similarities and differences using the Developmental Niche as a theoretical framework.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter is divided into three distinctive sections. The first section presents the Developmental Niche of racial and ethnic socialization of the 15 Haitian immigrant mothers in this study. The second section presents comparative analysis of Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and Group B using the Developmental Niche and grounded theoretical concepts that emerged from the study. The third section discusses the results in light of the empirical evidence presented in Chapter III of the study. It also addresses the gap in the literature by highlighting key differences between the current study and the literature regarding racial and ethnic socialization processes for African-Americans and immigrant families in the United States.

Emerging Grounded Theoretical Concepts About Racial and Ethnic Socialization Process of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group A and Group B

Using the Developmental Niche, I frame racial and ethnic socialization processes as processes of child development. As stated in Chapter II, Harkness and Super (1983, 1993, 1997, 2006) posit that the interaction between child development and culture shows itself through three sub-systems (see Figure 2).

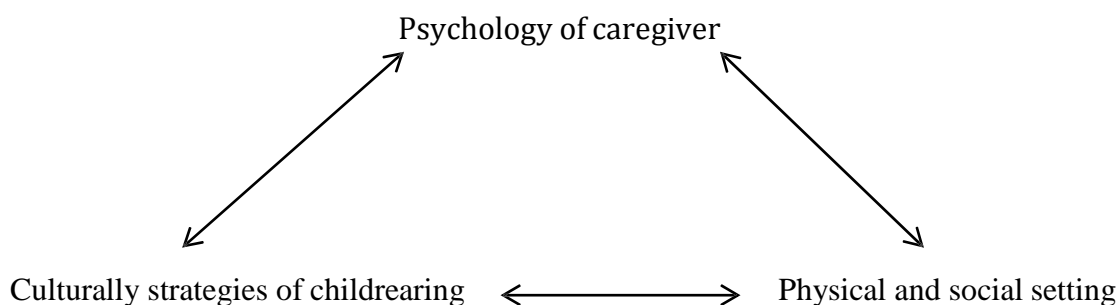


Figure 2. Developmental niche of child development

Using constructive grounded theory, this study describes the way in which each sub-system of the Developmental Niche contributes to the racial and ethnic socialization of these 15 Haitian immigrant mothers by defining the sub-system. The figure below illustrates the factors of racial and ethnic socialization relevant to each sub-system of the Developmental Niche (see Figure 3).

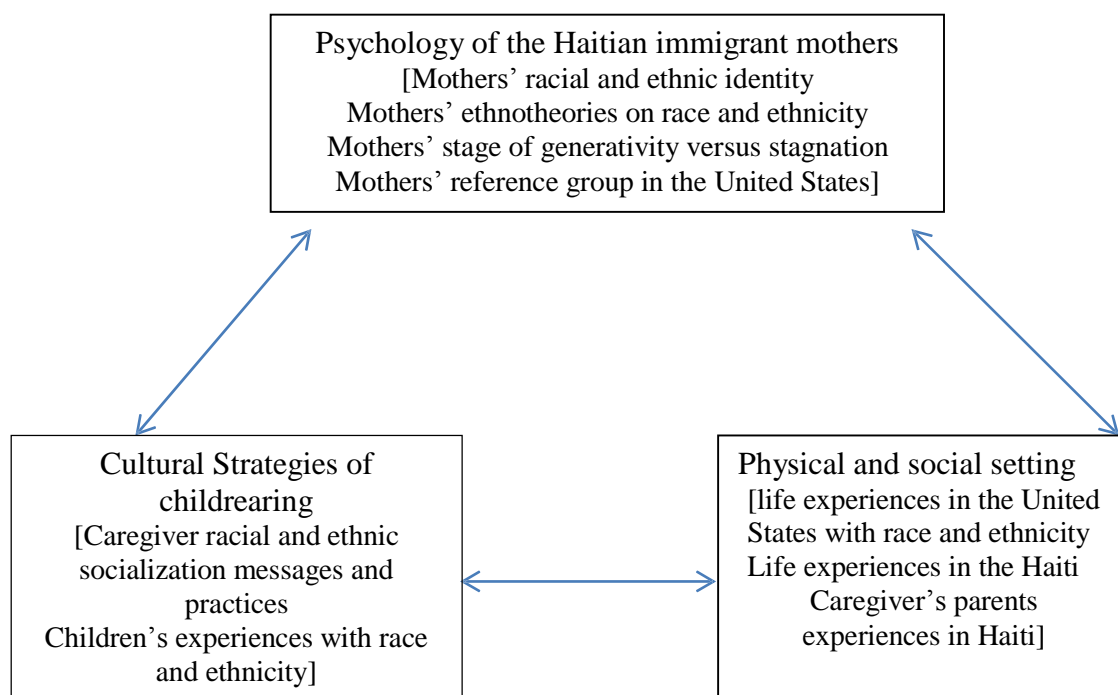


Figure 3. Theoretical framework and racial and ethnic socialization processes among 15 Haitian immigrant mothers living in the United States

**Comparative Analysis of the Racial and Ethnic Socialization Processes
of Haitian Immigrant Mothers in Group A and Group B**

The racial and ethnic socialization processes of the 15 Haitian immigrant mothers in this study are the result of the evolving interactions between the mothers' psychology of care, their cultural strategies of caregiving and their physical and social settings. Their psychology of care includes the mothers' racial and ethnic identity, their ethnotheories of race and ethnicity, their stage of generativity versus stagnation (Erikson, 1980), and their reference group in the United States. Their cultural strategies of caregiving involve their racial and ethnic socialization messages and practices as well as their children's experience with race and ethnicity. Finally, their social and physical context involves their life experiences in the Haiti and in the United States as well as their parents' household. These components are woven together and work collectively to guide and shape the mothers' reasoning system on racial and ethnic socialization.

All the Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A came to the United States after the age of 21. They all identified as Haitians ethnically and Blacks racially. In coming to the United States, Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A entered a new physical and social setting. They are now part of an ecological system in which they are automatically Black (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). As Erikson (1968) posits, they may have come to the United States after having gone through the state of Identity Achievement vs. Identity Crisis in Haiti and may have developed and achieved a clear sense of racial and ethnic identity. Their narrative of Blackness is one in which Black people can be victimized but are the masters of their fate and future. It was in the context of their Haitian physical, social and familial settings that the Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A learned about

who they are, the meaning of being Haitian and the meaning of being Black. The experiences that they had in Haiti with their family, community, neighborhood and social-political systems have further contributed to their knowledge of themselves as Haitians and Blacks.

As with Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A, all seven Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B identified racially as Blacks. All Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B reported defining their ethnic identity during or after college. All Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B reported exploring, discovering, and finding out more about Haitians and being Haitian in late adolescence or early college years. In contrast to Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A, Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B grew up in a country that offers them a choice in their ethnic identity. As Black people in the United States, they were exposed to a variety of Black ethnic groups, and they could identify as African-American ethnically or as any other ethnic group of their choice. According to Erikson (1968), late adolescence/early adulthood marks the stage of identity development, which can result in an exploration of the values, beliefs and ideologies of a particular group (Erikson, 1968; Umana-Taylor, 2009). This exploration of identity may have led these Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B to what Erikson (1968) calls an achieved identity rooted in their Haitian background. Contrary, Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A, most Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B defined themselves as Haitian-American and one identified as Haitian Afro-Caribbean in adulthood.

Following Cross's (1978) normative process of Black American racial identity development and the Phinney (1989) model of ethnic identity development, the racial and ethnic identity of Haitian immigrant mothers in this study is not static. In the United

States, Haitian immigrants associate themselves with other Haitian immigrants through Haitian churches and Haitian social circles. These groups constitute their reference groups in the United States and may provide a psychological forum for them to bolster or reorganize their beliefs about being Black and being Haitian. Unlike Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A, for Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B, the reference group does not manifest itself in the physical association with a social or religious group.

Contrary to Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A, some Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B reported identifying with various ethnic identities during childhood and adolescence. Their evolving identities can be seen in their racial socialization messages and practices. Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B were not naïve about their parents' different opinions, messages and practices about race. What they shared about their own racial and ethnic identity revealed that as parents, they have processed the messages that they received as well as their implications in the lives of their own children. This understanding leads to an acceptance and/or rejection process in which messages about race and ethnicity that the mothers received from their parents are re-negotiated and re-assessed in the context of their own identity and their current physical, social and familial settings.

Accordingly, racial and ethnic socialization of Haitian immigrant mothers in this study is shaped both by their immediate and distal environments or context. It was in the context of their Haitian physical, social and familial settings that the Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A learned about who they are, the meaning of being Haitian and the meaning of being Black. The experiences that they had in Haiti have further contributed to their knowledge of themselves as Haitians and Blacks. In the United States they hold

on to the meaning of Blackness that they have acquired in Haiti, having achieved their identity in Haiti, but they also have integrated lessons learned from their experiences with race in the United States (Erikson, 1968; Phinney, 1994, 2003). In addition, as they retain a Haitian sense of self, they not only hold on to values, customs and practices nested in the Haitian culture but also integrate messages from their interactions and experiences with other Haitians in the United States.

Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B grew up in physical, social and familial contexts and settings in which Blacks and Haitians were discriminated against and devalued. Yet, they were in households with Haitians' parents who actively constructed their beliefs structures about race and ethnicity. Their beliefs about race and ethnicity were organized around Haitian social expectations that were part of the social structure of their parents' Haitian community. Through various methods of delivery such as explicit messages, displays of affects, keeping children from inviting or visiting African-American and Whites friends or classmates, the parents of these mothers created an environment in which the meaning of Blackness was redefined to notions of Haitians. However, they also grew up in contexts in which they witnesses successful African-Americans and Black people fighting for justice and equality. They also were exposed to other ethnic Black groups from the Caribbean and Africa. Their contacts and interfaces with other Black ethnic groups not only shaped their understanding of race and ethnicity but also affected their own racial and ethnic identity. Unlike Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A, Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B were more in tune to the plight of all Black people in United States. In addition Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B stated that they feel culturally competent in both Haitian and American cultures. Their

ethnotheories were refined to respond to new issues about race and ethnicity in their current settings and contexts such as the killing of Black youth and men.

In becoming parents, Haitian immigrant mothers in this study may enter a new stage of Eriksonian development, Generativity vs. Stagnation (Erikson, 1968). While this study did not operationalize generativity versus stagnation, all Haitian immigrant mothers in this study were concerned with training their children to be successful in the United States. Although most of the Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A reported that their children have not shared any account of racism or ethnic discrimination, some Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A believed that their children will face racism and were focused on preparing their children to face and cope with racism. In that sense, children's experiences directly influenced mothers' ethnotheories of race and ethnicity, as mothers who may be in the generative stage are concerned about responding to their children's experiences and helping them develop mechanisms to have a productive and successful future.

All mothers in Group B believed that their children would face racism or discrimination. They attributed it as inherent fact of their current physical and social settings. Prompted by their phase of generativity, they may be developing ethnotheories of race and ethnicity to address their children's experiences with race and ethnicity and to prepare them for the racism that they will eventually face in their current physical and social settings.

Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A expressed their understanding of the underlying hostility that the United States shows immigrants. For them, the United States is not home, it is a more a place of business, a place that they hold on to for its economic

and educational opportunities for themselves and their children. While they have not accepted the racism they have faced, they tolerate it as small price to pay for a better life. As such, they teach their children to appreciate all the opportunities the United States has offered them and to fight racism with good behaviors, education, and respect for self and family. Essentially, their racial socialization processes are shaped by their lives in Haiti and their understanding of race, which was developed in Haiti, and the immediate context of the United States.

Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B can be called the metaphorical children of Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A. These mothers grew up in the United States with parents who came to the United States as adults in search of a better life, fleeing political and economic turmoil. Unlike their parents, the notion of race has always been present in their social context. Many have experiences with racism as early as childhood and were made to feel different because of the color of their skin. Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A were raised in families who did not have a prejudicial and stigmatized internal meaning of themselves as Blacks. While they do not recall significant messages about racism, they vividly recall their parents referring to them as different. They recalled their parents placing great emphasis on the fact that their forefathers fought the French and became a group of Blacks who have conquered slavery and ruled over their own lives. Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B grew up with teachings that racism was part of the American fabric. They also grew up in upwardly mobile families and saw what they felt were concrete examples of success despite of racism and discrimination. However, the United States society in which they grew up has taught them that racism could not be discounted. They have learned that racism can have real effects on peoples' lives and can

be disruptive to success. Yet, they were constantly reminded by their parents to follow the strategies and values that can help navigate United States' racist society but not fight against it. Their racial and ethnic socialization processes are shaped by their experiences with race and ethnicity in the United States as well as the teachings about race and ethnicity that they learned in their parents' household, their social and physical context in the United States and their children's responses to race and ethnicity in the United States.

Discussion of the Racial and Ethnic Socialization Processes of Haitian

Immigrant Mothers

Racial Socialization Processes

All 15 Haitian immigrant mothers in this study racially identified their children as being Black or Black American in the United States. Some mothers emphasized that their children were Black American to specify that their children were born in the United States and their Blackness may hold different meaning than that of Blacks across the world. Haitian immigrant mothers in this study were very aware of being Black in America. Their messages focused on one or more of the following: preparing their children for the racism and discrimination that they will face, teaching their children to value all races including their own, and developing character traits that they perceive will help their children to overcome and cope with racism. These racial socialization messages mirrored the messages found in the literature of racial socialization of African-Americans. Thornton et al. (1990) found that African-American parents' racial socialization messages were about pride in Black race, the value of hard work and education, intrinsic worth and social stratification. Hughes and Chen (1997) developed key dimensions of racial socialization among African-Americans, which also are found in

this study: preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust and cultural socialization. Some mothers were using Christian principles to demystify racism. This racial socialization message was found by Caughy et al. (2002) in their study of parental racial socialization and preschoolers' cognitive competence among African-American families.

The racial socialization messages of these mothers were reinforced by their racial socialization practices. Most Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A were not engaged in racial socialization practices expect for keeping their Black hair and skin in their natural from. In contrast, Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B were engaged in various practices around race such as exposing children to books about Black heroes, exposing children to the beauty of the Black race through visual art and theaters, participating in a march for justice for Blacks, and keeping Black hair and skin in their natural form. These socialization practices were also found in the literature about African-Americans. Hughes and Chen (1997) and Suizzo, Robinson, and Pahlke (2007) found that African-American mothers were using the same strategies mentioned above to convey their messages about race.

In growing up in the United States, Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B experienced being treated unfairly because of the color of their skin, which included having their knowledge questioned and not enjoying the same respect as their White peers. These experiences taught the mothers that racism was present and inherently part of their children's developmental journey in the United States. Racial socialization literature is explicit regarding parental experiences with racial socialization. Researchers such as Constantine and Blackmon (2002), Hughes and Chen (1997), and Thornton et al. (1990) stated that as a whole, Black parents are aware that they live in an ecological

context in which they are or can be discriminated against because of the color of skin.

Thus, they feel the need to arm their children with important tools to face racism and live productive and successful lives in the United States.

First, the results from this study also point to the fact that racial socialization is a bidirectional process. Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B reported adjusting their racial socialization messages and practices in response to their children's experiences with race and ethnicity. In addition, the results from study suggests that the children of Haitian immigrants (Group B) might adjust their racial socialization messages and practices to fit their current physical, social, and familial contexts and settings. While Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B have kept key messages about race from their parents, growing up in the United States makes them more prone to integrate the racial landscape of the United States into their psyche. As such, they were active in integrating the racial experiences of Blacks in the United States into their racial socialization messages and practices. Unlike Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A, these mothers participated in marches for racial justice with their children, exposed children to less-known African-American civil rights heroes or only bought Black dolls for their daughters.

Second, this study also explains the means by which the place in which the mothers were born and raised shaped their racial and ethnic socialization practices. The results of this study suggest that place of birth may create schemas about race, which are used to from the mothers' racial identity. This racial identity, along with these schemas, appear to shape the mothers ethnotheories about race and ethnicity that are translated through their messages and practices. This is very important for the understanding of

racial socialization of Haitian immigrant families. Unlike African-American families, their messages and practices about race are engrained in their experiences in Haiti as well as in the United States, which makes their messages and practices somewhat distinct from African Americans.

Thirdly, the results of this study suggest that the racial socialization messages and practices of Haitian immigrant mothers were aimed at developing racial identity in their children that is steep in their culture and history. They acknowledged that their children were Black.. The goals of their messages and practices were to promote pride in Black skin, Black culture and Black history, to ease the shock of racism that their children may encounter, and to remove the stigma of racism. As researchers such as Portes and Rumbaut (2001), Zephir (2001) and Woldemikael (1989) suggest, these messages about race are delivered within a Haitian framework and often with the purpose of nurturing a different identity that is not ingrained in the meaning of Blackness in the United States.

Ethnic Socialization Processes

Unlike their racial identity assignment, Haitian immigrant mothers in this study had different ethnic identity assignments for their children. Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A all assigned Haitian-American as the ethnic identity of their children. For these mothers it was important that their children be known as Haitian. The American label was only added to denote their children's geographical place of birth. As Knight et al. (1993) posit in their study of Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans, immigrant families who had strong ties to their country of origin tend to retain the customs, practices and cultural beliefs of their home country. Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A were

concerned about raising children who embraced Haitian beliefs and values and who can be identified as Haitians outside of their home.

Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B identified their children as Haitian-American, African-American, Haitian Afro-Caribbean, Haitian Jamaican American and Black American. Their ethnic socialization messages and practices were related to the ethnic identities they assigned to their children.

The ethnic socialization messages of Haitian immigrant mothers centered on promoting and developing an ethnic identity that is rooted in the mothers' culture whether it be Haitian, Haitian Afro Caribbean or Haitian American. While they recognized that their children might be defined by the color of their skin, these mothers wanted their children's sense of self to be rooted in their ethnic identity. By focusing on promoting the development of their children's identity, whether it was Haitian-American, Haitian Afro-Caribbean, Haitian Jamaican American or African-American, these mothers aimed to develop and strengthen an identity bond between their children and themselves. This ethnic identity bond is centered on their own ethnic identity and reference group in the United States. In seeking to promote a cultural identity in their children, Haitian immigrant mothers also attempted to give their children another meaning for being "Black" in America. This promotion of cultural identity is part of a three stage process of Phinney's (1994, 2002) identity development. Haitian immigrant mothers in this study have achieved their ethnic identity and are imparting cultural values, principles, and beliefs rooted in this identity to their children.

Haitian immigrant mothers' place of birth influenced the messages they shared, received and developed about ethnicity, as it provided the landscape in which they

experienced their ethnicity within their physical, social and familial contexts and settings. As Knight et al. (1993) found in their study of ethnic socialization of Mexican immigrants and Mexican-American families, the ethnic socialization messages were ingrained in the family background and were associated with their children's ethnic self-identification, ethnic role and behaviors, ethnic knowledge and ethnic preferences.

The sense of self for Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A is entrenched in their ethnic identity as Haitian. For Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A, Haitian is the only way to see themselves. It summarized their whole being. Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A believed in stimulating and nurturing Haitian identity in their children, just as Okagaki and Moore (2000) found in the study of the role of family in ethnic socialization with Mexican families. In seeing themselves only as Haitian, Group A mothers appear to seek to remain connected to their children by inculcating customs, practices, views and values of the Haitian culture in their children.

Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B grew up in Haitian households in an American physical and social setting. Some reported growing up in the height of discrimination against Haitians and felt the need to hide their Haitian background as children and adolescents. However as adults they all used Haitian as part of their ethnic identity such as Haitian-American or Haitian-Afro Caribbean. Their beliefs, values, practices and customs are a culmination of the messages that they received about being Haitian from their parents and of their experiences with ethnicity in the United States. Growing up in the United States, Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B have not only come to appreciate their Haitian culture but also have integrated this culture into their sense of self. Interestingly, growing up in the United States has also taught Haitian

immigrant mothers in Group B to value other ethnic groups; as such, they were open to their children's experiences with ethnicity and some of them were open to the fact their children may not identify as Haitian. While they felt that their essence was Haitian-American, some of the Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B were not trying to develop the same ethnic identity in their children. Some mothers argued that their children were raised in households in which English was spoken, attended schools that mostly exposed them to American culture and were surrounded by American communities. They felt that unlike themselves their children shared in American history.

As with racial socialization processes, this study bridges the gap in the literature of ethnic socialization processes by tackling some main issues in the literature. First, the current literature on ethnic socialization tends to place the ethnic socialization of immigrant families into pre-set patterns. However, results from this study show that the ethnic socialization processes of Haitian immigrant mothers are related to their physical, social and familial settings and contexts. As such, the ethnic socialization is not only a response to what is occurring in the physical, social and familial contexts and settings of the family but also a result of generative goals that Haitian immigrant mothers have for their children. Consequently, the ethnic socialization of immigrant families can vary from one to another, as was the case for some mothers in this study.

Second, contrary to previous studies, the ethnic socialization of Haitian immigrant mothers in this study is not aimed at separating their children from African-Americans. Although some of the mothers were clear about behaviors they associated with Black Americans that they did not want their children to emulate, their ethnic socialization process is mainly focused on developing a Haitian cultural identity in their children and

preserving the Haitian reference group in their respective United States communities. Some of the mothers' ethnic socialization process is aimed at raising a generation of children who are sensitive to the needs of Haitians in Haiti. Their ethnic socialization process is also a coping tool for the inherent racism and discrimination many feel that their children will face. Using Haiti as their frame of reference, these mothers have located their children's roots and origins in Haiti. Most of the mothers in this study see their current physical space in the United States as a geographic location in their children's lives with no clear imprint on their sense of self. They are using their ethnotheories on ethnicity to provide their children with alternative frames of reference, and developing "Haitian" as an alternative identity. In that sense the mothers' ethnotheories are focused on teaching their children that they are not only Black and might not face racism against them as with African-Americans if they hold on to Haitian values, principles and customs.

Thirdly, the results of this study suggest that mothers perceive ethnic socialization as occurring within the family and also within the community. For example, mothers reported that within their Haitian communities in the United States churches and extended families were also involved in transmitting the beliefs, views and practices about the Haitian culture to their children.

Fourthly, the attention and importance that Haitian immigrants in this study give to ethnic socialization is of significance. Hughes and Chen (1997) have argued that racial and ethnic socialization are intertwined and cannot be differentiated. However, this may not be the case for Haitian immigrants. The ethnic socialization process of Haitian immigrants appear to be distinct from their racial socialization process. For most Haitian

immigrant mothers in this study, they manifest themselves differently and are nurtured by different ethnotheories. For most Haitian immigrant mothers, racial socialization processes served to promote pride in their children's skin color while ethnic socialization processes served to develop and foster a cultural identity, whether it is a Haitian cultural identity or Afrocentric/Caribbean cultural identity. It is important to note that while they are distinct processes, Haitian immigrant mothers in this study seem to be using both their racial and ethnic socialization processes to help their children cope with racism and achieve success despite the racism that they may face.

Finally, researchers such as Waters (1994) and Zephir (2001) argued that Haitian immigrants who were born and raised in the United States or were raised in United States from a young age tend to disagree with their parents' notion of race and ethnicity. This often created tensions and ethnic distance between parents and child. However, such tensions can possibly be explained by Erikson's (1960) stages of development. During their identity crisis vs. identity achievement phase, adolescents experience conflict with the self and family (Erikson, 1960). The current study did not examine the retrospective memories of adolescent conflict related to racial or ethnic identity mothers may have had with their parents growing up. But, the results of this study suggest that Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B report having retained most of the Haitian principles, values, and beliefs that they contend were taught by their parents and within their parents' Haitian community.

While the Development Niche provides the theoretical framework for the study of racial and ethnic identity of these 15 Haitian immigrant mothers, it is important to note that there are some additional factors that may influence the racial and ethnic

socialization of Haitian immigrant mothers in this study. Since these sub-components were not operationalized in this study, it is difficult to ascertain their impact but they are worth mentioning. For example, all married Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A were married to Haitian man who like migrated to the United States as adults. Their spouse is part of their social and physical context and may influence their racial socialization messages and practices. Their spouse may have influenced the racial and ethnic identity they assigned to their children, as most of the mothers stated that their children are Haitian because they and their children's fathers are Haitian. Their spouse may also impact their decisions to enforce Haitian values, customs and practices with their children. In addition their spouse's ethnicity may have influenced the Haitian reference group that they cling to in the United States.

Contrary to Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A, all married Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B were married to non-Haitian men. These spouses, who are part of the household, may shape and dictate the racial and ethnic identity the mothers assigned to their children as well as the socialization messages that are transmitted to children. One mother stated her children ethnic identity was Haitian-Jamaican American because she was Haitian and her husband was Jamaican. One mother stated that she did not speak Haitian Creole with her children because her spouse was not Haitian and did not speak Creole. As such, unlike the experiences of Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A, her children did not have an affinity to Haitian Creole. Another Haitian immigrant mother in Group B stated that her racial socialization messages were focused on counteracting her husband, who she describes as extremely negative.

Additionally, in this study, Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A had fewer years of education overall than Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B. In addition, Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B held more professional positions than Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A. Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B may have been exposed to racism and discrimination despite their education. This may explain why Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B were more likely than Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A to believe that their children will experience racism in the United States regardless of their level of education. These factors which were not studied make the case for additional study with Haitian immigrant families to develop a more comprehensive understanding of their racial and ethnic socialization processes.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Racial and ethnic socialization are processes of child development. Using Harkness and Super's Developmental Niche (1983, 1992, 1996), this study established a framework for the racial and ethnic socialization of 15 Haitian immigrant mothers living in seven cities in the northeastern United States. Two groups of Haitian immigrant mothers were recruited for this study. Eight of the mothers were born and raised in Haiti and migrated to the United States at or after the age of 21. They were referred to in this study as the Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A. The remaining seven mothers were referred to as the Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B. Of these seven, four were born and raised in the United States; three were born in Haiti, migrated to the United States before or at age five, and were raised in the United States. In investigating the racial and ethnic socialization processes among Haitian immigrants in the United States, this study found for that the 15 Haitian immigrant mothers racial socialization processes were mostly distinct from ethnic socialization processes.

The racial and ethnic socialization of Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B are the product of the interaction of the psychology of the Haitian immigrant mothers, the physical and social context of their family, and their cultural strategies of care. This study found that the psychology of the 15 Haitian immigrant mothers encompassed their ethnotheories of race and ethnicity, their racial and ethnic identities, their development in the stage of generativity versus stagnation, and their reference group

in the United States. The study showed that the physical and social context included the mothers' communities in Haiti and in the United States, including their parents' household. This study also found that Haitian immigrant mothers' cultural strategies of care are impacted bonded by their children's experiences with race and ethnicity.

All Haitian immigrant mothers in this study identified themselves as Black racially. They also identified their children as Black or Black American. Their ethnotheories on race were shaped by the country in which they were born and raised (Haiti or United States) and were influenced by the messages they received about being Black and about Blackness in their parents' households. The Haitian immigrant mothers reported that they believed Black people to be beautiful, strong, and resilient and to have a fighting spirit. They all reported experiencing or witnessing racism against Black people in the United States. However, Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A differ from those in Group B in their perception of their children's experiences with race. Most Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A did not believe that their children will experience racism in the United States, while all Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B expected that their children will experience racism. Yet, the ethnotheories of race of both groups of mothers were focused on preparing their children to be successful regardless of the racist climate in the United States. They accomplished this through messages of that focused on teaching about the Haitian culture, preparing their children for bias, promotion of mistrust, promotion of intrinsic behavior, Christian spirituality and the development of Black race consciousness.

All Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A identified themselves as Haitian ethnically while Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B stated that they were Haitian or

Haitian-American. They were not trying to hide the fact that they are Haitian or Haitian-American. For many Haitian immigrant mothers in this study, being Haitian or Haitian-American provided them with a sense of “otherness.” Haitian immigrant mothers, for the most part, were also trying to foster that sense of “otherness” in their children. The ethnic socialization messages of Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B were centered on the development of a cultural identity in their children and on cultural socialization. In addition, Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A were focused on fostering a sense of connection to Haiti through the promotion of transnationalism in their children.

All Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A perceived their children to be Haitian-American. They stated that their children are Haitian since they are Haitians and that the American designation only represented the geographic location of their children’s place of birth. Additionally, they stated that they were raising their children only with Haitian values and principles. In contrast, Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B varied in the ethnic identities they assigned to their children. They stated that the ethnic identity they assigned to their children reflected the ethnic group in which their children felt at ease. The difference in their ethnic assignments can be explained by the reference groups of the Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A and in Group B. All Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A reported having a Haitian reference group in the United States. Most of them stated that they attended Haitian Christian churches and reported keeping a Haitian social circle. In addition, all of the married Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A were married to men who also were born and raised in Haiti.

In contrast, only one of the married Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B was married to a man of Haitian ancestry. Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B did not have a Haitian reference group in the United States. They stated that they took part in both Haitian and Native Black events, as well as events from groups in the African Diaspora. They also stated that they felt culturally competent in both Haitian and Native Black communities and that they were exposing their children to activities from both groups. Regardless, most of the Haitian immigrant mothers in this study believed or continue to believe that the sense of Haitian-ness categorized them as the “other” and served as a protective factor to bypass or overcome the effects of racism in the United States. While some were trying to nurture a Haitian ethnic identity in their children, others were open to their children adopting an Afrocentric or Native Black ethnic identity. However, Haitian immigrant mothers in this study were trying to infuse Haitian ways of being, beliefs, values and practices into these identities. As such, they were teaching their children to draw a sense of strength in being the “other.” They sought to foster a sense of connection between their children and themselves through a shared Haitian identity. Ultimately, Haitian immigrant mothers in this study seemed to believe that this sense of “otherness” could help their children bypass or overcome racism as well, and they worked to achieve this by teaching them the values, beliefs and customs that are nested in the Haitian culture.

Implications for Practice

As processes of child development, racial and ethnic socialization often begin in the home, as was the case for the 15 Haitian immigrant mothers in this study. It is often in the home that children learn about their race and ethnicity along with the historical

meaning, values and beliefs associated with their race and ethnicity. Aside from their home, the social institutions that children are part of such as schools, aftercare programs, and sports play an intricate role in their racial and ethnic socialization processes. Yet, many researchers such as Gloria Ladson-Billings (1995, 2005, 2006), Jonathan Kozol (1991) and Jacqueline Irvine (2003) argue that American school systems are based on White Anglo-Saxon values that often undermine the teachings and values of minority children and families.

Research shows that children thrive when their race and ethnicities are celebrated, not only at home but also at school. Yet, too often families are facing this walk alone. Some of the mothers in this study stated that they were engaged in racial and ethnic socialization processes with their children because it was the only means to teach their children racial and ethnic pride as well as the significance of their race and ethnicity. Wu, Leong and Lyons (2014) found that minority adolescents and young adults who do not agree with the views and beliefs of the dominant social group may be more prone to experience racial and ethnic bullying and to develop greater mistrust of the dominant social group. In that sense, the absence of racial and ethnic socialization messages that celebrate the family's culture and the inability of schools to integrate families' culture, values and beliefs into the classroom may foster an environment where children do not feel at ease to embrace their racial and ethnic heritage.

To ensure that children are able to thrive academically, emotionally and socially, practitioners such as teachers, coaches and social workers need to be mindful of children's race and ethnicity beyond the surface of phenotypes. Researchers posit that practitioners, such teachers, have the responsibility to discuss the realities of race with

their students while they work to shield their students from experiences of racial trauma caused by Anglo Saxon teaching materials and practices (Derden, 2009; Gaine, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1999; Pollack, Deckman, Mira, & Shalaby, 2010).

In light of the recent unjust killings of young Black boys and girls, some teachers throughout the nation are seeking resources about ways and means to discuss race and racism in the classroom. One such resource is a daylong summit to build racial and cultural competency for educators offered by the University of Pennsylvania's Center for Study of Race and Equity in Education. However, more practitioners need to understand that children from Black immigrant families are the products of their home environment and they may bring to the classroom distinctive teachings about their race and ethnicity and the race and ethnicity of the people in their community. In addition, practitioners can grow in their racial and ethnic proficiency by engaging Black immigrant families in their classroom and inviting them to share not only their food and their music but also their experiences of being Black in America, as well the meaning of being "other." These purposeful conversations with Black immigrant parents can aid teachers in gaining a personal understanding of the issues and ethnicity that are unique to Black immigrant families.

Implications for Future Research

As processes of child development, it is fitting that the field of child development takes a leading role in the studies of the racial and ethnic socialization processes of Black immigrant families. The results of this study are useful to start the conversation on the racial and ethnic socialization of Black immigrant families, particularly Haitian immigrant families. However, the sample in this study is too small to make any

inferences about the racial and ethnic socialization of Haitian immigrant families in the United States as a whole.

In order to fully understand the racial and ethnic socialization processes of Haitian immigrant families, we need to conduct more research. First, there is a need for research with a statistically significant sample of Haitian immigrants who were born and raised in Haiti and migrated to the United States after age 21 and of Haitian immigrant mothers who were born and raised in the United States or born in Haiti, migrated to the United States before or on the age of 5 and were raised in the United States. Such a sample will allow child development researchers to ascertain the role of the place of birth on racial and ethnic socialization processes. A statistically significant sample will also allow researchers to control for confounding factors such as level of education and socio-economic status. Furthermore, it will help researchers in finding statistical differences and similarities between the two groups.

Second, there is a need to add a third population of Haitian immigrant families to the study of racial and ethnic socialization: Haitian immigrant mothers who migrated to the United States after the age of five and before the age of 21. This group includes mothers who were raised both in Haiti and in the United States but migrated of the United States before the age of identity crisis vs. identity achievement (Erikson, 1968). This is also an interesting group of mothers, as they may have spent their formative years in both Haitian and American institutions such as schools and universities and as such may have formed their own beliefs regarding race and ethnicity independent of their parents.

Third, researchers need to include spouses, fathers or partners in the study of racial and ethnic socialization processes of families. Results from this study suggest that

for these 15 Haitian immigrant mothers, not only might the race and ethnicity of the fathers/partners influence the mothers' racial and ethnic socialization messages and practices, but also that fathers/partners might be engaged in their own racial and ethnic socialization messages and practices with their children. By including fathers/partners, researchers will be able to construct a comprehensive profile of the racial and ethnic socialization of Haitian immigrant families.

Finally, research needs to be conducted with mother-child dyads and father-mother-child triads. Results from this study show that the racial and ethnic socialization messages, practices and ethnotheories of the 15 Haitian immigrant mothers were shaped by their children's experiences with race and ethnicity in the United States. But the current study only relies on mothers' perspectives only and does not assess the extent to which mothers' desired ethnic and racial socialization practices are understood by and inculcated in children's sense of identity. How children experience the messages mothers and fathers give to them regarding racial and ethnic identity and cultural affinity will require studies that capture and compare maternal, paternal and child perspectives. Also, through cross-sectional studies of how Haitian-American children of various ages deal with race and ethnicity messages, expectations and experiences in various contexts (e.g., family, school, faith communities, after school programs) researchers will be able to examine racial socialization processes in action and to develop healthy models of development of Black immigrant children and families.

APPENDIX A
RECRUITMENT FLYER

HAITIAN MOTHERS NEEDED!!!

My name is Abigail Duchatelier-Jeudy. I am a doctoral candidate at Erikson Institute/Loyola University in Chicago, IL. I was born and raised in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. I am doing my dissertation research study on the messages and practices that Haitian immigrant mothers give to their children about race and ethnicity.



Were you born in Haiti? Or were you born in the United States, but your parents were born in Haiti?

Are you the mother of a child between the ages of 8 and 18?

Are you interested in sharing your ideas about race and ethnicity?

If you meet all these criteria and you are interested in participating in this study or have questions about the study, please contact Abigail at 2013-952-1689 or a.duchatel@erikson.edu.

Interviews will be conducted in person or over the phone and you will receive a \$20 gift card for your participation.

APPENDIX B
IN-PERSON CONSENT FORM

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH
In-Person Interview

Project Title: A grounded theory study of racial and ethnic socialization processes among Haitian immigrant mothers living in the United States.

Researcher(s): Abigail Duchatelier-Jeudy, MPH

Faculty Sponsor: Aisha Ray, PhD

Introduction:

You are being asked to take part in a research study being conducted by Abigail Duchatelier-Jeudy for a dissertation under the supervision of Dr. Aisha Ray in Applied Child Development at Erikson Institute and Loyola University in Chicago, Illinois.

You are being asked to participate because you have met all the research recruitment criteria. First you are either: 1) a woman who was born and raised in Haiti, migrated to the United States after the age of 21 and has lived in the United States for the past 5 years; or 2) a woman born in Haiti and migrated to the United States by the age 5 and were only raised in the US or were born and raised in the United States. Secondly, you are a mother and the care provider for a child who is between the ages of 8 and 18 who resides with you or has resided with you throughout childhood and adolescence.

Please read this form carefully. If you have any questions, please contact the researcher at 203-952-1689 or via email at a.duchatel@erikson.edu.

Purpose:

The purpose of this research is to describe the messages that Haitian immigrant mothers give to their children regarding race and ethnicity and the practices they undertake to reinforce these messages. The study also seeks to describe and explain the role Haitian and Haitian-American mothers' place of birth plays in what they impart to their children.

Procedures:

If you agree to be in the study you will be asked to participate in one interview that is estimated to take no more than two hours. The interview will be conducted in a language of your choice—either English or Haitian Creole. The focus of the interview will be about the messages that you give your children about race and ethnicity, the practices that you engage in with your children, and the way in which being born and raised in Haiti or the United States has shaped your messages and practices. The interview will be audiotaped and the interviewer may take notes as the interview is in progress. The audiotapes will be transcribed and translated (if the interview is conducted in Creole). The tapes will be destroyed one year after I defend my dissertation research. The interviews are voluntary, will take on average no more than two hours, and will be held at a time and place of your choosing. During the interview, you do not

have to answer any questions that may make you uncomfortable, and you may stop the interview at any time without consequences of any kind.

Risks/Benefits:

There are no foreseeable risks involved in participating in this research beyond those experienced in everyday life.

There are no direct benefits to you for participation in this study. The information you share will help us learn more about Haitian and Haitian-American mothers' experiences talking to their children about race and ethnicity in the United States. It will also promote understanding about how growing up in Haiti or the United States may affect the messages that mothers give to their children about race and ethnicity.

This study will assist researchers, educators and social service providers in understanding the experiences of Haitian families in the US and developmental needs of children from Haitian families.

Compensation: (optional section)

You will receive a \$20 gift card at the end of the interview as an honorarium for participating in this study.

Confidentiality:

I will keep all the information gathered in this study confidential. Your name, your address, phone number, or any other identifying information will not be used in reporting the results of the interviews. All the information I gather will be kept in a locked cabinet in an office in my home and I am the only person with access to that cabinet. Personal identifiable information will not be recorded on audiotapes, handwritten notes or the interview document. If your interview is conducted in Haitian Creole the audiotapes will be sent to a transcription/translation company for transcribing and translating. The company will not be able to identify you or any member of your family and will keep the information on the audiotapes confidential. The transcription/translation company will only share the transcription with me and will send me the audiotape after the transcription/translation is complete. I will share a portion of the transcription with the faculty sponsor and dissertation committee for the purpose of the dissertation research. All identifying information will be excluded in the transcription and translation.

Voluntary Participation:

Participation in this study is voluntary. If you do not want to be in this study, you do not have to participate. You may choose not to participate or to withdraw at any time without penalty or loss of benefits. Your decision to leave will not affect you in any way. Even if you decide to participate, you may refuse to answer any questions or to withdraw from participation at any time without penalty.

Contacts and Questions:

If you have any questions about this research study, please feel free to contact Abigail Duchatelier-Jeudy at 203-952-1689 or at a.duchatel@erikson.edu, or the faculty sponsor, Dr. Aisha Ray at 312-893-7137 (aray@erikson.edu). If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Loyola University Office of Research Services at (773) 508-2689.

Statement of Consent:

Your signature below indicates that you have read the information provided above, have had an opportunity to ask questions, and agree to participate in this research study. You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records.

Participant's Signature

Date

Researcher's Signature

Date

APPENDIX C
OVER-THE-PHONE CONSENT FORM

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Phone Interview

Project Title: A grounded theory study of racial and ethnic socialization processes among Haitian immigrant mothers living in the United States

Researcher(s): Abigail Duchatelier-Jeudy, MPH

Faculty Sponsor: Aisha Ray, PhD

Introduction:

You are being asked to take part in a research study being conducted by Abigail Duchatelier-Jeudy for a dissertation under the supervision of Dr. Aisha Ray in the Applied Child Development at Erikson Institute and Loyola University in Chicago, Illinois.

You are being asked to participate because you have met all the research recruitment criteria. First you are either: 1) a woman who was born and raised in Haiti, migrated to the United States after the age of 21 and has lived in the United States for the past 5 years; or 2) a woman born in Haiti and migrated to the United States by the age 5 and were only raised in the US or were born and raised in the United States. Secondly, you are a mother and the care provider for a child who is between the ages of 8 and 18 who resides with you or has resided with you throughout childhood and adolescence. Please read this form carefully and call the researcher at 203-952-1689 with any questions you may have before deciding whether to participate in the study.

Purpose:

The purpose of this study is first to describe the messages that Haitian immigrant mothers give to their children regarding race and ethnicity and the practices they undertake to reinforce these messages. The study also seeks to describe and explain the role Haitian mothers' place of birth plays in what they teach to their children.

Procedures:

If you agree to be in the study, you will be asked to participate in one telephone interview. The focus of the interview will be about the messages that you give your children on race and ethnicity, the practices that you engage with your children, and the way in which being born and raised in Haiti or in the United States has shaped your messages and practices. The interview will be audiotaped and the interviewer may take notes as the interview is in progress. The audiotapes will be transcribed and/or translated (if the interview is conducted in Creole). The tapes will be destroyed after one year. The interviews are voluntary and will take between one to 2 hours and will be held at a time of your choosing. During the interview you do not have to answer any questions that may make you uncomfortable, and you may stop the interview at any time without consequences of any kind.

Risks/Benefits:

There are no foreseeable risks involved in participating in this research beyond those experienced in everyday life.

There are no direct benefits to you from participation. The information you share will help us learn more about Haitian mothers' experiences talking to their children about race and ethnicity in the United States. It will also help us understand some of the ways that growing up in Haiti or the United States affect the messages that Haitian mothers give to their children about race and ethnicity.

This study will assist researchers, educators and social service providers in understanding the experiences of Haitian families in the US and developmental needs of children from Haitian families.

Compensation: (optional section)

You will receive a \$20 gift card in the mail after the telephone interview, as an honorarium for participating in this study.

Confidentiality:

I will keep all the information gathered in the study confidential. Your name, address, phone number, or any other identifying information will not be used in reporting the results of the interviews. All the information I gather will be kept in a locked cabinet in an office in my home. Personal identifiable information will not be recorded. The audiotapes will be sent to a transcription/translation company for transcribing and translating (if applicable). The company will not be able to identify you or members of your family and will keep the information on the audiotapes confidential. The transcription/translation company will only share the transcription with me and will send me the audiotape after the transcription/translation is complete. I will share portions of the transcription with the faculty sponsor and dissertation committee for the purpose of the dissertation research. All identifying information will be excluded in the transcription and translation.

Voluntary Participation:

Participation in this study is voluntary. If you do not want to be in this study, you do not have to participate. You may choose not to participate, or to withdraw at any time without penalty or loss of benefits. Your decision to leave will not affect you in any way. Even if you decide to participate, you may refuse to answer any question or to withdraw from participation at any time without penalty.

Contacts and Questions:

If you have questions about this research study, please feel free to contact Abigail Duchatelier-Jeudy at 203-952-1689 or a.duchatel@erikson.edu or the faculty sponsor, Dr. Aisha Ray at 312-893-7137 (aray@erikson.edu). If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Loyola University Office of Research Services at (773) 508-2689.

Statement of Consent:

Your signature below indicates that you have read the information provided above, have had an opportunity to ask questions, and agree to participate in this research study. After you have signed the consent form, please place it in the stamped envelope and return it to the nearest post office mailbox. You will be mailed a copy of this form to keep for your records.

Participant's Signature

Date

Researcher's Signature

Date

APPENDIX D
RECRUITMENT AND SCREENING FOR PARTICIPANT IN GROUP A
(IN-PERSON OR OVER THE PHONE)

My name is Abigail Duchatelier-Jeudy and I am a doctoral candidate in Applied Child Development at Erikson Institute and Loyola University in Chicago, Illinois. I am doing a study on racial and ethnic socialization processes among Haitian immigrant mothers living in the United States. I am contacting you to determine if you are interested in and eligible to participate in this study. There are no foreseeable risks involved in participating in this research other than those experienced in everyday life and there are no direct benefits. Your participation is completely voluntary. You may refuse to answer any questions and stop this interview at any time.

There are nine questions in this screening questionnaire and I will administer the questionnaire. Are you willing to be screened? (If yes, continue below. If no, end screening).

I am going to read each question and each answer choice slowly. I will ask you to tell me your answer for each question.

What is your:

First _____ Middle _____ Last name _____

1. What is your country of birth?
 - a. Haiti. (Continue to question 2).
 - b. United States. (Continue to question 2).
 - c. Others. (Thank you for your time, you are not eligible to participate in the study. You may now end the questionnaire).

2. What is the country your mother was born in?
 - a. Haiti. (Continue to question 3).
 - b. United States (Thank you for your time, you are not eligible to participate in the study. You may now end the questionnaire)
 - c. Other. (Thank you for your time, you are not eligible to participate in the study. You may now end the questionnaire.)

3. What is the country your father was born in?
 - a. Haiti. (Continue to question 4).
 - b. United States (Thank you for your time, you are not eligible to participate in the study. You may now end the questionnaire)
 - c. Other. (Thank you for your time, you are not eligible to participate in the study. You may now end the questionnaire.)

4. How old were you when you moved to the United States to live permanently in United States?
 - a. At 21 years old (Continue to question 5).
 - b. More than 21 years old (Continue to question 5).

- c. Less than 21 years old (Thank you for your time, you are not eligible to participate in the study. You may now end the questionnaire).
5. Since moving to the United States permanently, have you lived in another country other than the United States for 6 months to a year?
 - a. No. (Continue to question 6).
 - b. Yes (Thank you for your time, you are not eligible to participate in the study. You may now end the questionnaire).
6. Since moving to the United States permanently, how many years have you been living ONLY in the United States consistently?
 - a. Between 5 and 7 years. (Continue to question 7).
 - b. Between 5 and 10 years. (Continue to question 7).
 - c. Between 10 and 15 years. (Continue to question 7).
 - d. More than 15 years. (Continue to question 7).
 - e. Less than 5 years ((Thank you for your time, you are not eligible to participate in the study. You may now end the questionnaire).
7. Are you the biological mother and care provider of a child is between 8 and 18 years old?
 - a. Yes. (Continue to question 8).
 - b. No. (Thank you for your time, you are not eligible to participate in the study. You may now end the questionnaire).
8. Does/do the child/children live with you?
 - a. Yes. (Continue to question 9).
 - b. No. (Thank you for your time, you are not eligible to participate in the study. You may now end the questionnaire).
9. Congratulations! You meet all the criteria to participate in this study. The next steps are for us to read and discuss the consent form, for you to sign the form if you agree to be in the study, and for us to schedule a time for the interview at your convenience. In order for me to mail you the consent form or for us to schedule a time to discuss the consent form and the interview, can you please provide me with the following information:
 - a. What is your home address?
 - b. What is your mailing address (if different than your home address)?
 - c. What is your phone number?
 - d. What is an alternate phone number where you can be reached if I cannot reach you at the number above?
 - e. What is your email address?
 - f. What is an alternate email address where you can be reached if I cannot reach you at the email address above?

APPENDIX E
RECRUITMENT AND SCREENING FOR PARTICIPANT IN GROUP B
(IN-PERSON OR OVER THE PHONE)

My name is Abigail Duchatelier-Jeudy and I am a doctoral candidate in Applied Child Development at Erikson Institute and Loyola University in Chicago, Illinois. I am doing a study on racial and ethnic socialization processes among Haitian immigrant mothers living in the United States. I am contacting you to determine if you are interested in and eligible to participate in this study. There are no foreseeable risks involved in participating in this research other than those experienced in everyday life and there are no direct benefits. Your participation is completely voluntary. You may refuse to answer any questions and stop this interview at any time.

There are eleven questions in this screening questionnaire and I will administer the questionnaire. Are you willing to be screened? (If yes, continue below. If no, end screening).

I am going to read each question and each answer choice slowly. I will ask you to tell me your answer for each question.

What is your:

First _____ Middle _____ Last name _____

1. What is your country of birth?
 - a. Haiti. (Continue to question 2).
 - b. United States. (Continue to question 2).
 - c. Others. (Thank you for your time, you are not eligible to participate in the study. You may now end the questionnaire.)

2. If you were born in Haiti and moved to the United States before the age of 21 years, how old were you when you moved to the United States to live permanently in United States?
 - a. Less than 1 year (Continue to question 3).
 - b. Between 1 year old and 3 years old (Continue to question 3).
 - c. Between 3 years old and 5 years old (Continue to question 3).
 - d. At 5 years old (Continue to question 3)

3. What is the country your mother was born in?
 - a. Haiti. (Continue to question 4).
 - b. United States (Thank you for your time, you are not eligible to participate in the study. You may now end the questionnaire)
 - c. Other. (Thank you for your time, you are not eligible to participate in the study. You may now end the questionnaire.)

4. What is the country your father was born in?
 - a. Haiti. (Continue to question 5).
 - b. United States (Thank you for your time, you are not eligible to participate in the study. You may now end the questionnaire)

- c. Other. (Thank you for your time, you are not eligible to participate in the study. You may now end the questionnaire.)

5. What is the country or what are the countries your grandparents were born in?

Country	Maternal Grandmother	Maternal Grandfather	Paternal Grandmother	Paternal Grandfather
Haiti				
United States				
Other				

- a. Haiti for all four (Continue to question 6).
 b. United States or other for any of the four (Thank you for your time, you are not eligible to participate in the study. You may now end the questionnaire).
6. Where were you raised?
 a. United States. (Continue to question 7).
 b. Others. (Thank you for your time, you are not eligible to participate in the study. You may now end the questionnaire.)
7. Have you lived in another country other than the United States for 6 months to a year?
 a. No. (Continue to question 8).
 b. Yes. (Thank you for your time, you are not eligible to participate in the study. You may now end the questionnaire.)
8. How many years have you been living ONLY in the United States consistently?
 a. Between 5 and 7 years. (Continue to question 9).
 b. Between 7 and 10 years. (Continue to question 9).
 c. Between 10 and 15 years. (Continue to question 9).
 d. More than 15 years. (Continue to question 9).
 e. Less than 5 years. (Thank you for your time, you are not eligible to participate in the study. You may now end the questionnaire).
9. Are you the biological mother and care provider of a child who is between 8 and 18 years old?
 a. Yes. (Continue to question 10).
 b. No. (Thank you for your time, you are not eligible to participate in the study. You may now end the questionnaire).
10. Does/do the child/children live with you?
 a. Yes. (Continue to question 11).

- b. No. (Thank you for your time, you are not eligible to participate in the study. You may now end the questionnaire).
11. Congratulations! You meet all the criteria to participate in this study. The next steps are to read and discuss the consent form, for you to sign the form if you agree to be in the study, and for us to schedule a time for the interview at your convenience. In order for me to mail you the consent form and/or for us to schedule a time to discuss the consent form and the interview, can you please provide me with the following information:
- a. What is your home address?
 - b. What is your mailing address (if different from your home address)?
 - c. What is your phone number?
 - d. What is an alternate phone number where you can be reached if I cannot reach you at the number above?
 - e. What is your email address?
 - f. What is an alternate email address where you can be reached if I cannot reach you at the email address above?

APPENDIX F
MATERIALS INTRODUCTION LETTER

Dear participant

Thank you for agreeing to be part of my study. Enclosed are two identical copies of the consent form with the stamp of Loyola University. I have signed the researcher's line. Please read the consent form carefully, I will call you within 3 days of ___to confirm that you received all the materials and to answer any questions you may have about the consent form or the study. You may also reach me at 203-952-1689 to ask me any question about the study. Please make sure that I answer all your questions before you sign the consent form. Please remember that your participation is voluntary and you may refuse to participate at any time. If you agree to participate, please sign both copies of the consent form, please keep one copy and your records and mail the other one at your earliest convenience,

Gratefully,

Abigail

APPENDIX G
INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Participant ID: _____

Pseudoname: _____ Date and time: _____

My name is Abigail Duchatelier-Jeudy. I am a PhD candidate in Applied Child Development at Erikson Institute and Loyola University in Chicago, Illinois. I am doing a study on racial and ethnic socialization processes among Haitian immigrant mothers living in the Northeast region of the United States. I am interested in talking to you about the information, words, and practices that you share with your children regarding issues of race and ethnicity.

You have met all the criteria for participating in the study. You have also signed the consent form. I want to remind you that there are no foreseeable risks involved in participating in this research study other than those experienced in everyday life and there are no direct benefits. Your participation is voluntary. As we go through the interview, if you wish to take a break, please let me know. Also, you may refuse to answer any questions that you do not want to answer and you may stop the interview at any time without penalty.

During the interview, I am going to ask you questions about:

1. The messages about race and ethnicity that you may have received from your parents and family as you were growing up;
2. The messages and practices on race and ethnicity that you may say or teach your children; and
3. The things that have influenced what you believe, value, and do in teaching your children about race and ethnicity.

A-Self-Identification and Language

I would like to start the conversation by discussing the way you see yourself in terms of racial and ethnic labels and the languages that you are comfortable using. By comfortable, I mean reading, speaking and writing. However, I understand some people are extremely comfortable in Haitian Creole, but they do not write Haitian Creole.

1- People call themselves different things. I am going to read some terms people may use to describe themselves. Please indicate the terms that apply to you. What label do you think best describes you (please pick one)?

- a. Haitian
- b. Haitian American
- c. American
- d. Black
- e. West Indian
- f. African American
- g. Franco American
- h. Black American
- i. Caribbean

Can you please explain the reason for your choice?

2- Here is a list of racial/ethnic designations. Please rank them numerically, starting with the one you feel most comfortable.

- a. Franco American
- b. African American
- c. Haitian
- d. American
- e. Black
- f. Haitian American
- g. Caribbean
- h. Black American
- i. West Indian
- j. Black immigrant
- k. Other, please specify: _____

3- Thinking about racial and ethnic designations, what do you want people to think you are?

4-What languages do you feel most comfortable using (reading, speaking, and/or writing)?

5-What language(s) do you speak at home most often, and with whom?

- a. Your children
- b. Spouse/partners
- c. Other relatives

B- Values, beliefs, and information shared on racial and ethnic labels.

Now I would like to ask you some questions about the values and beliefs you have about your own identity and the neighborhood in which you live.

1-For you, what does it mean to be [Answer to A1]?

2-What is your opinion of [Answer to A1]?

3- For you, what does it mean to be [Answer to A2]?

4-What is your opinion of [Answer to A2]?

5-Growing up in [Haiti] or the [United States], what messages (information and words) were you told about being [insert answer to A1]? [Insert answer to A2]

- a. By your parents
- b. At school
- c. In your community

6-Thinking about the messages (information and words) you received at home, at school and in your community, what messages (information and words) have you kept?

C- Racial and ethnic socialization messages.

Now I would like to focus on children and information that you give your children about race and ethnicity and issues with racism and ethnic discrimination that you and your children may have faced.

1-Can you please give some information about your children

Child number	Country of birth	age

2-For your child who is between the ages of [8 and 14] or [15-18] years old, what racial and ethnic labels apply to him or her? Or

Child Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Racial Label	Ethnic Label

I would like for you to answer the next set of questions thinking about this specific child or specific children (if there is more than one child in the same age category) that you have listed above.

3-Do you talk to your children about [insert answer from C1 or C2]?

4-What do you tell them?

5-Why do you tell them these things?

6-If no messages given, why? (When do you think you will talk to your children about being [insert answer to C1 and C2]? If there is time in the future that you might want to, what might bring that on?

7-Have you had experiences with racial discrimination/racism in the United States that influence what you tell your children about race?

8-Have you had any experiences in the United States with prejudice against you as a Haitian that has influenced what you tell your children about being Haitian?

9-Think about what you say to your children about race. How has growing up in [Haiti] or the [United States] influenced what you say to them? How has moving to the United States (after the age of 21) influenced what you say to them (only for mothers who were not born and raised in the United States) (Probe: Have you shared any of the messages that you received growing up about race with your children?)

10-Think about what you say to your children about ethnicity. How has growing up in [Haiti] or the [United States] influenced what you say to them? How has moving to the United States (after the age of 21) influenced what you say to them (only for mothers who were not born and raised in the United States)? (Probe: Have you shared any of the messages that you received growing up about race with your children?)

11-Who or what has influenced what you tell your children about race? (parents, media, friends, neighbors)

12-Who or what has influenced what you tell your children about ethnicity? (parents, media, friends, neighbors)?

13-Have your children shared with you that they have experienced racism? If so, what was the experience? What did you say? How did you feel?

14-Have your children shared with you that they have experienced ethnic discrimination? If so, what was the experience? What did you say? How did you feel?

15-Do you think your children will experience racism? If so, how does that make you feel?

16- Do you think your children will experience ethnic discrimination? If so, how does that make you feel?

17-Overall, thinking about the racial and ethnic label that you use to describe your child, do you feel that you have control over your child's life in the United States?

D- Racial and ethnic socialization practices:

Now I am going to ask you some questions about things that you may do with your children. Please indicate whether or not you do them by answering yes or no.

1-Do you have books or art (painting, wood crafts, and artifacts) about Haiti? About Blacks (African-American, African, And Caribbean)?

a. Did you buy them? Why?

2-Do your children attend cultural and social activities focused on [insert answer from C1 or C2]?

3-Do you attend cultural and social activities focused on [insert answer from C1 or C2] with your children?

4-Do you belong to a Black/African-American cultural, social group, or church?

5-Do you belong to a Haitian cultural, social group, or church?

6- Do you cook Haitian food at home?

7-Do you play Haitian music or movies at home for your children?

8- Have you taken your children to visit Haiti?

a. If yes, how many times?

9- Can you tell why you do [all the ones for which the answers are yes]?

E-Demographics

We have come to the end of the interview (our conversation). I am going to ask a set of demographic questions. These questions are commonly asked in social research. I want to reassure you that everything shared is confidential and you may refuse to answer any question without penalty.

1-What is your age? _____

2-What is the highest diploma, degree, or certificate you have earned?

- a. High school
- b. Associate degree
- c. Para-professional such as Certified Nursing Assistant (CNA)
- d. College degree
- e. Some graduate

3-Are you currently employed?

- a. Yes
- b. No

4-Write your occupation here _____ from the categories below

- a. Executive, business owners, major professionals
- b. Managers, medium-business owners, professionals
- c. Administrative, small business, semi professional
- d. Clerical and sales workers, technicians
- e. Skilled manual employees
- f. Machine operators & semi-skilled employees
- g. Unskilled employees
- h. Stay at home mother

5-Are you working full or part-time at this time?

- a. Full-time
- b. Part-time

6-What is your current marital status?

- a. Single
- b. Married
- c. Separated
- d. Divorced
- e. Widowed
- f. Co-habitation
- g. Never married

We have come to the end of the interview. Is there anything that you want to add. Thank you so much for the time you took to talk to me. If you have any additional questions about this research study, please feel free to contact Abigail Duchatelier-Jeudy at 203-952-1689 or a.duchatel@erikson.edu or the faculty sponsor, Dr. Aisha Ray at 312-893-7137.

APPENDIX H

RESULTS

Table 1. Racial socialization messages of Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age /gender	Racial socialization dimension
Aldine Kontan	8 year old girl	Cultural socialization Egalitarian principles Preparation for bias
Rodele Sejour	16 year old girl and 15 year old boy	Preparation for bias Promotion of mistrust Promotion of intrinsic behaviors Spirituality
Solange Ciprian	14 year old girl	Promotion of intrinsic behaviors
Lolita Fleurimond	10 year old boy	Promotion of intrinsic behaviors
Mireille Benoit	14 year old girl	Cultural socialization
Rosette Etienne	13 year old girl and 9 year old by	Preparation for bias
Regine Vital	11 year old boy	Egalitarian principles Promotion of intrinsic behaviors Preparation for bias
Francine Jean	9 year old girl	No racial socialization messages reported

Table 2. Racial Socialization Practices of Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age /gender	Racial socialization practices
Aldine Kontan	8 year old girl	Keeping her daughter's hair and skin color natural
Rodele Sejour	16 year old girl and 15 year old boy	Taking children to a Native Black church
Solange Ciprian	14 year old girl	Keeping her daughter's hair and skin color natural
Lolita Fleurimond	10 year old boy	None reported
Mireille Benoit	14 year old girl	Keeping her daughter's hair and skin color natural
Rosette Etienne	13 year old girl and 9 year old by	Keeping her daughter's hair and skin color natural
Regine Vital	11 year old boy	None reported
Francine Jean	9 year old girl	None reported

Table 3. Racial assignment from mother to child of Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age /gender	Racial identity
Aldine Kontan	8 year old girl	Black
Rodele Sejour	16 year old girl and 15 year old boy	Black
Solange Ciprian	14 year old girl	Black
Lolita Fleurimond	10 year old boy	Black/Black American
Mireille Benoit	14 year old girl	Black
Rosette Etienne	13 year old girl and 9 year old boy	Black
Regine Vital	11 year old boy	Black
Francine Jean	9 year old girl	Black

Table 4. Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A explanation of racism

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age /gender	Mothers' explanation of racism	Will child experience racism?
Aldine Kontan	8 year old girl	Inherent to US society	Yes
Rodele Sejour	16 year old girl and 15 year old boy	Inherent to US society	Possibly
Solange Ciprian	14 year old girl	Related to the behavior of the individual	Don't think so
Lolita Fleurimond	10 year old boy	Related to the behavior of the individual Inherent to US society	No
Mireille Benoit	14 year old girl	Inherent to US society	Yes
Rosette Etienne	13 year old girl and 9 year old boy	Inherent to US society	Yes
Regine Vital	11 year old boy	Inherent to US society Related to the behavior of the individual	Possibly
Francine Jean	9 year old girl	Offered no explanation	No

Table 5. Ethnic socialization dimensions of Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age /gender	Ethnic socialization dimension
Aldine Kontan	8 year old girl	Development and enforcement of Haitian cultural identity
Rodele Sejour	16 year old girl and 15 year old boy	Cultural socialization
Solange Ciprian	14 year old girl	Development and enforcement of Haitian cultural identity
Lolita Fleurimond	10 year old boy	Development and enforcement of Haitian cultural identity
Mireille Benoit	14 year old girl	Development and enforcement of Haitian cultural identity Promotion of Haitian transnationalism
Rosette Etienne	13 year old girl and 9 year old boy	Development and enforcement of Haitian cultural identity Promotion of Haitian transnationalism
Regine Vital	11 year old boy	Cultural socialization
Francine Jean	9 year old girl	Cultural socialization

Table 6. Ethnic Socialization Practices of Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age /gender	Ethnic socialization practices
Aldine Kontan	8 year old girl	Has books in Haitian creole for children Displays Haitian Art at home Plays Haitian music and movies for daughter Speaks French and Haitian creole to daughter Cooks Haitian food at home Took daughter to Haiti in the past Attended Haitian cultural with daughter in the past
Rodele Sejour	16 year old girl and 15 year old boy	Has book from Haiti in Haitian creole Displays Haitian arts from Haiti at home Cooks Haitian food at home Plays Haitian music at home Speaks Haitian creole with children Made children take French at school and helped them with French

		Took children to Haiti 5 or 6 times
Solange Ciprian	14 year old girl	Belongs and takes daughter to an Haitian church Cooks Haitian food at home Speaks Haitian Creole to daughter Plays Haitian music and movies at home
Lolita Fleurimond	10 year old boy	Belongs and takes son to an Haitian church Cooks Haitian food at home Speaks Haitian Creole to son Plays Haitian music and movies at home Took son to Haiti one time in the past
Mireille Benoit	14 year old girl	Belongs and takes daughter to an Haitian church Cooks Haitian food at home Speaks Haitian Creole to daughter Plays Haitian music at home Sent daughter to celebration of Haitian flag in the past
Rosette Etienne	13 year old girl and 9 year old by	Belongs and takes children to an Haitian church Cooks Haitian food at home Speaks Haitian Creole to children Plays Haitian music and movies for children at home Took children to celebration of Haitian flag in the past
Regine Vital	11 year old boy	Displays Haitian arts from Haiti at home Cooks Haitian food at home Plays Haitian music at home Speaks Haitian creole and French to son Attended Haitian concert with son
Francine Jean	9 year old girl	Cooks Haitian food at home

Table 7. Ethnicity assignment from mother to child of Haitian immigrant mothers in Group A

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age /gender	Ethnicity identity
Aldine Kontan	8 year old girl	Haitian-American
Rodele Sejour	16 year old girl and 15 year old boy	Haitian-American Haitian-American
Solange Ciprian	14 year old girl	Haitian-American/Haitian
Lolita Fleurimond	10 year old boy	Haitian
Mireille Benoit	14 year old girl	Haitian
Rosette Etienne	13 year old girl and 9 year old boy	Haitian Haitian
Regine Vital	11 year old boy	Haitian-American
Francine Jean	9 year old girl	Haitian-American

Table 8. Racial socialization messages of Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age /gender	Racial socialization dimension
Sabine Voisin	12 year old girl	Promotion of intrinsic behaviors Preparation for bias
Berline Paul	18 year old boy	Preparation for bias Promotion of intrinsic behaviors
Karine Georges	9 year old girl	Preparation for bias Development of Black race consciousness
Valerie Massenat	10 year old girl	Preparation for bias Egalitarian principles
Marie Delva	11 year old boy 9 year old girl	Egalitarian principles Spirituality
Betty Jean-Jules	8 year old girl	Promotion of intrinsic behaviors
Emeline Courant	8 year old girl	Preparation for bias Egalitarian principles Promotion of intrinsic behaviors

Table 9. Racial socialization practices of Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age /gender	Racial social socialization practices
Sabine Voisin	12 year old girl	Take daughter to a Black (African-American) Church
Berline Paul	18 year old boy	Participated in a March for Justice for Trayvon Martin Attend NAACP events during Black History month Attend a Black Church (African-American) with son
Karine Georges	9 year old girl	Keeps daughter's hair natural Daughter is part of multicultural performance troupe Displays art about Black bodies at home (Black visual arts)
Valerie Massenat	10 year old girl	Attend Black/African-American events with daughter Keeps books about Blacks who contributed to the US society Took daughter to see the movie "The Help"
Marie Delva	11 year old boy 9 year old girl	Removed daughter from school where she was the only Black girl Keeps books about Blacks
Betty Jean-Jules	8 year old girl	Attends cultural and social activities focused on Blacks with daughter Keeps daughter's hair natural Buys things that look like daughter such as dolls Attends a Black American church with daughter
Emeline Courant	8 year old girl	Participates in cultural and social activities focused on Blacks (African-American Play, Black theater, underground railroad) Belongs to Jack and Jill club Buys Blacks dolls for daughter

Table 10. Racial assignment from Mother to Child of Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age /gender	Racial identity assigned by Mother
Sabine Voisin	12 year old girl	Black
Berline Paul	18 year old boy	Black American
Karine Georges	9 year old girl	Black African-American
Valerie Massenat	10 year old girl	Black
Marie Delva	11 year old boy 9 year old girl	Black
Betty Jean-Jules	8 year old girl	Black American
Emeline Courant	8 year old girl	Black

Table 11. Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B explanation for racism

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age /gender	Mother's explanation for racism	Will child experience racism?
Sabine Voisin	12 year old girl	Bred out of ignorance	Yes
Berline Paul	18 year old boy	Inherent to US society	Yes
Karine Georges	9 year old girl	Inherent to US society Bred out of ignorance	Yes
Valerie Massena	10 year old girl	Inherent to US society Bred out of ignorance	Yes
Marie Delva	11 year old boy 9 year old girl	Inherent to US society	Yes Yes
Betty Jean-Jules	8 year old girl	Inherent to US society	Yes
Emeline Courant	8 year old girl	Inherent to US society	Yes

Table 12. Ethnic socialization messages of Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age /gender	Racial socialization dimension
Sabine Voisin	12 year old girl	Promotion of cultural identity (Haitian)
Berline Paul	18 year old boy	Cultural socialization
Karine Georges	9 year old girl	Promotion of cultural identity
Valerie Massenat	10 year old girl	Cultural socialization
Marie Delva	11 year old boy 9 year old girl	Promotion of cultural identity
Betty Jean-Jules	8 year old girl	Cultural socialization
Emeline Courant	8 year old girl	Cultural socialization

Table 13. Ethnic socialization practices of Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age /gender	Ethnic socialization practices
Sabine Voisin	12 year old girl	Daughter attends Haitian church with grandparents Daughter is exposed to Haitian food, Haitian Creole and Haitian music
Berline Paul	18 year old boy	Participated in a March for Justice for Trayvon Martin Attend NAACP events during Black History month Attend a Black Church (African-American) with son
Karine Georges	9 year old girl	Daughter is part of multicultural performance troupe Displays art about Caribbean, African Art at home (Black visual arts) Cooks Haitian food at home
Valerie Massenat	10 year old girl	Attend West Indian events with daughter Keeps books about Haiti and Haitian history at home Cooks Haitian food at home
Marie Delva	11 year old boy 9 year old girl	Attends Haitian events sporadically with children Display Haitian and Jamaican arts at Home Cooks Haitian food at home
Betty Jean-Jules	8 year old girl	Attends cultural and social activities

		focused on Haitian culture with daughter Display Haitian Arts and Haitian Flag at home
Emeline Courant	8 year old girl	Participates in cultural and social activities focused on Blacks (African-American Play, Black theater, underground railroad) Plays Haitian music at home Cooks Haitian food at home

Table 14. Ethnic identity assignment from mother to Child of Haitian immigrant mothers in Group B

Mother's Pseudonym	Child Age /gender	Ethnic identity assigned by Mother
Sabine Voisin	12 year old girl	Haitian-American
Berline Paul	18 year old boy	Black American
Karine Georges	9 year old girl	Haitian Afro-Caribbean
Valerie Massenat	10 year old girl	Haitian Jamaican American
Marie Delva	11 year old boy 9 year old girl	Haitian-American
Betty Jean-Jules	8 year old girl	West Indian
Emeline Courant	8 year old girl	African-American

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VITA

Lud Abigail Duchatelier-Jeudy was born in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. She migrated to United States at the age of 18. After graduating from Central Connecticut State University, she enrolled at Boston University to pursue a masters' degree in Public Health. While at Boston University she became the American Public Health Association Maternal and Child Health Fellow from 2004 to 2005. Upon completing her masters at Boston University, she moved to Chicago to pursue a doctorate in Applied Child Development at Erikson Institute and Loyola University Chicago. In 2006, she joined Erikson's Herr Research Center for Children and Social Policy as research analyst. At Herr she worked on various research projects including an investigation of early childhood mental health policies in the Midwest. This research project solidified her interest in health policy; and in 2012, she took a position at Centers for Medicare and Medicare Services (CMS), Center for Consumer Information and Insurance Oversight, Exchange Policy and Operations Group. At CMS, Dr. Duchatelier-Jeudy is working on provisions of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (ACA) of 2010, assuring that health insurance companies provide efficient, high quality care in the federally-facilitated marketplaces. She is part of team of individuals responsible for creating and supporting programs to improve the psychosocial health and well-being of people at the federal and state level.

Dr. Duchatelier-Jeudy is passionate about the psychosocial health and well-being of minority, immigrant, refugee children and families. She believes in putting her

knowledge and education at the service of populations that tend to be marginalized. She wants to collaborate with people developing policies that are inclusive of the values and social contexts of the people to whom they are directed. Dr. Duchatelier-Jeudy is also interested in a career in research and program development; she believes that effective research leads to effective and efficient programs. She also believes that effective research fuels purposeful policies. Finally, Dr. Duchatelier-Jeudy wants to continue to put her education at the service of Haiti, her country of origin. She is interested in working with the Haitian government and non-governmental organizations to improve mental health services of Haitian children and adolescents and to reinforce positive and culturally appropriate child development practices among Haitian families.

