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Immigrant Children and Globalization: Formal Education in Producing New Citizens

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> And once we have given our community a good start, the process of improvement will be cumulative. By maintaining a sound system of education and upbringing you produce citizens of good character; and citizens of sound character, with the advantage of a good education, produce in turn children better than themselves and better able to produce still better children in their turn.[i]
>
> Plato

I. Introduction

Former United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan once expressed that arguing against globalization is like arguing against the laws of gravity. When globalization is viewed as a force that creates a tide of incentives against the artificial levies of national borders, the comparison seems accurate.[ii] Flows of capital, goods, services, people, and information crush against the formally defined stringent borders of nation-states, not permanently erasing but undoubtedly loosening them. Implying the irrefutable authenticity of globalization, Annan claims that its inevitability does not mean we should accept globalization as a law that "allows only heavyweights to survive. On the contrary: we must make globalization an engine that lifts people out of hardship and misery, not a force that holds them down."[iii] Globalization is an indubitable reality that benefits some and challenges others. To ignore it or pronounce it fictional is not only unwise, but harmful. Such outlook prohibits one from acknowledging the rapid changes occurring in the world and impedes the process of adaptation. Instead, one should strive to unravel the complexities of globalization, recognize its failures, and make a commendable effort to correct its shortcomings.

II. Research Question, Theoretical Concepts, and Structure

A. Research Question

This essay is a culmination of a two-semester-long research project conducted in Saint Paul, Minnesota, and Maastricht, the Netherlands. The purpose of this essay is to explore the position of immigrant children and the potential role of education in creating new citizens. The main research question, therefore, is the following:

> What is the potential of formal education in the host countries, the United States and the Netherlands, to foster and promote a sense of belonging and develop national and global citizenship among children of immigrants?

There are several subsidiary questions to investigate. First, how has globalization affected immigration to the United States and the Netherlands? Second, what are the meanings of citizenship and belonging, and how are they related to global citizenship? Finally, why do immigrant children in particular have the potential to become not only citizens of their host countries, but also global citizens?

The last question conveys my belief that immigrant children have considerable potential to become global citizens. As reasonable as this argument might seem, too many conversations, both in academic and informal settings, portray these children as an obstacle to be overcome, rather than an asset to be valued. As James Banks explains, since national, cultural, and global identifications are interrelated, children cannot thoroughly develop clarified national identifications until they have come to terms with their cultural identifications.[iv] Similarly, they cannot develop a global identification until they have acquired a reflective national identification.[v] Therefore, the underlying assumption of this study is that a sense of comfortable belonging to a certain place is a prerequisite for developing a broader attachment to the world and its inhabitants. Such sense of belonging can and should be fostered by educational institutions.

B. Theoretical Concepts and Structure

Three concepts used in this essay require immediate explanation: citizenship, global citizenship, and globalization. Citizenship, in my view, extends beyond a document that presupposes one's "right to have rights."[vi] It describes a moral sentiment that determines and shapes one's sense of belonging to a certain nation through political, social, cultural, and economical avenues. Citizenship expresses the individual's willingness to belong and, equally important, the approval and acceptance of that individual by the state and the members of that society.

Global citizenship is a concept that often requires a personal definition. To me, a global citizen is a person aware of his/her immediate surroundings and those beyond the community. Such a person not only acknowledges but also acts upon the common humanity of human beings, striving to improve the well-being of individuals at close and remote distances. Contrary to national citizenship, in which rights and duties are conjoined, global citizenship is a responsibility willingly undertaken by an individual, expecting no privileges in return.

Finally, globalization can be seen as a multidimensional and complex phenomenon rendering an all-encompassing definition impossible. Among the many workable explanations, several are applicable to this essay. Ulrich Beck argues that "globalization denotes the *process* through which sovereign national states are criss-crossed and undermined by transnational actors with varying prospects of power, orientations, identities and networks."[vii] According to Manuel Castells, the globalization process gives rise to dense networks of relationships. He argues that we live in a "network society," where movements, linkages, and flows reshape and undermine the integrity and coherence of spatial entities and borders.[viii] Globalization, therefore, symbolizes the historically unprecedented emergence of a network society set up for specific purposes.

However, where there is a force, there soon emerges a counterforce. Stuart Hall claims that globalization has also generated strong detractors among those who see it as a threat to their traditional local values or as the expansion or domination of Western-based neo-liberal capitalism.[ix] It encourages a return to the local, ancestral, and "genuine" forms of ethnocentricity. Nonetheless, questioning the processes of globalization may actually be beneficial, as it might

force us to tackle the inequalities and address the injustices, thus making globalization "an engine that lifts people out of hardships and misery."[x]

Part III of this essay outlines the issue of immigration within the context of changing global settings. It discusses the children of immigrants as a manifestation of globalization and provides theoretical frameworks for citizenship. Part IV provides several reasons why education and schools are essential for creating "new" citizens. Part V is a test for the theoretical basis laid out earlier. I first explain the role of education in creating new citizens in the United States and then my focus shifts to the Netherlands. In light of these case studies, Part VI explores the potential of immigrant children to become future global citizens and offers concluding remarks.

III. Immigration: The Face of Globalization

A. Immigration in the Era of Globalization

Almost any comprehensive study of globalization notes intensified migration as one of the crucial features of the current era. Migration may justifiably be called the "face" of globalization. Human mobility, nevertheless, is nothing new–the wish to explore distant lands seems to be entrenched in human nature and people have been on the move for centuries. The "out of Africa" theory holds that modern humans left East Africa, pushing into southern Africa, the Middle East, Eurasia, and Australia sometime between 70,000 to 50,000 years ago.[xi]

Because it is impossible to gain precise numbers of people on the move, estimations vary. Phillipe Legrain claims that Europe admits some 2.8 million foreigners each year with another 800,000 or so entering illegally. Approximately one million people migrate legally to the United States each year with another half a million entering illegally.[xii] The United Nations estimates that in 2005, 191 million people lived outside their country of birth and this figure has doubled since 1975 and continues to rise.[xiii] Currently about one in four or five residents in countries like Australia (24%), Switzerland (24%), and Canada (18%) is foreign born, as is one in eight in Germany (13%), the United States (13%), and Sweden (12%).[xiv] Dull as these numbers might appear, they represent real people with authentic lives. Immigrants cross borders bringing along linguistic, ethnic, racial, cultural, and religious affiliations, and posing new challenges to the receiving nation. Their attachments and activities span borders; their loyalties are often dual or even triple, undeniably influencing the meaning and substance of the formerly strictly defined concept of citizenship.

With initial immigrants often come their families, including their children. The phenomenal increase in contemporary immigration to the U.S. has amounted to a record number of children who, regardless of place of birth, are raised in immigrant families.[xv] According to Mi Zhou, since the 1980s, the new generation of immigrant children has become the fastest growing and the most ethnically diverse segment of America's child population.[xvi]

The well-being of these children is influenced not only by the legal status of parents, but also by family income and structure, parental work patterns, educational attainment, official language proficiency, health insurance coverage, and access to work supports such as tax credits, food assistance, and child care.[xvii] Often, the children have left their original countries at a young age, and, contrary to their parents, might lack meaningful connections to their original countries. They are thus more unlikely to consider it as a place to return or point of reference.[xviii] Instead, these children evaluate themselves or are evaluated by others by the standards of their new countries. It is through the interactions with the "natives" that these immigrant children negotiate

their identities and form new solidarities. They must attempt to deal with the contradictions inherent in nationalist frameworks and search for ways to create alternative forms of citizenship and sense of belonging that would extend beyond the limited assimilation discourses.[xix]

Globalization processes have challenged the clear-cut understanding of citizenship as state-centered and state-controlled.[xx] Forms of global citizenship are taking place through the erasure of the conventional borders of the nation-state and the emergence of new forms of solidarity among people in different places of the world.[xxi] It is now possible to discuss global citizenship, multiple citizenship, cosmopolitan citizenship, dual citizenship, nested citizenship, cultural citizenship, environmental citizenship, gendered citizenship, and traditional citizenship.[xxii] Yet, citizenship is more than a label. Regardless of which concept one chooses to embrace, it involves certain kinds of identities, virtues, rights, and notions of power.

B. Definining Citizenship

Citizenship constitutes a legal status: a formal connection to a particular nation, state, and locality, along with rights, privileges, protections, duties, responsibilities, and restrictions.[xxiii] Irene Bloemraad and colleagues define citizenship as "a form of membership in a political and geographic community that can be disaggregated into four dimensions: legal status, rights, political and other forms of participation in society, and a sense of belonging."[xxiv] These dimensions can either complement or stand in tension with each other.

First, legal status refers to an entitlement in which one holds the status of citizen. It can be based on place of birth and state territory (*jus soli*) or parental origins and inheritance (*jus sanguinis*), or both.[xxv] According to Derek Benjamin Heater, most European states today base their law of nationality on the principle of *jus sanguinis*, whereas most states on the American continent follow the *jus soli* rule.[xxvi] For those who cannot access citizenship through either of these two avenues, as is the case for the majority of international migrants, citizenship is acquired by naturalization.[xxvii]

The second characteristic is that of rights. According to Bernard Bray and colleagues, rights are guarantees of freedom to act without interference by the government.[xxviii] This notion of citizenship resonates with the liberal understanding of the relationship between the state and the individual as a contract in which both sides have certain rights and obligations.[xxix] To maintain the citizenship contract, the state must guarantee certain rights to the individual while the reciprocal nature of this relationship requires the individual to fulfill his/her obligations to the state, such as paying taxes, obeying the rule of law, completing compulsory education, or joining the military.

The third understanding of citizenship involves political participation. Although this privilege has historically been limited by gender, race, ethnicity, religion, and class,[xxx] in the most participatory democracies the barriers to political participation have at least formally been removed.

Finally, the fourth dimension of citizenship is belonging. This notion relies on the assumption that we define ourselves against those who are not us. Consequentially, the idea of belonging rests upon the concepts of exclusion and inclusion. The last element, I argue, is the most challenging for immigrants in the process of acquiring citizenship and becoming "true" citizens of their new countries.

Chief Dan George[xxxi] once stated: "To have true integration you must have integration of hearts and minds. Otherwise you have only a physical presence."[xxxii] When an immigrant becomes a

citizen, his/her legal status is ensured. The first condition of citizenship is satisfied. Because certain rights are enshrined in this status, they are transmitted to the person who has acquired the citizenship; thereby the second condition is satisfied. Political participation, largely dependent upon individual choice, is nevertheless freely accessible once a person has become a legal citizen of the country; so the third condition is satisfied. But the sense of belonging cannot be ensured, enshrined, or transmitted. It depends greatly on the immigrant's willingness to be immersed in the new country, embracing the political, cultural, historical, social, and economic aspects of the place.

A sense of belonging, however, also depends on the way the new citizen is perceived and treated by the host country. Mustapha Akka, a Dutch citizen who moved to the Netherlands from Morocco in his early teenage years, illuminated this point when he described how he saw himself. Akka asserted: "I feel Dutch. Yet, it does not matter how I view myself. What matters is how the Dutch see me."[xxxiii] The example highlights how crucial the sense of belonging is in the process of becoming a citizen. Similarly, for immigrant children to authentically become citizens, a sense of belonging is as important as the possession of rights to participate in a country's civic and political life.

Drawing from the previous discussion, a citizen, therefore, is a person attributed with rights stemming from his/her legal status, furnished with the knowledge of public affairs,[xxxiv] willing to partake in political life, and instilled with attitudes of civic virtue and a sense of loyalty. The acquisition and enhancement of these attributes may in truth be a lengthy process. Nevertheless, a firm foundation can and should be laid down. Education is one avenue through which this life-long process of learning how to become a good citizen may be launched.

IV. Education and Immigrant Children

A. Schools as Avenues for Creating New Citizens

There is no doubt that education[xxxv] is a profoundly powerful tool that can be used to shape the character of children from an early age. School is the first formal institution in which a child is taught to think, analyze, question, and behave according to the rules in society. Carola Suarez-Orozco maintains that schools nurture young minds to be able to "synthesize knowledge derived from various academic disciplines, to wrestle with social and ethical dilemmas, and to work across cultural boundaries with individuals of different races, religions, and cultures."[xxxvi] Solving the big problems of the day—be it global warming, terrorism, abject poverty, or infectious diseases—will require the skills, knowledge, and active engagement of well educated, cognitively flexible, and culturally sophisticated individuals.[xxxvii] According to Alan Reid, "public schools represent the only spaces in our society where young people from a wide range of cultures, experiences, and backgrounds can learn with and from one another on a systematic basis, developing the understanding, respect and tolerance that is the lifeblood of cosmopolitan democracy."[xxxviii]

Formal education also plays a critical role in the transition of immigrant youth into their new country. As Suarez-Orozco argues, for them, it is the first sustained, meaningful, and enduring participation in an institution of the new society.[xxxix] Schools represent a microcosm of society; thus, how well the newcomers will be integrated in this institution will in many cases forecast their contributions as members of their new societies. While recognizing the positive potential of schools, one should not be oblivious to the possibility that schools sometimes uphold negative

stereotypes targeting immigrant children. Occasionally, schools are unwilling to accept immigrant children as their students, fearing that it might reflect poorly in the rankings of the schools or lessen its appeal among the "native" children's parents.

In sum, schools are crucial institutions for shaping the character of the younger generation. Ali Arayici claims that schools provide a vital link in the sequence leading to successful integration, ensuring that the young nationals and young immigrants learn to live and work together and accept each others' differences.[xl] As Katherine Schultz points out, it is in their engagement with schooling that immigrant youth most profoundly transform themselves into citizens of their new country and potentially into citizens of the world.[xli]

V. Case Studies

1. United States

Although it is impossible here to fully trace the process of immigration in the United States, it is clear that immigration has always constituted the defining character of America.[xlii] The composition and diversity of immigrants has changed significantly since the mid-20th century, with the majority of immigrants being non-European.[xliii] As Mi Zhou argues, "Of the 7.3 million immigrants[xliv] admitted to the U.S. during the 1980s, 87% came from Asia and the Americas compared to the 8.8 million admitted during the 1910s who were predominantly from Europe."[xlv] Because of these immigration trends, children with non-European immigrant parents are the fastest growing segment of the nation's child population.[xlvi] All in all, today one in five children is an immigrant.[xlvii]

A. Changing Educational Policies: From Melting Pot to Salad Bowl?

Schools in the United States have always played a fundamental role in the integration of immigrant children. According to Katherine Ellinghaus, during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the main policy regarding the inclusion of immigrant children focused solely on assimilation.[xlviii] Often schools became a battleground among different groups and frequent fights between racial or ethnic groups were seen as the most significant factor making students feel unsafe at school.[xlix] The situation was aggravated by the increasing resegregation of schools, especially in places with a large Latino population.

The fight for greater integration and civil rights for previously marginalized segments of the population was marked by a victory of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954, evoking new approaches that challenged the former assimilationist discourse.[l] Americanization efforts so prominent in the early 20th century were largely buried by the end of the century.[li] The focus shifted from the imposition of cultural uniformity by schools towards a more pluralistic cultural vision. Instead of having to completely assimilate in the American "melting pot"—and give up their loyalties, original language, and culture—immigrant children increasingly are encouraged to focus on "selective acculturation."[lii]

B. Immigrant Children in Minnesota: The Diverse Classroom

The increasing visibility of immigrant children throughout schools across the United States is a natural outcome of past and current immigration trends. Despite this reality, many schools have

not yet acknowledged the increasing diversity in cultures and languages brought by transnational migration. A closer look at Minnesota's educational scenery provides an example of just how diverse the 21st century classroom has become.

In 2000, there were approximately 96,000 children of immigrants in Minnesota schools.[liii] Students in the Saint Paul public schools speak more than 100 languages and dialects while students in the Minneapolis public schools speak over 150 languages and dialects.[liv] The increasing number of immigrant students brings along new challenges to schools and teachers. Even if they are committed to learning about new cultures, it is difficult to become familiar with all of the languages, cultural backgrounds, and experiences that the new immigrant students bring with them to the classroom. This, in turn, can lead to misunderstandings and conflicts between teachers, students, and parents.[lv] The challenge for Minnesota schools is not only to learn about the cultures of today's immigrant students, but also to develop the capacity to adapt to the changing cultural makeup of their student population. As Bonnie Reitz[lvi] claims, "To those who worry about immigrants burdening schools, I say that there's an excitement and energy in our schools. Our programs are growing. I would much rather have the challenges of people coming into our community, and assimilating them, rather than a community that's slowly dying."[lvii] While this may be an extraordinarily positive outlook, it also represents a potential shift in the attitudes toward immigrant children, viewing them not as problems that the educational system needs to work around but rather as a resource beneficial to the school.

C. New American Citizens: Integration through Schools

In his article "Don't Deny Immigrant Kids Education," Parastou Hassouri[lviii] asserts: "Students in the United States from ages 6 to18 spend nearly half their waking hours in or around school. My time in school was undoubtedly the single most important factor in facilitating my assimilation into American life, and in shaping my sense of who I am and who I can be."[lix] He also points out that no group of people has as much faith in education as immigrants: "We often come to this country with no wealth or connections, and see education and hard work as the keys to our future. Education gives us a sense of security, and the tools we need to navigate in our new country."[lx]

Michael Melia rightly indicates that education's role is to encourage the young immigrants to explore beyond their religion and ethnicity, combining aspects of the original culture with their civic identity to create something new.[lxi] What is unique to the U.S. in comparison with other countries, including the Netherlands, is the concept of the "hyphenated" American, which allows the newcomers to become *Something-American* in a way that generally brings the two elements in close proximity, rather than separates them.[lxii] This lets immigrant children choose elements from their multiple cultures and traditions, and through "selective adaptation," they compose a personal identity and citizenship within their realm of comfort.

If schools are vehicles for citizenship, then school systems must find ways to include and prepare immigrant children to become a part of American society. Immigration has transformed schools into large, comprehensive social environments and part of their task is to ensure that immigrant children become successful Americans.

2. The Netherlands

A. The Netherlands: Tolerance and Immigrants

The Dutch population has undergone a rapid increase in the last 160 years, growing from three million in the 1850s, to ten million in 1950, to 16.3 million in 2007.[lxiii] The Netherlands' population density (394.3 inhabitants per square kilometer) is among the highest in the world. In addition to the natural increase in population, the main reason for its expansion continues to be immigration. Currently, 10.6 percent of the population in the Netherlands was born abroad, but about 20 percent is regarded as being of migrant origin.[lxiv]

For decades the Netherlands was renowned as an open and tolerant society, willing and able to accommodate not only people who were keen on fitting in but also those who wanted to be different.[lxv] The immigrants were allowed to practice their beliefs, speak their native tongues, and maintain their cultural practices.[lxvi] Much changed in 2001, with the Populist Party member, Pim Fortuyn, gaining popularity in the Dutch society. After Fortuyn was dismissed from the Party[lxvii] in February 2001 for his extreme opinions, mostly about Islam and Muslims, he established a new party, Lijst Pim Fortuyn (LPF), which gained much support in the pre-election opinion polls.[lxviii] Although Fortuyn was murdered one-and-a-half weeks before the elections in 2002, the LPF still gained 26 seats in the 150-seat Parliament.[lxix] It was obvious that LPF's extreme views on Muslims had resonated with a considerable number of members of Dutch society. The murder of Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh in 2004 was the last straw for many hard-line politicians. The opinion that immigrants simply did not want to integrate was gaining increased attraction.[lxx]

Although the Dutch claimed they were being multiculturalists, they were actually treating immigrants like the Germans did before World War II: as temporary guests to be kept separate from the rest of the society.[lxxi] Hikmat Mahawat Khan[lxxii] is instructive, speaking shortly after the murder of Theo van Gogh:

> People believed that they lived in an ideal, very tolerant multicultural society, but now the underlying tensions have been exposed. The ice is thinner than we thought: it cracked at the first test. People and even politicians still treat you as if you were a temporary guest. But Holland has changed, whether you like it or not. It belongs to all races now. If the white Dutch don't accept Muslims, it creates frustration and resentment, which causes a counter-reaction, which leads the White Dutch to say, 'I told you so.' It's a chicken-and-egg scenario.[lxxiii]

It is hard to pinpoint one specific factor that might have caused the upsurge in xenophobic sentiments among the Dutch. It is possible that people felt uneasy and afraid of the rapid change that was taking place in their country. The increasing numbers and visibility of immigrants, changing neighborhoods, expanding cultural differences, and schools filling up with immigrant children all may have contributed to the upsurge in resentment toward immigrants, especially those of Muslim background.

B. Immigrant Children and "Dutch Identity"

All of my interviewees agreed that there is no "Dutch identity." The Dutch diligently uphold values such as individualism, freedom of speech, democracy, and women's and bisexuals' rights, but no commonly shared Dutch identity exists. As a result, fostering or encouraging a sense of belonging among the students is not a job that schools are prepared or willing to do.[lxxiv] Schools, rather, reflect the kind of society the Dutch comprise: individualistic with certain impervious

values. Tolerance, not integration, takes precedence at schools. As Paul Jungbluth puts it, "The Dutch cannot be seen as an integrated society. Tolerance of 'living apart' is much more valued than integration."[lxxv] Responding to this widespread perspective, schools do not emphasize citizenship classes or organize events that commemorate Dutch collective identity as a nation.[lxxvi]

The interviewees also agreed that divisions in society exist mainly along class lines. Clothes, language, education, dialects, and the kind of school one attends are all important factors contributing to the segregation. Immigrant children fare poorly in almost all of these categories. Their parents often have a very low-income job or no employment at all. They attempt and often fail to learn the Dutch language and are generally excluded from the mainstream society.[lxxvii] Their families live in worse conditions than their average Dutch compatriots. As a result, the children struggle to find their place in the new society which seems so unwilling to accept their parents.[lxxviii] As Paul Jungbluth explains, the Dutch currently cannot offer much to these children: "We can only put forward our intellectual tradition of liberalism, but often immigrant children and their parents are excluded even from that."[lxxix]

C. "Black" and "White" Schools: Furthering Segregation

Article 23 of the Constitution of the Netherlands recognizes that all parents must have the unlimited freedom to choose their child's educational institution.[lxxx] The negative externality of this Article is the increasing separation of students into "black" and "white" schools. As Walters writes, the full freedom of the place of education now allows Dutch parents to cross the town just to send their children to the "good," usually "white," school, which typically has long waiting lists, while other schools become more and more populated with immigrant children.[lxxxi]

The terms "black" and "white" refer to high concentrations of either ethnic minorities or native Dutch students in a school. However, these terms have no clear meaning, because while white is the term for the native Dutch, black is used to describe children of Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese, and Antillean descent (among other ethnicities).[lxxxii] In the sphere of education, the use of such limiting language lumps together all students, regardless of their ethnic background, thus stifling the ability to understand and acknowledge their cultural differences.

In some cases, such segregation has reached alarming levels. In early 2006, the Rietlanden/8th Montessori school, on the east end of Amsterdam, introduced separate entrances 30 meters apart, one for native Dutch children and one for immigrants, mainly due to the parental pressure: "White parents of the neighborhood do not want to enroll their children in the school fearing that at the school, which has predominantly immigrant pupils, their children will get poorer education or will not feel at home."[lxxxiii] Responding to this article, Dutch journalist Robin Gerrits[lxxxiv] claimed that the school had a lot of unused space and even allowed the nearby Montessori school (very popular among white parents) to use the empty floor. Therefore, he alleged that the situation had nothing to do with structured segregation or racism. He argued that such turnout was a consequence of the Education Ministry's policies that try to mix schools. Its initiatives failed because eventually it is the parents' choice about the schools their children will attend. While he might be right, it is undeniable that white parents often choose white schools based on stereotypes about the academic quality in the black schools. While some black schools do indeed perform worse than white or "mixed" schools, it is simply untrue that all schools with predominantly minority children do badly.[lxxxv]

D. Integration in Schools: New Meanings of Tolerance

Education is an important element in the socialization of individuals, and research shows that educational inclusion fosters economic and racial justice.[lxxxvi] Segregation between white and black schools in no way furthers the educational inclusion of immigrant children. On the contrary, it has detrimental impacts on the immigrant's sense of belonging and future opportunities.[lxxxvii] Undeniably, it is impossible to foresee whether greater integration in schools will immediately foster interaction and mutual respect between the students. Arts and Nahba argue that enough cases prove the opposite: extreme differences in students' backgrounds lead to self-segregation or minority students feeling marginalized because they are expected to assimilate into the dominant culture.[lxxxviii] There can be no guarantee that after integration, tolerance will immediately follow.

Nevertheless, these concerns do not mean that integration in the educational sector is undesirable. On the contrary, while minority schools need to find ways to uplift themselves, white schools need to acknowledge the seriousness of the situation and the imminent threats such segregation poses to the immigrant children as potential new citizens. In order to reclaim themselves as a tolerant society, the Dutch will need to learn that tolerance must not simply mean benign indifference toward cultural and social differences among individuals, but rather an active acceptance of cultural diversity and a willingness to vigorously defend this value in society.[lxxxix] As a good starting point, the multicultural ideal the Dutch claim to uphold should become increasingly reflected in the educational realities of immigrant children.

VI. Concluding Remarks

Knowing more than one language and recognizing and respecting various cultures and traditions, immigrant children can become "translators" at the margins between cultures and generations, past and future.[xc] While attempting to integrate in their new homes, these children often maintain ties with their native lands, thereby serving as a bridge between different societies, cultures, and traditions. As Gibson and colleagues argue, immigrant children possess a wealth of cultural resources and competencies that allow them not only to function within their local communities but also enable them to participate in a diverse and global society.[xci] They are able to cultivate various identities, which potentially helps them become successful global citizens. If a young person sees no conflict between his/her ethnic background, country of citizenship, and global citizenship, that person is far more likely to connect with ease to the rest of the world.[xcii]

Wishing to escape generalizations, I believe, however, that these children have the potential to offer new alternatives for the current educational settings and to disrupt and transform the static and hegemonic notions of citizenship and belonging. Therefore, it is necessary to quit viewing them as a problem and obstacle to be overcome. Instead, the attention should shift to viewing the immigrant children as a beneficial asset to their new societies. Greater effort needs to be made to accept and incorporate these children as founts of knowledge.[xciii] Oriented towards the future and imaginative in finding fresh ways to develop in altered settings, immigrant children can indeed become a valuable asset for their new home countries and the globalizing world.

This research has explored the role of formal education in the process of integrating immigrant children and youth in their host countries. I have argued that a sense of comfortable belonging and authentic citizenship ought to be fostered by educational institutions because they are, in fact, a prerequisite for the child to develop a broader attachment to the world and its inhabitants.

I have placed this argument in the larger context of globalization and one of its starkest consequences: increased international migration.

The case studies have served as a reference point for the theory of education and its role in creating new citizens. Research on the Netherlands reveals that stereotypes and negative attitudes toward immigrants were initiated, and are continually fostered, by extreme right-wing parties. The country is also facing the issue of unbalanced white and black schools, which is further segregating the already divided society. Based on the interviews, I conclude that Dutch schools wish to refrain from teaching or promoting a common Dutch identity, mainly because no single Dutch identity persists. Furthermore, schools are not keen to offer classes that would encourage students to think like, or learn to become, global citizens. While there are some initiatives regarding global education, namely the Maastricht Global Education Declaration, I conclude that the Dutch educational system needs to do a lot more to promote a more successful integration of immigrant children.

The United States case study exemplifies a more fruitful model of integration of immigrant children through educational venues. Partly because of its character as the country of immigrants, the educational system in the U.S. has managed to more constructively embrace the increasing diversity in the classroom. Also, unique to the U.S. is the concept of the "hyphenated American," which allows the immigrant children to become *Something-American*, thus encouraging multicultural identity and various loyalties that the children might sustain. While more could be done to address the needs of immigrant children, the U.S. educational system holds some valuable lessons for countries in Europe, including the Netherlands.

Throughout the essay, I have emphasized my belief that there ought to be a shift in attitude towards immigrant children. These young people need to be seen as beneficial assets that can be helpful for the host countries. Because of their life experiences and high mobility, immigrant children have the potential to successfully connect various cultures. It is my hope that this work has shed a more positive light on the young individuals who, I believe, have a remarkable potential to become effective and responsible citizens of their new home countries and the wider world. If offered an equal and frank chance to participate through the various social settings, particularly education, and supported by their new home countries, immigrant children can truly become global citizens.

Acknowledgements

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xviii Zhou 1997, p. 67.

xix Margaret A.Gibson and Anne Rios Rojas, "Globalization, Immigration, and the Education of 'New Immigrants' in the 21st Century," *Current Issues in Comparative Education* 9, Issue 1 (2006): 70.

xx Bloemraad et al. 2008, p. 154.

xxi Patricio Ortiz, "Global Migration and Education : A Reflection on Cultures and Languages in Contact and the Need for Opening Cosmopolitan Views and Intercultural Bilingual Spaces," PowerPoint Presentation, Slide 3 (2007).

xxii Peter Kivisto and Thomas Faist, *Citizenship: Discourse, Theory, And Transnational Prospects* (Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007), p. 3.

xxiii Diane Owen, "Citizenship Identity and Civic Education in the United States," Conference on Civic Education and Politics in Democracies: Comparing International Approaches to Educating New Citizens (September 26–October 1, 2004), p. 2.

xxiv Bloemraad et al. 2008, p. 154.

xxv Ibid., p. 156.

xxvi Derek Benjamin Heater, *Citizenship: The Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education*, 3rd ed. (Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 248.

xxvii Ibid., p. 156.

xxviii Bernard Bray, Larry Chappell, and Chandra Persaud, "Teaching Civic Duties and Virtues to Citizens and Non-Citizens: Addressing the Issue of Immigration in the United States through Civic Education," 2007 Teaching and Learning Conference (February 9–11, 2007), p. 9.

xxix Bloemraad et al. 2008, p. 156.

xxxRogers Smith, *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U. S. History* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 14.

xxxi Chief Dan George (Dan Slapshot was his real name) was a gifted actor and chief of the Tsleil-waututh Nation in Burrard Inlet, British Columbia. More information is available online at indigenouspeople.net/dangeorg.htm.

xxxii Joy Munt," Impact of Schools on Immigrant Children," *Victoria Immigrant and Refugee Centre Society* 1, no. 1 (Winter, 1998), accessed online on 15 March 2009 at darrenduncan.net/archived_web_work/voices/index.html.

^{xxxiii} Visit to the Anchor Community Center, "Macalester-Maastricht Globalization in Comparative Perspective Program," Excursion to The Hague.

^{xxxiv}Heater 2004, p. 336.

^{xxxv} I am referring to institutionalized formal education as it exists in the majority of developed and developing countries.

^{xxxvi} Carola Suárez-Orozco, "Moving Stories: The Educational Pathways of Immigrant Youth," Invited Address to the Askwith Education Forum, Harvard University (October 23, 2006), p. 3.

^{xxxvii} Ibid.

^{xxxviii} Alan Reid, "Rethinking the Democratic Purposes of Public Schooling in a Globalizing World," *Globalizing Education: Policies, Pedagodies and Politics*, edited by M. W. Apple, J. Kenway, and M. Singh (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2005), p. 284.

^{xxxix} Carola Suárez-Orozco 2006, p. 3.

^{xl} Ali Arayici, "The Problems of Immigrant Children in Europe: The Case of the Turks." *Prospects* XXXIII, no. 4 (2003): 459.

^{xli} Katherine Schultz, Lalitha Vasudevan, and Rachel Throop, "Adolescent Literacy toward Global Citizenship," *Literacy for the New Millenium*, edited by B. Guzzetti (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2007), p. 24.

^{xlii} Henry Sage, "Urbanization and Immigration in the 19th and 20th Centuries" (2007), accessed online on 15 March 2009 at home.flash.net/~ccarney/urbimm.htm.

^{xliii} Zhou 1997, p. 65.

^{xliv} Not counting undocumented immigrants.

^{xlv} Zhou 1997, p. 65.

^{xlvi} Alejandro Portes and Ruben G. Rumbaut, *Legacies. The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation* (Berkley, Cal.: University of California Press, 2001), p. 17.

^{xlvii} Ortiz 1997; Banks 2004; and The Urban Institute.

^{xlviii} Katherine Ellinghaus," Indigenous Assimilation and Absorption in the United States and Australia," *Pacific Historical Review* 75, no.4 (November 2006): 565.

^{xlix} Ibid., p. 566.

[l] *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* was a landmark decision of the United States Supreme Court, which overturned earlier rulings by declaring that state laws that established separate public schools for black students and white students denied black children equal educational opportunities. Handed down on May 17, 1954, the Warren Court's unanimous (9-0) decision stated that, "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." As a result, de jure racial segregation was ruled a violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution. This victory paved the way for integration and the civil rights movement.

[li] *Brown vs. Board of Education,* The National Center for Public Policy Research, accessed online on 20 March 2009 at nationalcenter.org/brown.html.

[lii] Selective acculturation is defined by Kapteijns and Arman as a developmental process towards adaptation and gaining competence within more than one cultural setting. See Lidwien Kapteijns and Abukar Arman, "Educating Immigrant Youth in the United States: An Exploration of the Somali Case," *Bildhaan: An International Journal of Somali Studies* 4 (2004): 21.

[liii] "United States Census 2000," U. S. Census Bureau, accessed online on 25 March 2009 at census.gov/main/www/cen2000.html.

[liv] "Educating Minnesota's Immigrant Students," Report of the Immigration and Higher Education Framing Study Committee (July 2007), p. 4.

[lv] Ibid., p. 3.

[lvi] Bonnie Reitz is a mayor of a small town in southeastern Minnesota.

[lvii] Ibid., p. 5.

[lviii] Parastou Hassouri is an American Civil Liberties Union of New Jersey (CLU-NJ) Immigrant Rights Specialist.

[lix] Parastou Hassouri, "Don't Deny Immigrant Kids an Education," *Star-Leder* (8 September 2004).

[lx] Ibid.

[lxi] Michael Melia, "Transatlantic Dialogue on Integration of Immigrant Children and Adolescents," *International Migration* 42, no. 4 (2004), p. 129.

[lxii] Ibid.

[lxiii] Ibid.

[lxiv] Meaning at least one of the child's parents was born outside the Netherlands.

lxv Paul Jungbluth, interview by the author, 16 April 2009.

lxvi Ibid.

lxvii His Party at the time was Leefbaar Nederland.

lxviii J. Kleinnijenhuis, D. Oegema, J. A. De Ridder, A. M. van Hoof, and R. Vliegenthart, "The Rise and Assassination of a Charismatic Party Leader just before the Dutch Elections: Support for Pim Fortuyn in the News and in Public Opinion" paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Communication Association, Marriott Hotel, San Diego, Cal. (June 2, 2009), p. 2.

lxix Ibid.

lxx Ibid.

lxxi Ibid.

lxxii Mahawat Khan is a Muslim born in the former Dutch colony of Surinam. He is leading the liberal Islamic organization Ulamon and the Contact Group Islam, which is a moderate group that advises the Dutch government on various issues related to Muslims in the Netherlands.

lxxiii Ibid., p. 273.

lxxiv Robert Bauchmuller, interview by author.

lxxv Paul Jungbluth interview.

lxxvi Robert Bauchmuller interview.

lxxvii Paul Jungbluth interview.

lxxviii Bertina Copenhaeggen, interview by author.

lxxix Paul Jungbluth interview.

lxxx Constitution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, accessed online on 5 May 2009 at minbzk.nl/contents/pages/6156/grondwet_UK_6-02.pdf.

lxxxi Derk Walters, "Freedom of School Choice Meets its Limits," *NRC Handelsblad* (24 April 2009).

lxxxii Hiske Arts and Anita Nabha, "Education in the Netherlands: Segregation in a 'Tolerant' Society," Humanity in Action, Annual Report (2001), p. 1.

lxxxiii Paul Belien, "Segregation in the Netherlands," *The Brussells Journal* (1 January 2006).

lxxxiv Robin Gerrits is a journalist at the Dutch newspaper *De Volkskrant.*

lxxxv Paul Jungbluth interview.

lxxxvi Marloes de Bie and Egbert de Weert, "The Responsiveness of Dutch Higher Education to a Multicultural Environment," *Higher Education in Europe* 23, Issue 1 (1998): 35.

lxxxvii Paul Jungbluth interview.

lxxxviii Arts and Nabha 2001, p. 8.

lxxxix Ibid., p. 9.

xc Fass 2006, p. 234.

xci Gibson and Rojas 2006, p. 73.

xcii Mika Fukutomi, "The How of Global Education: From Culture of Competition to Culture of Sharing" (5 January 2009).

xciii Gibson and Rojas 2006, p. 72.

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