ABSTRACT

By Samuel Yeboah

SOCIALIZATION AND IDENTITY OF GHANAIAN SECOND GENERATION IMMIGRANTS IN GREATER CINCINNATI, OHIO, USA

This thesis examines the socialization and identity creation of Ghanaian second generation immigrants. It explores the identity of Ghanaian second generation immigrants by answering the question: Are Ghanaian second generation immigrants homogeneous? It also examines class status, place of birth, age development and diversity of immigrant experiences and how these factors play a role their identity creation.

The thesis further ties Ghanaian second generation immigrants’ identity to socialization at different places which include school, church, playground, home (place of residence), visit to home country of their parents and the involvement of Ghanaian culture. It also shows how these influence their identity creation. The findings suggest and readily assert that there is tension between Ghanaian and an American cultures which is influencing the identity creation of Ghanaian second generation immigrants. Furthermore, there is identity shifting among Ghanaian second generation immigrants which revolves around time and place.
SOCIALIZATION AND IDENTITY OF GHANAIAN SECOND
GENERATION IMMIGRANTS IN GREATER CINCINNATI, OHIO, USA

A thesis submitted to the

Faculty of Miami University

in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Geography

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2007

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Acknowledgements

This thesis was made possible with the help of Almighty God and a variety of people who must be acknowledged. First, I am very thankful to God for his mercy, guidance, protection and blessing for bringing me to this level. Second, my deepest gratitude goes to Dr. Ian Yeboah my advisor, who persistently supervised and objectively contributed to this work. Again, Dr. Stanley Toops and Dr. Mark Peterson who read and provided insightful ideas to this work, I say thank you. I further express my sincere thanks to all respondents who contributed to this work. May the Almighty God bless you.
Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my wife Akua Agyeman Yeboah for being a great woman behind this work. My greatest thanks and appreciation goes to you Akua for being supportive and encouraging when I almost gave up. You stood behind me through thick and thin and continued to provide support and encouragement when it seemed it was impossible to complete this work. You have been part of this work from the beginning to the end. It is only dedicated wives like you who would do this, so once again thank you.

Again, I dedicate this thesis to my mother Agnes Eva Opoku and my father Isaac Bamfo for encouraging me to learn that nothing is impossible to achieve. You have played an immense and inspiring role in my life. I have appreciated life and the gift of parental care that you provided for me, it is not everyone who has been lucky to get good parents as I have. Thank you very much and may God Almighty bless you.
Chapter 1

Research Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Socialization and identity creation among immigrants and their children are integral parts of immigrant’s lives (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco, 2001). Who to associate with, where, how and when becomes a major issue in the social, cultural, and economic lives of second-generation immigrants in the host country. The dilemmas of socialization are coupled with the creation of identity. While some second generation immigrants create identity based on the homeland of their parents, others maintain a “hyphenated identity” (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). Immigrant children, parents and host societies identify second generation immigrants differently and in different contexts. Ghanaian second generation immigrants fall into this lacuna.

Literature on immigration and African immigrants ignores home socialization, connection to different places, and age development in constructing second generation identity. This thesis on Ghanaian second generation immigrants fills the lacuna by assessing the socialization, age development, family status, place of residence and factors that affect the identity creation of Ghanaian second generation immigrants. While some Ghanaian second generation immigrants maintain a hyphenated identity, others establish their identity in conformity with their friends. Therefore, creating identity among second generation immigrants becomes an uneasy task. Some immigrant children create, maintain, and establish their identity differently at different times and at different places.

The purpose of this thesis is to assess the roles of socialization in identity creation among Ghanaian second generation immigrants. This purpose inherently ties to the early 1980s precepts of environmental perception which were applied in human geography and many subdisciplines. Common interests included immigrants’ perception of their new environments, the cultivation of land values and the emergence of regional identity. Up to date individual and regional identity is influenced by place, culture, and context. Cultural geography provides a basis of understanding human behavior and specifically immigrant’s behavior through identity formation. Ghanaian immigrants are
tied to different spaces with different socialization; therefore, the thesis explores cultural geography through the study of second generation immigrants’ identity in different places.

The study is focused on Ghanaian second generation immigrants because literature on children of immigrants does not provide much information on the identity of African second generation immigrants in the United States. The study uses Ghanaian immigrant families in Cincinnati because of the organization of the Ghanaian immigrant community in Cincinnati. The Ghanaian immigrant community is organized under one big association called the Ghanaian Association. This association brings all Ghanaians immigrants in Cincinnati, Ohio, area together irrespective of their ethnicity and religion.

Furthermore, comparing the size of the Ghanaian immigrant community, the Ghanaian population in Cincinnati is smaller than those in Chicago, Illinois, and New York City. Therefore, the smaller population is easier to work with. For immigrants in the United States, Arthur (2000) is of the view that, the establishment of a cultural community begins with the formation of intra-immigrant relationships. The increase of African immigrant population in the United States since the 1970s is associated with a growth in African immigrant associational networks (Arthur, 2000). Ghanaian immigrants in Cincinnati, as a result of networks, are settled close to each other. The activities of the networks are experienced at the individual and association levels of the community. African immigrants from Ghana residing in Washington, D.C., and Atlanta have formed mutual aid associations as part of their networks. They form these associations to represent their ethnic, clan, religious, village, alumni, and national affiliations (Arthur, 2000). They therefore settle close to each other and this makes research more comfortable.

I used qualitative research methods and ethnography to conduct this research. Collecting data, I adopted a semi-structured interviews to discuss the theme of the research. I employed a non-probability method to select the sample for the research. Families that showed interest and were willing to participate in the research were contacted to set up interviews.

The concepts that underlie this thesis are second generation immigrants, socialization, and the identity. Brief explanations of these concepts are provided in the introduction. A review of the literature on the concepts and the missing links on each
concept on African immigrants is provided in chapter two. These concepts provide the underlying framework from which I generated the research questions. After a review of each concept and identifying the missing links in the literature, I ask major research questions and provide reasons for asking those questions.

1.2 Second generation immigrants

‘Second generation immigrants’ is a term associated with children of immigrants. This term is defined in various ways. Suarez-Orozco and Suarez Orozco (2001) define three categories of second generation immigrants:

1. Children with at least one immigrant parent from the United States.
2. Children of immigrants who are born in the United States.
3. Children who were born in the homeland of parents and brought to the United States. (1.5 Second generation immigrants.)

Children of immigrants go through a complex process of different experiences depending on individual socio-economic status (Chitose and Jensen, 1990). These experiences affect their development as children and may mislead some scholars to give an awkward generalization of immigrant children (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco, 2001).

Defining oneself is a complex social phenomenon. Individuals at a certain point in time define themselves to fit into a society while the society sometimes constructs the identity of those individuals. The identity of second generation immigrants is not an exception to this. The logical question that emerges out of the literature on Ghanaian second generation an immigrant is: who exactly are they and are they a homogenous group?

1.3 Socialization

Socialization, which is integral to the social lives of second generation immigrants, is a provider of an arena to organize perceptions among children (Hess, et al. 1988). The concept of socialization is broad and it encompasses numerous themes which run through the social lives of immigrants. Socialization is recognized as a learning process for children of immigrants (Hess, et. al, 1985). Duncan and Legg (2004), state that socialization serves as a form of a social group identification and
identity formation. Gagen, (2004) is of the view that, church, home, school and playground serve as spaces for children to negotiate, create and define their identity. Hess, et al. (1985) acknowledges socialization as a field for the development of the “self”. Therefore socialization among second generation immigrants needs to be considered as a basic concept that influences the identity creation of second generation immigrants. Children undergo changing processes as part of their development processes.

There are various institutions and spaces through which childhood is negotiated. Childhood is a time of socialization, a phase of life when individual times and places are structured, and institutionalized by adults (Gagen, 2004). The institutions include family, school, playground, street, city, county yard, and nation. The activities of these institutions influence the social behavior of children. It is clear that in a variety of contexts, the interpretation of children’s identity is constituted by their placing in space (Gagen, 2004)

The question that arises out of this literature on socialization is: What is the role of home (place) socialization in the formation of identity of Ghanaian second generation immigrants?

1.4 Identity

Identity is constructing oneself by creating a connection between oneself and some group or category of people. People cannot be isolated from the society. Human beings are born into societies and societies are made of human beings. There is a symbolic attachment to who we are. We are the sum of the list we make. This gives symbolic attachment to who one is. Identity has an internal aspect that defines who we feel we are, that is the “self identity (Hall, 1990).”

Even though one could have specific attributes, they all fall into large clusters. The external aspect of identity looks at how society thinks we are, that is, “the person identity” (Hall, 1990). Individual’s shape of identity is constructed by the society. Identities are constructed through our articulation. This articulation may take the form of language or social behavior. Therefore, it becomes very complex to identify people intuitively. Our intuitive identification may be wrong since identity can be constructed by the individual and/or the society.
Immigrants perform various activities which give them multiple identities. Yet people perform sophisticated lifestyle or consumption patterns that establish social distinction. In cultural geography, identities are fragmented, fluid and relationally constituted, rather than essential (Duncan and Legg, 2004). They argue that a full complex conception of class takes into account the ways in which groups are identified and formed (Duncan and Legg, 2004). Stepick et al. (2003) give a comprehensive account of the identity crises of second generation immigrants. Their explanation to this is based on the concept of reception and parental human capital as major causes of second generation immigrants’ identity crises.

The concept of reception includes government policies toward a particular immigrant group, local labor market conditions, and local social relations such as cultural dissonance (Stepick, et. al 2003). Shifting identities are also explained using ancestral past and ethnicity. As Portes and Rumbaut argue: “European second generation immigrants think holding on to the European ethnic identity is an optional form of symbolic ethnicity, hence the sense of belonging to the ancestral past fades into a twilight of ethnicity” (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). The shift is not only ethnic heritage but includes loosing ethnic mother tongue or language. Therefore language ceases to play a viable role in the lives of the children.

Factors that influence second generation self identity creation include parental identity, differential associations with peers in the same context, ethnic socialization, religion and school (Jensen, 2001). Reviewing the literature on identity of immigrants, I realized that the literature fails to capture the essence of some important ideas. For instance visits and the experiences of immigrant children to the homeland of parents are not captured. The question that results from this review of the literature on identity is ‘what is the identity of second generation Ghanaian immigrants, and what is the role of socialization and connection to immigrant home country on the identity of their children?’
1.5 Research Questions

(1) Who are Ghanaian second generation immigrants and are they a homogeneous group?

   Place of birth (space) and its influence on identity
   i. Age development and identity
   ii. Identity, if any shifting?
   iii. American identity?
   iv. Ghanaian, Ghanaian-American identity

(2) How do immigrant children’s connections to different places shape their identities?

   (i) Knowledge of extended family
   (ii) Visit of extended family.
   (iii) How do they see themselves at different places?
        a. School
        b. Church
        c. Home
        d. Ghanaian functions
        e. Ghanaian churches.

(3) What is the role of home (place of residence) socialization on Ghanaian second generation immigrants?

   (i) locus of friends
       a. Ghanaian
       b. Non-Ghanaian
   (ii) clothes
   (iii) parties
   (iv) churches
   (v) food
   (vi) names
1.6 Research Methodology

To study the socialization and identity of Ghanaian second-generation immigrants, I employed qualitative research methodology that recognizes and embraces dynamic social relations and ethnography. I used qualitative and ethnographic methods because these methods of data collection enhance flexibility and clarification for the research theme. Again, ethnography enhances researchers to be part of the group under study (Titscher, 2000). This enhances the opportunity to experience the life and attain complete knowledge on respondents. I conducted semi-structured interviews for fifteen Ghanaian immigrant families living in Cincinnati and the surrounding area.

1.6.1 Selecting Participants/Study Area

Selecting participants for research is very crucial in ethnographic study. I did not follow specific criteria based on probability sampling to select the families. The reason is that following probability could sample families that do not meet the qualities of researched families. I selected the families based on the socio-economic status, recent date of migration, families with different ages of children and families with children of different places of birth.

The fifteen families who were involved in the research were mostly chosen from the International Central Fellowship Church Assemblies of God and the Ghanaian Association. Most of the people were chosen from the church because I had known most of them as church members and have associated with them. This association provided a rich opportunity to do an ethnographic study of the respondents. The composition of the church consists of high, middle and lower class members. The population characteristics of the church represent the true characteristics of Ghanaian immigrant families in Cincinnati. This is because the church does not provide opportunity of network for only high class members but for all. Ghanaian immigrant social and religious organizations which include the Ghanaian Association and churches provide a space of interaction among Ghanaians in the United States and other parts of the world.

There are about 1,500 Ghanaian immigrants in Cincinnati-Ohio. The settlement pattern of these immigrants started with the high class through employment opportunities in the Ohio Valley. As they first settled, they informed their colleagues
and other family members the opportunities in the area. Through familial and friends networks, there has been the influx of Ghanaian immigrants moving from different cities such as New York, Washington DC, Boston Massachusetts, and even from other countries to settle in the Greater Cincinnati area. The initial settlement of the Ghanaian elite in Cincinnati and subsequent follow up of all other groups makes Cincinnati unique with respect to immigrant settlement. Cincinnati is a great representative of Ghanaian immigrants in the United States. This is because almost all ethnic groups are represented in small quantities. Comparing numbers of ethnic representation of Ghanaian immigrants in the United States, Cincinnati will be a city of very small numbers but Ghanaians from different ethnic members are represented.

The fifteen families selected for the research is representative. Not only is it representative in number but the sample includes all members of the immigrant community according to class, different immigrant trajectories, and Ghanaian socialization. I depended on the willingness of families to participate voluntarily in the research as an opened door to reach respondents. I went to the families, introduced myself and mission and asked for their telephone numbers and called them to set appointment and made six visits to the church and the Ghanaian Association to familiarize myself and set up interviews with the community. I contacted the families by attending Ghanaian churches and attending meetings of the Ghanaian Association. At these meetings I was introduced to each group and was granted the opportunity to announce my mission. After familiarizing myself and explaining my research to them, I gave interested families participation and informed consent forms to fill and sign. I met them later at the church and the association meeting for the signed forms. I set a time and date with them to visit in their homes for the interview.
Residence of respondents to the research is distributed in the Greater Cincinnati area. There were five families who lived at West Chester and Liberty Township, three families at Fairfield, four families in Colerain Avenue and others at Montgomery and Mason area of Cincinnati.

1.6.2 Interview Procedures

I conducted the interviews in the homes of respondents. I sat down with each family for about an hour and discussed the theme of each research question. I tape recorded responses from the respondents and took notes as they spoke. The language for the interview was predominantly English. For clarification on certain issues, respondents expressed themselves in “Twi” (a Ghanaian local language). I first interviewed the husband and wife together on how Ghanaian second generation immigrants create their identity.

I further discussed the extent to which the children’s connection to different places may influence their identity creation. After interviewing the parents, I interviewed the children. In order not to let the presence of parents influence their children’s responses, I interviewed the children away from the presence of the parents. I
interviewed the children to assess the socialization patterns and how socialization influences their identity creation and formation. This gave the children the opportunity to explain their socialization processes and its influence on their identity.

1.6.3 Background to Data Collection

Collecting data for an ethnographic research requires a pilot study that will inform a researcher about the interview questions and their effectiveness. I carried out a pilot study by interviewing two families. This pilot study was to test my interview questions. I compared the results and assessed the effectiveness of the questions. I modified interview questions that did not generate good responses to the research questions. Titscher, (2000) are of the view that undertaking a pilot research interview enhances the opportunity to modify questions that do not generate important discussion on specific research themes.

1.6.4 Human Subjects

Conducting research on children requires human subjects’ consideration. I followed all requirements of Miami’s Human Subject Regulations. For instance, to involve both the parents and the second generation immigrants in this research, I sought the consent of both the parents and the children and asked parents to sign Participation and Informed Consent forms for the family and minors.

The content of the forms invite both the parents and the children to voluntarily participate in the research. Either the parents or children are free to end a conversation at any time since participation is voluntary. I informed participants that refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which they are entitled.

I further explained to them that they had the right and freedom not to contribute to an issue or answer any question that may emerge if they felt uncomfortable. I also explained that their status would not change by participating in this research. Thus, they will not suffer any damages because of my visit. If my presence creates inconveniences to them, they should not hesitate to tell me to leave.
1.6.5 Analyzing Data

I analyzed the data by classifying, comparing and contrasting the answers by category. The categories include: the socio-economic class of parents, age development of children and place of birth of children. I categorized the families into high, middle and low classes. The factors I considered in categorizing the families into the above classes include the level of education, place of residence, and employment status (white collar or blue collar jobs). I examined the mode of socialization and the identity of children from the class categorization of families. Categorizing families into the above groups gave me the opportunity to find out why the children socialize in the way they do and maintain their identity. A research question that emerges out of this is whether socio economic class affects socialization?

Based on definition, the three kinds of second generation immigrants identified in the literature review were used to categorize families. I therefore categorized the children by their places of birth to determine whether there was a particular pattern of identity creation among children with different places of birth. These categorizations gave me the opportunity to assess how the parents deal with children with different places of birth and perception of the parents’ identity of these children. A research question that emerges is whether place of birth influences socialization? Date of migration is integral in the socialization of immigrants. The socialization processes for recent immigrants and their children may differ from immigrants who settled many years ago. The long established immigrants may have assimilated and behave in line with the host country while recent migrants may want to socialize in accordance with home country socialization. Therefore, children who belong to these two categories of immigrant families may be socialized differently and this may influence their identity. The sub question that comes out of this is whether date of migration affects socialization and identity creation among children of immigrants?

The perceptions of people change with age development. Children of different ages may think differently and therefore socialize differently. Categorizing children based on age gave me the opportunity to find out, how identity changes over time among children. An important sub question that emerges is whether creation of identity changes with age? Based upon the answers that I generated from these
questions, this technique gave me the opportunity to draw on common themes and had a broad picture of how the children create their identity and the extent to which connection to different spaces influence the identity creation among Ghanaian second generation immigrants. Using the same technique, I found out whether their identity is shifting as the literature says for Asian and Southern American second-generation immigrants.

Analysis of the data uses figures to explain occurring concepts which underlie research questions. Research questions generated specific research themes and the quantitative figures in the analysis express ideas and views of respondents in those themes. Percentages of figures indicate the number of people who share the same view of specific themes. In additions to the figures, the thesis provides specific statements from some respondents to emphasize the overall views of the respondents.

1.7 Chapter Summary

Chapters of this thesis are organized on specific themes. Chapter one is a brief description of the entire thesis. It begins with the introduction with the purpose of the thesis and follows with the concepts that underlie the thesis; second generation immigrants socialization and identity. Chapter two provides an extensive literature review on the above themes with the missing links and how they are used to generate research questions for this thesis.

Chapter three addresses the definitional issues of immigrant children and narrows it down to the identity of Ghanaian second generation immigrants. It addresses the question of who are Ghanaian second generation immigrants? The chapter focuses on age development, place of birth and class status of Ghanaian immigrants and how these affect the identity creation of their children.

The thesis follows with chapter three which focuses on the socialization pattern of Ghanaian second generation immigrants and how that affects their identity at different places and in different circumstances. Age development, place of birth and class status which were discussed in chapter two may play an important role on the socialization of Ghanaian second generation immigrants and their identity.

The thesis follows with the final theme of the research identity and explores factors that affect the identity creation of Ghanaian second generation immigrants. It
does so by considering Ghanaian immigrant children’s connection to different places and how that affects identity creation. The thesis ends with the overall conclusion which analyzes the data on all three themes and how they affect the identity creation of Ghanaian second generation immigrants.
Chapter 2
Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

Socialization and the creation of identity among immigrants and their children are integral parts of immigrant’s lives (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco, 2001). There are three categories of Second generation immigrants. The first category, called hybrids, is made up of children with at least one immigrant parent. The second category is children of immigrants who are born in the United States and the third category is 1.5 second generation immigrants. These are children who were born in the home country of immigrants and brought to the United States (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco, 2001). Who to associate with, where, how and when becomes a major issue in the social, cultural, and economic lives of second-generation immigrants in the host country.

Identity creation among immigrant children is therefore fragmented and difficult to define. The dilemmas of socialization are coupled with the creation of identity. While some immigrant children create identity based on the homeland of their parents, others maintain a “hyphenated identity” (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). This term refers to an identity created by combining an ethnic identity of immigrants with the identity of the present host country (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). Despite the importance of second generation immigrants and their socialization and identity, most of the literature on immigrants is focused on parents and their assimilation into the mainstream American society. The literature focuses on the Chinese, Mexican and Southeast Asian to the exclusion of Africans. Meanwhile, there is an increasing flow of African immigrants into the United States. The children of these African immigrants are assimilating into the society through academic success and gaining employment. Their presence is felt in life including football and basketball. The increasing presence and growing importance of second generation immigrants from Africa provides justification for studying their socialization and identity creation.

The second generation immigrants (children of immigrants) are raised (socialized) in social context which involves their parents’, ethnic socio-cultural norms and values, and that of the receiving society. This means these children are involved in
two or more socio-cultural settings. The result of this may be a hybrid of Ghanaian and American identity, a true American identity or a complete Ghanaian identity. Questions of the identity of these immigrant children, how they are socialized and who they truly are will be raised in this chapter.

2.2.0 Second generation immigrants

This phrase second generation is defined in various ways. Suarez-Orozco and Suarez Orozco (2001) identify the three categories of second generation immigrants as:

1. Children with at least one immigrant parent in the United States (hybrids);
2. Children of immigrants who are born in the United States; and
3. Children who were born in the homeland of parents and brought to the United States (1.5 Second generation immigrants).

Children of immigrants go through a complex process of different experiences depending on individual socio-economic status of their parents (Jensen and Chitose, 1990). These experiences affect their development as children and may mislead some scholars to give awkward generalization and categories of immigrant children (Suarez-Orozco, and Suarez-Orozco, 2001).

The literature on definition of second generation immigrants is characterized by six main themes. The first displays the influence upon second generation immigrants by conditions within the host society. The second theme has to do with the socio-economic status of the parents of second generation immigrants. Generally, the higher socio-economic status of immigrant parents, the greater ease with which their children are accepted into the society. The third theme relates not only to the difficulty of assimilating into American society through education as a tool of social mobility, but also the kind of ethnic prejudices that come with that lack of social mobility. The forth theme in the literature is the fading of assimilation in the United States and its limiting effects on categorizations of second generation immigrants. The fifth theme in the literature is the categorization of second generation immigrants becoming complicated by the diversity of immigrant experiences. The sixth and final theme is that the categorization of second generation immigrants is further complicated by counter
cultures of immigrant children because of the multifaceted ethnic baggage with which immigrant children are socialized at home.

Second generation immigrants become part and parcel of a society through assimilation. Assimilation is the process of integration whereby immigrants, or other minority groups, are “absorbed” into a generally larger community (Raumbaut, 1997). This presumes a loss of some or all characteristics which creates a new identity from both their destination and host cultures. A region where assimilation is occurring is sometimes referred to as a “melting pot” (Raumbaut, 1997). Immigrants and their children may become part of the society by participating in activities that give them identity as members of the host community. Mandel (2005) emphasizes that, this is exemplified by the type of immigrant’s life in the United States.

Children who were born in another country rather than the host country may have had an encounter and experience from a different culture. In order to be part of the host culture and understand the societal demands they must adapt. Rumbaut (2001) explains and calls this process “psychosocial adaptation”. The extent to which second generation immigrants create, construct and define their identity and therefore assimilate depends on four factors. These are the reorganizations of their culture in the host country (Stepick et al., 2001), the economy of the host culture, race of immigrants and their children and residential location of immigrants (Chitose and Jensen, 1990).

If second generation immigrants have a vibrant and well respected culture in the host country, these children stick to their cultural heritage and combine the new culture with it. If their destination culture and traditions are not recognized and have negative connotation in the eyes of the host country, these children abandon their culture and crave to be part of the new culture (Stepick et al., 2001)

Often, immigrants and their children are given warm reception into a booming economy where citizens do not want menial jobs. For example, immigrants who migrated to the United States in the Fordist Era were given a warm reception because there was a booming economy (Portes and Schauffler, 1994). Under such conditions guest workers are welcome to fill the unwanted jobs in the economy.

Portes and Schauffler (1994) are of the view that when an economy of a receiving country is undergoing structural changes and citizens are loosing their jobs, immigrants are recognized as competitors in the job market and are received with
disdain. If children of immigrants are received with contempt, their ability to assimilate into the host country is either thwarted or limited.

Children of immigrants who migrate with the same skin color of the host society are received and are allowed to assimilate into the host country within the shortest possible time. On the contrary, children of Asian, black, mulatto, and mestizo immigrants cannot escape their ethnicity and race, as defined by the mainstream. Their enduring physical differences from whites and the equally persistent strong effects of discrimination based on those differences, especially against black persons, throws a barrier in the path of occupational mobility and social acceptance (Haller and Landolt, 2005 pp. 106). If children are of different skin color, they are constructed as “other” and their ability to penetrate the host society is much difficult and in some cases impossible (Hall, 1990).

Another important factor that affects the socialization and the ability of second generation immigrants to assimilate into the host society is place of residence. Children who reside in suburbs or well endowed neighborhoods, rather than inner cities, enjoy economic and other benefits which helps facilitate their ability to climb the socio-economic ladder (Aonghas, 2002). Immigrants who attend suburban schools generally perform better and attain upward mobility. Their counterparts in poorly endowed inner city schools tend to perform poorly and remain in lower classes.

The second theme in the literature on definition of second generation migrants is related to the first and it has to do with the marginalization of migrants and their children (Aonghas, 2002). Aonghas is of the view that immigrant’s social capital influences the level of reception and that is how society defines second generation immigrants. Thus immigrants who possess skills that the host country is looking for are able to achieve higher economic success and thus their children are more accepted in the host society (Haller and Landolt, 2005 pp. 107).

The context of reception of the second generation immigrants has a tremendous effect on immigrant children socialization pattern, identity and economic status (Stepick et al., 2001). If the economic status of immigrants makes their children acceptable in the host society, it takes less time for children to become part of the society. This helps them to explore all opportunities that the society offers. If the children are received as "other" because of their parent’s economic status they are
stigmatized and are relegated to the background. For instance, “Proposition 187” in California prevents all undocumented immigrant children from attending school, enjoying healthcare provided by the state and being recognized as part of the documented society (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco, 2001). The implication of such non-receptiveness in California for second generation immigrants is their “otherness” and this has implications for the category of second generation that they fall into.

The third theme in the categorization of second generation immigrants relates to the difficulty of assimilating and becoming socially mobile, via education, in the host society (Aonghas, 2002). This is particularly so of Mexican Americans who face ethnic prejudices because of their lack of education. Hirschman’s analysis of 1990 population census data indicates that children who benefit from education, even 1.5 generation immigrants, are the first in Mexican communities to become socially mobile and thus experience less prejudice. Their parents who are too old to take advantage of American education do not share in these experiences.

Hirschman’s (2001) time series analysis suggests that recent arrivals tend to perform better in education compared to children with longer stay in the United States. The pattern of rising enrollment with longer residence in the United States is exemplified by the case of Mexican immigrant for whom high school enrollment rose from 52% to 88% for those who arrived prior to 1980 (Hirschman, 2001). Some mixed patterns are consistent with the possibility that greater exposure to American culture leads to poorer prospects for educational mobility. For example, younger Caribbean immigrants (Cubans, Dominicans, and Haitians,) do not always display higher enrollments among the groups that have been in the United States for longer periods (Hirschman, 2001). Thus their potential to experience ethnic prejudice impacts their categorization as second generation migrants. This influences them to form associations and join groups to oppose the mainstream society in the form of socio-ethnic groups and street gangs (Waters and Jimenez, 2005).

The forth theme in the literature on categorization of second generation immigrants is the fading of assimilation and assimilation process, (Fernandez-Kelly and Schauffler, 1994). Fernandez-Kelly and Schauffler explain that assimilation processes are fading as a result of the ability of some immigrants to hold on to their ethnic and cultural norms and values. Unfortunately the era where assimilation into the American
society is encouraged is fading ((Fernandez-Kelly and Schauffler, 1994) and this perpetuates their categorization as particular types of second generation immigrants for longer periods of time. Assimilation is now recognized as a means of immigrant incorporation and an ideal path to success ((Fernandez-Kelly and Schauffler, 1994).

In the Fordist era, workers could envision entry-level jobs as the first step in a journey towards prosperity ((Fernandez-Kelly and Schauffler, 1994).

Recently American firms have subcontracted most of their jobs abroad. The path to socio-economic success for immigrants has therefore been blocked. Immigrants are faced with modicum of marginalization, racism, discrimination and tyranny as expressed by Haitians, Cubans, Mexicans, and Vietnamese in the United States (Fernandez-Kelly and Schauffler, 1994).

This affects the assimilation of immigrant children and their identification as particular types of second generation immigrants. Networks of friendship, perception, discrimination, and self identification are the stronghold of immigrants’ children in their fight to assimilate into a host country (Fernandez-Kelly and Schauffler, 1994).

The fading of assimilation is related to the fifth theme in the literature on categorization of second generation immigrants. The complexity of experiences of different second generation immigrants and whether Suarez-Orozco and Suarez Orozco’s (2001) categorization universally applies to all second generation immigrants is captured here. It should be emphasized that this complexity is influenced by the reorganization of ethnic culture within the host culture. Some authors assume that children’s cultural behavior and identity will be tied to that of their parents (Carlin and Hegtvedt, 2003). Quoted in Carlin and Hegtvedt 2003, Isajiw and Makabe (1982:2) argue, “although socialization is often associated with ethnicity, there are very few empirical studies that focus on it as an independent variable in ethnic identity retention” (Carlin and Hegtvedt, 2003). Yet parents are only one possible source of cultural transmission. Peers and larger social networks, churches, temples, playground, and schools are also significant in child socialization (Carlin and Hegtvedt, 2003).

Cultural behavior can be classified as one of two types. There are cultural skills or the ability to speak and read the parental language and, ethnic social networks that include churches, organizations, and the like (Carlin and Hegtvedt, 2003). Immigrants and their children have more control over their use of cultural skills than
over their social networks. Although people can decide whether or not to join ethnic organizations, they are not necessarily accepted into non-co-ethnic-social circles. Immigrants who remain stuck in the lower class, however, are more likely to hold onto ethnic traditions and identities (Carlin and Hegtvedt, 2003).

With the increase of African immigrant population in the United States since the 1970s, there has been a growth in African immigrant associational networks (Arthur, 2000). The activities of the networks are experienced at the individual and association levels of the community. African immigrants from Ghana residing in Washington D.C., and Atlanta have formed mutual aid associations (Arthur, 2000).

Brettel (2005) also states that “there are voluntary organizations of Indian immigrants in Dallas whose activities are published in Bharti Magazine” the monthly publications of Indian Association of Northern Texas (Brettel 2005, pp. 858). These associations represent their ethnic, clan, religious, village, alumni, and national affiliations. This explains why immigrants the Ghanaian community in Cincinnati, for example lives close to each other. If these immigrants are centered in a particular location, they form associations which influence other immigrants to follow them. This also helps the immigrant families to practice in their ethnic, social and cultural attributes which can be passed on to their children.

In Africa, a premium is placed on kinship and intra-family bonding (Arthur, 2000). Children are an important aspect of family and kinship relationships. Age-graded expectations for children are incorporated into their socialization and control. Formal and informal systems of social control reinforce these values to ensure cultural continuity and preservation of social and moral order (Arthur, 2000). There is no doubt that the complexity of African immigrant experiences implies that the categorization of second generation would be more complicated than the tri-categorization that Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (2001) suggest as universal.

The sixth and final theme is that categorization of second generation immigrants is further complicated by the multifaceted ethnic baggage with which immigrant children are socialized at home. There is an assumption of commonality of ethnicity so far as parents of children are from Africa or one particular African country. But this ignores the diversity of ethnicity within Africa and its individual countries and
the counter cultures of immigrants (Banskton and Min, 1996). This form of country diversity affects categorization of second generation immigrants.

Cultural adaptation of second generation immigrants in language is explored in the context of the history of linguistic absorption and bilingualism in America (Fernandez-Kelly and Schauffler, 1994). Contemporary Americans’ fear the loss of English dominance is based on rapid immigration during recent decades and the emergence of linguistic enclaves in several cities around the country (Fernandez-Kelly and Schauffler, 1994). They explore language transition and the resilience of immigrant languages on the basis of data from south Florida, one of the areas most heavily affected by contemporary immigration. Results from the children of immigrants indicate that knowledge of English is near universal and preference for English is almost as high as citizenship (Fernandez-Kelly and Schauffler, 1994).

Their research is not only about preference and knowledge of English but also the extent to which the immigrant children retain their mother tongue and ethnic values. The movement of immigrants’ family from one place to another within the host society has an adverse effect on social adjustment of second generation immigrants. This include the emotional well being of children of immigrants though these effects appear to be relatively minimal and transitory (Aronowitz, 1984). To Aronowitz individuals in transition from one culture to another increase the inconsistency in cultural behavior, because the traditional bonds of practices and values that hold families and communities together are disrupted (Aronowitz, 1984).

Primary prevention to deal with the disruption has been defined as any specific biological, social or psychological intervention which promotes or enhances mental and emotional robustness or reduces the incidence and prevalence of learning and behavioral disorders in the population at large (Aronowitz, 1984).

A secondary prevention may be a multicultural project which will provide direct and referral services to immigrant families through liaison workers, whose role is to operate cultural resources providing communication between the immigrant families and community resources (Aronowitz, 1984). Furthermore, Haller and Landolt is of the view that wealthy families who are able to afford residence in the suburbs pay for their children to attend private schools, and afford a summer trip back home to reinforce family ties are able to solve these problems.
Second generation immigrants see and compare themselves to those around them, based on their social similarity or dissimilarity with reference groups that are close to them. Socially they construct their identities in terms of those in contrast or in conformity with them. Discrimination and racial socialization they receive in home and the understanding of categorization they learn from their peer groups affect immigrant children differently.

The literature on second generation immigrants fails to capture the essence of age, place of birth and class status of immigrants families and how these influence identity creation among immigrant children. Based on important missing links in the literature, I ask as a general question – who are Ghanaian second generation immigrants and are they a homogeneous group? This question assesses the influence of age, place of birth and class status of Ghanaian immigrant families and how that affects their identity creation.

2.2.1 Socialization

The literature on second generation immigrant socialization is centered on four main themes. First, socialization is recognized as a learning process (Hess et. al, 1985). A second theme has to do with the patterns of immigrant socialization and the role of social networks of immigrants (Correa, 2004). These affect social group identification and identity formation (Duncan and Legg, 2004). The third major theme in the literature deals with socialization as development of the “self” and its role in identity formation (Hess et al., 1988) Socialization, which is integral to the social lives of second generation immigrants, is explained by Hess, et al. (1985) as a provider of an arena to organize perceptions among children.

Socialization is the process of acquiring culture (Hess et al., 1985). During socialization, children learn the language they are born into as well as the roles they are expected to play in life (Hess et al. 1985). In addition, children learn about the occupational roles that society allows. Within the context of a new or ethnic culture and a host one, socialization is recognized as a learning process for children of immigrants (Hess et al., 1985). Duncan and Legg (2004) argue that socialization serves as a form of social group identification and identity formation. Hess, et al. (1985) acknowledges
socialization as a field for the development of the “self”. Therefore, socialization amongst second generation immigrants needs to be considered as a basic concept that influences the identity creation of second generation immigrants.

Children undergo changing processes as part of their socialization. Space and the institutions they experience affect the socialization of children. Socialization at church, home, school and playground serves as spaces for children to negotiate, create and define their identity Gagen (2004). Spaces of children are referred to as socioeconomic, experiential or cultural spaces (Knox and Marston, 2004). There are various institutions and spaces through which childhood is negotiated (Gagen, 2004). Childhood is a phase of life when the individual’s times and places are structured, and institutionalized by adults. The institutions include family, school, playground, street, city, county yard, and nation. The activities of these institutions thus influence the social behavior of children (Gagen, 2004). It is clear that in a variety of spatial contexts, the interpretation of children’s identity is constituted by their place in space (Gagen, 2004). Thus, the effect of socialization in different spaces is important in understanding identity creation of second generation immigrants.

A third theme in the literature on socialization deals with self identity vis a vis a community or person identity and the kinds of conflict that exist between them. Constructing identity is to create connections between one’s self and some group or category of people (Chitose and Jensen, 1990). People cannot be isolated from society. Human beings are born into societies and societies are made of human beings (Chitose and Jensen, 1990). There is a symbolic attachment to who we are. We are the sum of the list we make. This gives symbolic attachment to who one is. Identity has an internal aspect that defines who we feel we are, and that is “self identity” (Fernandez–Kelly and Schauffler, 1994).

Thus, socialization creates identity of self by immigrants (Hess, et al. 1985). This is contrasted with an identification of one’s self in the midst of the lot, or the person or the community identity (Hall, 1990). What holds people together are common culture traits such as language, dress code and social class. These culture traits address the idea of identity in the context of “I am because we are” (Hall, 1990). This oneness brings the whole idea of person identity to the fore of socialization.
Even though socialization creates similarities in individual lives, there are critical points of differences that determine who we are. The differences in individual socialization and experiences we encounter give us self identity (Hall, 1990). This is expressed in the context of “I am because I am”. So even though a host society can identify members of an ethnic group based on their ethnicity, this is a person or community identity and it is different from self identity.

A forth theme in the literature on socialization of second generation immigrants deals with patterns of immigrant socialization or integration and the role of social networks of immigrants in identity creation (Correa, 2004). Social integration is a process by which immigrants learn to become part and parcel of the host society. The indicators for measuring social integration include language proficiency; inter-ethnic friendship, the decision to be permanent residents, and citizenship. Despite language differences, second generation immigrants in Germany exhibit a high sense of proficiency in German but this does not necessarily translate into social integration *per se* (Seifert, 1997). Even though they have high proficiency in German, second generation immigrants do not have friends who bear German names.

The orientation of immigrant culture is not only rooted in the social structure of the immigrant community but also in responses to the social environment surrounding the community (Zhou and Carl, 1996). Ethnic social integration creates a form of social capital that enables an immigrant family to receive ongoing support and direction from other families, religions, and social association of the ethnic groups (Portes and Rumbaut, 2000). Social capital consists of personal skills that people possess. These include education, family, talents, knowledge and associations. For minority, ethnicity can play an important role in the development of identity. According to Mayo-Quinones and Dempsey (2005) ethnic and racial attitudes among children appear to crystallize by about 10 years of age, which highlights the importance of examining the role of ethnicity in the development of self ((Mayo-Quinones and Dempsey, 2005 pp.120).

Consequently, community standards are established and are reinforced among group members, especially among younger members who may otherwise assimilate into an underclass subculture. Social integration offers a way of conceptualizing how ethnicity can provide social capital. In providing children with the habits and skills for socioeconomic advancement, families do not exist in isolation
(Waters, 1996). The entire community directs them and they rely on the community’s reinforcements.

The pre- and the post- 1965 immigration into the United States have different patterns of social adaptation because of the changes in the economic situation of the United States (Aonghas, 2002). American socio-economic change of post-1970 forced scholars to take a second look at the theory of assimilation and socialization patterns to explain the causes of limited social mobility among Mexican Americans. Their findings were that children of immigrants who follow the underclass pattern of socialization frequently live in the inner city and have close contact with native-born minorities and often experience delayed assimilation. This is an assimilation process that is delayed as a result of not being exposed to the right tenets of the host society (Aonghas, 2002). Also, immigrants who deliberately hold to the values embedded in their native culture and maintain tight solidarity within their ethnic community in the US make rapid socio-economic advancement (Haller et al., 2005). In addition, immigrants who are able to achieve upward mobility are able to attend schools and perform better than their counterparts who remain in the lower class (Haller et al., 2005). These findings suggest that children of immigrants go through complex processes of different socialization and experiences depending on individual socio-economic status (Orozco and Orozco 2001). For instance Mayo-Quinones and Dempsey, (2005 pp. 651-652) conclude that a Latino adolescent child integrates, learning about cultural expectations, and setting patterns for future adult roles and lifestyles.

Some immigrant children are raised in traditional families but carry out their daily lives in a complex and technological society. Based on these themes in the literature, research on socialization of second generation immigrants has centered around questions of how identity and identity politics (that rest on internal fragmentation, difference and division) produce a common political ground with respect to class (Duncan and Legg, 2004). Also, in socialization process, do second generation immigrants continue familiar patterns of socialization, and also do they assimilate into patterns of the receiving society? (Correa, 2004)

Although an interesting avenue of research has been done, the literature on socialization has not dealt extensively with the effect of place and its embedded institutions in socialization and identity of second generation immigrants. Furthermore,
the extent to which home socialization influences immigrants’ identity has been ignored. Again, the locus of friends from home, playground, and social organizations such as churches, parties, and schools has not gained prominent attention in determining the effect of socialization on identity of second generation immigrants. The key question is how immigrant children identify themselves based on the kind of socialization they receive? How do these children identify themselves and to a community?

The inability of the literature to tie together the identity of immigrant children in relation to socialization at different places provide a research question for this thesis on Ghanaian second generation immigrants. This question examines Ghanaian immigrant’s children connection to different places and how such connection to these places influences their identity creation.

2.2.2 Identity

The literature on second generation immigrant identity is characterized by three main themes. The first of these is a definitional issue of identity. What is identity, who identifies second generation immigrants? How do second generation immigrants identify themselves, how does the host society identify second generation immigrants and how do immigrants parents identify their children? (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). Second, research has focused on the construction of second generation immigrant identity and factors that influence such constructions (Stepick et al., 2001). The third issue of research relates to the shifting of second generation immigrants’ identity or what has been termed negotiating identities at different places and contexts (Claire, 2000, Haller and Landolt, 2005). These research themes relate to the socialization of second generation immigrants.

Waters (1996) recognizes that while there has been a substantial amount of interest in the identities and affiliations of immigrants, very little research has been conducted on the identities of their children. Immigrant children have a problem as to whether to identify as Black Americans, White Americans, hyphenated Americans or maintain an ethnic identity reflecting their parents’ national origin (Waters, 1996). Even if some immigrant children try to maintain ethnic identity of their parents, they are faced with a problem of not having the unique accent of their parents to merit such identity.
The differences in individual experiences we encounter give us identity, the self identity (Hall, 1990). For instance slavery may lead to loosing your self identity thus cutting you from your roots. These experiences bring people together to make them loose one aside of their individual differences resulting in a loss of self identity (Hall, 1990). Immigrants perform various activities which give them multiple identities. So people perform sophisticated lifestyle or consumption patterns that establish a variety of social distinctions at different places and at different times.

The geography of identity may take the form of gender, tribal ethnicity, class, formation of associations, and experiences to place (Hall, 1990). The thesis does not focus on gender and tribal ethnicity on identity formation. Rather it emphasizes on class, place of birth and socialization on identity. Subsequent studies of the study may consider ethnicity, tribal identity and individual Ghanaian customs influence on identity of Ghanaian second generation immigrants.

Even though a person could have specific attributes, they all fall into big clusters. The external aspect of identity looks at how society thinks we are, that is, “the person identity” (Fernandez-Kelly and Schaufler, 1994). When society defines who a person is, that person’s identity is shaped and constructed by the society. There is an identification of one self in the midst of the lot, the person or community identity (Hall, 1990). This is a social construction of society’s identity of that person and is expressed in the form “we are because we are” (Hall, 1990).

Community identity is the context that holds people together and it entails culture traits such as language, dress code, and class. Parent’s identity of their immigrant children is linked to their concept of homeland or Diaspora. Safran (1991) defines the concept of Diaspora and relates it to different experiences of different groups of people.

The concept of “homeland myth” represents a perceived original home of a Diaspora. Some contemporary migrants always have a “homeland”. Black Americans have lost their homeland but try to associate themselves and support movements in Africa that talk of African liberation struggle (Safran, 1991). They were also instrumental in the fight against apartheid. For Black Americans, Africa’s political instability, social upheavals and other improprieties create difficulty of associating with their homeland. The involvement of Black Americans in African affairs represents a cross generational identity among Black Americans and their ancestral past (Safran,
Second generation immigrants are faced with similar problems of homeland. Both the receiving and the home countries of migrants always manipulate the sentiments of Diaspora to their advantage. Thus, even though parents may wish and therefore identify their children in relations to their ethnicity, their children identification may differ.

The second research theme in the literature on second generation immigrant identity is how identities are constructed and the factors that affect such constructions. Constructing identity is to create connection between oneself and some group or category of people (Chitose and Jensen, 1990). Identities are constructed through our expression of self. The expression may take the form of language or social behavior, which includes patterns of socialization and the rejection of ones’ ethnic culture. (Fernandez-Kelly and Schauffler, 1994). Therefore, it becomes very complex to identify people intuitively. Our intuitive identification may be wrong since identity can be constructed by the individual and, by society.

In terms of factors that affect construction of identity, Duncan and Legg (2004) argue that identities are not specific and are defined and constructed in context. For instance, people who move from Africa and elsewhere to live and work in the USA are generally identified as immigrants, while others who were forcefully moved as a result of war are generally regarded as refugees. They further argue that a full complex conception of class takes into account the ways in which groups are identified and formed. They argue that people with limited social capital, which include education and entrepreneurial skills, are differently identified. Their context of reception and therefore community identity in the host community is sour. Gibau (2005) emphasizes that over the years the United States federal government is motivated by political and economic factors to classify and identify citizens, legal residents and undocumented immigrants (Gibau, 2005 pp. 405).

A second factor in identity construction is identity crisis. Stepick et al. (2003) give a comprehensive account of the identity crises of second generation immigrants. Identity crisis is a sense as well as an observable quality of personal sameness and continuity, paired with some belief in the sameness and continuity of some shared world image (Stepick et al., 2003). Their explanation to this is based on the concept of reception and parental human capital as major causes of second generation
identity crises. The concept of reception includes government policies toward a particular immigrant group, local labor market conditions, and local social relations (Stepick et al. 2003). While parents of immigrants may wish their children to assimilate in a limited fashion while holding onto their ethnic values, their children may assimilate fully into the host society. This may lead to disrespect for parental ethnicity, which in turn may lead to identity crisis.

Identity crisis is related to identity shifting, the third issue in the literature of second generation immigrants. Shifting identities is a contextual dissonance of a person’s ethnic identity and the creation of new and generally accepted identity (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). As Portes and Rumbaut (2001) argue: European second generation immigrants think holding on to the European ethnic identity is an optional leisure-time form of symbolic ethnicity, hence the sense of belonging to the ancestral past fades into a twilight of ethnicity. The shift is not only in ethnic heritage but includes losing ethnic mother tongue or language. Language, thus, ceases to play a viable role in the lives of immigrant children and hence creates self identity. Factors that influence second generation self identity creation include parental identity, differential associations with peers in the same context, ethnic socialization, religion and school (Chitose and Jensen, 1990).

In communities where the first generation has negative context of reception and low levels of human capital, the second generation is likely to disown their ethnicity. (Hess et al., 1985). Human capital which influences identity creation has different meanings at different places and in different contexts. For today’s migrants, social exclusion and limited economic opportunities in host societies often lead to new possibilities for sustaining meaningful relationships with people and institutions in places of origin (Haller and Landolt, 2005 pp. 1183). To fully equip oneself in education and acquire skills in China, for example, means a different thing compared to America. This implies that depending upon where second generation immigrants find themselves, their identity may shift. For example, their ethnicity may be apparent at home or social gatherings of their parents’ ethnic group where they speak ethnic languages, yet in school their identity will shift to emphasize their Americanness.

Identity shifting implies a negotiation of identity at different places and under different circumstances. Negotiating identities may take the form of limiting ones
Identity creation among second generation immigrants is a result of many factors which include definition of immigrant children and their socialization pattern leading to negotiation or construction of identity. Children of immigrants also known as second generation immigrants is a term associated with children who:

1. have at least one immigrant parent in the United States (hybrids);
2. are born in the United States by immigrant parents; and
(3) were born in the homeland of immigrant parents and brought to the United States (1.5 Second generation immigrants). These children go through complex processes of socialization as a result of factors associated with them. Such factors include parental, ethnic and cultural beliefs, norms of the host society, human capital of parents, place of residence in the immigrant community, and context of reception in a host society (Waters and Jimenez, 2005).

In a host society, second generation immigrants develop different kinds of social relationships and social capital, pursuing both. Some children pursue these relationships in order to retain or move away from their parents’ cultural traditions. Some children also create self identity and a unified voice in order to assimilate into host societies. Assimilation helps them to be successful in business and gain opportunities, or to develop a greater political voice within mainstream America (Brettell, 2005 pp.881). All these endeavors offer opportunities for belonging, interaction, and communication between second generation immigrants and their peers within a host society.

Socialization, according to Hess et al. (1985), is the process of learning culture. The socialization of immigrant children occurs in a social context. Society provides children of immigrant’s social spaces to negotiate and contest their socialization patterns. It is within these spaces where second generation immigrants interact with their peers and people from different social backgrounds and learn from them. Spaces within which second generation immigrants interact include families, churches, playgrounds, schools and social gatherings. The children enter these spaces and encounter different cultures, norms and values. Sometimes children may enter these spaces with a predetermined ethnic influence from their parents while others are open and ready to embrace the mainstream ethnicity.

Cultures, norms and values change from time to time and in different context. The differences in these cultures and values influence immigrant children in many ways, including their way of life, their relations with people, and their perspective about social and personal issues regarding their identity. The dilemma becomes intense if they have parents who hold on to their ethnic cultures and train them in these cultures
at home. This happens because what they hear and learn at home is different from what
they see, hear and do with their friends outside home. Immigrant children are therefore
torn between the culture of their parents and that of the host societies. These frustrations
tend to deepen when immigrant children have parents who also have different ethnic
backgrounds. In such instances, parents compete to influence their children, pushing
their individual own ethnic norms. Under such circumstances, children may neither learn
the mother nor the fathers’ norms. They easily fall into mainstream culture and easily
construct their identity in line with the host society instead of parental ethnic identity.
Second generation immigrants who undergo such experiences exhibit parental ethnic
cultural dissonance. Another circumstance which influences immigrant children to
disown parental ethnic identity is parental human capital and context of reception. If
parents of immigrant children lack or do not possess needed human capital, they are
received by a host society with disdain. If children who are trying to assimilate in
mainstream societies experience negative stigmatization from their parents, they easily
disown their parental ethnic values and construct their own identities.

Through the processes of learning culture (socialization), second generation
immigrants establish, create, construct and negotiate their identity. By definition,
identity is self knowledge about one’s characteristics or personality; a sense of self
(Chitose and Jensen, 1990). Identity construction applies to one’s self, a community,
and a nation.

Construction of immigrant self identity is influenced by personal
experiences. This is expressed in the context I am because I am (Hall, 1990). A person’s
identity can also be constructed by society or the community. Nations and federal
governments are motivated by economic and political factors to officially classify their
citizens, legal residents and undocumented occupants (Gibau, 2005 pp.405).
Constructing identity is to create connection between oneself and some group or
category of people (Chitose and Jensen, 1990). Children of immigrants construct their
identity in different context within a society. Second generation immigrants construct
their identity to express themselves. They express themselves through language, social
behavior and socialization patterns. This identity construction can be different from the
generally accepted identity within an immigrant host community.
Constructing identity, either by immigrant children to reflect parental ethnic identity or to reflect mainstream American identity, depends on how a host community defines the context of reception of second-generation immigrants and forms of socialization. If there is a favorable context or reception, second-generation immigrants have the opportunity to explore all avenues and to assimilate and construct identity in conformity with the host society. Under such circumstance, they can still enjoy benefits as people who are welcome in the host society and maintain their parental ethnic self identity.

The literature on second-generation immigrants indicates that definitional issues, such as socialization and identity creation, are intertwined. They are mutually exclusive. This is because the definition of second-generation immigrants within the host society has a influence on the pattern of socialization among second generation immigrants. Patterns of socialization also influence identity creation and construction among second generation immigrants. Therefore, second generation immigrants, socialization and identity are the key concepts to this thesis. These significant themes serve as the concepts that form the basis of this research. The connections and the relationships that exist between them provide a framework that underlies this research. Based upon the relations between the concept and missing links in literature on second-generation immigrants, I ask these research questions:

1. Who are Ghanaian second generation immigrants and are they a homogeneous group?
2. How do immigrant children’s connections to different places shape their identities?
3. What is the role of home (place of residence) socialization on Ghanaian immigrants?
Chapter 3

Definitional issues of Ghanaian Second Generation Immigrants

3.0 Introduction

This chapter addresses the definitional issue of who Ghanaian second generation immigrants are and how their definition and identity are influenced by age development, place of birth and class status. This phrase, second generation immigrants, is defined best by Suarez-Orozco and Suarez Orozco (2001) who identify three categories of second generation immigrants as:

(1) Children with at least one immigrant parent from the United States (hybrids); 4% of Ghanaian second generation immigrants represent this category of second generation immigrants.

(2) Children of immigrants who are born in the United States. The majority of Ghanaian second generation immigrants fall into this category.

(3) Children who were born in the homeland of parents or elsewhere and brought to the United States (1.5 Second generation immigrants). This represents 40% of Ghanaian second generation immigrants.

Immigrant children encounter different experiences that influence their socialization pattern and their identity creation. Within the sociocultural and economic relation in the host society, who to associate with, and when to associate is a complex dilemma for second generation immigrants (Rumbaut, 2001). Some immigrant children either respond to their parental ethnic background or create their identity as such while some either maintain a “hyphenated identity” or create a generally accepted identity to merit the host society’s identity (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). Therefore, the specific question addressed in this chapter based on literature is, who are Ghanaian second generation immigrants and are they a homogeneous group? This question is answered by asking other questions about the identity creation of Ghanaian second generation immigrants by relating it to spaces of childbirth (place of birth), age development and parental class status.
3.1 Ghanaian Second Generation immigrants: class status and place of birth

Class represents people with a great deal of power and is also regarded as elite in a society.

Table 3.1 Category of Ghanaian Second Generation Immigrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Total</td>
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<tr>
<td>High</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Source: compiled from field data

Table 3.1 has categorized places of birth of Ghanaian second generation immigrants into Ghana, USA and Other. The other refers to places which are neither Ghana nor United States. Also, Table 3.1 categorizes children into the three class statuses of high, medium and low. The majority of Ghanaian second generation immigrants belong to low class families followed by high class and the least belonging to middle class status 48%, 32% and 20% respectively. Among the low class the majority were born in Ghana and represent 42% followed by 33% for those born elsewhere and 15% representing those born in the United States.

Children of Ghanaian immigrants who belong to a high class and represent 32% were predominantly born in the United States with Ghana and other places following. This means Ghanaian parents who belong to different classes have different migration trajectories. High class parents arrive as students and get jobs after graduation but before having children. Ghanaian parents who belong to medium income groups also follow similar patterns of trajectory and decisions of having children. Meanwhile, the majority of Ghanaian second generation who belong to a low class were predominantly born in Ghana and other countries. This means that parents who belong to this group travel to other countries and have kids in Ghana and elsewhere before they arrive in the United States. Among Ghanaian low class families,
very few children were born in the United States. This suggests parents arrive in the United States later in life.

The main determinant of differences that exist among these second generation immigrants is class status, one which is influenced by migration trajectories. The complexity of experiences of different second generation immigrants and whether Suarez-Orozco and Suarez Orozco’s (2001) categorization universally applies to all second generation immigrants is captured here. Ghanaian immigrants and their children have different immigrant experiences with respect to their trajectories and their places of birth. Even though these individual experiences exist, there are grounds for commonalities. The complexity is influenced by the reorganization of ethnic culture within the host culture.

All Ghanaian immigrant groups irrespective of their differences are faced with a reorganization of ethnic culture in the host society. Some authors assume that children’s cultural behavior and identity will be tied to that of their parents (Carlin and Hegtvedt, 2003). Differences that exist among respondents suggest a heterogeneous identity instead of a homogeneous one, even though there are some commonalities among these immigrant groups. This is because place of birth and class status both of which have a tremendous effect on socialization patterns as well as identity formation. As a result, children with different socializations identify differently.

3.2 Age category of Ghanaian second generation immigrants

Middle childhood begins at the age of six and ends with a start of adolescence. Adolescence is a development stage that lies between childhood, one and adulthood which begins at twelve and ends at twenty years (Feldman, 2005).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Development</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ghana USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle childhood</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adolescent</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: compiled from field data
Middle childhood is a stage in life where children refer to psychological traits to define themselves (Feldman, 2005). Children at this stage in life use social comparison to understand one’s standing and identity. The majority of Ghanaian second generation immigrants belong to middle childhood. This group of children constitutes 68% of all Ghanaian second generation immigrants. The adolescent age is a stage in life where children organize more accurately and reflect others’ perceptions.

When defining identity, peer relationships provide social comparison and help define acceptable roles (Feldman, 2005). The adolescent age constitutes 32% of Ghanaian second generation immigrants. Most adolescents of Ghanaian second generation immigrants were born outside United States and they constitute 1.5 second generation immigrants. Meanwhile, almost all middle children were born in the United States with the rest born in Ghana and elsewhere. Middle children who were born in the United States constitute 65% of the entire middle childhood of Ghanaian second generation. This suggests a recent immigrant settlement in the United States. Thus, the majority of Ghanaian second generation immigrants being young indicates the recent date of migration of Ghanaian immigrants.

Most Ghanaian immigrants recently settled in the United States from Ghana and other countries. These characteristics do not match the findings of Saenz (2004) on Mexican and Haitian second generation immigrants living in Miami or San Diego. This is because population estimates suggest that Latino population has a larger second generation and have assimilated and continue to grow and constitute 25% of U.S. population, with Mexicans continuing to dominate numerically. Increased intermarriage rates, greater English language fluency, higher rates of female labor force participation, and greater presence in higher status occupations may blur the boundaries between the children and grandchildren of immigrants and the native-born U.S. population. Even though Ghanaian second generation immigrants may be found in other cities mentioned by Saenz (2004) their numbers and involvement in politics and the job market cannot be equal to their Mexican counterparts in mainstream America.

Meanwhile, a critical look at individual constituents of each large group suggests individual experiences among children who belong to the middle childhood group so as adolescent group. Even though most of them fall into big clusters,
differences in places of birth and socialization determine the differences that exist among and between Ghanaian second generation immigrants. This suggests a more heterogeneous immigrant group than homogeneous.

3.3 Diversity of immigrant experiences: Names of Ghanaian immigrants

Ghanaian immigrant names with respect to class status.

Names and identity of Ghanaian immigrants

Table 3.3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parent</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghanaian</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghanaian and Western</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nickname</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: compiled from field data

Table 3.3 explains the use of names among respondents and their children and the influence on identity. Names that people use influence people’s of thinking, socializing and identity creation. Children may acquire their names from their parental ethnic background while others may be named after family members and friends. Acquiring a Ghanaian last name is not an exception. All child respondents have a Ghanaian last name. A larger number of parent respondents use Ghanaian and Western names for their children; they constitute 46%, followed by parents who only use Western names and they constitute 40% of Ghanaian immigrants.

The use of Ghanaian, Ghanaian and Western and only Western names among children are spread over. There are very few incidents in the use of nicknames which include uncle, father, brother, and Dada despite an immense use of nicknames in Ghana. The use of both Ghanaian and Western names implies that Ghanaian immigrants are instilling both Ghanaian ethnicity and American assimilation in their children. Some of these children are named after their parent’s grandparents, aunts, uncles and in some
cases friends. Because of this, not all Ghanaian second generation immigrants bear the last name of their parents. The differences among the sources of names for child respondents influence their reactions towards their names. These reactions may be positive or negative. The beginning of these reactions depends on the understanding of their names and how these names are used and respected at home and outside home.

All Ghanaian second generation immigrants have a Ghanaian last name but not all of them use these names at home. A look at Table 3.3 indicates that only two Ghanaian immigrant families use only their children Ghanaian names to socialize at home. This represents 13% of the entire parent respondents. This confirms the insignificant number of children who use their Ghanaian names at home. Parents prefer using the Ghanaian names of their children alongside their Western names. They are using these names to socialize at home so that Ghanaian second generation immigrants do not forget the ethnic background of their parents. In as much as they are immigrants in the United States, one of the ways that parents their Ghanaianess in their children is to use their Ghanaian names along their western names. The western names are used as strategy for the children to feel to be part of the mainstream America. It is a way to influence Ghanaian immigrant children to limit the ethnic difference between themselves and their American friends. The extent to which either a Ghanaian name, Western and Ghanaian name, only western name or a nickname will be used to socialize Ghanaian second generation immigrants can be influenced by class status of the immigrant parent.

Class status of immigrant parents has a tremendous effect on immigrant experiences. The inability of low class parents to penetrate through mainstream America has an effect on the extent to which second generation immigrants can assimilate and be part and parcel of a host society. Table 3.3 indicates that all child respondents who belong to high class families either use only Ghanaian or Ghanaian and western names. None of these children from these families use only their Western names. This is a direct opposite to children from low class families. Child respondents from low class families are the majority of Ghanaian second generation immigrants. 65% of these children only use their Western names in home socialization. Their parents are using their children Western names with the idea of assimilating them into mainstream America. If the
findings of Haller et al. (2005) hold for all immigrant groups, Ghanaian immigrant parents who are using only their children Western names are thwarting their child’s penetration into mainstream America instead of enhancing it. This implies that high class provides comfort zones for engaging second generation immigrants in both Ghanaian and Western cultures where as low class influences parents to be more western.

Defining second generation immigrants is related to the marginalization of migrants and their children in relation to class (Aonghas, 2002). Aonghas is of the view that the immigrant’s social capital influences the level of reception and thus how society defines second generation immigrants. Thus, immigrants who possess skills that the host country is looking for are able to achieve higher economic success and thus their children are more accepted in the host society (Haller et al., 2005 pp. 107). The context of reception of the second generation immigrants has a tremendous effect on immigrant children socialization pattern, identity and economic status (Stepic et al., 2001).

If the economic status (class) of immigrants makes their children acceptable in the host society, it takes less time for children to become part of the society. This means that high class child respondents are likely to assimilate in mainstream America earlier than those who belong to low class families. Class determines the extent to which second generation immigrants can explore all opportunities that the society offers. If the children are received as "other” because of their parent’s economic status, they are stigmatized and are relegated to the background. For instance, “Proposition 187” in California prevents all undocumented immigrant children from attending school, enjoying healthcare provided by the state and are not recognized as part of the documented society (Suarez-Orozco, 2001). The implication of such non-receptiveness in California for second generation immigrants is their “otherness” and this has implications for the category of second generation that they fall into. This means that Ghanaian second generation immigrants with similar class status are likely to be defined with similar characteristics and similar identities. The only thing that brings homogeneity among Ghanaian second generation immigrants is similarity in class status. Irrespective of names that children use at home, the context of reception of parent
respondents with respect to the class of their families defines Ghanaian second generation immigrants.

### 3.4 Name Socialization

Perception of Ghanaian names in public with respect to place of birth

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Comfortable in front of Non-Ghanaians</th>
<th>Uncomfortable in front of Non-Ghanaians</th>
<th>Uncomfortable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in Ghana</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in USA</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: compiled from field data

Table 3.4 explains the extent to which child respondents respond to their Ghanaian names in front of friends and how this influences their definition as second generation immigrants. The categories of feelings in response to names are comfortable in front of Non-Ghanaians, uncomfortable in front of Non-Ghanaians and not applicable (N/A). The last category refers to children who have no feelings in response to their Ghanaian names no matter the environment. The responses to names of child respondents are assessed in conjunction with place of birth. Places of birth of Ghanaian second generation immigrants are Ghana, USA and other.

Ghanaian immigrant children socialize in different spaces which include church, school, and social functions. In all these places these children meet their Ghanaian and non-Ghanaian friends and socialize. While some children are using only Ghanaian names, Western and Ghanaian names or only Western names at home their response to these names in public may differ. This is because the audience within this space is different. Children may respond differently to the same name outside home. Table 3.4 indicates that 70% of all parents are of the view that their children respond to their Ghanaian names comfortably in front of Non-Ghanaians in public. This confirms a parent respondent’s view:
“no matter where I and my children go we are Ghanaians and will be Ghanaians. The children may think otherwise but they don’t know, they are Ghanaians”

Meanwhile the majority of Ghanaian second generation immigrants do not agree with their parents are since because they do not feel comfortable in front of their non-Ghanaian friends. Responses of children who were born in Ghana and elsewhere confirm the assertion of their parents and they represent 60% of children who feel comfortable in front of non-Ghanaians. These children represent 1.5 Ghanaian second generation immigrants (Orozco, 2001). These are children who were brought either from Ghana or from other countries to the United States. Some of these children did not come along with their parents. Their parents might have migrated first and these children later joined them. These are the children who might have tasted different life from another country with different social and cultural values. These children are likely to accept their parental ethnic background and create their identity in accordance with it.

Meanwhile, child respondents who were born in the United States share different opinion in response to their Ghanaian names in front of Non-Ghanaians. Seventy one percent of these children are not comfortable with their names in front of their non-Ghanaian friends. This means that place of birth of Ghanaian second generation immigrant influence comfort levels of Ghanaian names in public. The behavior of child respondents conforms to the fading of assimilation and assimilation process. (Fernandez-Kelly and Schauffler, 1994). They are of the view that assimilation processes are fading as a result of the ability of some immigrants to hold on to their ethnic and cultural norms and values. Unfortunately the era where assimilation into the American society is encouraged is fading (Fernandez-Kelly and Schauffler, 1994) and this perpetuates their categorization as particular types of second generation immigrants for longer periods of time. 1.5 Ghanaian second generation immigrants are holding on to their ethnic identity and do not feel embarrassed with their names in public because, to be successful does not mean you must fully assimilate into mainstream America, especially at the time when Americans are sending jobs abroad and welcoming experts from other parts of the world. Furthermore, the fading of assimilation is linked with the complex of experiences of different second generation immigrants.
Table 3.5
Behavior, Attitude, and Speech Patterns Among Ghanaian Second Generation immigrants (Parents perspective)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parents</th>
<th>Behavior and attitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct them to? both cultures</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picking up American culture and lifestyle</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rude and ask questions</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech Change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t Speak Ghanaian language</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mix English with Twi</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Accent</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A shift from Twi to English</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t speak but understands Twi</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaks American Twi</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makes fun of Twi</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encourage to speak Twi</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: compiled from field data

For immigrant parents not to lose their ethnic identity and traditions, they influence their children in their socialization at home and other places. It is the responsibility of immigrant parents to pass their traditions to their children if they so desire. In order to achieve this, some parent respondents are directing their children in both Ghanaian and American cultures. This does not guarantee that Ghanaian second generation immigrants will automatically learn their parental ethnic norms and traditions. Table 3.5 indicates that parents see their children as having picked up American lifestyle; rude but few try to direct them to both cultures.

The table further discovers that 64% of child respondents don’t speak the Ghanaian language. Meanwhile 40% of parent respondents agree that even if their children try to speak the language, they do not really understand. They mix the language with English and speak “American Twi”. For 64% of child respondents not to speak Ghanaian language imply that majority of Ghanaian second generation
immigrants are escaping from the ethnicity of their parents. This fits perfectly into Safran’s (1991) findings. Safran concluded that, even though immigrant parents may wish and therefore identify their children in association with their ethnicity or Diaspora, their children may not necessarily identify themselves the same way. This also confirms what Portes and Rumbaut (2001) termed as identity crisis (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

Identity crisis among immigrants occurs in situations when immigrant children identify against the race and ethnicity of their parents. The beginning of expressing identity crisis includes picking up the norms, the culture, values and traditions of host societies against the wish of parents. Increasingly, Table 3.5 indicates that Ghanaian second generation immigrants are turning away from Ghanaian language. The 1.5 Ghanaian second generation immigrants who have learnt Ghanaian language are turning their back to the language and try not to speak it. Majority of the children do not speak the language, even a few who speak mix it with English. Other child respondents have totally shifted from Twi speaking to English speaking. The shift from Twi to English begins when children start schooling. The moment children increase their space of socialization by moving from home to school, they learn from people around them.

3.5 Identity Construction with Age Development

By definition, identity is self knowledge about one's characteristics or personality; a sense of self (Chitose and Jensen, 1990). As has already been established, identity creation among immigrants and their children is an ongoing process. It moves and changes with time, place and context. The analytical capacities of people increase as they grow. It is therefore imperative to assess the identity of Ghanaian second generation immigrants with respect to their age development. Identity can be of two forms. The “self” and the “person or community” identity (Hall, 1990).

Identity has an internal part that defines who we feel we are, or “self identity” while who society think we are “community identity” (Fernandez-Kelly and Schauffler, 1994). The “Identity” explained here is constructed by Ghanaian second generation immigrants and their parents. The parents are constructing the person
identity of their immigrant children while the children are constructing their self identity. These identities can either be the same or different from the perspective of their children and their parents.

1.5 Ghanaian second generation immigrants who could speak English before they migrated to the United States have changed their accent to speak American accent. Those who try to speak Twi speak with American intonation while others make fun of Twi, their parental ethnic language. Even those who can speak do not speak the language but understands. Notwithstanding the difficulties that the second generation is going through with the intent to learn the language 20% of parent respondents are encouraging their children to speak Twi.

Changes in behavior, attitude, and speech serve as indicators of identity crisis, shifting and/or construction among second generation immigrants. The behavior of child respondents with respect to their parents’ ethnicity explains ethnic prejudices that immigrant children are likely to face in host cultures. Hirschman (2001) explains that immigrant children who show immense differences in ethnicity between parental and host culture experiences ethnic prejudices from host society.

Table 3.6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity construction</th>
<th>Ghanaian</th>
<th>African American</th>
<th>American</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle childhood</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adolescent</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: compiled from field data

Table 3.6 defines the identity of child respondents with respect to age development. Constructing the identity of child respondents, 80% of Ghanaian parent respondents in Cincinnati view their children as purely Ghanaian. This is a direct construction of identity in relations to their own personal ethnic identity. Parent respondents are not taking into consideration the birthplace of their children, the patterns of socialization of their children, the locus of friends and even their own human capital.
These are influential factors that affect identity construction among second generation immigrants. As long as the parents see themselves as Ghanaians, so are their children. The parents are applying a Ghanaian wise saying which goes as “Okoto Ngwo anoma” thus “a crab does not give birth to bird offspring” Once a Ghanaian all offspring are Ghanaians. Meanwhile, child respondents have a very different perspective as to how they see themselves. That is, none of the children see themselves as purely Ghanaians as expressed by their parents. About 70% see themselves as African Americans while 30% identify as Americans.

The children sense and understanding of African Americans is not the same as African Americans in United States. Their sense of African Americans is Africans who have African heritage. That is they are Africans by their parental ethnicity and Americans because they are born, raised, and socialize in the United States.

Considering age development among Ghanaian second generation immigrants and their identity creation, it is clear that children who belong to middle childhood category either identify themselves African Americans or Americans. Whereas adolescent are more matured than middle childhood their perspective to their identity may change from pure American to African American. That is, none of the children who by age are classified as adolescent consider themselves as pure Americans because most of them were born outside United States. Responses from table 3.5 presuppose that as the children grow, they construct their identity in line with the ethnicity of their parents.

3.6 Conclusion

The conclusion for this chapter is that defining who Ghanaian Second generation immigrants are and assessing whether they are homogenous group goes beyond parental influence of child respondents. Factors that play crucial role to define this group of second generation immigrants include age development, place of birth, class status and differences in immigrant experiences. Considering the above factors and its role in defining child respondents, it is clear that they are not homogenous group but there are strong elements of homogeneity.

Ghanaian second generation immigrants are of different ages and therefore thinks differently in accordance with their age. Middle childhood define themselves more in relations to their American counterparts while adolescent relate and define
closer to their parental ethnicity. In much the same way, class of immigrant family and their children have a tremendous effect on their relations and activities within host societies. The type of relations and forms of activities depends on class status. Children from different class status socialize differently in different forms of social levels in different social spaces.

Ghanaian second immigrants define themselves differently to suit different audience. Even though Ghanaian second generation homogenously defines themselves in Ghanaian spaces, their definition is different in different societies. A child respondents’ remark:

“Constructing my identity depends on where I am. It depends on the people I am dealing with. I don’t want to be left out in the presence of people”

Again different immigrant experiences construct the definition of Ghanaian second immigrants. Ghanaian immigrant parents define the identity of their children differently from the children and therefore socialize with them in relations to the definition. This means that even though these children are seen holistically as Ghanaian second generation immigrants they differ in many respects which include their self identity, socialization at different places, perception of Ghanaian language, and name socialization.
Chapter 4

Immigrant Connection to different places and Identity

4.1 Introduction

Social spaces play a very important role in immigrants’ lives by connecting people from one place to the other. Immigrants and their children engage in relationships through space. Spaces of immigrants and their children within which they interact include school, church, home, and social associations (Gagen 2004). These spaces influence the growth, socialization, acculturation, assimilation and identity of immigrants (Gagen 2004). Therefore, this chapter examines the connection of Ghanaian immigrant children’s to different places and how such connection to these places influence their identity creation.

The research question addressed here is: How do immigrant children’s connections to different places influence their identities? This chapter answers this question by examining different forms of socialization within different spaces and how this affects identity creation among Ghanaian second generation immigrants. It focuses on knowledge of extended family, visit to extended family, and how connections to the extended family affect identity creation among Ghanaian second generation immigrants. It further assesses socialization at school, church, home, and Ghanaian social spaces to determine how socialization at different places influence Ghanaian second generation immigrants.

The chapter concludes that Ghanaian second generation immigrants maintain different identities in different places. The audience within those spaces influence the identity creation of Ghanaian second generation immigrants. This conclusion confirms the theory of Clair that immigrant children create their identity in conformity with people around them and spaces with which they find themselves. It also concludes that Ghanaian second generation immigrants maintain a fragmented identity. They create different identities in different places to suit their needs. The identity of Ghanaian immigrant children is different in social spaces. It further concludes that as Ghanaian parents regard their children as Ghanaians, the identity of Ghanaian second generation immigrants does not conform to that of their parents.
4.2 Ghanaian Immigrant Family

Table 4.1 examines the number of children within Ghanaian immigrant families and their present location.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Children</th>
<th>No. of families with children in Ghana</th>
<th>No. of families in Ghana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *compiled from field data*

The location of children influences different forms of socialization. Immigrant children who reside in home countries socialize differently from children who reside in immigrant host countries. Table 4.1 indicates that seven families, which constitute 46% of parent respondents living in the United States, have three children. The model number of children is three. The highest number of children a Ghanaian immigrant family has is five with the least being two. Table 4.1 also indicates that very few families have children in Ghana.

Most children are with their parents in the USA, but Ghanaian parents are involved in transnational parenting with their parents and foster parents. Meanwhile, parent respondents are key actors in the socialization of their children. This indicates the extent to which Ghanaian immigrants have moved their children to live with them in the United States. This implies that even though most of the children are living in the United States, Ghanaian immigrants are involved in the socialization and decision making of the few children who are living in Ghana. This means parent respondents are involved in two worlds. They are involved in the socialization of children at home and also actively influence the socialization of their children in host countries.
An important factor that influences the socialization of child respondents is the effect of different spaces and their institutions on socialization of childhood (Gagen 2004). Gagen feels that socialization at church, home, and school serve as spaces for children to negotiate, create and define their identity. Even though children at home (Ghana) are left in the care of extended family members, Ghanaian immigrant parents are involved in transnational parenting as explained by Safran.

Parent respondents who have children are limited in influencing their children socialization in Ghana. Extended families of immigrant children who are in the home country of immigrants become contact points of socialization from their biological parents living abroad. This is because their foster parents involve the biological parents in raising the children by communicating constantly about the children in their care. Communication with second generation immigrants and their extended family instill cultural identity into the children living in host countries.

4.3 Knowledge of Extended Family and Identity
The existence of extended family has always been one of the contact points of remembering home among immigrants. Even though immigrants may decide to naturalize in their host country and become citizens “home” will always be their home country because of their socialization and the existence of extended family (Yeoh and Huang, 2000). This may or may not necessarily be the case for second generation immigrants because it depends upon whether they have contact with extended family or not. Communication with the extended family bridges the socialization gap between second generation immigrants and their extended families. A sense of identity is also gained with close communication between relatives because of the different perspectives of the world that are gained.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Parent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Have extended family in Ghana</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children know extended family</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children don’t know extended</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Met in Ghana</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Met in USA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never met</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talk on phone</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t talk on phone</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children call</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents and relatives talk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To children</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self/relatives/parents</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents don’t allow to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talk extended family</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t talk to extended family</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: compiled from field data*
Table 4.2 indicates that all parent respondents and child respondents have extended family in Ghana. Parents nurture knowledge of extended family consciously. They want their children to retain their ethnicity as part of their identity. Factors that influence identity creation among immigrants include ethnicity, class, place of residence, date of migration, place of birth, and context of reception of host communities. Knowledge of extended family is a common trait to both Ghanaian parents and their children since 92% of parent respondents claim their children know their extended family and 80% of Ghanaian second generation immigrants know their extended family living in Ghana. Also, 76% of the parents claim and 80% of Ghanaian immigrant children confirm they have met extended family members in Ghana. This confirms a parent respondent’s remarks:

“I will go home one day and I will go with my children, because of that my family has been visiting Ghana so that they don’t feel left out once they are there.”

This statement shows the extent to which parent and child respondents have visited Ghana. It explains how much Ghanaian immigrants are attached to their ethnic identity by visiting Ghana. Meanwhile, very few extended family members have visited children in the United States. Because extended family and home communities have a positive context of reception on second generation immigrants, these children are able to interact with their extended family in Ghana and create their self identity as African American as explained in chapter three.

This is in contrast to a negative context of reception, which thwarts assimilation of second generation immigrants in host communities (Stepick et al. 2001). The large number of child respondents who know their extended family is irrespective of place of birth. All child respondents with their extended family communicate through various means and as a result know them. Even though some children do not know a lot about their extended family, they know that they have family members who live in the home country of their parents. These people are their grandparents, siblings, parents’ aunts, uncles etc. There are significant bonds that bring Ghanaian immigrant children and their extended family together. Even though Ghanaian second generation immigrants may not understand their given names, they know they are named after their grandparents, aunts, or uncles.
The bonding of names always brings Ghanaians of all ages together. As the extended family will want to know their grandchildren, the children also have mutual feelings about their extended family. This influences visits of parent respondents to their home country. Meeting among these groups of people is very crucial and as such, 80% of Ghanaian second generation immigrants know the extended family through their visits to Ghana. Haller and Landolt (2005) feel that immigrant parents who are able to afford vacation back home with their children are able to influence the identity creation among second generation immigrants. This is because trips reinforce ties and bond among second generation and the extended family.

Ghanaian second generation immigrants’ vacation to the home country of immigrant parents in addition with constant communication enforces knowledge of the extended family. The majority of Ghanaian immigrants and their children communicate with the extended family in Ghana. Ninety three per cents of all child respondents and eighty four percent of their parents communicate with the extended family. A parent respondent’s remarks:

“Even though my brother is not living in Ghana, my children communicate with him and his family. My brother even knows the kids’ date of birth and he calls and send them gifts when it is their birthday”.

The families communicate mostly by means of telephone calls. As a way of engaging child respondents, some extended family will ask the children to write letters. Child respondents get the opportunity to talk to the extended family when their parents call them. Sometimes, parents will ask their children to talk to the extended family, while the extended family on some occasions will ask to talk to the children, or the children will want to talk to the extended family members as 67% of parent respondents indicate. Therefore, there is a cycle of communication among children, parents and the extended family.

Socializing immigrant children to the extended family enforces social group identification hence influencing identity creation of Ghanaian second generation immigrants. This confirms the findings of Duncan and Leg who stated that socialization of immigrant children at different places enforces social group identification, and identity formation (Duncan and Leg 2004 pp.414). Children of immigrant who were born in the home country of their parents and were brought to the United States have
strong ties to the home country than those who were born in the host country and sent to
the home country of their parents on visits.

Social integration is a process by which immigrants learn to become part and
parcel of a society. Hess, et al. acknowledge socialization as a field for the development
of the “self” Hess, et al. (1985). As ‘1.5’ Ghanaian second generation immigrants have
lived, made friends, and socialized in Ghana, they may have developed a self identity
through their socialization and construct their identity as Ghanaians. The indicators for
measuring social integration include language proficiency, inter-ethnic friendship, the
decision to be permanent residents, and citizenship. These indicators show that child
respondents relate more and identify consistently with the United States more than
Ghana while their parents identify their children more closely to Ghana than the United
States.

4.4 Socialization at different places and identity

Socialization is the process of acquiring culture (Hess et al. 1985). During
socialization, children learn the language they are born into as well as the roles they are
expected to play in life (Hess et al. 1985). In addition, children learn about the
occupational roles that society allows. Within the context of a new or ethnic culture and
a host culture, socialization is recognized as a learning process of host cultural traits for
immigrant children (Hess et al. 1985). Their ability to learn the roles determines the
extent to which they can assimilate into the host society. Because childhood is a stage of
exploration, children learn new things through friends, teachers, siblings, and other
groups of people.

The level of learning is dependent on the level of social involvement. In
groups where there is less segregation and increased unity, children are free to express
themselves and explore better than segregated groups. Learning new roles and teaching
others known ones demand cooperation among friends. Successful socialization among
children is a joint effort.
Table 4.3

Children Socialization at different places

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Parents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friends from school</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American home and school</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghanaian/home/social/church</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit Ghanaian</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit Non-Ghanaian</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit both Ghanaian and Non-Ghanaian</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not visit friends</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: compiled from field data NB responses overlap

Socialization of child respondents is not limited to trips to Ghana and communication with extended families but to other social spaces. Spaces within which immigrant children are confined affect their socialization. (Hess et al., 1985). Table 4.3 indicates that Ghanaian immigrants are found in all social spaces where children negotiate and create their identity. Even though these spaces exist for both parents and children, there are differences of children’s and parents’ view of spaces of socialization. This is in accordance with the findings of Gagen (2004), who feels that socialization at church, home and school and serve as spaces for children to negotiate, create and define their identity. Table 4.3 indicates that both child and parent respondents express that they socialize at school and with friends from school, home, church, Ghanaian and non-Ghanaian social spaces. All Ghanaian immigrant parents (100%) agree that their children socialize with Ghanaian friends from home, school, social organizations and church while 44% of Ghanaian second generation immigrants agree to this assertion. Furthermore, 60% of parents and 36% of Ghanaian second generation immigrants engage in school socialization. Also, 60% of parent respondents and 56% of child respondents make friends from home and school.

Making intimate friendships involves visit to and from friends. Table 4.3 indicates that 20% of Ghanaian immigrant children visit Ghanaian friends, while 26% of
their parent respondents agree to this assertion. Furthermore, 40% of child respondents express that they visit non-Ghanaian friends, while only 6% of their parents agree to it. Meanwhile, 0% of child respondents visit both Ghanaian and non-Ghanaians and 47% of the parent respondents rather think their children visit both Ghanaians and non-Ghanaian friends.

Assessing the overall trend of Ghanaian immigrant children visit to friends, Table 4.3 indicates that there is limited Ghanaian immigrant children visit to Ghanaian friends than non-Ghanaian friends. The main reason for these limited visits is proximity. Children are allowed and prefer to visit friends within their neighborhood than Ghanaian friends at church who live far from their places of residence. More visits to their non-Ghanaian friends may accelerate intimate friendship, which can lead to easy assimilation. Waters feels that assimilation provides and teaches habits and skills for socioeconomic advancement respectively within society (Waters, 1996). In general, 36% of child respondents do not visit either Ghanaian or non-Ghanaian friends. This is a result of 53% of Ghanaian immigrant parents who do not encourage visits to friends. A parent respondent remarks:

“It is not safe to allow the children to places. We are very concerned about the security of the children. Here, is not Ghana where children can go and play without any problem. I cannot entrust my children to anybody. We are afraid to let them out.”

Meanwhile, through visits to friends, children learn and play among themselves in the process of developing social skills. The inability to socialize with friends denies Ghanaian immigrant children to learn social skills.

Spaces of children’s socialization are referred to as socioeconomic, experiential or cultural spaces (Knox and Marstson, 2004). A greater percentage of Ghanaian immigrants think their children make friends at school whereas the children do not recognized their relationship with their classmates as friendship. Within these spaces, Ghanaian second generation immigrants learn among themselves to adhere to what society approves or forbids. Socialization within these spaces involves making friends and visiting Ghanaian and non-Ghanaians, and attending Ghanaian and non-Ghanaian social gatherings.

Acquiring social skills can come in two ways, through formal teaching or intuitive learning. Activities that Ghanaian immigrants engage in with their friends
determine the pattern of socialization among them. Children who possess similar habits and skills construct similar identity. Even though Ghanaian second generation immigrants are limited in their visits to friends, they still identify with the American culture more than their Ghanaian parental ethnicity. Child respondents engage in shielded existence. There is reservation on socialization for identity creation. Ghanaian immigrants socialize differently at school, neighborhood, church and other social spaces.

4.5 Activities with friends

Socialization among Ghanaian second generation immigrants and their friends involves different kinds of activities that are embedded in places that influence socialization.

Table 4.4

Activity with Friends

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Children Ghanaian friend’s</th>
<th>Parents Non-Ghanaian friends</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical and run around</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toys/electronics/games</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghanaian and other games</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hang out and read</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sleep over</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: compiled from field data

Ghanaian second generation immigrants and their friends involve in activities in and around home. These children play among themselves to create a sense of identity. The effect of socialization in different spaces is important in understanding identity creation of Ghanaian second generation immigrants. The locus of friends of child respondents ranges from Ghanaians, Americans and children from other parts of the world. These children engage in activities that include running, studying, and playing computer games. The most popular games that Ghanaian immigrant children play with are toys and electronic games. This represents 40% of games that child respondents play as agreed by both parents and children. Second to electronic games is physical activity and playing Ghanaian and other games.
Both parents and children agree that 27% of Ghanaian second generation immigrants engage in physical activity games that involves running around. Ghanaian immigrant children mostly play these games with their siblings. The locus of friends of child respondents according to Ghanaian immigrant families consists mainly of Ghanaian children. Ghanaian second generation immigrants do not engage in certain activities such as sleepover. Sleeping over encourages intimacy between second generation immigrants and no Ghanaian immigrant family encourages their children to sleep over. This indicates that Ghanaian immigrants are not intimate with the friends of their children. The effort of parent respondents to discourage their children and their friends to come together goes against Brettell (2005 pp 845) theory of “bonding social capital” which means bringing together people who are like one another in different respects (age, ethnicity, gender, and social class”). Ghanaian second generation immigrants exhibit all the characteristics explained by Bretells’ “bonding social capital”. Notwithstanding the hindrance among Ghanaian second generation and their friends, one common activity that Ghanaian children and their parents agree doing is playing with toys and computer games. All child respondents owe an electronic and/or computer games.

Even though there are many Ghanaian games that teach Ghanaian cultural values, these games are not played in Ghanaian immigrant homes. Table 4.4 indicates that 12% of child respondents occasionally play Ghanaian games. Parent respondents do not encourage their children to play Ghanaian games even though they regard their children as Ghanaians.

The restriction of Ghanaian immigrants to allow their children to frequently visit and play with their friends is influenced by differences among and between Ghanaian immigrants and the host society. This confirms Mayo’s findings that for minority immigrants, ethnicity can play an important role in the development of identity. According to Mayo, ethnic and racial attitudes among children appear to take shape by about 10 years of age, which highlights the importance of examining the role of ethnicity in the development of self ((Mayo-Quinones and Dempsey, 2005 pp.120). Activities with Ghanaian and non-Ghanaian friends are influenced by parental control; therefore, socialization based on activities with Ghanaian second generation and their American friends does not provide a clear picture to determine the identity of Ghanaian
second generation immigrants. The activities that Ghanaian immigrant children and their friends engage in are normal children play without intimacy.

4.6 Socialization in Ghanaian Spaces

Ghanaian spaces are spaces where Ghanaian immigrants meet to participate in social activities.

Table 4.5
Socialization in Ghanaian Spaces (Children)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attend Church</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attend Ghanaian church</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invited Non-Ghanaian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: compiled from field data

Organizations that primarily nurture the development and deployment of bonding social capital are religious and regional, reflecting the diversity that Ghanaians themselves describe as fundamental characteristics of their culture. Religion plays an important role in Ghanaian immigrant lives. The majority of Ghanaian immigrants who live in Cincinnati Ohio are associated with a church. Within the greater Cincinnati area, there are seven Ghanaian immigrant established churches. Example of these churches includes the International Christian Fellowship Assembly of God, the Church of Pentecost, Hour of Grace, Alpha and Omega, Ghanaian Catholic Church and the Seventh Day Adventist Church. All these churches are headed by Ghanaian pastors. The church denominations play very important roles in the socialization of Ghanaian second generation immigrants.

Apart from attending Sunday service, these churches sometimes organize joint activities such as soccer games, picnics, parties, Children’s Week, and social outings to socialize these churches and their congregation. They invite each other when there is an occasion such as an anniversary or outreach mission. This confirms Brettell’s
idea of “bridging social capital which means “social networks that bring together people who are unlike one another” (Brettell 2005 pp. 854).

All Ghanaian second generation immigrants attend church and 84% of these Christians attend a Ghanaian church. Ghanaian second generation immigrants establish intimate friendship at church. Attending church is an important social activity for Ghanaian second generation immigrants. This is because Ghanaian churches are Ghanaian spaces for friends to meet. Both Ghanaian second generation immigrants and their parents use this space to meet friends who could not meet during the week.

After church service Ghanaian second generation immigrants play among themselves within the church premises as a form of socialization. Within such churches, Ghanaians dominate this social space even though there are some congregational members who are from other African countries. Occasionally, parent respondents invite their friends to fellowship with them in these churches. This invitation is limited to only parent respondents, since 96% of Ghanaian second generation immigrants have never invited their non-Ghanaian friends to attend church.

Ghanaian churches provide a well established community for Ghanaian immigrants and their children. Within these churches, community standards are established and are reinforced among group members, especially younger members (Waters, 1996). In providing children with the habits and skills for socioeconomic advancement, immigrant families do not exist in isolation, but belong to social communities which set standards for all (Waters, 1996). The entire community, according to Waters, directs the children through teaching and outreach. This implies that even though child respondents may have individual immigrant experiences and belong to different class status, they receive similar social capital through Ghanaian churches which serve as communities of reinforcement. These churches set standards for Ghanaian second generation and reinforce the attainment of them. Children who excel in achieving these standards in the church community are rewarded. Religion plays a major role in identity creation among Ghanaian second generation immigrants. It enforces bonding among each other to construct their identity.
4.7 Perception of Ghanaian Language

Immigrant perception about their culture influences them to learn and pass it to the next generation. The extent to which immigrants will be able to express their cultural traditions depends largely on context of reception of such culture in host societies. Duncan and Legg concluded that, a full complex conception of class takes into account the ways in which groups are identified and formed (Duncan and Legg 2004). They feel people with limited social capital, including education and entrepreneurial skills, are differently identified and received.

Immigrants are received according to the similarity or dissimilarity of their culture to the host society’s culture. Cultures, which are regarded as threats, are negatively received. In such situations context of reception and community identification in the host community is sour (Duncan and Legg, 2004). Gibau emphasizes that over the years the United States federal government has been motivated by political and economic factors to classify and identify citizens, legal residents and undocumented immigrants (Gibau, 2005 pp.405). Second generation immigrants assess the context of reception of their parental cultural traditions in the eyes of host society and embrace it or deny it.

The shift is not only in ethnic heritage but includes losing the ethnic mother tongue or language. Therefore language, ceases to play a viable role in the lives of immigrant children in the creation of self identity. Table 4.6 assesses Ghanaian second generation immigrants’ comfort levels with speaking the Ghanaian language in public. Ghanaian second generation immigrants attend school and social outings of their Ghanaian and non-Ghanaian friends. In such spaces, there is the tendency for Ghanaian second generation immigrants to speak Ghanaian language if their parents are present. The possibility of speaking or not speaking the language depends on their perception about the language in relations to their audience. In assessing the perception of Ghanaian second generation immigrants on speaking the Ghanaian language in public, Table 4.6 considers place of birth, age development and class status of Ghanaian second generation immigrants.
Table 4.6

Children embarrassment of speaking Ghanaian language in public

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of birth</th>
<th>Don’t understand</th>
<th>Embarrassed among Non-Ghanaians</th>
<th>Not Embarrassed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Age Development**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Don’t understand</th>
<th>Embarrassed among Non-Ghanaians</th>
<th>Not Embarrassed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle childhood</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adolescent and adulthood</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Class Status**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Don’t understand</th>
<th>Embarrassed among Non-Ghanaians</th>
<th>Not Embarrassed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: compiled from field data; Embarrassed means embarrassed

Table 4.6 indicates that all 1.5 Ghanaian second generation immigrants understand Ghanaian language. The ability for these children to understand Ghanaian language is greater than the children who were born in the United States because they have had Ghanaian language socialization in Ghana. Table 4.6 indicates that 87% of child respondents who do not understand Ghanaian language were born in the United States as compared to 1.5 Ghanaian second generation immigrants. Even though 1.5 Ghanaian second generation have lived in Ghana and have experienced Ghanaian culture and learned Ghanaian language, 44% are embarrassed of speaking Ghanaian language in public.

The embarrassment is from the fact that speaking the language will influence their friends to construct them as “other” and be stigmatized. The 1.5’
Ghanaian second generation who were born in other countries are not embarrassed of speaking Ghanaian language in public because they have known and been involved in a different society before coming to the United States. As a result Ghanaian second generation immigrants who were born in the United States do not understand the Ghanaian language as compared to a Ghanaian ‘1.5’ second generation immigrant.

Child development goes along with changes in perception about social life. Immigrant children perception change from time to time and in different contexts. Table 4.6 indicates that the biggest number of children who do not understand Ghanaian language belong to middle childhood. Out of this group 41% of child respondents middle childhood is embarrassed of speaking Ghanaian language among non-Ghanaians. This indicates that middle childhood is a period where children are vulnerable and are influenced by their peers. Peer pressure influence Ghanaian second generation immigrants to not speak the language of their parental ethnicity.

Giving up Ghanaian language at middle childhood is an experimental stage of language acquisition because Ghanaian second generation immigrants tend to go back to the language and speak Ghanaian language in the adolescent years. The rejection of Ghanaian language during the younger years reflects the 88% of child respondents who feel embarrassed. Almost every Ghanaian second generation immigrant who are adolescent understand the Ghanaian language and are not embarrassed of speaking the language in front of their non-Ghanaian public. Adolescence and beyond is a stage in child development when children come to the realization of who they are. Constructing identity of Ghanaian second generation immigrants with respect to Ghanaian language are influenced by age development.

The speaking of Ghanaian language in front of non-Ghanaian public, is an indication of creating identity to reflect parental ethnicity. This is because 75% of all Ghanaian adolescent second generation immigrants are not embarrassed of speaking Ghanaian language. Speaking a language without resentment and among audiences who do not speak that language is an indirect form of registering your presence and your identity in the midst of a host community. A parent respondents’ remark:

“When my children were young, they did not hesitate to attend Ghanaian functions but when it got the time that they could stay at home by themselves, they never wanted to go with us. Now that one of them is in collage, he expresses so much interest in Ghanaian activities so I think the children will shift back to Ghanaian identity with time”
Class status of immigrants determines a pattern of socialization either at home or other social spaces (Brettell, 2005). Class influences people in friendship, social behavior and socialization patterns. Ghanaian immigrant families with similar class status engage in similar social groups. Immigrant families with similar class status who also live in similar neighborhoods attend similar schools and belong to similar social organizations. Child respondents who are upper class and do not understand and do not understand Ghanaian language represents 25% of all Ghanaian upper class immigrant children. Meanwhile, middle class families who do not understand Ghanaian language represents 80% of all Ghanaian second generation immigrants. On the other hand, only 16% of child respondents who belong to a low class family do not understand Ghanaian language. This represents a feature of a low class family with respect to education and the ability to speak English other than a Ghanaian ethnic language.

Many Ghanaian immigrants who belong to low class families have little education and therefore find it difficult to speak English language. It is therefore difficult for such immigrants to speak English with their children at home. Mostly the language of communication in such homes is Twi. Fifty percent of child respondents who belong to high class are not embarrassed of speaking Ghanaian language in non-Ghanaian public. This is a direct opposite of child respondents who are classified as low class families. Fifty percent of child respondents who are embarrassed of speaking Ghanaian language in public belong to low class families. This is a reflection of the perception of low class Ghanaian families.

Parents of low class Ghanaian families want their children to assimilate into mainstream America and therefore encourage their children to speak English. It is therefore not surprising that 50% of Ghanaian immigrant children who belong to low class families are embarrassed of speaking Ghanaian language in front of non-Ghanaian public.

The perception of Ghanaian second generation immigrants in relation to speaking Ghanaian language in public is influenced by the definitional issue of Ghanaian second generation immigrants identity. Waters feels that immigrant children have a problem as to whether to identify as Black Americans, White Americans,
hyphenated Americans or maintain an ethnic identity reflecting their parents’ national origin (Waters, 1996).

The issue of identity construction and creation influence perception of ethnic and cultural traits of immigrant parents. Even if some immigrant children try to maintain ethnic identity of their parents, they are faced with a problem of not having the unique accent of their parents to merit such identity. Therefore it becomes very difficult for such children to be fully accepted into host society as members of such a society. Second generation immigrants are defined either by the ethnic community of their parents or the host community (Fernandez-Kelly and Schaufler, 1994).

In constructing self identity, child respondents are influenced by their place of birth, age development and class status. Even though there are similarities in the immigrant experiences of Ghanaian second generation immigrants, the individual unique experiences give self identity; hence, different perception on Ghanaian language in public among Ghanaian second generation immigrants.

4.8 Self Identity at Different Places

The use of both Ghanaian and American names occurs at different places.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Parents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Name at School</td>
<td>Official Names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Use of Western 1st name (25)</td>
<td>Gh/Western 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Use Ghanaian surname irrespective of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place of birth</td>
<td>Ghanaian 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age development</td>
<td>Mixed 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>class status</td>
<td>Total 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is an exception (children from one family)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use Ghanaian first name even though they have western 1st name at school (It comprises all 25 Children)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: compiled from field data
Immigrants create their identity through the expression of self. Self expression may take the form of language, dress code, religion, and name. Language, which is a tool of socialization differs among Ghanaian immigrants and their children at home irrespective of class status, educational level and age development. Table 4.7 indicates that Ghanaian immigrant children use Western names as first names. Even though these children use these names, they also use Ghanaian last names. Child respondents use their last names irrespective of place of birth, age development and class status. Child respondents mention their names without mentioning their last names, but they know and respond to their last names when they are called. Having Ghanaian last names creates a connection between child respondents as one people. This confirms Chitose and Jensen’s idea of constructing identity. He feels that immigrant children create identity to connect between oneself and some group or category of people (Chitose and Jensen, 1990). The point of connection between them is their Ghanaian last names. Eighty-six percent of parent respondents agree that all their children have among their official names a western name. The use of Western names according to the parents does not affect the Ghanaian identity of their children. Even though parents confirm the use of Western names of their children, some parents also have Western names as their first names, which does not affect Ghanaian immigrant identity.

Parental identity of their immigrant children is linked to the concept of homeland or Diaspora. Safran defines the concept of Diaspora and relates it to different experiences of different groups of people (Safran, 1991). The concept of “homeland myth” represents a perceived original home of a Diaspora. Ghanaian immigrants construct their identity in relation to Ghana. Some Ghanaian immigrant parents express that they are Ghanaians and will remain Ghanaians no matter their experiences abroad. This means that Ghanaian second generation creates a self identity with respect to names but this is reinforced by social life which is intertwined in a single support system. The reinforcement intensifies the child respondent’s identity creation when Ghanaian culture is practiced and preserved in a single support system.
4.9 Self identity at Home and School

By definition, “identity is self knowledge about one's characteristics or personality; a sense of self” (Chitose and Jensen, 1990).

Table 4.8

Self identity at different places

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity</th>
<th>Children at School</th>
<th>Parent at Home</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ghanaian</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghanaian American</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: compiled from field data

Table 4.8 indicates that no Ghanaian second generation immigrant identify him/herself as Ghanaian at school. Ghanaian immigrants identify their children at home as Ghanaians. Thus, 80% of parent respondents identify their children as Ghanaians. This is a total contrast of the construction self identity of child respondents. One would think child respondents will identify themselves at school as Ghanaians to reflect the ethnicity of their parents. Instead, 68% of child respondents identify themselves at school as African-Americans, while 13% of their parents confirm such self identity. Table 4.8 indicates that 36% of child respondents identify with mainstream America and identify themselves as Americans while no parent respondents identify their children as purely American.

Immigrant children identify with people they see, meet, and associate with at school. Ghanaian immigrant children attend mainstream American schools. The majority of their friends are Americans who do not identify as Ghanaians. The identity of Ghanaian immigrant children at school reflects the identity of the people they meet and associate at school.

Ghanaian second generation immigrant use of “African American” does not imply Black Americans who share sentiments of slavery and slave trade in the United
States. Their understanding of and the use of “African-American” is a reflection that their parents come from Africa. These children identify as Americans because the majority were born in the United States. “1.5” Ghanaian second generation immigrants are influenced by their peers and the forms of socialization which is influenced by American culture to identify as Americans. Child respondents who identify as Americans are mostly those who are young and were born in the United States. Child respondents whose parents identify them as Americans are those who have at least one American parent and or those whose parents want to assimilate their children into mainstream America through identity.

“African-American” is a social construction of identity for Black people of African descent in the United States. To Ghanaian second generation immigrants, it means something else. In order not for Ghanaian second generation immigrants to face stigmatization and isolation from mainstream America, they identify as African-Americans who share the same skin tone in order to be part and parcel of mainstream America. Both parent and child respondents have a homeland, which they visit and can return to if they so desire. This homeland is not a homeland myth as compared to the homeland of Black Americans in the United States. Ghanaian immigrant children socialize differently at home, school, church and other social spaces.

The self identity of child respondents imply that their identity is influenced by people they meet. This confirms the findings of Clair who feels that immigrant children adjust and present themselves according to the reactions and presentations of those around them (Clair, 2000). Ghanaian second generation immigrants either identify themselves as African-Americans or Americans. Comparing the identity of Mexican, Chinese and Haitian second generation immigrants identity to Ghanaian second generation immigrants, it is totally opposite. This is because children from previously mentioned countries other than Ghana maintain a hyphenated identity with their country’s name associated with America. For instance, Mexican immigrant children identify as Mexican-American, that of Chinese are Chinese Americans, and Japanese-Americans. This is different with respect to Ghanaian second generation immigrants.

One factor, which may have affected this form of identity creation among Ghanaian second generation immigrants, is the presence of African-Americans in the United States. This is because Ghanaian second generation immigrants don’t want to be
seen as a different immigrant group and rejected by the host society because of differences in ethnicity. Their context of reception therefore influences identity creation among Ghanaian second generation immigrants. Gibau emphasizes that over the years, the United States federal government is motivated by political and economic factors to classify and identify citizens, legal residents and undocumented immigrants (Gibau, 2005 pp. 405).

Different forms of socialization influence identity in respective social spaces. Ghanaian second generation immigrants’ identity is fragmented in different social spaces. Ghanaian immigrant parents and their children construct the identity of Ghanaian second generation immigrants differently. The differences in identity construction among Ghanaian second generation immigrants and their parents is exemplified by responses in Table 4.8.

The identity of child respondents is influenced by socialization in different social spaces. At school, Ghanaian second generation immigrants see themselves as African-Americans, while their parents identify their children as Ghanaians at home. This implies that as child respondents are considering context of reception, audience within social spaces, and stigmatization of host society to construct their identity, their parents are tremendously influenced by their homeland and ethnicity to construct the identity of their children. Therefore, socialization at different places is very important among Ghanaian second generation immigrants in constructing their identity while it means nothing to their parents.

4.10 Conclusion

Analysis of data on socialization of Ghanaian second generation immigrants and its influence on identity creation indicates that there is tension between the ethnic culture of Ghanaian second generation immigrants and host culture in identity. With immigrant parents on one side and host society on the other side of the spectrum reinforce this tension. Because of this, Ghanaian second generation immigrants change their identity at different places and at different times. They construct their identity to reflect different context within different audiences. In order to meet the demands of
differential spaces, immigrant children maintain a fragmented identity at different places.

The extent of a fragmented identity reflects the audience within a particular place. Ghanaian second generation immigrants maintain different identities at different places. The audience within those places influence the identity creation of Ghanaian second generation immigrants. This confirms the findings of Clair who feels that immigrant children create their identity in conformity with people around them. This further confirms Brettell’s theory of social bonding and social capital, which either disintegrates or brings people of similar characteristics together (Brettell, 2005).

Different audiences have different opinions about immigrant children. Friends that Ghanaian immigrants meet at school are different from friends they meet at church and other Ghanaian social places. In Ghanaian spaces, the people they meet are virtually Ghanaians, and as a result, they are reminded of their parents’ ethnic background and their extended family in Ghana. The presence of Ghanaian in such social spaces reinforces their ties to their parental ethnic background and Ghanaian second generation immigrants accepts and see themselves as Ghanaians in these social spaces. It is only within Ghanaian places that the identity of Ghanaian second generation immigrants conform to that of their parents.

As Ghanaian immigrants construct the identity of their children as Ghanaians irrespective of their place in society, child respondents construct their identity in accordance with those around them within a particular place. Therefore, connection to different social space, is a major factor in constructing self identity among Ghanaian second generation immigrants.
Chapter 5
The Role of Home Socialization in Identity

5.1 Introduction

Home is an environment offering affection and security; it is a place where the heart is, and an institution where people are catered for (Zou, 2000). At home, children are taught the expectations of society. Immigrant children learn from home and outside the home how to fit into host societies. Socialization of immigrant children at home influences the behavior, attitude, and identity of second generation immigrants. According to Haller and Landoldt, second generation immigrants may feel their strongest attachments for the ethnic, pan-ethnic, national, racial(ized), or religious dimensions of their social location at home (Haller and Landolt, 2005). Therefore home serves as an important distinct place where parental influences and other family members may affect the identity of Ghanaian second generation immigrants.

This chapter examines the role of home socialization (place of residence) in the identity of Ghanaian second generation immigrants. How does Ghanaian second generation immigrants’ socialization at home influences their identity creation and its dynamics. This question is answered by assessing the involvement of Ghanaian second generation immigrants in Ghanaian culture in relation to Ghanaian spaces. Specific questions addressed in this chapter are the language the child respondents speak with their parents at home in relation to class, food eaten at home, music listened to, and clothing that second generation immigrants wear. This chapter also assesses behavior and attitude patterns of second generation immigrants and changes within them. The objective here is to point out the key role that Ghanaian culture at home and Ghanaian immigrant spaces play in the identity construction of Ghanaian second generation immigrants.

The chapter concludes that there is ethnic tension between Ghanaian and American cultures. This tension influences the identity creation among Ghanaian second generation immigrants to shift their identity. The identity shifting is exemplified in food eaten, language spoken and clothing they wear. For example as Ghanaian second generation immigrants like to listen to American pop music, their parents prefer Ghanaian music. This creates differences in perception among Ghanaian second generation immigrants and their parents. Ghanaian second generation immigrants are
therefore embarrassed of displaying their “Ghanaianess” in public. Ghanaian second generation immigrants are experiencing identity shifting instead of maintaining the identity of their parents.

5.2 Cultural Involvement

Culture is a way of life of a group of people involving a particular set of skills, values, and meanings (Knox and Marston, 2004 pp. 175). Culture can be learned or unlearned. Knox is of the view that place shapes culture and vice versa. Culture is also dynamic, and contested within larger social, political and economic context. Ghanaian immigrants have different ethnic backgrounds and possess cultural traditions of their ethnicity. Some Ghanaian parents intend to pass their cultural traditions to their children by teaching their children to learn and speak their traditional language, observing traditional festivals and occasions, and participating in cultural organizations. For instance, some Ghanaian immigrants speak to and encourage their children to learn their traditional language. A parent respondent remarks:

“We teach our children so that they can speak the language. As of now, they understand the language and sometimes speak among themselves, but they speak broken Twi. For instance, I once asked the whereabouts of his brother in Twi and he replied “ostill da” which means he is still in bed”

Another parent respondent remarks on the extent to which their children are learning the Twi language.

“My children think Twi is funny and they sometimes mention only one word aloud and laugh about it. If I ask the meaning of what they said they understand everything. Even though they think it is funny we will continue to teach them because one day they will go to Ghana and we do not want them to feel strangers among our family and friends they make.”
Table 5.1
Language spoken by parents and children at home in respect to class status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Parents</th>
<th>Children High</th>
<th>Children Medium</th>
<th>Children Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Twi</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Speak Twi: 13 12
Don’t speak Twi: 13
Understand Twi but Don’t speak: 15 25

Source: compiled from field data

Table 5.1 indicates that 33% of parent respondents speak Twi (Ghanaian language) at home while 13% of them speak English at home. Those who speak both English and Twi constitute 53%. Among child respondents, 20% of them speak only Twi with their parents at home, while 16% speak only English. Meanwhile, 64% of all child respondents speak both English and Twi with their parents at home. Assessing language that child respondents use among themselves at home, 86% of Ghanaian immigrants think their children know how to speak Twi while 48% of their children confirm they sometimes speak Twi among themselves. Meanwhile all Ghanaian immigrants and their children agree that they all understand Twi but do not want to speak the language.

Considering the influence of class status of families on language spoken at home, Table 5.1 indicates that only 13% of high class families speak Twi only at home. Sixty three percent of Ghanaian high class families speak both English and Twi at home. Among middle class Ghanaian immigrant families, 0% of the population speaks only
English while 60% use both English and Twi. The majority of low class families also speaks both English and Twi, but prefer the native language because of the difficulty of speaking English.

Conversely, child respondents prefer English to Twi because of the difficulty of speaking Twi. Furthermore, they want to assimilate into mainstream America and prefer to speak English. As low income earners prefer their children to speak English, high income earners want their children to hear and understand Twi. This indicates that there is more than one culture that is in operation in Ghanaian homes. English represents Western culture while Twi represents Ghanaian culture. Speaking Twi does not only trace cultural heritage of Ghanaian immigrants, but it instills and enforces a sense of belonging among Ghanaian second generation immigrants.

Almost all Ghanaian immigrants in Cincinnati Ohio speak Twi to their children, but not all the children speak Twi back to their parents. All parent and child respondents agree that Ghanaian second generation immigrants understand Twi but do not speak well among themselves. They prefer to speak English than Twi because is easier. The preference of English to Twi among child respondents confirms the Haller theory on children of immigrant segmented assimilation. They concluded that even though immigrant children have increased their learning of their parental language, they prefer English because of the high influence on host cultures on immigrant children (CILS) (Haller et al., 2005 pp. 1018).

Class status of immigrant parents is an important factor to consider in immigrant social lives. Patterns of socialization and identity formation are influenced by class status. Factors leading to educational and economic achievement or failure among the second-generation immigrant were hypothesized to consist of family structure, family socio-economic status, and the mode of incorporation experienced by different immigrant groups (Haller et al., 2005). The majority of child respondents belong to low-class family status; none of them speak only English with their parents. The children prefer to mix English with Twi, and as a result, 67% of Ghanaian second generation immigrants with low class status speak both English and Twi. This confirms that a child respondent who belongs to meddle and upper class families, speaking both English and Twi, is a reflection of perception of the children on speaking the Twi. Therefore, class
is not a determinant of influencing Ghanaian immigrant children to speak Twi for these families.

5.3 Identity Negotiation, Shifting, and Identity Crisis at home

Identity shifting implies a negotiation of identity at different places and under different circumstances. Negotiating identities may take the form of limiting one’s identity to their home or host country (Claire, 2000).

Table 5.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Parents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Behavior</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity shifting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t Know</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of birth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t Know</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: compiled from field data

Table 5.2 presents the behavioral and attitude change with respect to place of birth, age development, and class influence among Ghanaian second generation immigrants. The table indicates that the identity of Ghanaian second generation immigrants are not influenced by these factors. This is because a minute number of Ghanaian second generation immigrants are shifting their identity in relation to the indicators, thus 8% fall into all categories. Eighty percent, seventy-six percent and seventy-six percent of child respondents are of the view that their identities are not shifting because of their place of birth, age or class status respectively. Instead, Ghanaian second generation immigrants are experiencing identity shifting through behavior/attitude and speech change. Table 5.2 also indicates that 66% of Ghanaian second generation immigrants have experienced attitude and behavior change.
Furthermore, 86% of Ghanaian immigrant children have experienced changes in speech. These changes in behavior and speech is a reflection of the host society influence on Ghanaian second generation immigrants. Children of Ghanaian immigrants socialize with their peers at school, church and other social spaces. Within these spaces, they learn from each other. It is therefore imperative for Ghanaian second generation immigrants to learn new things from their peers in order to socialize and fraternize with them.

Human behavior is the collection of activities performed by human beings and influenced by culture, attitudes, emotions, values, ethics, authority, rapport, persuasion, and/or coercion (Hess et al., 1985). Table 5.2 indicates that Ghanaian second generation immigrants are experiencing identity shifting through behavior and attitude changes. According to Ghanaian immigrant parents these changes can influence their children in their identity negotiation. Identity formation and construction for immigrants and their children do not cease to operate. It is continuous and changes with time, space and context.

Responses from Table 5.2 on identity shifting indicate that Ghanaian immigrant children are not shifting their identities, but negotiating them as explained by Clair. Negotiating an identity is an adjustment and presentation of self according to the reactions and presentations of their immediate audience (Clair, 2000).

Fundamentally, negotiating identity is between individuals performing within a particular social context to convey aspects of their identity. Most of the children, whether in public or at home, do not hide from their behavior. They behave to suit their circumstances in a context when necessary. This negotiation often occurs with little conscious thought. People negotiate their identity to reflect the general consensus of identity and depict it through a behavior in gestures, facial or bodily expressions and speeches. Again, the expression of self through speech is an integral element of socialization among children.

As Chitose and Jensen express, constructing identity is to create connections between one’s self and some group or category of people. People cannot be isolated from society. Human beings are born into societies and societies are made of human beings (Chitose and Jensen, 1990). There is a symbolic attachment to who we are. We are the sum of the list we make. This gives symbolic attachment to who we are. What
holds people together are common culture traits like language, dress code and class (Hall, 1990).

Most of Ghanaian second generation immigrants learn their parental dialect before they learn English. Most English skills of child respondents are acquired through socialization with friends and peers at home and school. Therefore, Ghanaian second generation immigrants are not creating or shifting their identity in relation to their place of birth, age development or class status. Rather, they are negotiating their identity through changes in attitude, behavior and speech. For instance, some Ghanaian immigrant children have changed to be disrespectful and have changed their accent to adopt a more Americanized one.

5.4 Identity and Culture at home

Socialization of Ghanaian second generation immigrants at home is not limited to language and recreation. It involves food, music and clothing. The cultural heritage of Ghana certainly influences Ghanaian immigrants to enjoy a variety of consumption.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Food eaten</th>
<th>Music</th>
<th>Clothing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ghanaian</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both Ghanaian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And American</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: compiled from field data

Food, music and clothing constitute a culture trait among a group of people. Table 5.3 shows that no matter how intimate parent respondents are with their culture, no Ghanaian immigrant children eat only Ghanaian food. As a result, 96% of child respondents eat both Ghanaian and American food. The statistics on food consumption
shows contradiction to music child respondents listen to. This is because 56% of child respondents listen to only Ghanaian songs. Twenty two percent of parent respondents listen to both Ghanaian and American songs, while another twenty two percent listen to only American songs. Clothing that Ghanaian second generation immigrants wear share a common trend. This is because no child respondents wear only Ghanaian clothing. Seventy two percent of these children wear both Ghanaian and American clothing, while twenty eight percent only wear American clothing.

Food consumption among child respondents shows the extent to which a change of environment influence people’s consumption pattern. Table 5.3 indicates that no Ghanaian immigrant family only consumes Ghanaian dishes. ‘1.5 Ghanaian second generation immigrants’ who were born in Ghana might have had only Ghanaian meals in Ghana. But their presence in the United States has influenced them to combine both Ghanaian and American food. Even though no Ghanaian family eats only Ghanaian food, they still consume a lot of cultural foods ranging from cereal, vegetables and canned food. Typical Ghanaian food is made available through Ghanaian entrepreneurs in Cincinnati. There are three major African businesses, which specialize in importing Ghanaian food to the United States. These are Akwaaba African Market, Asafo African Market and Florida Sky’s African Shop.

Music plays a very important role in child socialization (Feldman, 2005). Children begin listening to music when they are in their mother’s womb (Feldman, 2005). When they are born, they are comforted with the use of music through lullabies. Through music, children are able to learn the dos and don’ts of society. The lyrics of music teach children how to share, forgive, obey, respect, and learn religious aspects God. Ghanaian music plays a very important role of importing Ghanaian culture to the United States. Ghanaian entrepreneurs sell Ghanaian music in the form of CD’s and video compact discs.

The availability of Ghanaian music in Ghanaian immigrant homes reduces the difficulty of immigrant life when it used therapeutically to ease their stress. Table 5.3 indicates that 56% of child respondents listen to only Ghanaian music. The categories of music that child respondents listen includes highlife, traditional ethnic
music (e.g. Adowa and agbadja), and gospel music. Apart from making purchases of Ghanaian CD’s from the African shops, there is an emerging trend of internet radio.

Through technology, Ghanaians living abroad are able to listen to live radio broadcast from Ghana. Ghanaian immigrants living in the United States and elsewhere are able to contribute to radio discussion and listen to Ghanaian music. Furthermore, parent respondents are able to download songs of their favorite artist from the Internet and can also buy CD’s from radio websites. Even though majority of Ghanaian second generation immigrants listen to Ghanaian music, 22% listen to only American music such as hip hop, country, rock, blues and jazz. Twenty-two percent of child respondents listen to both Ghanaian and American music. Even though they are exposed to both types of music, Ghanaian immigrant children prefer American music to Ghanaian music.

There is a hybrid of Ghanaian food and American clothing in Ghanaian homes. This gives Ghanaian immigrants the opportunity to consume a variety of these commodities. Child respondents may be embarrassed of listening to Ghanaian music in public, but they have limited choices to make on what music to listen to. Another important aspect of showing identity is clothing. People may express their identity through what they wear. Since clothing is exposed, it speaks for itself. Ghanaian immigrants do not only enjoy Ghanaian food and music in the United States but through the availability of African Shops, they have access to traditional clothing ranging from Kente, (traditional hand weaved clothing), Ntoma (Ghanaian wrap clothing) fuugu, tie and dye, and lace. These types of clothing represent Ghanaian and African identity. Some Ghanaian immigrants buy these clothing from Ghana to display their ethnic background and culture.

The table indicates there are no Ghanaian immigrant children who have only Ghanaian clothing. There are some child respondents who have only American clothing and they represent 28% of Ghanaian immigrant children living in Cincinnati. This does not mean that these children have never worn Ghanaian clothing. Some children explained that they used to have Ghanaian clothing but they have outgrown them while others still have some Ghanaian clothing but choose not to wear them. The clothing pattern of Ghanaian immigrants and their children indicate that they wear both Ghanaian
and Western clothing. Ghanaian immigrant children who wear both Ghanaian and American clothing represent 72%.

A Ghanaian, no matter their class status, has been exposed to used clothing from western countries. Used clothing from the Western world is called “Obroni-wawu” “white man dead clothing”. The majority of parent respondents and their children living in Ghana wear Western clothing. This type of clothing is used for parties, churches, weddings, and funeral ceremonies. It is not surprising that the majority of child respondents wear both American and Ghanaian clothing. They wear American clothing to be a part of mainstream America. Ghanaian second generation immigrants feel that even though they have some Ghanaian clothing, there are specific places where they will wear the clothing. Preferably, child respondents will wear their Ghanaian clothing to Ghanaian places instead of spaces where they will meet their American friends.

The mentality of Ghanaian second generation immigrants on Ghanaian clothing is not too far from that of their parents. This is because the majority of Ghanaian immigrants attend church in Western clothing and their children are learning from them. Also, wearing Ghanaian clothing to places such as school functions reveals a different identity from mainstream America. These children believe that it is only within Ghanaian places where Ghanaian clothing is not received with disdain. Therefore, they feel comfortable and at ease to wear Ghanaian clothing to Ghanaian social spaces.

Immigrants perform various activities which give them multiple identities. Some people perform sophisticated lifestyle or consumption patterns that establish a variety of social distinctions at different places and points of time. The consumption patterns of child respondents in relation to food, music and clothing give them identity. This form of identity is community or person identity instead of self identity.
5.5 Culture Change: food

The perception of Ghanaian second generation immigrants toward Ghanaian culture with respect to food.

Table 5.4
Changing attitude to Ghanaian food

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perception</th>
<th>changes in attitude</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Like Ghanaian food</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good but prefer American food</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good but spicy</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer Ghanaian To Ghana</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From America</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Ghana</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As previously discussed the food consumption pattern of immigrant group gives an identity. Some Ghanaian second generation immigrants have displayed a positive attitude towards Ghanaian dishes while others have shown dislike. Changes in perceptions go with development in age. As Ghanaian immigrant children grow, they are exposed to different category of both American and Ghanaian foods. This makes it possible to make choices, which can favor or disfavor Ghanaian foods. Table 5.4 indicates that all child respondents eat both Ghanaian and American food but in different proportions with different perception.

All child respondents have different perception on Ghanaian dishes. Thirty-two percent of Ghanaian immigrant children agree that even though some of dishes are good, it burns the mouth. Others think that, Ghanaian dishes are too spicy and heavy to eat. Table 5.4 indicates that there has been a 72% decrease in interest toward Ghanaian food. This has led to an important trend of preferring American food to Ghanaian food. The data above point out that 64% of child respondents are turning away from Ghanaian food for American food. This trend suggests that as Ghanaian second generation immigrants’ exposure to American food have increased their desire for it dwindles their
preference to Ghanaian food. Even though preference to Ghanaian food declines, high consumption will remain with first generation Ghanaian immigrants. As a result, of first generation consumption of Ghanaian food, the tradition of Ghanaian food will remain part and parcel of Ghanaian second generation immigrants. The culture of Ghanaian food will decline when the second generation leaves the home. The form of socialization of child respondents suggests that cutting ties with Ghana will be a very difficult task to accomplish, if not inevitable.

Instead of constructing identity from consumption pattern among child respondents, their perception on Ghanaian food and their attitude towards it signifies rejection of Ghanaian food among Ghanaian second generation immigrants. The behavior of child respondents is related to identity shifting. Shifting identities is a contextual dissonance of a person’s ethnic identity and the creation of a new and generally accepted identity (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001).

5.6 Perception about Parents Friends

Connecting Ghanaian second generation immigrants to their parents’ homeland is a task that does not involve only the parents, but also Ghanaian friends, extended family, the host country and its’ laws towards immigrant children.

Table 5.5
Perception about parent’s friends

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perception</th>
<th>Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know them</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okay, like them, they are good</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Okay, don’t like them</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

How they call them

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How they call them</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family name</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family name, Uncle, Dad, Auntie and Mum</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t call them</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: compiled from field data

82
Table 5.5 explains the perception of Ghanaian second generation immigrants on their parents’ Ghanaian friends. Forming social groups is an important tool for Ghanaian immigrants. Socialization among fellow immigrants is an instrument that is used by Ghanaian immigrants as a form of survival strategy.

With the increase of African immigrant population in the United States since the 1970s, there has been a growth in African immigrant association networks (Arthur, 2000). The activities of the networks are experienced at the individual and community levels. African immigrants from Ghana residing in Washington D.C. and Atlanta Georgia have formed mutual aid associations (Arthur, 2000).

These associations represent their ethnic, clan, religious, village, alumni, and national affiliations. If these immigrants are centered in a particular location, they form groups, which influence other immigrants to follow them. This also helps the immigrant families to practice their ethnic, social and cultural attributes which can be passed on to their children. In Africa, a premium is placed on kinship and intra-family bonding (Arthur, 2000). Children are an important aspect of family and kinship relationships. Therefore, Ghanaian second generation immigrants are introduced to friends of their parents in order to link them to Ghana and participate in Ghanaian social activities.

Table 5.5 indicates that 88% of child respondents living in Cincinnati Ohio know their parents’ Ghanaian friends. This indicates the extent to which Ghanaian immigrants are socializing their children through their friends. Ghanaian immigrants extend their friendship to the children of their friends by attending their social and family functions. Eighty-eight percent of child respondents express their perception of their parents as good, liking them, okay, and friendly. By associating with them, only four percent of these children call them by their family names.

Child respondents call their parents friends as “Uncle”, “Dad”, “Auntie” and “Mum”, to signify a sign of respect from Ghana. This attitude is impacted from parents to their children. Not only do Ghanaian second generation immigrants look up to their friends and other people within mainstream America as their role model, some Ghanaian immigrant children have successful Ghanaian immigrants who they look up to as their family friends.
Within immigrant groups, community standards are established, and are reinforced among group members, especially among younger members who may otherwise assimilate into a subculture. Social integration among Ghanaian immigrants offer a way of conceptualizing how ethnicity can provide social capital. In providing children with the habits and skills for socioeconomic advancement, families do not exist in isolation (Waters, 1996). Therefore, Ghanaian immigrant children are influenced by their parents’ Ghanaian friends to learn ethnic culture of their parents hence giving them person identity. The entire Ghanaian community directs Ghanaian second generation immigrants and the children rely on the community’s reinforcements which gives them person or community identity.

5.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, home socialization among Ghanaian second generation immigrants influence identity creation through language, food, music, clothing and the socialization with their parents’ friends. For instance, Ghanaian second generation immigrants have spaces that they feel comfortable speaking the Ghanaian language. These places include Ghanaian church, homes, and social gatherings. Ghanaian second generation immigrants do not want to speak Ghanaian language in front of their American friends to prevent stigmatization and construction of being the “other” among their non-Ghanaian friends.

The construction of “other” prevents assimilation. Achieving this helps Ghanaian second generation immigrants to socialize with their American friends without resentment. As Ghanaian immigrant children express that they are embarrassed of speaking language in public, their parents share different idea and contend that their children are not embarrassed of speaking Ghanaian language in public. By suppressing Ghanaian culture in their socialization Ghanaian immigrants are able to create individual self identity.

Consumption pattern of Ghanaian second generation immigrants does not only create a sense of identity, but it sends a signal of identity shifting among Ghanaian second generation immigrants. This is because children who used to enjoy speaking Ghanaian language, eating Ghanaian food, wearing Ghanaian clothing and listening to
Ghanaian music are turning away from Ghanaian ethnic products to American substitutes.

Turning away from Ghanaian products is a sign of turning away from the ethnic identity. Home socialization therefore influences community identity creation among Ghanaian second generation immigrants based on perception of Ghanaian culture and consumption patterns.
Chapter 6
Conclusion

This thesis examined the socialization and identity creation of Ghanaian second generation immigrants and contributes to the literature on African immigrant experiences in the United States in general and the identity of Ghanaian second generation immigrants in particular. The little attention of literature on immigrant children and its missing links (Waters, 1996) and African immigrants in the United States has inspired the need for contribution on African immigrant literature. This work addresses the missing links on immigrant children on their identity creation by understanding important factors that influence identity creation among second generation immigrants through socialization.

This thesis provides an understanding of how African ethnicity influences the kinds of socialization that immigrant children are experiencing and the extent to which these forms of socialization are influencing identity creation among Ghanaian second generation immigrants. Findings of this thesis confirm partly with a variety of literature on second generation immigrants identity creation. There are also new and different contributions that this thesis makes on identity creation of Ghanaian second generation immigrants. Literature on immigrants asserts that there are many factors that influence identity creation of second generation immigrants.

The literature shows that human capital of immigrants and class status (Jensen, 2001, Duncan and Legg, 2004), context of reception (Portes and Rumbaut 2001, Claire, 2000, Haller and Landolt, 2005), ethnicity (Fernandez-Kelly and Schauffler, 1994), and immigration laws (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 2001) influence identity creation among immigrants and their children. Even though this thesis confirms that the above factors influence identity creation, it contributes new factors that earlier scholars could not capture. Some of these factors include age development, place of birth, parental influence and differences in immigrant experiences. Ghanaian second generation immigrants are all different ages and therefore think differently in accordance with their age. The middle childhood years encourage the children to relate more to their American counterparts while adolescents relate and define closer to their parental ethnicity.
Defining the identity of Ghanaian second generation immigrants, Ghanaian immigration children are faced with a tension between their ethnic culture and host culture. With the ethnic differences between Ghanaian immigrants on one side and the culture of host society on the other side reinforce this tension. Because of this, Ghanaian second generation immigrants maintain a fragmented identity.

The extent of the fragmented identity reflects the audience within a particular space. The audience within those spaces influence the identity creation of Ghanaian second generation immigrants. Ghanaian second generation immigrants maintain different identities at different places to reflect the identity of the people around them. A parent respondent’s remark:

“At the gas station my son said, Mum, turn off the radio. Mum: why? Son: So that the people will not hear the song we are playing. I don’t want them to see us as non-Americans.”

Home socialization through language, food, music, clothing, knowledge of extended family, visits to the home country, and the socialization with their parents friends influence the identity of Ghanaian second generation immigrants. For instance, Ghanaian second generation immigrants have spaces that they feel comfortable of speaking the Ghanaian language and identifying themselves as Ghanaian. This occurs within Ghanaian spaces which include Ghanaian church, homes, and social gatherings.

As Ghanaian parents regard their children as Ghanaians irrespective of age, class, and the forms of socialization, Ghanaian second generation immigrants identify themselves differently at different places, at different times, in different context. The identity shifting of Ghanaian second generation immigrants operates on two important axis. Analysis of data on Ghanaian second generation immigrants indicates that they change their identity at different place and at different times.

Time associated with place play a major role in identity creation among Ghanaian second generation immigrants. This is because as they age, they are turning back to the identity of their parents by getting involved in Ghanaian activities and claiming those activities as theirs. Therefore, identity creation is not only what people think you are, but individual social experiences, beliefs, place and time are very important determinants of identity.
References


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