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# Challenging the Status Quo:

## A Review on Second-Generation Latinos Joining American Mainstream

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## Abstract

This study examines second-generation Latinos born in the U.S. after 1965 and their prospects of achieving traditional assimilation in the United States. Some social scientists argue that "classic" straight-line assimilation is a less likely path for Latino-Americans and that segmented or downward assimilation theory will characterize the trajectories of Latino-American youth in the 21st century. Other scholars argue that the path of "classic" straight-assimilation is still an empirically sound theory and that evidence suggests assimilation is taking place over time. Data collected on economic, social, cultural, and civic participation patterns among Hispanics identify key strides that are being accomplished among Latinos and their offspring. I revisit segmented assimilation theory to determine whether dissonant acculturalization is the most influential obstacle for Latino-Americans as they move from adolescence to young adults. I argue that second-generation Latinos are a young group and the studies that project a stagnant or downward path of assimilation are premature. They also create a stigma that negatively labels Latinos, who are a large part of America's future. My analysis suggests that mobility is occurring for many second-generation Latinos and that this upward mobility will become more apparent over time, just as it did with the European immigrants that arrived in the early 20th century.

This thesis is dedicated to my nephew Anderson Lopez.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I have to thank my husband for his love and support. Thank you for giving me strength to reach my academic goals and chase my dreams. My parents, grandmother, and brother also deserve my wholehearted thanks as well. Without all the encouragement I receive from you all, over the past eight years, I would not have been as motivated to succeed.

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# Chapter I

## Introduction

Immigration in the United States has served as a major contributor to the social development of the nation. As immigrants settle, they send for loved ones or form new families hoping for a future that offers new opportunities and wealth. This is a major transformational process that has significant influence on the immigrant families and their offspring. For this reason, the integration and incorporation of the second and subsequent generations is just as important as the adult immigrants. Susan K. Brown and Frank D. Bean argue that "although European groups from Southern, Central, and Eastern Europe immigrated to the U.S. in the early 20th century, the process of assimilation is suggested to have taken until the third-or fourth-generations to be considered complete."[1] More recently, post-1965 immigration to the U.S. has attracted immigrants who come from Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean. The children of these immigrants represent a rather young population in the U.S. and are the "new" second-generation. The imprint left by the Europeans greatly influenced American culture and the same can be expected from the post-1965 immigrants.

Immigrants make up approximately 12 percent of the nation's population. The first-and second-generations total about 25 percent of the U.S. population and projections

[1] Susan K. Brown and Frank D. Bean, "Assimilation Models, Old and New: Explaining a Long-Term Process." *Migration Policy Institute*. (2006): Accessed April 14, 2015. http://www.migrationpolicy org/article/assimilation-models-old-and-new-explaining-long-term-process.

forecast a steady growth to continue.[2] Currently, the majority of young second-generation children have parents that are of diverse backgrounds (non-white) and because of this feature social scientists argue that today's immigrants and their children appear to be lagging behind and can no longer align with the "classic" straight-line assimilation model used to measure the European immigrants progress in the 20th century.[3] This perceived lagging behind has led to the development of new theories that now include the racial/ethnic disadvantage model and the segmented-assimilation model.[4] Scholars and social scientists hope that by applying new models to the diverse groups of "new" second-generation Americans, they will have a better understanding of the obstacles certain minorities are facing when assimilating.

This analysis will specifically focus on the "new" second generation, children born from the post-1965 immigrant era, in the U.S. that are of Hispanic/Latino decent. Social scientists and scholars have started to offer a wide range of perspectives on the future of "new" second-generation children and how they will contribute to society as a whole. The Latino and Asian populations are the two largest minorities in the United States. Latinos, unlike the Asians, are generally less educated than the average American and are overrepresented among manual laborers. They are often scrutinized for what appears to be slow-assimilation patterns despite the steady progress they are making in key measures of socioeconomic obtainment. The Pew Research Center analyzed data

[2] Jeffrey S. Passel and D'Vera Cohn, "U.S. Population Projections: 2005-2050," *Pew Hispanic Research Center*. (2008): Accessed November 28, 2014. http://www.pewhispanic.org/2008/02/11/us-population-projections-2005-2050/.

[3] Roger Waldinger and Cynthia Feliciano, "Will the New Second Generation Experience 'Downward Assimilation'? Segmented Assimilation Re-assessed." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 27, no. 3 (2004): 376-402.

[4] Brown and Bean, "Assimilation Models, Old and New."

from the 2010 U.S. Census Bureau that identified major strides among second-and third-generation Latinos in areas that include educational obtainment, home ownership, and language adaptation.[5]

Though there are signs of progress, a considerable amount of concern among the host community has been focused on the Latino's assumed resistance to shedding their ethnic identity. These concerns fuel the belief that their perceived resistance will affect the economic and sociocultural dimensions of the U.S. as the second and third generations mature. These clashing trends and concerns seem to leave a gap in knowledge on how to best understand and judge where Latinos are thriving and where they are lagging behind when adjusting to mainstream society. For this reason, referring to new and old assimilation theories is imperative while assessing the obstacles that the host and receiving populations are experiencing as assimilation takes place.

Sociologists Richard Alba, and Victor Nee revisit the "classic" straight line-assimilation theory and argue that Milton Gordon's suggested interpretation of the classic assimilation theory in 1964 can be refined and applied to the immigrants of the 21st century.[6] This theory posits that immigrants become similar to the host society over time by reducing cultural differences. The classic "melting pot" metaphor predicts that by combining ethnic differences and religions, the discrete variances will fade, leading to uniformity and consistency among groups.[7] Alba and Nee stress that what they call the "new assimilation theory" is a classic model, empirically tested, and still a valid theory to

[5] PEW Hispanic Center, "Second-Generation Americans: A Portrait of the Adult Children of Immigrants," *PEW Hispanic Organization.* (2013): Accessed December 29, 2014. http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/files/2013/02/FINAL_immigrant_generations_report_2-7-13.pdf.

[6] Richard Alba and Victor Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

[7] Tamar Jacoby, *Reinventing the Melting Pot*: *The New Immigrants and What It Means to Be American.* (New York: Basic Books, 2004).

apply to the assimilation process. A key to their work on straight line-assimilation is that the immigrant and the receiving side must both evolve over time. They also underscore the three boundary processes that take place during assimilation: boundary crossing, boundary blurring, and boundary shifting.[8] This theory has received much criticism of late because of its broadness it loses its effectiveness when applying it to the diverse immigrant population of the 21st century. Alba and Nee acknowledge this criticism but remain committed to the concept that full incorporation takes time, just as it did for the previous wave of immigrants from Europe.[9] They contend that the racial distinction of immigrants should not become magnified but rather the focus should be on the continuity between past and present patterns of incorporation.[10]

The racial/ethnic disadvantage model developed by Alejandro Portes argues that even if one learns the language and culture of the receiving-side it will not necessarily accelerate the assimilation process because of the institutional barriers that employ discrimination throughout the host society.[11] This model emphasizes that ethnic identity plays a major role in assimilation and that when one experiences racial discrimination it will block one's economic mobility. The segmented assimilation model addresses the immigrants who have demonstrated uneven patterns of convergence while still assimilating, but perhaps in a "bumpy" rather than a "straight-line" course.[12] This model

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[8] Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, 60-61.

[9] Brown and Bean, "*Assimilation Models, Old and New.*"

[10] Brown and Bean, "*Assimilation Models, Old and New.*"

[11] Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut, *Legacies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 43-69.

[12] Herbert J. Gans, "Comment: Ethnic Invention and Acculturation: A Bumpy-Line Approach." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 11, no. 3, (Fall, 1992): 42-52.

identifies immigrant groups that appear to be blocked from entering mainstream society because of racial and ethnic differences.[13]

In 1993, Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou theorized that the barriers that poor immigrants experience compared to those who have better economic situations in turn lead to very different pathways to assimilation. Portes and Zhou developed this theory to explain why some groups might assimilate faster than others. They argue that some immigrant groups will have a quick assimilation process while others may reject assimilation all together. There are three possible paths that immigrants might take in this model. The first is the classic assimilation theory, i.e., increasing acculturation and integration eventually leading to entry into mainstream society. The second path is acculturation into the urban underclass, leading to poverty and downward mobility. Lastly, is "selective acculturation," which is the deliberate preservation of the immigrants' culture and values, accompanied by economic integration.[14]

Alejandro Portes and Ruben G. Rumbaut argue that the paths of assimilation for immigrants are not chosen by the immigrants themselves, but rather are highly dependent on how society receives the immigrant, their socioeconomic status, and the preexisting networks available to them upon arrival. For those who come with comparable education levels to natives and professional careers it is likely they will have a classic assimilation path. Immigrants who are poorly educated and possess limited skills will likely assimilate into the social underclass. The immigrants who possess comparable educational attainment and some advanced skills are situated in the middle where assimilation to mainstream society is possible, while preservation of cultural traditions can assist in

[13] Portes and Rumbaut, *Legacies,* 43-69.

[14] Portes and Rumbaut, *Legacies,* 53-54.

raising their children with optimism and discipline.[15] Critics argue that this theory could overuse "negative" labeling to immigrant groups that could lead to a reemerging of racialization, instead of considering other factors such as a stagnant economy. This theory has not been empirically tested beyond a very young second generation and will need to be further tested to determine its effectiveness in assessing the pace of assimilation for second-generation Latinos.

## Problem Statement

Post-1965 second-generation Latino-Americans are a very young population that has been scrutinized for how they are assimilating into the U.S. culture. The U.S. Census Bureau projects that the population of working-age Latinos in the U.S. will reach 13 million by 2025, while an additional 24 million native-born Latinos (second and third generations) will also seek employment opportunities by 2025.[16] Pew Hispanic Center identifies that between 2000 and 2020 the second-generation Latinos ages 5 to 19 years old will grow from 4.4 million to 9.0 million people, which means, one in seven children enrolling in school will be of Latino ethnicity.[17]

The second-generation Latino is not a culturally homogenous group and the segmented assimilation model does attempt to identify subgroups and their variants through acculturation types. The concept of downward-assimilation stems from the studies of specific Latino enclaves struggling to successfully adapt and assimilate into the

[15] Portes and Rumbaut, *Legacies*, 44-70.

[16] Richard Fry, "Education May Boost Fortunes of Second-Generation Latino Immigrants," *Migration Policy Institute*, (2002): Accessed on January 31, 2015. http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/education-may-boost-fortunes-second-generation-latino-immigrants.

[17] Robert Suro and Jeffrey S. Passel, "The Rise of the Second Generation: Changing Patterns in Hispanic Population Growth," Pew *Hispanic Center*. (2003): Accessed: November 4, 2014. http://www.u.arizona.edu/~jag/POL596A/PHC-Projections-Final.pdf.

U.S. This thesis will assess the progress among the second-generation Latino population to ascertain whether second-generation Latinos are experiencing straight-line assimilation or downward assimilation. By investigating census data and longitudinal studies, the hope is to clearly identify who in the Latino population is experiencing marginalization or restrictions when entering mainstream society.

The thesis examines the overall assimilation process among the post 1965 second-generation Latino children. I will analyze the Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS), Pew Research Centers Census Studies, Portes and Rumbauts Children of Immigrants Study (CILS) and the Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation study (LISA) to assist in measuring second-generation Latino assimilation patterns. These studies may challenge the belief that second-generation Latinos are "lagging" in the process of assimilation and have less ability to achieve economic mobility than other groups. I will use the theoretical framework from Richard Alba and Victor Nee's work on assimilation theory, refined from the 1964 systematic description of assimilation by Milton Gordon, to provide a lens that will illuminate how second-generation Latinos adapt and later identify as they mature in the United States.

Alba and Nee explain the enduring theme of assimilation in the United States and why it is still a viable theory that helps in the understanding of new arrivals experiences. They argue that "the distinctions between contemporary and past immigrants have been overplayed."[18] By presenting an array of measurable patterns from old and new immigrant waves they show that assimilation is still taking place over time. Alba and Nee examine acculturation and language adoption, economic and educational attainment, intermarriage practices among immigrants (white and non-white), and settlement patterns

[18] Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, 125.

to demonstrate a vital assimilation process that is still sustained.[19] These findings indicate that the new immigrants and their children are merging together and assimilating just as those from Europe and Asia did in the past.

Both sociologists are careful to address the counterarguments that involve the issue of race and its role in American society. They recognize that the subject of race is a significant force that can shape perceptions for both the host and receiving groups. They also distinguish two very different types of immigrants, manual laborers who start at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder and those who have "human-capital," higher education and skills—who have a faster assimilation rate. Nevertheless, Alba and Nee believe that not every individual will assimilate, but on average they claim the group as a whole will begin joining the host society. Their argument is grounded in the understanding that assimilation is a social process and is learned through daily interactions with mixed ethnic groups and natives and through social and economic transactions that take place on a daily basis. Thus, when applying this theory to second-generation Latinos in the 21st century, the comparison with the immigrants who came in the 20th century does serve as a resource that may help expose the differences and difficulties they are facing in the modern era. Nevertheless, Latinos should be aware that accepting the belief that they are unable to productively assimilate creates a label that will deeply influence how they are received in the U.S.

[19] Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, 124-126.

## Definition of Terms

"Adaptation": Refers to a slow, usually unconscious modification of individual and social activity in adjustment to cultural surroundings.

"Acculturation": Refers to a process in which members of one cultural group adopt the beliefs and behaviors of another group.

"Assimilation": Refers to the process by which immigrants become similar to natives, particularly in a cultural sense – leading to the reduction of ethnic difference between them.

"Cultural Identity": Refers to groups or individuals (by themselves or others) in terms of cultural or subcultural categories (including ethnicity, nationality, language, religion, and gender).

"Ethnicity": Refers to shared cultural practices, perspectives, distinctions, and a belief in a common ancestry that set apart one group of people from another.

"First generation": Refers to those who were born in another country and have immigrated to the U.S.

“Hispanic”: This is a term used by the United States Census Bureau beginning in the 1970s to refer to individuals of Spanish descent or who speak Spanish.

“Immigrant”: Refers to a person who migrates to another country, usually for permanent residence.

“Latino”: This is a term used to refer to people of Latin American descent as opposed to Spanish descent, who do not necessarily speak Spanish.

“Personal Identity”: Refers to the distinct personality of an individual regarded as a persisting entity.

“Race”: Refers to differential concentrations of gene frequencies responsible for traits that are confined to physical manifestations such as skin color or hair form; it has no intrinsic connection with cultural patterns and institutions.

“Second generation”: Refers to those who were born in the United States to parents who were born in some other country.

“Segmented Assimilation Theory”: Refers to the theory of Scholars Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou who formulated the segmented assimilation model to suggest that different outcomes are possible for second-generation youth and are dependent on relations between the child, their parent, and the wider ethnic community.

"Social Identity": Refers to how behavior and identity vary situationally based on people's fluid concept of themselves as either individuals or as members of groups.

"Socioeconomic Mobility": Refers to the ability of individuals or groups to move upward or downward in status based on wealth, occupation, education, or some other social variables.

"Straight-Line Assimilation": Refers to first, classic and new assimilation model, which sees immigrants and native-born people following a "straight-line" or a convergence. This theory sees immigrants becoming more similar to natives over time and generations in norms, values, behaviors, and characteristics.

"Third generation": Refers to those who were born to parents born in the United States, and whose grandparents were born in some other country.

## Limitations

This study examines the second-generation Latino youth residing in the U.S. and will specifically focus on assimilation theories, old and new, and how they have contributed to the understanding of Latino-American pathways towards traditional adaptation overtime. This research attempts to illuminate how post-1965 second-generation Latino-Americans are faring in the U.S. while focusing on the socioeconomic outcomes most commonly found among this community. A limitation of this study may be that it only looks at second-generation Latinos. I acknowledge that there are other second-generation groups that are of significant size facing similar struggles that Latino-

Americans face; however, I have chosen to focus on Latinos/Hispanics because of the conflicting data and reporting that exists within the scholarship specific to this group of immigrants. The data used to make this assessment derive from the U.S. Census ACS report in 2010, PEW Hispanic Social Trend Survey Data, and the LISA data study. I have not collected any original data. Nevertheless, this study will assist in understanding where the gap is in the process of assimilation for second-generation Latinos and, how accurate assimilation theories are for this population.

## Chapter II

## Who Are the Second-Generation Latinos?

The post-1965 second-generation is a very broad group of young adults and while there may be some common experiences shared among all second-generation youth, the focus of this study will be specifically second-generation Latinos residing in the U.S. As a dominating force by sheer size, the Latinos are the nation's largest minority at 17% in 2013, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, and they have a large stake in the nation's future.[20] Studies specific to Latino youth in the U.S. have grown and the introduction of segmented assimilation theory has drawn much attention among social scientists. Scholars Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou formulated the segmented assimilation model to suggest that different outcomes are possible for second-generation youth and are dependent on relations between the child, their parent, and the wider ethnic community.[21] The complexity surrounding Latino-Americans and the chosen assimilation path is commonly laced with political rhetoric and does not necessarily portray an accurate snapshot of how the vast population of Latinos is faring in the adaptation process.

Author and senior writer D'Vera Cohn at the PEW Hispanic Research Center conducted a study in 2013 that found 20 million second-generation Americans surpassing their immigrant parent(s). It was noted that the second generation, in general, achieves

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[20] U.S. Census Bureau, "Changing Nation: Percent Hispanic of the U.S. Population: 1980-2050," *U.S. Census Bureau*, (2013): Accessed January 26, 2015. http://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/newsroom/facts-for-features/2014/cb14-ff22_graphic.pdf.

[21] Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou, "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530 (1993): 83, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1047678?origin=JSTOR-pdf.

more socioeconomic attainment compared to their immigrant parents; they "have the ability to achieve higher incomes, obtain a college education, lead the nation in first-time homeownership and fewer were found to be living in poverty."[22] In addition to the 20 million adults in this study, an additional 16 million are also included that are U.S.-born children under the age of 18.

Cohn acknowledges that this study is a heterogeneous group and includes young Hispanics, Asian Americans, and white adults from Europe. She states that the continued growth among the immigrants and their off-spring will only increase, and that if projections are correct the immigrants and the children of immigrants in the U.S. could make up 37% of the total population in 2050.[23] Although this is a heterogeneous study with many different second-generation ethnicities, it provides some indication that second-generation Latinos, within this sample, are progressing over time. The 16 million in this study that are under the age of 18 show continued adaptation within the second-generation communities that stem from immigrants who arrived post-1965 due to the young ages associated with the sample.

According to Jeffrey S. Passel, a veteran demographer and principal researcher at the Population Studies Center of the Urban Institute "between 1970 and 2000 the Hispanic population grew by 25.7 million and immigrants accounted for 45 percent of that increase while the second-generation accounted for 28 percent."[24] Since 2000, the

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[22] PEW Hispanic Center, "Second-Generation Americans: A Portrait of the Adult Children of Immigrants," *PEW Hispanic Organization.* (2013): Accessed December 29, 2014. http://www.pewsocial trends.org/files/2013/02/FINAL_immigrant_generations_report_2-7-13.pdf.

[23] PEW Hispanic Center, "Second-Generation Americans: A Portrait of the Adult Children of Immigrants." 8-9.

[24] Robert Suro and Jeffrey S. Passel, "The Rise of the Second Generation: Changing Patterns in Hispanic Population Growth," *Pew Hispanic Center*. (2003): Accessed December 01, 2015. http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/reports/22.pdf. 1-9.

trends have shown that second-generation Latinos were totaling 9.9 million (about 28 percent) and the third generation totaled around 11.3 million (about 32 percent). Combining the second and third generations (a rather young group of Latinos) that averaged 60% of the total immigrant and nonimmigrant population in the U.S.[25] With these total numbers and continued growth projected it is a necessity to have a clear understanding of who is Latino and how the term Hispanic or Latino are applied to a population.

The terms "Hispanic" and "Latino" are often used inter-changeably in the 21st century. Both of these identifying terms refer to a vast group of people with different cultural traditions and historical references while sharing the common language of Spanish. The term "Hispanic" versus "Latino" was and still is a contentious subject for some Latinos and has been a naming dispute for years among those who have ancestry from Latin America. The controversial term "Hispanic" was developed in 1970, when an education report from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) attempted to find a way to uniformly collect data on populations in the U.S.[26] As broad as the Latino community is, the term "Hispanic" is to describe members of an ethnic group that traces its roots to 20 Spanish-speaking nations from Latin America and Spain.[27] The importance of implementing clearly defined titles for groups of people in government studies was a major step forward at this time for the U.S. and data collection of

[25] Suro and Passel, "*The Rise of the Second Generation*," 3-4.

[26] Grace Flores-Hughes, "Latino or Hispanic? How the Federal Government Decided," *Huffington Post*, September 19, 2013, Accessed January 27, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/09/19/atino-or-hispanic_n_3956350.html.

[27] Jeffrey S. Passel and Paul Taylor, "Who's Hispanic?" *Pew Research Hispanic Center.* (2009): Accessed November 19, 2014. http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/reports/111.pdf.

populations. For the first time in 1970, Asian, Caucasian/White, Black, Hispanic, and Native Americans were classified by the Census.[28]

Jeffrey Passel and Paul Taylor from PEW Hispanic Center revisited the U.S. Census Data process in 2009 and found that the term is still confusing many immigrants in the U.S. from Latin America. In 2000, for the first time, the Census department offered the ability to check-off more than one box when completing the Census. In 1980, when the introduction of the "some other race" was introduced and could be manually written on a line, it quickly became the most popular option among Hispanics. The term "Hispanic or Latino" refers to ethnicity and is listed separately from the race question on the Census. In 2008, the Census Bureau used another approach, which was very simple according to Passel and Taylor. When asked, "Who is Hispanic? Anyone who says they are. And nobody who says they aren't" was the Census secondary approach.[29] As the Census Bureau tries changing questions throughout the years to gather the most accurate information, at best, it is all based on self-reporting. For social scientists and data collectors, census data provides a broad picture of the mass population. For this reason referring to additional studies outside of Census reporting is helpful so that a more detailed perspective can be formed. Nevertheless, understanding how a population identifies based on origin can assist in further analyzing common themes when measuring assimilation based on identity factors.

When immigrants come to the U.S. it is typical that the term Hispanic or Latino is not used when identifying who they are; but instead, they choose their families country of

[28] Flores-Hughes, "Latino or Hispanic?"

[29] Passel and Taylor, "Who's Hispanic," 1-5.

origin to identify themselves.[30] This is most commonly used among second-generation Americans who have an identity close to their family roots and have been raised in the U.S. For the purpose of this analysis the term "Latino" will refer to those who come from and are descendants from Mexico, Central America, South America, and Spanish speaking Caribbean countries; while the term "Hispanic" will refer to the people who speak the Spanish language and actively identify as Hispanics on U.S. Census surveys. For immigrant parents, how they identify their ethnicity when in the U.S. plays a major role in how the second-generation develops their sense of self within a community. For this reason, the post-1965 adult immigrants do have a major role in the future of the adaptation process that their children will experience over time.

The parents of the second-generation youth refer to immigrants who have migrated to the U.S. and started families on U.S. soil. The term "1.5 generation" refers specifically to foreign-born children who arrive before the age of adolescence.[31] The parents of the 1.5 generation and second-generation who have arrived in recent years (1970–2000) are mostly from Asia, Central and South America, and the Caribbean. The median age of a Latino immigrant is 27 and they are the youngest minority group.[32] The Migration Policy Institute in 2014 released information about the workforce characteristics found within the foreign-born share of the total U.S. civilian labor forces. A common theme is that the current immigrant population is extremely diverse as a

[30] Paul Taylor, Mark H. Lopez, Jessica Martinez, and Gabriel Velasco, "When Labels Don't Fit: Hispanics and Their Views of Identity," *PEW Hispanic Center*. (2012): Accessed November 6, 2014. http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/2012/04/PHC-Hispanic-Identity.pdf.

[31] Leslie B. Rojas, "Gen 1.5: Where an Immigrant Generation Fits In," *KPCC*, (2012): Accessed October 15, 2014. http://www.scpr.org/blogs/multiamerican/2012/03/21/7963/what-is-a-1-5-where-an-immigrant-generation-fits-i/.

[32] PEW Research Center "Between Two Worlds: How Young Latinos Come of Age in America." *PEW Hispanic Organization*. (2013): Accessed July 21, 2014. http://www.pewhispanic.org/2009/12/11/between-two-worlds-how-young-latinos-come-of-age-in-america/.

whole. Many immigrants have college educations and credentials from their country of origin, but are working in service/management industries when they first arrive in the U.S. This is not unusual when first relocating in a new country.

There are immigrants who climb the economic ladder and find great success. However, there is a greater majority that begins employment in the U.S. with the intention of temporarily working in an unskilled labor position, hoping to achieve higher status as the years progress. Unfortunately they are not able to move past hard labor/lower-wage positions.[33] Current day immigrants, much like those who came from Europe in the early 20th century, initially share common obstacles such as financial hardships, lack of education that is competitive with U.S. standards, and the struggle to speak English fluently. These three common hurdles for newcomers along with the already shrinking middle-class create limited access to economic mobility and can drastically influence where a family lives, what schools are offered, and what type of environment will influence future decisions.

The Center for Immigration Studies notes that there are "54.1 million immigrants and U.S.-born children (under 18) with either an immigrant father or mother" and that the percentage who are exposed to low income or near poverty conditions among the Latino community is far greater than those who are natives.[34] Example, "the 34.8 percent of Mexican immigrants and their U.S.-born children living in poverty is many times the rate

[33] Chiamaka Nwosu, Jeanne Batalova, and Gregory Auclair, "Frequently Requested Statistics on Immigrants and Immigration in the United States," *Migration Policy Institute,* (2014): Accessed on December 29, 2014. http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/frequently-requested-statistics-immigrants-and-immigration-united-states#6.

[34] Center for Immigrant Studies. *Immigrants in the United States: A Profile of* America's *Foreign-Born Population*. (2012): Accessed December 29, 2014. http://cis.org/node/3876.

associated with immigrants from countries such as India and the Philippines."[35] This is not to say that all those who identify as Latinos/Hispanic live in poverty or fall under low-income. For many immigrants the struggles are not new to the process of migration and are somewhat expected. However, in Chapter 4, I further isolate and analyze the Latino communities most impacted with years of repetitive socioeconomic hardships and the reason for the various experiences associated with poverty.

For the last 50 years, identifying the generations by ethnic descent has become increasingly harder to track as second and subsequent generations adapt into society. PEW has collected data that attempts to identify group differences within the second-generation populations. In doing this, they acknowledge immigrants have come from dozens of countries since 1965 and are all unique. The data collection from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Samples for 1980, 1990, and 2000 Census and the 2005-2011American Community Surveys find patterns that make up the largest groups within the total U.S. population that self-identify with the ethnic background of Latino or Asian categories.[36]According to these data, since 1965, 44 million immigrants have come from the multiple regions as follows: Latin America holds the top percentage at 50%, South/East Asia is next at 27%, Europe totals 12%, Canada** 2%, Africa/Middle East 7%, and All others 2%.[37]

The second-generation Latino population is not just unique because of sheer size but also because of traditions like language and identity that continue to endure. The

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[35] Center for Immigrant Studies, *Immigrants in the United States,* 1-2.

[36] PEW Research Center, "Second-Generation Americans: A Portrait of the Adult Children of Immigrants." *PEW Hispanic Organization*. (2013): Accessed September 18, 2014. http://www.pew socialtrends.org/files/2013/02/FINAL_immigrant_generations_report_2-7-13.pdf. 15-16.

[37] PEW Research Center, "Second-Generation Americans,"14-16.

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traditional idea of assimilation for those who migrate to a new land refers to leaving the old world behind and embracing the term "American" while learning and speaking English as a primary language. Though it is too early to tell exactly how the future generations of Latino-Americans will self-identify the current trends suggest that some continuation of embracing both worlds and traditions will continue. In the 20th -century, traditions and cultures of the immigrants' motherland was prominent, and as second-generation children came of age it remained a significant part of their identity. As expected, immigrants today identify with their "country of origin" and leave off the term "American" at a rate of 72%.[38] Nevertheless, PEW research study found a significant difference when asking second-and third-generation Latinos how they describe their identity. Approximately 41% of native-born second-generation Latinos continue to use the "country of origin" first and then "American," but by the third-generation 32% use only the term "American" to describe their identity leaving off the "country of origin."[39] This type of identity shift for subsequent generations is explored in further detail in Chapter 2 and can be considered an important indicator of when assimilation is fully achieved.

Linguistic choices are closely connected to demographics and serve as another indicator of identity. Studies have argued Latinos show resistance to assimilation by their unwillingness to adopt English as their primary language. This is often interpreted as a critical flaw and signals to some a lack of interest in becoming "American." It is not uncommon for immigrants from any part of the world to remain committed to using their native tongue as they reside in America. Second-generation Latinos are a young group

[38] PEW Research Center, "Second-Generation Americans," 22-23.

[39] PEW Research Center, "Between Two Worlds: How Young Latinos Come of Age in American." *PEW Hispanic Organization.* (2009): Accessed December 31, 2014. http://www.pew hispanic.org/2009/12/11/iii-identity/. pdf. 21-25.

and the claim that they are uninterested in using English as a primary language is not a valid argument. In fact, the Pew Research Center developed a "primary language" measure that combines all four dimensions of English and Spanish reading and speaking ability. Among first-generation youths, more than "36% of Latinos ages 16 to 25 are classified as English dominant, while 41% are bilingual and 23% are fluent in Spanish."[40] The language usage pattern among second and subsequent generations of Latinos dramatically increases to 98%. About nine-in-ten second-generation Latino and Asian Americans are proficient in their ancestral language, but there are significant differences as the subsequent generations mature.[41] For second-generation Latinos, eight in ten claim to speak Spanish well while only four in ten second-generation Asian Americans can speak their ancestral tongue well.[42] The sustained use of Spanish does remain a priority for Latinos and as the subsequent generations gravitate toward English dominance, the ability to speak Spanish is not abandoned.[43]

Another contribution, or some argue detriment, to the unique formation of identity for second-generation Latinos includes situations where they feel they are "straddling between two worlds." This concept has become a major theme as researchers further their studies of children of immigrants. These children experience a large difference between home life and school. Often their existence becomes a tug-a-war between the "American"

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[40] PEW Research Center, "Between Two Worlds: How Young Latinos Come of Age in American." 31-33.

[41] PEW Research Center, "Second-Generation Americans: A Portrait of the Children of Immigrants." (2013): Accessed January 27, 2015. http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2013/02/07/second-generation-americans/3#ancestral-home.

[42] PEW Research Center, "Between Two Worlds: How Young Latinos Come of Age in American," 33-34.

[43] PEW Research Center, "Between Two Worlds: How Young Latinos Come of Age in American," 31.

life they want to have and the old-world life their parents continue to live. This is a very important part in the development of identity and must be included when assessing assimilation patterns. For children of Latino immigrants (specifically the second-generation) the family cultural values are prominent and have an influential impact on the formation of their identity.

In 2009 a National Survey for Latinos looked at gender roles in the family framework and had some surprising and insightful findings. Latinos commonly encourage strong paternalism within the family unit and are often considered to be male dominated. According to this study, some optimism and evolving traditions was prevalent when Latinos, in general, were asked if their "husbands should have the final say in family matters?" The results showed that they are not as one-sided as first found in 2002.[44] 43% of respondents agreed with the statement and 56% disagreed.[45] These results revealed that the younger Latino-American population was not in favor of paternalism. This large shift in this community is another indicator that through the adaptation process, assimilation towards American culture is taking place.

When immigrants and their families (native and non-native) live in the U.S. the family structure undergoes a powerful current of change that begins to clearly contradict the traditional gender roles in the household. Carola Suarez-Orozco and Marcelo M. Suarez-Orozco suggest, "economic necessity dictates that women venture (in many cases for the first time) into the world of work outside of the home."[46] For second-generation

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[44] PEW Research Center, "Between Two Worlds: How Young Latinos Come of Age in American," 60-63.

[45] PEW Research Center, "Between Two Worlds: How Young Latinos Come of Age in American," 60.

[46] Carola Suarez-Orozco and Marcelo Suarez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 77.

children the exposure to the gender transformation is witnessed firsthand as the mother adapts at a subtle but rapid rate. The female is confronted with responsibilities and maintaining the traditional respectful qualities of an "ideal" Latina at home and a professional working woman while at work. She still remains responsible for the traditions, values, and norms of the culture to be maintained and passed on to the next generation though she is forced to challenge such values in her new daily life as a working female.[47]

As "Americanization" of the adult female is the most noticeable and influential to the children of immigrants, the role of the male seems to remain intact. The male will work one or two jobs while his wife will work one job and tend to all domestic roles at home. Immigrant children, especially females, can sense cultural conflicts within the home. For this very reason Carola Suarez-Orozco and Marcelo M. Suarez-Orozco argue that girls, like their mother, automatically carry far more responsibility at home than their brothers and that the female role in the home includes "translating; advocating in financial, medical, legal transactions; and acting as surrogate parents with younger siblings."[48] These dynamics will be brought up in further detail in Chapter 2 and the role this plays in the second-generation's adaptation to "Americanization." The survey from the National Survey for Latinos in 2009 seems to suggest that as generations grow-up under a rigid family culture with defined gender roles, the likelihood of evolving perspectives can initially appear delayed. Nevertheless, the trends predict that evolving perspectives on gender roles in the family structure is unavoidable as future generations

[47] Suarez-Orozco, *Children of* Immigrants, 77-80.

[48] Suarez-Orozco, *Children of Immigrants,* 80-81.

come of age in the U.S. The transformation of family values and gender roles for Latinos is a critical piece that indicates adaptation is taking place as Latino generations unfold.

Another powerful influence for those who immigrate is found in the established social systems that help immigrants form interpersonal relationships and assist in navigating the new society and social norms and is raising children. Latinos have one of the largest and oldest com-munities in the U.S. that can comfort newcomers while preserving/evolving the native traditions of the motherland. The celebrations of traditions, as well as the different stages of adaptation play a large role in how the second and some third generations identify as they grow into young adults. Suarez-Orozco argues "the pattern of social cohesion and belonging can be assessed by a variety of social indicators" and they include the parent's socioeconomic and educational background, influence to adaptation by other immigrant families, the larger community that surrounds the child, and who their parents find as friends as they adapt.[49] These influences are closely tied to where one is subject to live upon arrival when migrating.

Typically immigrants coming from a wealthier status have a greater rate of sustaining an upper middle-class lifestyle when migrating to the U.S. This access allows the immigrant to choose the neighborhood they will live in and raise their family. This access will grant the second generation access to better schools and the ability to remain in closer contact to the parent's homeland through visits and vacations, while incorporating the benefits of both worlds.[50] For these immigrants, the second generation is able to participate in upper middle-class opportunities and have a broader more positive experience as they adapt to the U.S. and learn about their family's ethnicity.

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[49] Suarez-Orozco, *Children of Immigrants,* 82.

[50] Suarez-Orozco, *Children of Immigrants,* 83.

The immigrants coming from a middle-class lifestyle in their native land experience significant loss in social status once they settle in the U.S. They are often told that their previous professional occupation does not meet requirements in the U.S. for numerous reasons. Another concern is that they will most likely be lacking language proficiency, which in turn will limit their access to a middle-class income and lifestyle. For poor immigrants the U.S. offers adversity that is very difficult to overcome and is a tremendous burden and a powerful shaping mechanism in the child's life as they grow. All three class statuses exist within the Latino population in the U.S. but ultimately more of the population tends to be at the lower level of the income scale.

According to the 2010 U.S. Census, 16.3% of the total population identified as Hispanic. Within this population, 6.1 million are Latino children living in poverty in urban areas. Of the 6.1 million total, 4.1 million children with Latino ethnicity have immigrant parents.[51] Urban neighborhoods in large metro cities continue to be a common starting point for Latinos. Large cities for a number of reasons are attractive to newcomers but most importantly they provide established social-networks (family and friends) that can help in the first stages of adaptation. Those who have come before assist in language adaptation, employment opportunities, cultural differences, and share experiences on how to raise a family in the U.S.[52] For anyone who immigrates the role of family members and a familiar community that shares the place of descent and linguistics allows for inclusiveness and guidance that newcomers need to begin the stages of assimilation.

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[51] Mark Hugo Lopez and Gabriel Velasco, "Childhood Poverty among Hispanics Sets Record, Leads Nation: The Toll of the Great Recession," *Pew Research Hispanic Center*. (2011): Accessed January 10, 2015. http://www.pewhispanic.org/2011/09/28/childhood-poverty-among-hispanics-sets-record-leads-nation/.

[52] Suarez-Orozco, *Children of Immigrants*, 80-84.

A large majority of newcomers from Latin America are still settling in the traditional urban areas like New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Miami, but there is a new trend identified in the Census data of 2000 that suggests that some Latinos and their American-born children are expanding and are interested in suburbanization.[53] Roberto Suro, from Pew Hispanic Center and Audrey Singer, from Brookings Institution Center for Urban and Metropolitan Policy found that during the period "1980-2000 new-Latino destinations like Atlanta, Washington, Las Vegas, and Orlando charted the fastest growth rates, despite their historically smaller Hispanic basis."[54] Suro and Singer found that new settlements encompass 35 states in every region of the U.S. and the growth rates of Latinos to suburban areas are around 71%. Newer trends suggest that "many Hispanics are choosing the suburbs and are following the familiar path from city neighborhoods to the urban periphery."[55] Although this is an indicator that Latinos are spreading out across America the majority still head for the more traditional ports of entry when they first arrive. The better-established Latinos are moving away from those traditionally Hispanic communities in urban cities to new metropolitan areas over time, but this is not necessarily an indicator of a socioeconomic increase among a community.

The suburbanization of Latinos presents many contradictions. According to the Metropolitan Policy Program at the Brookings Institute, from 2000 to 2008 the poverty rates of those living in suburbs in the country's largest metro areas rose 25%.[56] Suro and

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[53] Sam Robert, "Region Is Reshaped as Minorities Go to Suburbs," *New York Times*. (2010): Accessed January 18, 2015. http://www.nytimes.com/2010/12/15/nyregion/15nycensus.html?ref=us.

[54] Roberto Suro and Audrey Singer, "Latino Growth in Metropolitan America: Changing Patterns, New Locations." *Center on Urban & Metropolitan Policy and The Pew Hispanic Center*. (2002): Accessed May 1, 2015. http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/reports/10.pdf, 1-18.

[55] Suro and Singer, "Latino Growth in Metropolitan America," 6-8.

[56] Elizabeth Kneebone and Emily Garr, "The Suburbanization of Poverty: Trends in Metropolitan America, 2000 to 2008," *The Brookings Institute*. (2010): Accessed April 28, 2015. http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2010/01/20-poverty-kneebone.

Singer argue that the continued growth of the Latino population will spread across the states and as time passes the search for the American dream through home ownership is expected to increase.[57] This study correctly assumes that growth of the Latino population is continuing and that it will have an impact on the economic development while greatly influencing urban and suburban life. To further this research the U.S. Census data in 2011 provided proof of sustained growth throughout the states by identifying the top eight states that individually registered over one million Hispanics per state; California, Texas, Florida, New York, Illinois, Arizona, New Jersey, and Colorado. Though these eight states have identified as having the largest Hispanic populations, the overall growth in the U.S. was 22% from 2000 to 2011.[58]

Separating the overarching population of Hispanics into subgroups is necessary when conducting research about a group that is so vast. Table 1 is from *Pew Research Center* and identifies the Hispanic subgroups from U.S. Census Data reports. Clearly those of Mexican descent are the largest subgroup in the U.S. from Latin America and make up 64.2% of total Latinos in the U.S. The next largest groups that follow are Puerto Ricans at 9.3% and Cubans at 3.7%.[59] Table 1 identifies the vast number of countries that fall under the umbrella of Hispanic according to U.S. Census Data.

One of the major faults in grouping multiple countries together is the issue of combining nationalities of origin when they are so vastly different in size. For many

[57] Suro and Singer, "Latino Growth in Metropolitan America," 11.

[58] Anna Brown and Mark Hugo Lopez, "II. Ranking Latino Populations in the States," *Pew Hispanic Center Trends Project.* (2013): Accessed October 15, 2014. http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/08/29/ii-ranking-latino-populations-in-the-states/.

[59] Brown and Patten, "Statistical Portrait of Hispanics in the United States."

Table 1
Statistical portrait of Hispanics in the United States, 2012[60]

Hispanic Populations are listed in detail in descending order of population size
Universe: 2012 Hispanic resident population

| | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Mexican | 33,972,251 | 64.2 |
| Puerto Rican | 4,929,992 | 9.3 |
| Cuban | 1,973,108 | 3.7 |
| Salvadoran | 1,969,495 | 3.7 |
| All Other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino | 1,737,757 | 3.3 |
| Dominican | 1,648,209 | 3.1 |
| Guatemalan | 1,265,400 | 2.4 |
| Colombian | 1,080,843 | 2.0 |
| Honduran | 774,866 | 1.5 |
| Spaniard | 723,519 | 1.4 |
| Ecuadorian | 664,408 | 1.3 |
| Peruvian | 582,662 | 1.1 |
| Nicaraguan | 408,261 | 0.8 |
| Venezuelan | 257,807 | 0.5 |
| Argentinean | 240,171 | 0.5 |
| Panamanian | 184,889 | 0.3 |
| Costa Rican | 137,724 | 0.3 |
| Chilean | 129,074 | 0.2 |
| Bolivian | 99,929 | 0.2 |
| Uruguayan | 63,709 | 0.1 |
| Other Central American | 42,074 | 0.1 |
| Other South American | 26,908 | 0.1 |
| Paraguayan | 19,427 | < 0.05 |
| **TOTAL** | **52,932,483** | 100.0 |

*Source:* Pew Research Center's Hispanic Trends Project tabulations of 2012 American Community Survey (1% IPUMS)

subgroups the only commonality between each Hispanic from Latin America is the native language and some shared cultural traditions. Author Adriana J. Umaña-Taylor and Mark A. Fine argue that grouping multiple countries together in a homogenous group paints a picture that is inaccurate and oftentimes susceptible to gross generalization. For example, Census Data from 2000 indicates that 36% of Mexican households are composed of five

[60] Anna Brown and Eileen Patten, "Statistical Portrait of Hispanics in the United States," *Pew Research Hispanic Trend Project.* (2012): Accessed November 8, 2014. http://www.pewhispanic.org/2014/04/29/statistical-portrait-of-hispanics-in-the-united-states-2012/. Table no. 6.

or more people, whereas 14% of Cubans share this commonality.[61] Overall, this type of practice leads to misleading results when measuring items like high school graduation rates, college completion, average household sizes, and poverty rates among a large population.

Not all Latino subgroups have the same obstacles or benefits when coming to the U.S. For the purpose of this study, Puerto Ricans and Cubans are acknowledged as two large-subgroups that have distinct pathways to migration in the U.S. and are considered groups that have an advantage that is not common among other Latino immigrants. Puerto Rico was legally recognized as an "unincorporated territory" of the U.S. in 1898 and once the profits of sugar exportation from the island were ending in the 1930s, islanders came in massive waves to the U.S. settling mainly in New York.[62] Due to the status of the island, all Puerto Ricans possess U.S. citizenship and have a unique situation. They may travel between all fifty states and return to their island at any time. They are taught bilingual education, are eligible for government benefits, and are tracked as migrants instead of immigrants. The issues within the Puerto Rican community must not be ignored but instead researched independently due to the specific conditions they experience when arriving in the 50 states.

Cubans are another large subgroup that has a unique experience when coming to the U.S. from their island. Due to the strained relationship between the U.S. and Cuba following 1959, a great wave of immigrants came from the island with great wealth and

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[61] Adriana J. Umaña-Taylor and Mark A. Fine, "Methodological Implications of Grouping Latino Adolescents Into One Collective Ethnic Group," Hispanic *Journal of Behavioral Sciences* (2001): 23; 347. Accessed on October 23, 2014. http://www.sagepub.com/counselingstudy/Journal%20Articles/Umana-Taylor.pdf.

[62] David G. Gutiérrez, "An Historic Overview of Latino Immigration and the Demographic Transformation of the United States." *National Park Service*. Accessed: April 15, 2015. http://www.nps.gov/history/heritageinitiatives/latino/latinothemestudy/immigration.htm. 64-70.

education, resisting the revolution and looking for a new life in the U.S. Those who followed the initial 1959 wave were far less wealthy and intended in joining their families while taking advantage of the opportunity offered by the U.S. government to come under refugee status. This allowed Cubans access to specific government benefits and educational programs that enabled assimilation and acceptance of Cubans in the U.S. among the general population.

Both Cubans and Puerto Ricans have unique immigrant experiences when arriving from their islands that greatly differ from those who come from Central America, South America, and the Dominican Republic. The issue of one's immigration status is not an obstacle for these two subgroups and access to assistance from government resources is easily obtainable and encouraged. The well-established Cuban immigrant communities throughout the U.S. have an infrastructure in place that helps new comers adapt with greater ease, accompanied with general acceptance of Cuban culture in American society. For Puerto Rican immigrants the well-established communities are generally concentrated in urban areas that are plagued with poverty and racial divide. As Puerto Rican immigrants begin the process of assimilation, the reality of upward mobility is limited and often accompanied with resistance from the host nation leading to an inability to join mainstream society. I acknowledge that the differences between Puerto Ricans and Cubans are significant and both of these groups need to be compared for similarities and differences in how they are received upon immigrating to the U.S., but both of these groups have a long established presence in the U.S. and it makes their experiences unique compared to recently arrived Central and South Americans and Dominicans.

Latinos that identify as having Mexican ancestry are by far the largest Latino subgroup with a long history in the U.S. On average, they experience high poverty rates

and low educational attainment once migrating to the U.S. and mostly settle in the southern states close to the U.S./Mexican border. This group of immigrants has similar experiences upon arrival to the U.S. that can resemble other Latin Americans. However, due to the sheer size of this subgroup and the long/heated political debates over land, illegal immigration, and citizenship many research studies are conducted independently focusing specifically on Mexican Americans and their offspring. Given the tremendous amount of historical context that the Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cubans have with the U.S., the statistical portrait of other subgroups need to be separated to determine trends that are often overlooked when assessing assimilation patterns and applying them to a vast group that is internally diverse.

## Chapter III

## Identity Shifts and Latinos

Migration takes place globally on a daily basis and for immigrants the motivation can be voluntary, coerced, or a necessity for survival. For immigrants and their families, the impact of migrating is often accompanied with significant social changes that include becoming the minority, different or loss of cultural traditions, and social isolation from the natives.[63] For most, the process of immigration includes acculturation, which can be defined as, "the process of cultural change and adaptation that occurs when individuals from different cultures come into contact."[64] Acculturation can be applied to both the immigrant and the nonimmigrant ethnic groups. According to authors Schwartz, Montgomery, and Briones, "nonimmigrant ethnic groups are faced with acculturation challenges not because they have chosen to enter a new society, but rather because they have been involuntarily subjected to the dominance of a majority group (often on their land)."[65]

In the United States an example of involuntary ethnic minority acculturation would be those who identify as American Indians, African Americans, and the children of Latino immigrants. Each of these groups' face challenges based on ethnic differences

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[63] Carola Suarez-Orozco, Irina L.G. Todorova, and Josephine Louie, "Making Up for Lost Time: The Experience of Separation Reunification Among Immigrant Families." (2002): Accessed on May 1, 2014. https://steinhardt.nyu.edu/scmsAdmin/uploads/004/295/Family%20Process%202002.pdf.

[64] Margaret A. Gibson, *Immigrant Adaptation and Patterns of Acculturation* (2001): Accessed February 21, 2015. http://www.karger.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/Article/Pdf/57037.

[65] Seth J. Schwartz, Marilyn J. Montgomery, and Ervin Biones, "The Role of Identity in Acculturation among Immigrant People: Theoretical Propositions, Empirical Questions, and Applied Recommendations," *Human Development,* 49 (2006): 1-30. doi:10-1159/000090300.

even though they were born and raised in the U.S. It must also be noted, acculturation is not just a process that occurs with minorities. The native majority is continuously undergoing a change that is initiated by a new cultural influence. When the native comes into contact with immigrants the process of acculturation is inevitable for both sides and often is first shared through different cuisines.

Acculturation is closely tied to the concept of racial identity and one's individual identity. Although all immigrants undergo some sort of acculturation and identity formation, the development of identity takes place in the context of group and intergroup realities. For the Latino the acculturation process and ethnic identity add to the complexity of such a heterogeneous group of people made up of many subgroups. The goal in this chapter is to explore the way identity applies and changes for those who identify as Latino, how they may relate to racial constructs, and how the immigrant parent's identity among the new society will influence the second and third-generation Latinos coming of age in the U.S.

The ethnic identity of Latinos is an imperative part of understanding the second-generation trends and assimilation patterns. By looking at identity we can see how they are progressing or regressing in society. This analysis will be supported with data from the 2006 Latino National Survey (LNS), the Longitudinal Immigrant Study of Adaptation (LISA), Children of Immigrant Longitudal Study (CILS), and results from the Pew Hispanic Center, 2012 National Survey of Latinos. These studies assist in understanding the transformation and adaptation process over time as the immigrants and their offspring come in contact with a new world that includes cultural clashes, adoption of new traditions, language usage, economic advancements and the continued practice of the old worlds values at home.

Ethnic identity is defined as the degree to which one views oneself as a member of a particular ethnic group; acculturation is the process of adjusting to a different culture; cultural orientation is how one feels towards the levels of engagement in different cultures.[66] Each one of these constructs describes an individual's connection to their society. The similarities between these three constructs are often used interchangeably in scholarship. However, each one contains distinct differences that are relevant to studies examining integration, multi-cultural societies and the intercultural distresses that can be found among many who immigrate and are of a minority in the U.S. Latinos, in particular are the largest subgroup and are categorized as a heterogeneous population that contains people from at least 25 different countries.[67] Though the similarities of Latino people seem the same on the surface, the study of ethnic identity, acculturation and cultural orientation illuminate the differences that exist within the large subgroup that can then be examined more closely to assist with understanding adaptation patterns and explain variables found within the Latino paradox.

What we know at this point is that "acculturation is an interactive, developmental, multifactorial, and multidimensional process."[68] It affects the majority as well as the minority and can have significant psychological impact on the people who make up a society. Author Leopoldo J. Cabassa, of Washington University, identifies the difficulties of specifying the different domains (e.g., values, attitudes, interpersonal relationships,

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[66] Jeanne LTsai., Yulia Chentsova-Dutton, and Ying Wong, "Why and how researchers should study ethnic identity, acculturation, and cultural orientation." in *Asian American psychology: The science of lives in context*, (2002): 41-65.

[67] Luisa N.Borrell, "Racial Identity among Hispanics: Implications for Health and Well-Being," *American Journal of Public Health*, *95*, no. 3, (2005): 379–381. doi:10.2105/AJPH.2004.058172.

[68] Leopoldo J. Cabassa, "Measuring Acculturation: Where We Are and Where We Need to Go," in *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 25(2003): 127. doi: 10.1177/0739986303025002001.

language, and behaviors) that are affected by this cultural process, and he argues that the results will greatly vary when assessing a group verses an individual. For instance, a large group of Colombians living in the U.S. appear to have acculturated to American culture because as a group they seem to portray qualities such as language and cultural adaptation. However, if one is to review the levels of language adaptation on an individual level, variance would become apparent. For this reason, Cabassa emphasizes, when trying to apply and understand how a group of second-generation Latinos is faring in adaptation of "Americanization" the group and individual perspectives are both necessities to assist in understanding the complete process.

Acculturation has contingent factors and there are two primary models, unidimensional and bidimensional, that assist in measuring the process of adaptation. The basic idea of acculturation is to go beyond simply classifying people in ethno-cultures typecasts. The unidimensional model stemming from the assimilation pattern developed by Milton Gordon in 1964, argues that entry into mainstream culture is inevitable for immigrants and it is followed by "the disappearance of the ethnic group as a separate entity and the evaporation of its distinctive values."[69] Cabassa explains this further, "both of these processes, adherence to the culture of origin and immersion in the dominant culture, are considered to be part of the same phenomenon."[70] Keep in mind when applying this theory, the process is considered to affect only the acculturating group and will not have any influence on the dominant group. This is a straight-line, classic assimilation pattern that is believed to be the most empirically tested but also

[69] Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press 1964), 80-83.

[70] Cabassa, "Measuring Acculturation," 132.

characterized by scholars such as Alejandro Portes, Minh Zhou, and Ruben G. Rumbaut as misleading when assessing Latino assimilation in the 21st century.

The unidimensional model employs the classic theory that immigrants will shed their culture, traditional values, interpersonal relationships, language usage, and beliefs to align with those of the U.S. culture. Some researchers have taken this model a step further, adding dependent variables such as, place of birth, life span in the host country, place of education, and the amount of years spent in the new country to explain the differences found within a large group.[71] Nevertheless, the additional variables still have not saved the unidimensional model from large criticism. This model assumes that as the family line continues down a straight-line, the shedding of the old cultural traditions is natural and will eventually completely disappear. According to Gordon's theory, acculturation and assimilation are the first steps to the absorption process in a new society and eventually all other cultural differences would be abandoned. As individuals move towards assimilation, the unidimensional theory only allows what Cabassa calls a "model of restrictions" because "this zero-sum assumption leaves no room for the existence of two cultures within an individual and provides an incomplete and fragmented measure of this complex cultural shifting process."[72]

The bidimensional model is the second model that was developed and most influenced by scholar John Berry, as an alternative model that could assist in measuring acculturation by allowing two independent dimensions: maintenance of the culture of origin and adherence to the dominant or host culture. Berry argues that the maintenance of culture of origin and adherence can stay intact with both the host country and the

[71] D.E. Cortés "Acculturation and Its Relevance to Mental Health," in R. G. Malgady and O. Rodriguez, Eds., Theoretical and Conceptual Issues in Hispanic Mental Health, (Malabar, FL: Kreiger, 1994). 54-67.

[72] Cabassa, "Measuring Acculturation," 133-134.

country of origin.[73] Central to Berry's model is the concept that there are two independent dimensions that are the underpinnings of acculturation; namely maintenance of the culture and adherence to the dominant or host culture.[74] Berry explains that "cultural maintenance is conceptualized as the extent to which individuals value and adhere to their culture of origin."[75] Simply put, this theory allows space for one to be able to keep cultural identity. The second dimension to this model creates a space for individuals to become engaged and find value in the culture of the host country with less emphasis on shedding one's ethnicity.

Critics of this model point out that bidimensional theory contains conceptual limitations that hinder its ability to properly measure individual's acculturation because of the two fundamental dimensions, maintenance of culture identity and characteristics that affect the interactions with the host culture. The experience when one integrates into a new society is highly dependent on how they are received. Each individual would have a different perspective at some point in time as they experience assimilation. The dominant force, the immigrant (often a minority) will have a different and unique outcome that will determine if there is a value in shedding their loyalty to their original culture to assimilate into a new cultural identity. The issues of race, ethnicity and gender all play an important role in the formation of identity, as well as the exposure to discrimination and exclusion that will affect the immigrant's relationship with the host country. When considering the bidimensional model, one must acknowledge that it has limitations in its ability to measure how immigrants assimilate, which includes looking at

[73] Cabassa, "Measuring Acculturation," 134.

[74] John W. Berry, "Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation," *Applied Psychology*, 46, no.1 (1997): 5-34.

[75] Berry, "Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation," 10-16.

the inequalities and socioeconomic issues facing immigrants within specific enclaves and the host culture.

Although these two models both have shortcomings when measuring assimilation through acculturation they still provide a valid framework to use as a starting point in identifying struggles and successes among immigrant groups and minorities. For Latinos the criticism has been harsh, accusing them of an unwillingness or resistance to becoming "Americanized." Acculturation, ethnic identity, and racial identity are all-inclusive in the formation of Latino identity and affect their perception of self among the dominant culture. With these two models of measurement in mind, the best way to understand the changes taking place among second-generation Latinos is to assess the trends that begin with the immigrant parent and then see which model seems to be the best form of measurement when applied to this minority.

Latino immigrants often use their country of origin to describe their identity and many never switch over to a pan-ethnic term such as Latino, Hispanic, or Hispanic-American.[76] In general, an immigrant faces multiple challenges when first arriving in the new host country but when compared to the hardships they faced in the "old world" the new conditions are perceived as tolerable. The remarkable and most enduring characteristic of immigrants is their ability to remain optimistic. Carola and Marcelo Suárez-Orozco explain that this resilience is fueled by comparing "here and now" and "there and then," which employs "a dual-frame of reference that acts as a filter by which the newcomers process their new experiences."[77] As immigrants begin families or bring

[76] Paul Taylor, Mark Hugo Lopez, Jessica Martinez and Gabriel Velasco, "When Labels Don't Fit: Hispanic and Their Views of Identity." *Pew Research Center,* Accessed May 15, 2015. http://www.pew hispanic.org/2012/04/04/when-labels-dont-fit-hispanics-and-their-views-of-identity/.

[77] Carola Suarez-Orozco and Marcelo Suarez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration,* (Cambridge. MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 87.

their existing families to the U.S., the dual-frame reference becomes blurred. Oftentimes, children born abroad who arrive at a later age, share the enduring characteristics of their immigrant parents. However, native-born children or very young children born abroad who live in the U.S. demonstrate some decline in sharing the enduring themes of optimism that their parents carry throughout their lives.

The society that a child is exposed to on a daily basis is very influential. The Suárez-Orozcos' argue that "although they may not come to experience the standards of the American life-style firsthand, store windows, television, movies, and an occasional visit to the home of more privileged" causes the growth of an American ethos that can encourage the sense of being deprived among the adolescent.[78] This is the first step in adaptation and is where we see the first signs of the tug-of-war develop between parent and child. Often times this intensifies—when the child begins attending school and is told to use English as a primary language and is exposed to a traditional American education.

One of the primary measurements of acculturation is language adoption. The controversy concerning modern-day immigrants not speaking fluent English is not new to U.S. history. Dating as far back as when the Germans settled in Pennsylvania, the concern of language adaptation was shared by powerful figures such as Benjamin Franklin in 1751. Franklin demonstrated a severe concern over German immigrants that were immigrating to the U.S. at a rapid pace and still retaining a culture identity of the old land in the State of Pennsylvania.[79] Authors Alejandro Portes and Richard Schauffler use Franklin's notion of "one nation, one language" as the starting point for language adaptation that was, and some argue still is, an expected requirement for those who

[78] Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration*, 88.

[79] Benjamin Franklin, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Leonard W. Labarre (New Haven, CT. Yale University Press, 1959), 234.

immigrate to the United States, because citizenship participation is defined by the language one uses.[80]

The Pew Research Center conducted a Survey from 2002 to 2006 that found nearly "all Hispanic adults born in the United States of immigrant parents reported that they are fluent in English."[81] However, the results from this survey greatly differed for Latino immigrants. This survey shows that only 23% of Latino immigrants report being able to speak English proficiently, where as 88% of U.S.-born Latino's (second-and third-generations) were able to speak English very well. Among later generations the survey showed a steady climb in English proficiency. Additional findings found that 52% of foreign-born immigrants speak only Spanish at home, while half of the adult children of immigrants use English at home. By the third generation those of Latino descent do not prefer to speak Spanish while at home and the number preferring to use Spanish declines rapidly to one-in-four. This survey also suggests bilingualism and college education level are closely tied together. When participants in the survey were asked about the most frequently asked question they receive from outsiders, it was whether they spoke English. In 2007, 46% of Latinos cited language skills as one of the largest forms of discrimination experienced: "Outsiders assumed that being Hispanic equaled inadequate ability to speak English.[82]

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[80] Alejandro Portes, *The New Second Generation.* (New York, the Russell Sage Foundation, 1996), 9-10.

[81] Shirin Hakimzadeh and D'Vera Cohn, "English Usage among Hispanics in the United States," *Pew Research Hispanic Center.* (2007): Accessed March 8, 2015. http://www.pewhispanic.org/2007/11/29/english-usage-among-hispanics-in-the-united-states/.

[82] Hakimzadeh and Cohn, *English Usage Among Hispanics*, 1-2.

Language and acculturation are tricky to balance and inevitable. An immigrant's self-identity and pride is closely linked to their native language and self-worth. On the other hand, the host nation has little to no use for their native tongue and immediately dictates abandonment. Alejandro Portes and Ruben G. Rumbaut argue "language assimilation is demanded of foreigners not only for instrumental reasons but for symbolic ones as well."[83] One's willingness to actively use English demonstrates their interest in national identity and leaving their loyalty to the old world behind. This is one of the most powerful factors that the U.S. possesses. A traditionalist would argue that in order for the U.S. to remain salient the use of the same language is one of the only binding ties that keep the vast population of the U.S. together as one nation. This perspective aligns with that of the country's forefathers and the straight-line assimilation pattern described by Gordon.

There are three main data sources that researchers have relied on to determine language adaptation in the U.S., the U.S. Census Bureau and National Center for Education Statistics and Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study CILS.[84] Pew Hispanic Research Center conducted an analysis from the 2012 National Survey of Latinos, and found that second-generation Latinos and Asians both had different results when examining their knowledge of the mother-tongue as they assimilate in American culture. The second-generation Latinos and Asians who took part in this survey both preferred and were proficient in English as a primary language, "eight-in-ten second-generation Hispanics say they can speak Spanish at least pretty well" while only "four-in-

[83] Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut, *Legacies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 113.

[84] Van C. Tran, "English Gain vs. Spanish Loss? Language Assimilation among Second-Generation Latinos in Young Adulthood," *Social Forces* 89 no. 1 (2010): 257-284.

ten second-generation Asian-Americans said the same."[85] The sharp decline among second-generation Asians-Americans is interesting because both minority groups are undergoing the acculturation process. Both populations prefer speaking English by a certain age but understanding how the mother-tongue is practiced within the home seems to be the variable that results in the maintenance of bilingualism.

One of the founders of psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics Wallace E. Lambert proposes in his studies that there are two different types of bilingualism—additive and subtractive.[86] An example of additive bilingualism is when a child learns a second language but is able to maintain the first in equal capacity. Subtractive bilingualism is when a child loses their ability to speak the first language and speaks the dominant language as a primary one. Many second-generation children resist speaking their mother-tongue for many reasons when a dominant language is used outside of the home. For second-generation Asians the challenges of outside influences seems to play a large role in retaining the mother-tongue within the home. As children are influenced by the dominant culture the likelihood of speaking two languages fades over time. In addition the size of a community surrounding the family plays a role in the maintenance of language.

Pew Research Surveys along with the U.S. Census Bureau found "that Latinos and Asian Americans differ in their language skills and in their views on the importance of maintaining the language of their ancestral home."[87] For instance, 78% of Asian

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[85] PEW Hispanic Center, "Second-Generation Americans A Portrait of the Adult Children of Immigrants," *PEW Hispanic Organization*. (2013): Accessed October 23, 2014. http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/files/2013/02/FINAL_immigrant_generations_report_2-7-13.pdf. 12.

[86] Allen G. Reynolds, *Bilingualism, Multiculturalism, and Second Language Learning: The Mcgill Conference in Honour of Wallace E. Lambert* (New York, NY, Psychology Press 1991), 203-204.

[87] PEW Hispanic Center, "Second-Generation Americans," 46-47.

immigrants in the U.S. speak English well, while 48% of Hispanic Immigrants speak English fluently. The difference becomes most apparent when analyzing the practice of mother-tongue. For second-generation Latinos, about half have the ability to speak Spanish fairly well, while less than half of the second-generation Asians proficiently speak their mothers-tongue. This leads to the question of what might be the main contributor to the loss of ancestral language for the Asian community once in the U.S. According to Richard Alba from the Migration Policy Institute, first-generation Asian immigrants perhaps prioritize English, more so, as soon as they arrive in the U.S. due to the small enclaves that exist within their culture, which results in a quicker adaptation to English. Also it must be noted that some large Asian groups come from countries that already use English in everyday life, such as India or the Philippines.

There seems to be very different attitudes among Hispanics and Asians about the value of retaining the language of the ancestral home (past the first generation) according to the findings in the PEW Hispanic Social Trends analysis.[88] The 2002-2006 survey indicates a dramatic difference between Hispanics and Asians. When respondents were asked about the importance of generations learning Spanish, "almost all (96%) foreign-born Hispanics feel that it is very or somewhat important for future generations to retain the ability to speak Spanish and 82% consider it very important."[89] Only 49% of Asian Americans said it was very important. As expected, the decline in the practice of the mother-tongue through the second-generation declines to only 37% reporting it important

[88] Richard Alba, "Bilingualism Persists, But English Still Dominates," *Migration Policy Institute.* (2005): Accessed September 18, 2014. http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/bilingualism-persists-english-still-dominates.

[89] PEW Hispanic Center, "Second-Generation Americans," 51-52.

to have a connection to their homeland and only 39% reported it somewhat important.[90]

The fact that Latinos continue to actively use the native language and practice it throughout generations serves as an indicator that their identity is unique. Nevertheless, the reality of what the nativist feared when mass groups of non-English speaking immigrants come to the U.S. should not be of concern. Even though the largest minority in the 21st century is known for their ability to speak Spanish and English interchangeably, the reality is that second-and third-generation Latinos prefer to speak English by a certain age. The general empirical trends provide surprising results that indicate that 72% percent of all second-generation children had opted for English as their preferred language in junior high and by the time they reach high school, 88% prefer speaking English.[91] The loss of the native tongue does increase as generations continue to grow and this is considered the natural process of assimilation, but also an indicator that one's identity seems to shift towards the dominant culture. Authors Portes and Rumbaut connect the concept that "losing a language is also losing part of one's self that is linked to one's identity and culture heritage."[92]

To better understand this perspective we turn to the study of shifting self-identification among Latino youth. These shifts are closely connected to education. Latinos are a complex group that is made up of many subgroups. If bilingualism is a common feature among Latinos then why does it begin to fade as they grow into young adults? Shifting identities is an influential process of assimilation for immigrants and their children. Much of a child's life is spent in school and much of one's identity is formed during the young adult years. The best way to see how Latinos are assimilating in

[90] Pew Hispanic Center, "Second-Generation American," 52.

[91] Portes and Rumbaut. *Legacies,* 117-118.

[92] Portes and Rumbaut. *Legacies,* 144-145.

society is to use survey data that tracks the levels of educational obtainment and the common themes among second-and third-generation Latinos. This analysis will remain narrowly focused and concerned with the argument surrounding shifting identities, belief in educational achievement, and how Latino's identify, i.e., do they see themselves as different from the host group?

Doing well in school is an absolute in the 21st century. Educational achievement means the difference between blue collar work with limited mobility and limited employment or in a white collar position with a college education to support your skills. The majority of second-generation Latinos come from homes that have at least one parent who is an immigrant and many live in urban areas where inner city school systems are the only option. In 2013 the median income reported by the U.S. Census Bureau on Race and Hispanic Origin was approximately $40,963.00 a year for Hispanic households, while the median income for Asians ranged from $58,270.00 to $67,065.00.[93] In 2007, the majority of non-citizen status immigrants were of Hispanic origin and account for approximately 52% of all immigrant households.[94] Many second-generation Latinos live in mixed-status homes. In Chapter 4, I will briefly examine how immigration policy directly affects the Latino population. Here I will look at the results of current trends measured through surveys on education for the second-generation Latinos.

Carola and Marcelo Suarez-Orozco emphasize the change in the economy, difficult job market, and most importantly the value of remaining competitive in

[93] Carmen DeNavas and Bernadette D. Proctor, "Income and Poverty in the United States: 2013," *United States Census Bureau,* (2014): Accessed August 14, 2014.http://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2014/demo/p60-249.pdf. 13-15.

[94] Rakesh Kochhar, "Sharp Decline In Income for Non-Citizen Immigrant Households, 2006-2007." *Pew Hispanic Center,* (2008): Accessed July 6, 2014. http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/reports/95.pdf, 5-8.

education, as problems for most young adults in the U.S.: "Formal schooling has become a high-stakes goal for children of immigrants. For many of them, schooling is nearly the *only* ticket for a better tomorrow."[95] The Pew Hispanic Research Center took a snap-shot of the second generation, acknowledging that it is too early for a complete comparison because the group is still very young, to see how they compare to the first generation. They found that overall the second generation does in fact have more education, which helps to explain reports indicating higher household incomes and a lower share in poverty.[96]

As a group, the adult children of immigrants are faring better and are more likely to have higher education compared to the immigrant adult population. The Pew Research Center analyzed the Current Population Survey and the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) and found that across the entire second generation, 36% have at least a bachelor's degree. Less than 10% of second-generation adults had less than a high school education compared to 28% of immigrants and 12% of all adults in the U.S.[97] Among Hispanic adults, 20% are the children of immigrants and 51% are foreign born. Those who received their education in the U.S. reported to be better educated then Hispanic immigrants and overall growth in education occurred across generations.

About 19% of Asian-American adults had parents that were immigrants while 74% of Asian Americans are reported to be immigrants themselves. The second-generation Asian community is very young with a median age of 30. Over 51% are under the age of 18, leaving the snapshot of this group resembling the Hispanic population

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[95] Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration*, 124.

[96] Pew Hispanic Center, "Second-Generation American," 19.

[97] Pew Hispanic Center, "Second-Generation American," 22.

when assessing assimilation. Among this young group (ages 25 or older) second-generation Asians are ranked as slightly more educated then Asian immigrants. As well, Asians are more educated among the entire immigrant population.[98] Only 7% have not completed high school compared to 12% of all immigrants.

There is rising concern about the educational attainment of Hispanic youth. Referring back to the studies mentioned earlier, second-generation Latino youth preferred to speak English by the end of grade school, which is an indicator that assimilation is taking place within this group as they come of age. This leads to the question, what are the attitudes about education among Hispanic families and how do they identify while in school? Are they different or the same as others their age? A study of adolescents from various backgrounds, Longitudinal Immigrant Study Adaptation (LISA) conducted by Carola and Marcelo Suarez-Orozco, provides a glimpse of how immigrants and their children prioritize education. In this study when asked, "the importance of education to get ahead in life" nearly 98% of families and children responded affirmatively."[99] In the same survey the immigrant and second-generation adolescents were asked opened-ended questions about school and their teachers. Between 84% and 72% expressed gratitude for their teachers and saw education as a positive experience.

Second-generation youth are from various socioeconomic and education backgrounds. The opportunity a child receives is highly dependent on the family's situation and is a critical part when measuring the child's performance in school. The LISA study examines how parents and their children initially value education when they first start out in grade school. As the participants matured the emphasis on education

[98] Pew Hispanic Center, "Second-Generation American,"36-37.

[99] Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration*, 125-126.

often changed and became a lower priority. The results of the LISA study reported that students who came from middle-class backgrounds with parents that spoke English fluently and achieved a stable economic status could provide and guide their child through their teenage years, which led to better results in educational attainment. Parents that had limited English skills and worked low-wage jobs had children that often struggled throughout their years in school, which led to less access to upward mobility as they became young adults. These findings suggest that as adolescents matured in inner city urban environments they were more likely to drop out of high school or know someone that did. Also there was a significant decline in academic success compared to those in a suburb or in a private school setting.[100]

The LISA study was a general group of adolescents made up of Mexican immigrants, second-generation Mexicans and a control group of non-immigrant, non-Latino whites.[101] To see if the responses differ among other groups of second-generation Latinos I refer to the longitudinal study, Children of Immigrants Longitudal Study (CILS), the largest study of its kind in the U.S. that follows the progress of a large sample of youth conducted by Alejandro Portes and Ruben Rumbaut. They studied kids in San Diego, California and Miami, Florida.[102] The CILS took place from 1992 to 2003 that included a sample of children with the average age of 14 attending the 8th and 9th grade in 1992. The study is divided into three groups beginning in 1992 and had a sample size of 5,262 participants. In 1995-1996, 4,288 respondents participated and from 2001 to 2003

[100] Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration*,128-130.

[101] Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration*,125.

[102] Ruben G. Rumbaut and Alejandro Portes, *Ethnicities* (New York: Russell Stage Foundation, 2001), 10-16.

3,613 participants with an average age of 24.[103] This survey provides guidance for researchers in understanding how second-generation youth might identify or resist acculturation as they move through adolescents and young adulthood.

Language adaptation has an important role in assimilation and one's proficiency will directly affect their outcome as adults in education and labor markets. Most immigrant scholarship connects education, language, culture, and ethnic identity so that future trajectories for the second generation can be suggested. Richard Alba and Victor Nee suggest that studies focusing "largely on educational performance rather than labor market outcomes, heavily rely on the distinction between human-capital and traditional labor immigrants and have an important relevance because of the predictability of children's educational attainment in light of their parents."[104] Contemporary immigrants can be extremely or minimally educated and because of this variety it becomes easy to grossly overgeneralize, divide, and classify people as either human-capital immigrants or as traditional labor migrants.[105]

Human-capital immigrants are often classified as those who come from Asia and Africa. Alba and Nee emphasize that if we were to assume that human-capital immigrants were only Asian and African, overgeneralizing would lead to an inaccurate depiction of a population. The same applies to the Latino population who are considered traditional labor migrants. There are highly educated Latinos who are working and making socioeconomic progress, while others have less education and are more likely to be

[103] Alejandro Portes and Ruben Rumbaut, "The Second Generation in Early Adulthood: New Findings from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study." *Migration Policy Institute*, (2006): Accessed August 13, 2014. http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/second-generation-early-adulthood-new-findings-children-immigrants-longitudinal-study.

[104] Richard Alba and Victor Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration*: (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2005), 238-239.

[105] Alba and Nee, *Remaking,* 239.

working manual labor jobs.[106] Nevertheless, the studies that use educational attainment as a primary source find that the 1.5 generation or second-generation children both appear to surpass the average attainment of white Americans if their parents were considered human-capital immigrants. The children of labor immigrants show a "substantial improvement in educational records of their parents" but remain behind the national average.[107]

Studies have shown (CLIS, LISA, and the U.S. Census Data Bureau interpreted by Pew Hispanic Research Center) that second-generation children demonstrate a strong performance in school overall. Alba and Nee argue that the human-capital immigrants are generally able to assist their children more than the average labor migrants who have little formal education. There is a strong sense that education is extremely important to immigrants and it does not matter where your parents come from. You as the child have the responsibility to achieve great things and be well educated. The understanding that success hinges on English proficiently seems clear to most 1.5 and second-generation youth. It should also be noted that there are threats in the American school setting that can detract from educational success among children. The longer second-generations students attend school the changes in identity and discipline evolve to replicate that new environment. Alba and Nee found that "immigrant children and their schoolwork appear to diminish over time, perhaps as they gradually perceive the lesser effort put in by native-born Americans and adjust their own accordingly."[108]

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[106] Alba and Nee, *Remaking,* 239-240.

[107] Alba and Nee, *Remaking,* 240.

[108] Alba and Nee, *Remaking*, 240.

Portes and Rumbaut also echo the idea that the ambiguous effect of length and acculturation is found when "U.S. nativity and long-term residence among the foreign-born increase English skills but significantly lower grades."[109] For second-generation youth the type of acculturation experienced plays a major role in how they do academically. If a child undergoes dissonant acculturation the effects include rapid loss of parental languages and the increase of parent-child cultural conflicts leading to additional issues in academia. Many labor migrants fall into this category and find that once the child enters school the preference for the parental language is replaced quickly with English. The other option is selective acculturation and this includes the use of bilingualism. I will go into further detail about these two very different pathways in Chapter 3. However, the concept of educational attainment among second-generation youth is complex and we must not be quick to overgeneralize and stigmatize specific minority groups.

Despite the parents' wishes for their children, the importance of obtaining an education across all immigrant groups seems fundamental. Asian-Americans remain at the top of the CILS and other data surveys. The Mexicans and Mexican-Americans struggle to maintain decent GPA's throughout high school and have a bleak outlook on where they are heading in life, which many argue is because of discrimination. For the rest of second-generation immigrants the stories may resonate on either side of the spectrum. Alba and Nee stay positive on the subject of education and emphasize that "on average, the educational attainment of the U.S.-born generation appears relatively strong, with the children of human-capital immigrants surpassing the average attainment of white

[109] Portes and Rumbaut, "*Legacies*." 239.

Americans, and the children of labor immigrants improving substantially on the educational records of the parents."[110]

The Pew Research Center recently released a study on Hispanics that illuminates educational achievements. According to Richard Fry and Paul Taylor, recently published data by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) in its division of "College Enrollment and Work Activity of High School Graduates, finds that "seven-in-ten (69%) Hispanic high school graduates in the class of 2012 enrolled in college that fall, two percentage points higher than the rate (67%) among white counterparts."[111] The milestone in this report is that Hispanics for the first time have accelerated and it is believed that it is due to the recession of 2008. High school dropout rates continue to decline and have been cut in half since the year 2000, when they were at 28%. The Pew Research Center acknowledges that even with the decrease in high school dropouts and increase in college enrollment, Latinos are still lagging behind the whites in educational achievements.[112]

There are two major factors Fry and Taylor point to when considering the recent improvements and the challenges among Hispanics concerning education. The first possibility is the power of parental influence. As established earlier in this chapter, Latino families emphasize education. Challenges such as living conditions, schools, parental education, and language are still present but the groundwork that the parent instills in their children seems to still be taking root. The second factor that could be playing a large role in the increase in college enrollment is that the second generation has experienced

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[110] Alba and Nee, *Remaking,* 240.

[111] Richard Fry and Paul Taylor, "Hispanic High School Graduates Pass Whites in Rate of College Enrollment," *PEW Research Center*, (2013): Accessed March 11, 2015. http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/05/09/hispanic-high-school-graduates-pass-whites-in-rate-of-college-enrollment/#fnref-18220-1.

[112] Fry and Taylor, "Hispanic High School Graduates," 5-6.

the great recession of 2008. The lack of jobs available to high school graduates along with parents and relatives experiencing unemployment during the recession perhaps was the leading motivation for enrolling in college. Although college enrollment increased during the past few years, the population is young and the reality is Hispanics are less likely than white Americans to complete a four-year degree, enroll in college full time, and select specific colleges.[113]

Economic opportunities have greatly changed in the U.S. Young adults who want to climb the socioeconomic ladder understand the importance of going to college and earning a degree that will be recognized by employers. The 1990 Census reported that the economic characteristics of second-generation Latinos are troubling because there are links "between economic deprivation in childhood and ultimate socioeconomic attainment."[114] I remain optimistic about the second-generation and educational attainment just as author Richard Alba and Victor Nee are in their analysis of education and assimilation trends. Language acculturation is taking place at a rapid rate among second-generation youth and most Latinos are bilingual. Overall, it is possible that third- and fourth-generation Latinos may exhibit shifting and fading ethnic identities and an increase in declining education gaps. In general, it seems that second-generation youth understand the value of an education and its ability to advance one's life.

Opportunity is the key to many arguments surrounding education and economic mobility for second-generation Latinos. The empirically tested straight-line assimilation model seems to still fit best when measuring acculturation. Children of immigrants do assimilate over time and currently can be measured through the process of language

[113] Fry and Taylor, "Hispanic High School Graduates," 5.

[114] Alba and Nee, *Remaking,* 89.

adaptation and educational attainment. However, Alejandro Portes' argument that not all subgroups among Latinos have the same experiences is still a possibility. This will be explored further in Chapter 3. Self-identification is complex and shifts overtime. Acculturation plays a major role on how one identifies. According to the 2011 National Survey of Latinos and the 2012 Asian-American Survey, 61% of foreign-born Latino and Asian immigrants both refer back to the country of origin when asked how they identify. The marked difference is that 38% of second-generation Latino Americans reported that they prefer to use their country of origin to define their ethnicity rather than a pan-ethnic term. Asian-Americans tended to identify as Americans by the second-generation.[115] It seems that the Latino identity stays somewhat intact for a longer duration. This suggests that shifting identities among Latinos are still in process and time will only tell how they will identify as the generations age.

[115] Pew Hispanic Center, "Second-Generation American,"48-49.

## Chapter IV

## The Power of Theories

"In the first place, we should insist that if the immigrant who comes here in good faith becomes an American and assimilates himself to us, he shall be treated on an exact equality with everyone else, for it is an outrage to discriminate against any such man because of creed, or birthplace, or origin. But this is predicated upon the person's becoming in every facet an American, and nothing but an American....There can be no divided allegiance here. Any man who says he is an American, but something else also, isn't an American at all."[116]

Theodore Roosevelt in 1907 emphasized his vision of what being an *American* truly meant in his perspective as a leader of a nation. This was believed to be a necessity for survival and unity when building a new Nation. In the 21st century the concept of being *American* remains an identifying factor and is always evolving. Keeping this in mind, looking at the debate surrounding second-generation Latino assimilation patterns is a topic that ignites a passionate argument on both sides. Assimilation, pluralism and "Americanization" are all contested concepts in the 21st century and are interpreted as a way for the host society to employ the Anglo-American ideology that encourages minority cultures to shed their native identity and to become one with the dominant group. Though the theory of assimilation has evolved significantly since the 1960s, the complexity of measuring a group's ability to become part of the *American* society is still an enduring theme among sociologists and scholars. In this chapter the assimilation theories of scholar's Milton Gordon, Richard Alba, Victor Nee, and Alejandro Portes will serve as the foundation in understanding how second-generation Latinos are expected to

[116] Theodore Roosevelt, *Theodore Roosevelt's Ideas on Immigrants and Being an American in 1907*. Accessed April 1, 2015. http://www.thepowerhour.com/news2/roosevelt_1907.htm.

integrate into the majority of *American* society and how their assimilation patterns will influences both the host country, as well as the minority group.

Two major assimilation theories dominate the scholarly world, straight-line assimilation theory and segmented-assimilation theory. Both of these theories illuminate the processes within assimilation and are used to assist in measuring second-generation assimilation outcomes.[117] Assimilation simply defined is the process in which a "person or persons acquire the social and psychological characteristics of a group that is socially dominant so that they merge together decreasing differences among groups."[118] Pluralism offers a contrasting approach that suggests that many individual groups live amongst each other and are independent and maintain distinct cultural differences such as religions and cultural traditions.[119] Lastly, "Americanization" is a concept that was defined in the early 20th century designed to "prepare foreign-born residents of the United State for full participation in citizenship. It aimed not only at the achievement of naturalization but also to fully understand the commitment to principles of American life and work."[120]

Although these three concepts in some ways seem conflicting, they are not mutually exclusive from one another. Joseph E. Healy explains that the process of assimilation and pluralism may occur together in a variety of combinations within a

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[117] Mary C. Waters, Van C. Tran, Philip Kasinitz, and John H. Mollenkopf, "Segmented Assimilation Revisited: Types of Acculturation and Socioeconomic Mobility in Young Adulthood," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33, no. 7 (2010): 1168-1193.

[118] Assimilation: Dictionary.com. *Dictionary.com Unabridged*. Random House, http://dictionary .reference.com/browse/assimilation (accessed: March 29, 2015).

[119] Pluralis: Dictionary.com. *Dictionary.com Unabridged*. Random House, http://dictionary.refer ence.com/browse/pluralism (accessed: March 29, 2015).

[120] Americanization: Dictionary.com. *Dictionary.com Unabridged*. Random House, http://dic tionary.reference.com/browse/americanization (accessed: March 29, 2015).

particular society or group."[121] Healy argues that every minority group, at any given time, has members who are assimilating to the host country and others who are not; however, overtime the host culture and the minority group will merge together. This can include a complete emergence to the dominant culture or a combination of blending both heritage and culture together. Either way, assimilation is inevitable and will eventually lead to merging cultures.

Sociologist Milton Gordon wrote an influential piece, *Assimilation in American Life 1964*, that expanded on a previous assimilation analysis written by Robert E. Parks. His work is grounded in race-relation cycles, assimilation patterns and are supported by the empirical studies conducted by the Chicago School of sociology.[122] Park presented the process of assimilation in a sequence: contact, competition, accommodation, and eventually assimilation, which he believed to be "progressive and irreversible" the longer the minority was exposed to the majority.[123] Parks theory is intentionally broad and though his work was from the early 20th century, his theory can still accommodate a rather modern perspective that includes many different minorities. His theoretical work is heavily concentrated on competition and the initial responses of new comers blending into modern societies. One of the major concepts of Parks theory is that when there are differences in cultures amongst a society the minority will eventually give way to the dominant group customs.

The concept of adopting Americanization in the 21st century is controversial because of how diverse the culture within the U.S. has become as decades of vast

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[121] Joseph E. Healey and Eileen O'Brien, *Race, Ethnicity, Gender, and Class: The Sociology of Group Conflict and Change*, (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications 2015): 43-46.

[122] Alba and Nee, *Remaking*, 17-23.

[123] Alba and Nee, *Remaking,* 20.

immigrants coming from all parts of the world, make new homes as foreigners. A scholarly piece, originally published under sociologists Robert Park and Herbert Miller, *Old World Traits Transplanted* (1921), later recognized as a W.I. Thomas analysis, brings a knowledgeable approach that was "self-consciously formulated against the campaign for rapid and complete Americanization waged during and immediately after World War I."[124] Alba and Nee find that the profound insight of Thomas, Park, and Miller's perspective that "assimilation would proceed more unproblematically if immigrant groups were left to adjust at their own pace to American life, rather than being compelled to drop their familiar ways" as a wise approach.[125] Within this argument, the ability to remove focus from the differences between the two groups (host and immigrant) would in theory, quicken the feeling of acceptance, and in turn accelerate the assimilation process.

The originators of the assimilation theory were pioneers who left many unanswered questions that would need to be reconsidered as the theory develops over time. By the middle of the 20th century the "melting pot" metaphor that originated as far back as 1782, by a French immigrant named J. Hector de Crevecoeur, complicated the analysis of assimilation even more. Crevecoeur envisioned America as "becoming a nation comprised of a completely new race that would eventually affect changes to the world scene through its labor force and its subsequent posterity."[126] By 1908, the metaphor was popularized by Israel Zangwill in a play in Washington D.C., entitled *Melting Pot* during a time when immigration to American from Europe was booming.[127]

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[124] Alba and Nee, *Remaking*, 20.

[125] Alba and Nee, *Remaking,* 20-21.

[126] Laura Laubeová, "Melting Pot vs. Ethnic Stew" *Encyclopedia of the World's Minorities*, (2000): Accessed April 5, 2015. http://www.tolerance.cz/courses/texts/melting.htm.

Richard Alba and Victor Nee argue that the concept of "melting pot" and assimilation theory are both very broad concepts by original definition and project a country that would accept immigrants and allow a blending during the initial period of adjustment but would eventually give way to Anglo-American ideology. Although a powerful metaphor, anthropologists and sociologists later found difficulty in disentangling the strands associated with assimilation theory and the melting-pot metaphors due to variables that each minority group experiences and the non-definitive use of time that the scholars referred to. How much time would be needed for one to become part of the dominant group?

In 1964, sociologist Milton Gordon made a profound impact on assimilation theory in his book, *Assimilation in American Life*. Gordon's main hypothesis is, "once structural assimilation has occurred…all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow."[128] In his theory, the crucial part is the process from acculturation to integration. To assist with the transition he distinguishes seven dimensions to assimilation; cultural, structural, marital, identity, prejudice, discrimination, and civic.[129] Gordon emphasized that over time the immigrant would adopt the stage of marital assimilation and the factors of race would decline and simultaneously, addressing the discrimination and prejudice dimensions. In other words, as the minorities' separation process grew away from the primary culture, the decline in differences between the two groups would eventually become nonexistent breaking down the initial racial barriers that caused initial friction.

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[127] William Booth, "One Nation, Indivisible: Is It History?" *Washington Post*, February 22, 1998, Accessed April 28, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wpsrv/national/longterm/meltingpot/melt 0222.htm.

[128] Alba and Nee, *Remaking,* 24.

[129] Mary C. Waters, Reed Ueda, and Helen Marrow, *The New Americans: A Handbook to Immigration Since 1965*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2007): 127-129.

Gordon also presents three competing images of assimilation outcomes; the melting-pot metaphor, cultural pluralism, and Anglo-conformity.[130] He grounds most of his arguments around Anglo-conformity and expects immigrants to naturally shed their cultural heritage, while conforming to an Anglo-Protestant core culture. His study emphasizes the importance of intergroup adaptation and while his perspective has derived from the observation of mostly English/European migration periods, where the adaptation of Anglo culture becomes the dominant and preferred choice, he does acknowledge that there are differences found when racial prejudice becomes the focus instead of acculturation.

Gordon's work was a product of his time and he does briefly recognize the potential for racial discrimination as a significant barrier that could disrupt the process of integration within groups that are of nonwhite Anglo culture. Nevertheless, he remains committed to an eventual merging of groups and argues that non-European Americans including African Americans, particularly those with socioeconomic status, will be absorbed over time and will integrate into the dominant culture. The key to understanding his analysis is by noting his definition of time. He never gives an exact timeline on how long the process of full assimilation takes and he commits to the concept that acculturation requires a significant change among the ethnic group merging with the Anglo-American middle-class. Throughout his analysis, Gordon does not see assimilation as a two-way process, but rather assumes Anglo-Protestant mainstream does not change.

To some extent Gordon acknowledges that the American culture is quite mixed and varies greatly especially in locale and social classes. He notes that acculturation is not exclusive to middle-class environments and that socioeconomic status does contribute

[130] Milton Myron Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life the Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964) http://site.ebrary.com/id/10142040. 85-90.

to one's experiences in the integration process. Richard Alba and Victor Nee refer to Gordon's forgotten work on "codification of alternative conceptions of assimilation in the United States" and the "theories" of Anglo-conformity and of the melting-pot.[131] Gordon suggests that the Anglo-conformity model has been achieved for most immigrant groups in the U.S.[132] This model places all cultures into a one-size fits all mold that America "supposedly" represents. Gordon's argument is straight forward and he is indifferent when assessing immigrant groups and the issue of race. He provides little guidance on how economic class and ethnicity might play a role in opportunities offered to immigrants and assumes that the desired outcome of immigrants is to blend with the Anglo American.

The next model refers to the melting pot metaphor. Gordon describes this theory to provide a value to both cultural and structural assimilation. He argues that this model would encourage and even forecast widespread intermarriage amongst immigrants and generations that followed. This model would also encourage breaking down barriers found in society while strengthening relations that could penetrate as far as religious differences. Although many sociologists first thought that the melting pot metaphor was an idealistic vision for America to obtain, they eventually aligned their views with Gordon and recognized that the melting pot was another theory that basically promoted Anglo-conformity on a national level. Cultural pluralism, the third model, suggests a value in retaining ethnic elements allowing for distinctive characteristics to flourish and contribute to the overall society. This model resembles what is now referred to as

[131] Alba and Nee, *Remaking*, 25.

[132] Alba and Nee, *Remaking*, 26-27.

multiculturalism.[133] Gordon found some difficulty in cultural pluralism theory because it ignored the concept of cultural change. The effect of mixing/interacting with different cultures begins immediately and preservation of a specific cultural integrity would likely be influences through these interactions.

Although Gordon recognized these three models in his analysis he never embraced them or incorporated them in his work. Alba and Nee argue that Gordon is often misunderstood and is placed along with other scholars who "portray assimilation as an almost inevitable outcome for groups that have entered the United States through immigration."[134] Gordon's overarching view was that acculturation is inevitable and that structural assimilation is not predetermined. His actual analysis of American society led to the conclusion that structural pluralism rather than cultural pluralism was a more accurate description because of the loyalty many immigrants retained through institutions and social networks. Overall, Gordon's view of acculturation was that it could occur independently without any other components of assimilation and in general it was a one-sided transformation that favored the minority becoming more like the dominant majority. He never clearly stated if his theory was to be applied on an individual level or among groups, but it seems that most of the studies conducted were of minority groups and the experiences they encountered were with a dominant majority.

Richard Alba and Victor Nee use Gordon's framework and rejuvenate the classic concept of straight-line assimilation theory for the modern day. Straight-line assimilation theory made popular by the 1973 work by Herbert J. Gans and Neil Sandberg envisions a

[133] Katherine Neils Conzen, "Germans," in Stephan Therstronm, Ann Orlov, and Oscar Handlin, eds., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), 425.

[134] Alba and Nee, *Remaking*, 27.

process unfolding in a sequence.[135] The basic idea of this model is that the progress of assimilation is fueled by the subsequent generations that follow the immigrant. Beginning with the immigrant, the expectation is that they will more or less remain loyal to their ethnic originality. As the second generation grows they identify with the ethnic and host country but feel compelled to move away from their ethnic roots so they may demonstrate that they are part of American society and no longer considered foreign. As the generations age the farther away they drift from their once ethnic identity and the more they are assumed to be assimilating.[136]

Each generation faces a unique set of issues in relationship to the larger society. Alba and Nee argue that European immigrants from the early twentieth century encountered certain accommodations that were specific to a time period in American history and specific to their experiences through the process.[137] Assimilation theory is composed of all ethnic content that was imported from the previous immigrants. The assumption that all ethnicity will be abandoned is controversial and historically there have been periods of recreation, if not a sense of renaissance among immigrants who came over in the early 20th century. Hubert Gans in his later analysis recognizes this and adjusted his rendition to be called the "bumpy-line theory of ethnicity," while still remaining loyal to the core of the original concept that draws a link between the generational dynamics behind ethnic change and the direction of assimilation. This

[135] Herbert Gans, Introduction to Neil Sandberg, *Ethnic Identity and Assimilation: The Polish Community* (New York: Praeger, 1973).

[136]Alba and Nee, *Remaking*, 27.

[137] Richard Alba and Victor Nee, "Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration." *International Migration Review* 31, no. 4, Special Issue: Immigrant Adaptation and Native-Born Responses in the Making of Americans (Winter, 1997): 826-874.

linear-theory seems to overlook the impact of historical changes that take place at a specific time and how it may coincide with generational time frames.

As discussed in Gordon's framework he assumes that the ethnic minority was the one to change and move into the Anglo-American culture. Alba and Nee disagree with Gordon's narrow perspective that assimilation is one-sided and expands on this by arguing that it is two-sided and that it includes adoption of traits from other ethnic cultures so that the differences can become normative and absorb alongside the Anglo-American equivalent as a hybrid-mix that fuses together both ethnic cultural traits. Also the strength of community surrounding the ethnic group (and their supply of ethnicity) directly affects the timeline between each stage of assimilation. Alba and Nee acknowledge that Gordon's work did not separate the individual from the group when looking at ethnic modes of behavior in communities but they emphasize the importance of doing so.

Socioeconomic assimilation is another gap that Alba and Nee took into consideration when revamping Gordon's traditional assimilation model. They find that socioeconomic assimilation application is a key dimension to understanding assimilation today if we are to compare historical trends: "The concept of socioeconomic assimilation is not unambiguous, and two different usages need to be distinguished."[138] The first and more common usage is found most often in academia and is measured by analyzing a group or individual's education, occupation, and income to see how they are participating in society. Historically, immigrants have come to America beginning at the bottom of the economic rungs with the belief that they may be able to work their way up the economic ladder. This usage employs the expectation that one's assimilation is contingent with

[138] Alba and Nee, "Rethinking Assimilation Theory," 835-836.

their social mobility. The second usage is the measurement of minorities and their participation in institutions (structural assimilation) with groups that contain similarities in backgrounds. This is specifically different and an important concept to understand how segmented assimilation theory is applied. For the second usage, Alba and Nee illuminate that the "emphasis is on equality of treatment" whereas the first usage is focusing on "quality of attainment or position."[139] The question then becomes, "to what extent has an ethnic distinction lost its relevance for processes of socioeconomic attainment, except for initial conditions?"

Often we refer or compare the great-wave of European immigrants in the 19th and early 20th century coming to the U.S. as the historical backbone to understanding assimilation patterns. What sociologists Alba and Nee highlight is that the contrast between the two types of socioeconomic assimilation are important to understand when determining the relationship they occupy with other forms of assimilation and if they are at all historically connected.[140] Simply put the basic idea is to determine if the success of past immigrant assimilation was because they had access to the two types of socioeconomic opportunities that became closely linked together or were both types of socioeconomic opportunities completely unrelated to each other making it a coincidence that they occurred close together at that point in time. The opportunity structure of America is not historically the same as it was in the early 20th century and as noted by Herbert Gans (1992) and Alejandro Portes the difference in the opportunity structure will have direct implication on how assimilation unfolds among the current day immigrant and their offspring.

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[139] Alba and Nee, "Rethinking Assimilation Theory," 836.

[140] Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco,Carola Suárez-Orozco, and Desirée Qin-Hilliard. *The New Immigration*: *an Interdisciplinary Reader*. (New York: Routledge, 2005): Accessed 2/15/2015, 42-44.

Some scholars have found that the segmented-assimilation theory is a better fit for current-day immigrants. The theory, originally establish by Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou in 1993, has caught the attention of sociologists concerned that assimilation appears to be lagging behind for some groups of immigrants and how the effects of these patterns can linger through generations. Author Herbert Gans first sensed the uneven patterns in 1992 replaced his theory with the bumpy-line model because "the bumps represent various kinds of adaptations of changing circumstances—and with the line having no predictable end" the acculturating generations are being replaced with new immigrants from many different countries with various experiences that are not going to be as rigid as the straight-line theory portrays.[141]

Alejandro Portes and his colleagues combined elements of the ethnic disadvantaged model and the classic straight-line theory and developed segmented assimilation. The underpinnings to Portes thoery is that the assimilation process is fragmented and when segmented theory is applied it can accommodate a number of different outcomes because historically the U.S. has never experienced such a vast group of non-white immigrants. In 2001, Portes and Rumbaut acknowledge that some contemporary immigrants will follow the pattern established by the earlier European immigrants as Gordon originally envisioned when referring to the straight-line assimilation theory. However, they argue that other immigrant groups are more likely to become part of the urban poor and will find themselves stuck in permanent poverty. Portes argues that the immigrant's assimilation depends on their exposure to racial discrimination, rejection directed at them upon arrival, the degree of adherence and unity

[141] Herbert J. Gans "Comment: Ethnic Invention and Acculturation, a Bumpy-line Approach," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12, no. 3-41 (1992): 44.

they preserve over time, the physical and economic resources they can access, and the current economic standings that the host country is facing at the point of entry.[142]

Portes and his colleague's focus their research mainly on the second-generation Latinos. They argue that "structural barriers" are difficult to avoid when the minorities' surrounding world consists of poor urban schools, impoverished environments, and limited employment opportunities. They argue that this can lead the immigrant and their family on a downward path that could cause them to reject assimilation or "Americanization" all together and cause a divergent pathway to be the preferred choice. According to Susan K. Brown and Frank D. Bean at the Migration Policy Institute, "this is a powerful theory that focuses on identifying the contextual, structural, and cultural factors that separate assimilation from unsuccessful or even 'negative' assimilation."[143]

Portes incorporates racial/ethnic disadvantage models in his work. Nathan Glazer and Patrick Moynihan also argue that assimilation of many groups' remains blocked and is an issue of racial and ethnic pluralism. In 1963, they argued that depending on the ethnicity, it is as much of a burden as an advantage in obtaining socioeconomic achievement for some immigrant groups.[144] Often the labor immigrants that are poorly educated end up in the lower rungs of the stratification and find little to no economic mobility leading to what is perceived as a slowed assimilation process.[145] On the other hand, the human capital immigrants are able to experience decent growth in

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[142] Portes and Rumbaut, Legacies, 44-69.

[143] Susan K. Brown and Frank D. Bean, "Assimilation Models, Old and New: Explaining a Long-Term Process." *Migration Policy Institute*. (2006): Accessed on 03/30/2015. http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/assimilation-models-old-and-new-explaining-long-term-process.

[144] Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York City* (New York: M.I.T. Press, 1963).

[145] Alba and Nee, "Rethinking Assimilation Theory," 836-837.

socioeconomic status leading to a better assimilation outcome. Critics of segmented theory suggest that it emphasizes and overstresses racial and ethnic barriers in society, while activating the ideology of group separation between the host society and the minority. Some also argue that applying segmented theory to second-generation Latinos could be premature, because the group is still very young.

The compelling arguments made by those who reject the linear assimilation pattern, as a likely outcome for contemporary immigrant groups, should be examined closely. These arguments seem to equate linear assimilation theory as a historical condition that was paired with specific circumstances when mass European immigrants came to America.[146] Authors Alba and Nee do not deny that there is a difference in immigrant groups from past to present day. They also take into account that the socioeconomic circumstances are not as simple as they once were. Nevertheless, to consider straight-line assimilation theory to be completely irrelevant seems premature. As Alba and Nee refine and rework the framework of the straight-line model, they remain committed to assimilation being inevitable as a relevant theory, and are reluctant to fully agree that this theory is out of touch with the contemporary multicultural realities that exist in the 21st century.

Alba and Nee conclude that in the most general terms, assimilation is a decline, or endpoint in differences and at no point in time does the term of assimilation in the modern day need to imply that the ethnic group needs to be the majority; assimilation can also evolve within minority groups and become the majority. With this concept in mind and the understanding that assimilation takes place on the group and individual levels, one can argue that assimilation is still taking place but through a lens that allows for

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[146] Alba and Nee, "Rethinking Assimilation Theory," 842.

spatial assimilation with exception that will vary and perhaps not always be historically identical. Keeping this in mind, why does segmented theory appear to fit the patterns of second-generation Latinos?

Recently scholars argue that second-generation Latinos are showing signs of resistance to Anglo conformity and have structural barriers that stop them from entering mainstream America, while others argue that assimilation is taking place and needs more time. We have determined through previous research that the average Latino has established some sort of roots that have initiated the assimilation process. Milton Gordon refers to this initial step as acculturation or cultural assimilation. The adoption of the secondary stage, structural assimilation or integration, does not follow far behind acculturation but can take time depending on how exposed an individual is to the majority. Immigrants of the Latino community are often categorized as "laborers" and finding a place for employment is an initial concern when first arriving to the U.S. These two stages of assimilation often happen quickly and how they are accepted in these beginning moments by the majority (does not need to be Anglo-American) is a crucial part in their outcomes.

It is argued that because of the racial stigma in the U.S. the Latino or Hispanic populations are experiencing delayed assimilation. Central to Portes and Rumbaut's argument is that human capital, modes of incorporation by the host society, and family structure are very important in shaping the assimilation process. The relationship between the parent and child is imperative and is the main contributor to the assimilation process. When the parent and child acculturate at a similar pace they are able to take advantage of the consonant acculturation model. When both child and parent decide to adopt portions of acculturation this is a segmented model. The final acculturation model is when the

child acculturates faster than the parent, leading to friction in the relationship. According to the authors this model hinders the parents' ability to guide the child and is referred to as dissonant acculturation.[147]

The parent and the child have a special dynamic and the process of assimilation can be a great challenge for Latinos. Known as labor immigrants a majority of Latinos settle in urban areas that have a preexisting Latino presence. Depending on where they settle the process of "Americanization" is determined by the exposure with the majority. According to the 2012 U.S. Census data, "9.7% (18.9 million) non-Hispanic whites were living in poverty, while over a quarter of Hispanics (13.6 million), and 27.2% of blacks (10.9 million) were living in poverty."[148] From the same report the numbers only appeared to get worse when reviewing the results of extreme poverty and children from immigrant homes. In 2012 Hispanics were reported to be twice as likely to live in poverty, and have the average poverty rate of 23.2 percent, about 9 percentage points higher than the overall U.S. rate.[149] What the poverty rate indicates is that there is a strong likelihood that second-generation Latinos are exposed to a different type of "Americanization" that could lead toward a nontraditional assimilation path.

Currently, a large portion of Latino immigrants and their children are living in poor inner-city neighborhoods and consequently find themselves exposed to adverse situations that influence their social behaviors as they come of age. This exposure can create adversarial outlooks that cause outsiders to judge second-generation Latinos as

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[147] Portes and Rumbaut, *Legacies,* 55.

[148] National Center for Law and Economic Justice, *Poverty in the United States: A Snapshot,* Accessed April 1, 2015, http://www.nclej.org/poverty-in-the-us.php.

[149] Suzanne Macartney, Alemayehu Bishaw, and Kayla Fontenot, "Poverty Rates for Selected Detailed Race and Hispanic Groups by State and Place: 2007–2011," *American Community Survey Briefs*. (2013): Accessed March 28, 2015. http://www.census.gov/prod/2013pubs/acsbr11-17.pdf.

oppositional youth. Carola Suarez-Orozco and Marcelo M. Suarez-Orozco suggest that this premature judgment and resistance of acceptance by the community can place the second-generation youth at higher risk for harmful habits, which in turn harms the child's chances of economic mobility in the future. Under these circumstances, segmented assimilation framework asserts that by maintaining the culture of origin, in these cases, it would serve as a helpful tool for the Latino community because it would allow them to steer the second-generation adolescents development to remain focused on achievements in such areas as academics and culture norms. If the "safety-net" of the immigrant community were not to be sustained, then there is an escalated chance that the child would be conducive to its environment, accepting the path of downward mobility, and engaging in patterns of the disadvantaged. This path is considered to be what many scholars see as limited or lagging assimilation patterns greatly influenced by the "racially" stigmatized inner-city poor.

Although a compelling argument, not all second-generation Latinos are following a segmented pattern. Pew Hispanic Research Center released a report in 2013 that painted a mixed picture, showing some second-generations Latinos climbing the economic ladder at a steady pace resembling the middle-class white American youth. It is acknowledged that those who identify as El Salvadorian, Dominican, Honduran, Nicaraguan, and Mexican seem to face an additional racial struggling upon arrival, but in general many second-generation Latinos are progressing past their parents in education, language assimilation, and economic mobility.[150] Determining what assimilation model is most accurate when applying it to second-generation Latinos is difficult to gauge. The attractiveness of Portes' theory is that it identifies the differences that coexist inside the

[150] Cohn, *Second-Generation Americans.*

second-generation Latinos and emphasizes specific traits between subgroups. These factors do contain value when understanding such a vast population.

The linear assimilation model is not necessarily ignoring the issues facing some second-generation Latinos but it is assessing the group in its entirety. This model leaves space for variables, because it is assumed to be a common part of the assimilation process for any minority. The application of this model assumes that it is an inevitable part of the assimilation process, and some participants will resist assimilation all together while others embrace the American culture. The theoretical frameworks that identify certain factors blocking second-generation Latinos need to be closely examined to determine if the actual block is specifically directed at Latinos or if it is a deeper racial bias that anyone, from any minority group, can be subject too? Also one must examine if the lagging of economic mobility is specifically directed to Latinos or is it stemming from current socioeconomic conditions that are affecting everyone's mobility.

The process of reconciling which assimilation process best fits the second-generation Latinos is complex and not perfect. The subgroups that the second-generation Latino population is composed of and how their experiences might differ is a great indicator when balancing theories. Since this group is still fairly young, the empirical analysis in the next chapter will contain gaps that only time can resolve. Nevertheless, the enduring themes of assimilation theory do help identify patterns that second-generation Latinos might be gravitating towards. Authors Susan Brown and Frank Bean from MPI conclude that "if classic assimilation is the predominate perspective, then the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s highlighted how this perspective had failed to depict the situation

of African Americans."[151] With this in mind, segmented theory might offer greater accommodations for the experiences of a minority. As well, one must be mindful that by employing this theory it may overemphasize racial biases that society has already overcome.

[151] Susan K. Brown and Frank D. Bean, "Assimilation Models, Old and New: Explaining a Long-Term Process." *Migration Policy Institute*. (2006): Accessed on 03/30/2015. http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/assimilation-models-old-and-new-explaining-long-term-process.

# Chapter V

## Measuring Progress

This chapter analyzes the differences and similarities found among the Latino subgroups, the obstacles that certain second-generation Latinos experience, and how Latino-Americans form unique identities that are greatly influenced by the expectations of traditional Anglo-American ideology. To establish the subgroups and their differences I am using the Pew Research Centers analysis of ACS data from 2010 census, which sets the foundation for population diversity.[152] Next I look at the CILS study by Alejandro Portes. This study follows the adaptation process of second-generation Latinos and their experiences as they mature and contribute to society.[153] The final study is LISA, developed by authors Marcelo Suarez-Orozco and Carola Suarez-Orozco. They follow four hundred recently arrived immigrants, first, second, and third generation to see how the traditional American educational process influences their developing identity.[154] One of the major findings from LISA is that all-too-often distorted images of Latino minorities found in the media have a corrosive effect on the development of self-identity among children of immigrants. Marcelo Suarez-Orozco and Carola Suarez-Orozco developed a concept referred to as the *dual frame of reference*, described in chapter four

[152] Anna Brown and Eileen Patten, "Statistical Portrait of Hispanics in the United States, 2012." *Pew Hispanic Center*. (2014) Accessed September 24, 2015. http://www.pewhispanic.org/2014/04/29/statistical-portrait-of-hispanics-in-the-united-states-2012/ 1-3.

[153] Portes and Rumbaut. *Legacies.*

[154] Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration*, 9-11.

of *Children of Immigrants*, which highlights how children and immigrants filter their experiences and the effects of social marginalization on identity formation.[155]

The ACS is the largest household survey of its kind and is conducted by the Census Bureau. In 2010, the sample size totaled 3 million and is used to identify the size and characteristics of resident populations.[156] From 2000 to 2012 the census reported that the Hispanic population had grown to 53 million, nearly a 50% increase over ten years. Those who identify as Latino or Hispanic come from more than 20 Spanish-speaking nations worldwide. In 2011, ACS reported that "nearly two-thirds (64.6%) of U.S. Hispanics, or 33.5 million, traced their family origins to Mexico or Puerto Rico and they account for 9.5% of the total Hispanic population residing in the U.S."[157] Though these two countries are the two top senders of Hispanic immigrants, this chapter focuses on eleven other subgroups and their experiences.

The Pew Research Center reports fourteen countries that are represented by immigrants who have migrated in substantial numbers over the past twenty-five years. Of the fourteen, eleven nationalities are often grouped together in Hispanic studies as a homogenous group. The ACS report assists in separating the groups into subgroups so that the differences and trends can be illuminated. Immigrants from eleven countries (17.8% of the total Hispanic population) identify as Salvadorans, Dominicans, Guatemalans, Colombians, Spaniards, Hondurans, Ecuadorians, Peruvians, Nicaraguans,

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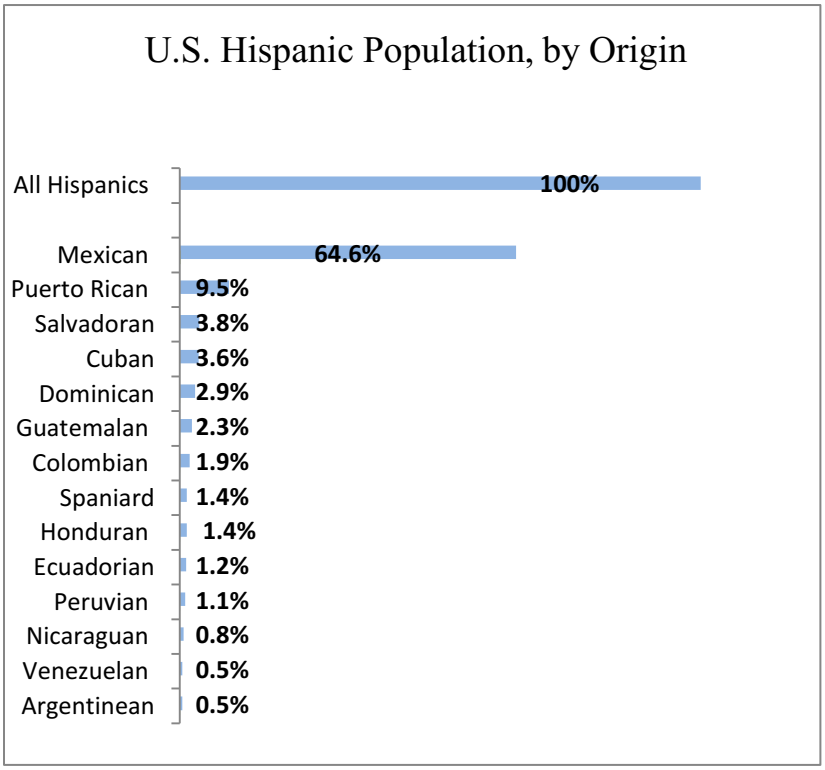
[155] Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration,* 87-123.

[156] Brown and Patten, *Statistical Portrait*, 1-2.

[157] Mark Hugo, Ana Gonzalez-Barrera and Danielle Cuddington, "Diverse Origins: The Nation's 14 Largest Hispanic-Origin Groups," *Pew Research center Hispanic Trends*. (2013): Accessed July 26, 2014. http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/06/19/diverse-origins-the-nations-14-largest-hispanic-origin-groups/#fnref-18385-1.

Venezuelans and Argentineans.[158] Although Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cubans contribute greatly to the overall totals, the smaller subgroups still have significant influence and represent a large amount of the second-generation Latinos coming of age in America. Six out of these eleven subgroups, each have over one million immigrants residing in the U.S., making up the Hispanic population. Table 2 clearly identifies the population totals and the diverse origins of the Hispanic community according to the Pew Hispanic Center tabulations.

Table 2
U.S. Hispanic Population by Origin[159]




*Source:* Pew Research Center tabulations of the 2011 ACS (1% PUMS)

[158] Hugo, Ginzalez-Barrera, and Cuddington, *Diverse Origins*, 1-2.

[159] Mark Hugo Lopez, Ana Gonzalez-Barrera and Danielle Cuddington, "Diverse Origins: The Nation's 14 Largest Hispanic-Origin Groups," *Pew Research Center*. (2013): Accessed May 30, 2015. http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/2013/06/summary_report_final.pdf.

The ACS reported that as of 2011, an estimated 2.0 million Hispanics of Salvadoran origin, trace their family ancestry to El Salvador.[160] Salvadorans account for 3.8% of the total Hispanic population and an average six-in-ten Salvadorans are foreign born. Two-thirds of Salvadorans immigrated after 1990 and 29% are U.S. citizens.[161]Approximately 48% ages 5 and older reported speaking English at home, while 52% say their English is poor, compared with 34% of the total Hispanic population. Salvadorans have a median age of 29 and are considered an older population among Hispanics. One-in-ten (8%) Salvadoran women ages 15 to 44 gave birth in the 12 months prior to this survey and 48% of the total female Salvadoran participants, who gave birth, were unmarried at that time. 40% of Salvadorans settle in the Western part of the U.S. and 41% in the South.[162] Less than one-in-ten (7%) Salvadorans ages 25 and older—have obtained at least a bachelor's degree. The median annual personal earnings for Salvadorans ages 16 or older were $20,000 in the year prior to the survey. 23% of the participants live in poverty and 39% do not have health insurance coverage and Salvadorans homeownership rates are below the Hispanic average of 46%.[163]

In 2014, the Migration Policy Institute reported that there are approximately 935,000 second-generation children with parents from El Salvador and have a median age of 11. Immigrants who have made the journey to the U.S. from El Salvador were granted Temporary Protected Status (TPS) as of 2001.[164] TPS is blanket relief that may

[160] Anna Brown and Eileen Patten, "Hispanics of Salvadoran Origin in the United States, 2011," *Pew Research Center Hispanic Trends.* (2013): Accessed April 14, 2015.http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/06/19/hispanics-of-salvadoran-origin-in-the-united-states-2011/.

[161] Brown and Patten, "Hispanics of Salvadoran Origin."

[162] Brown and Patten, "Hispanics of Salvadoran Origin."

[163] Brown and Patten, "Hispanics of Salvadoran Origin."

[164] Migration Policy Institute, "The Salvadoran Diaspora in the United States," *RAD Diaspora Profile*. (2014): Access April 15, 2015. www.migrationpolicy.org/.../RAD-ElSalvador.pdf. 4.

be granted under the following conditions: "There is ongoing armed conflict posing serious threat to personal safety; a foreign state requests TPS because it temporarily cannot handle the return of nationals due to environmental disaster; or there are extraordinary and temporary conditions in a foreign state that prevent aliens from returning, provided that granting TPS is consistent with U.S. national interests."[165] TPS for Salvadorans is set to expire on September 9, 2016, and there is an estimated 240,000 Salvadorans currently residing in the U.S. with this status. The TPS program is intended to be temporary and does not provide a pathway to citizenship or permanent residency. Salvadorans and their families are in a precarious position as the expiration date for TPS draws closer to an end.

The ACS reported that there are approximately 1.5 million Hispanics of Dominican origin. Dominicans are the fifth-largest group in the Hispanic population and account for 2.9% of the total population. 56% of Dominicans are foreign born, and 64% of the total Dominican immigrant group came to the U.S. after 1990. Less than half (48%) of Dominican immigrants are U.S. citizens.[166] 56% of Dominicans reported that they speak English proficiently while 44%, ages 5 or older report speaking English less than well. Dominicans are a young population but are older than the average Hispanic. 35% of Dominicans ages 15 and older are less likely to be married compared to the averages of the total Hispanics population. Less than one-in-ten (7%) Dominican female participants ages 15 to 44 gave birth in the 12 months prior to this survey. Of the female participants (59%) that gave birth during this time were unmarried. Eight-in-ten

[165] Ruth Ellen Wasem, Lisa Seghetti, and Karma Ester, "Temporary Protected Status: Current Immigration Policy and Issues," *CRS Report for Congress*. (2006): Accessed July 27, 2015. http://pards.org/tps/tps2006,0207-CRS.pdf.

[166] Anna Brown and Eileen Patten, "Hispanics of Dominican Origin in the United States, 2011," *Pew Research Center Hispanic Trends*. (2013): Accessed January 20, 2015. http://www.pewhispanic.org /2013/06/19/hispanics-of-dominican-origin-in-the-united-states-2011/.

Dominicans live in the Northeast region of the U.S. and 48% live in the New York area. 16% of Dominican participants ages 25 and older possess at least a bachelor's degree. The median annual personal income was reported to be $20,000 a year prior to this study and approximately 28% of Dominicans reported living in poverty. 21% do not have health insurance coverage and Dominican homeownership is 25% lower than the average rate for all Hispanics.[167] As of 2012, 33.2% of Dominicans are second generation.[168]

There are an estimated 1.2 million Hispanics of Guatemalan origin residing in the U.S. 64% of Guatemalans are foreign born with 74% of the total population immigrating after 1990. Nearly 23% have received U.S. citizenship since immigrating.[169] 43% of Guatemalans speak English proficiently, while 57% of participants ages 5 and older reported that they speak English less than well. The median age is 27 and represents a younger portion of the total Hispanic population. One-in-ten (9%) of Guatemalan women that participated in this study gave birth in the 12 months prior to this survey. Four-in-ten (38%) Guatemalan immigrants settle in the Western part of the U.S. (32% in California) and roughly one-third (34%) live in the Southern part of the U.S. 7% of Guatemalans ages 25 and older have obtained at least a bachelor's degree. The annual median personal income was $17,000 one year prior to this survey and 46% of participants reported living in poverty in 2012. Approximately 50% do not have health insurance coverage and the rate of homeownership in this subgroup is 30%.[170] The ACS reported that 28% of the

[167] Brown and Patten, "Hispanics of Dominican Origin."

[168] Ramona Hernández and Francisco L. Rivera-Batiz, *Dominicans in the United States: A Socioeconomic Profile,* 2000. (New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 2003): 17.

[169] Anna Brown and Eileen Patten, "Hispanics of Guatemalan Origin in the United States, 2011," *Pew Research Center Hispanic Trends*. (2013): Accessed January 20, 2015. http://www.pewhispanic.org /2013/06/19/hispanics-of-guatemalan-origin-in-the-united-states-2011/.

[170] Brown and Patten, "Hispanics of Guatemalan Origin in the United States."

total Guatemalan population residing in the U.S. are second generation, under the age of 18, and have at least one parent from Guatemala.[171]

An estimated 989,000 Colombians live in the U.S. and account for 1.9% of the Hispanic population. The majority of Colombian immigrants came to the U.S. in the 1980s and 1990s. 64% of Colombians are foreign born and 50% have obtained U.S. citizenship. 60% of Colombians from this study reported speaking English proficiently and the other 40% ages 5 and older report speaking English less than well.[172] The average age of a Colombian is 34 and 47% of Colombian participants ages 15 and older are married. One-in-twenty (5%) Colombian women from this study, ages 15 to 44, gave birth in the 12 months prior to this study. Regionally, 31% of Colombian immigrants live in Florida, 14% in New York, and 11% in New Jersey. Colombians have higher levels of education compared to the total Hispanic averages and 31% of Colombians ages 25 and older have obtained at least a bachelor's degree. The median annual personal earning for Colombians was reported at $24,000, one year prior to this survey, and 13% reported living in poverty. 27% of Colombians reported not having health insurance coverage and 10% of the 27% were under the age of 18. 49% of Colombian participants reported having achieved homeownership.[173] In 2014, Migration Policy Institute measured the growth among the Colombian population in the U.S. to be 1.1 million and among this

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[171] Sierra Stoney and Jeanne Batalova, "Central American Immigrants in the United States." *Migration Policy Institute.* (2013): Accessed April 1, 2015. http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/central-american-immigrants-united-states.

[172] Anna Brown and Eileen Patten, "Hispanics of Colombian Origin in the United States, 2011,"*Pew Research Center Hispanic Trends*. (2013): Accessed January 20, 2015. http://www.pew hispanic.org/2013/06/19/hispanics-of-colombian-origin-in-the-united-states-2011/.

[173] Brown and Patten, "Hispanics of Colombian Origin in the United States."

subgroup 395,000 are second-generation Colombian Americans.[174]

An estimated 702,000 Hispanics of Honduran origin live in the U.S. and total 1.4% of the Hispanic population. About two-thirds of Hondurans (64%) in the U.S. are foreign born and 78% arrived in 1990 or later. 22% of Honduran immigrants are U.S. citizens. The average age of a Honduran is 28.[175] Almost half of the total population (47%) ages five and older reported that they speak English well, and the other 53% claim they speak English poorly. 36% of Hondurans ages 15 and older are married and 8% of Honduran women, who were participants, ages 15 to 44 gave birth 12 months prior to this survey. 58% of Honduran immigrants live in the southern region of the U.S. and an additional 21% reported settling in the Northeast. Hondurans have lower educational attainment, reporting only 8% achieving at least a bachelor's degree. The median annual personal earnings for Hondurans ages 16 and older were $17,500 in the year prior to this survey. 33% of Hondurans live in poverty and 46% of Hondurans reported that they did not have health insurance coverage. Of the 46%, 13% were under the age of 18.[176] 29% of Hondurans participants are homeowners which is much lower than the national Hispanic averages of (46%).

The ACS reported that there are approximately 645,000 immigrants of Ecuadorian origin residing in the U.S. Ecuadorians are the 10th largest Hispanic population and 62% of those residing in the U.S. are foreign born. 67% of Ecuadorians

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[174] Migration Policy Institute, "The Colombian Diaspora in the United States," *RAD Diaspora Profile*. (2014): Access April 12, 2015. http://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/select-diaspora-populations-united-states, 1-4.

[175] Anna Brown and Eileen Patten, "Hispanics of Honduran Origin in the United States, 2011," *Pew Research Center Hispanic Trends*. (2013): Accessed January 20, 2015. http://www.pewhisPanic.org /2013/06/19/hispanics-of-honduran-origin-in-the-united-states-2011/.

[176] Brown and Patten, "Hispanics of Honduran Origin in the United States."

arrived in the U.S. after the 1990s and 42% of the participants reported to possess U.S. citizenship.[177] 53% of Ecuadorians speak English proficiently, while 47% ages 5 and older reported speaking English less than very well. The median age is 32 and is considered an older subgroup among Hispanic averages. 46% of Ecuadorian participants ages 15 or older are married, while 7% percent of Ecuadorian women ages 15 to 44 gave birth in the previous 12 months prior to this study. 66% of Ecuadorians settle in the Northeast and of the 66%, 40% live in New York. Ecuadorians reported having higher levels of education with some 19% ages 25 and older reported having obtained a bachelor's degree or higher. The median annual personal earnings for Ecuadorans ages 16 and older were $22,000 in the prior year and about 18% of Ecuadorians participants reported living in poverty. Three-in-ten (32%) do not have health insurance coverage and the rate of homeownership among this population was reported at 40%. There are approximately 212,000 second-generation youth under the age of 18 with at least one parent in each family that is from Ecuador.[178]

In 2011, the ACS reported that 556,000 Hispanics of Peruvian origin were living in the U.S. The Peruvian population is the 11th largest Hispanic population, and 68% of the participants are foreign born. 70% of the total Peruvian population in the U.S immigrated in the 1990s or later.[179] 48% of Peruvians have achieved U.S. citizenship. 60% of Peruvians ages 5 and older reported that they speak English proficiently; the other

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[177] Anna Brown and Eileen Patten, "Hispanics of Ecuadorian Origin in the United States, 2011," *Pew Research Center Hispanic Trends*. (2013): Accessed January 28, 2015. http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/06/19/hispanics-of-ecuadorian-origin-in-the-united-states-2011/.

[178] Brown and Patten, "Hispanics of Ecuadorian Origin in the United States."

[179] Anna Brown and Eileen Patten, "Hispanics of Peruvian Origin in the United States, 2011," *Pew Research Center Hispanic Trends*. (2013): Accessed January 26, 2015. http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/06/19/hispanics-of-peruvian-origin-in-the-united-states-2011/.

40% reported said they speak English less than very well. The median age of a Peruvian is 35 and 47% of participants 15 years of age or older, were more likely to be married. One-in-twenty (5%) Peruvian women ages 15 to 44 gave birth in the 12 months prior to this survey. 39% of Peruvians settle in the southern part of the U.S. and 34% reported living in the Northeast. Peruvians have higher levels of education than the average Hispanic population and 31% of Peruvians participants ages 25 and old have obtained at least a bachelor's degree. The median annual personal earnings for Peruvian ages 16 or older were $24,000 in the year prior to the survey and 13% reported that they live in poverty. 50% of Peruvian participants claimed to own their home and 28% reported that they do have health insurance coverage. Peruvians under the age of 18 (12%) are more likely to not be insured. It is estimated that there are over 185,000 second-generation Peruvians in the U.S.[180]

The ACS reported 395,000 Hispanics of Nicaraguan origin residing in the U.S. 60% of Nicaraguans residing in the U.S. are foreign born with most immigrating in 1990 or later. 53% of Nicaraguans participants reported being U.S. citizens and 62% reported that they speak English proficiently while the other 38% reported that they speak English less than well.[181] The median age of Nicaraguans is 32 and 44% of participants ages 15 and older are more likely to be married. Only 6% of Nicaraguan females in this survey, ages 15 to 44, reported that they gave birth in the 12 months prior to this survey. 56% of Nicaraguans settle in the South and 35% in the Western part of the U.S. 20% of Nicaraguans ages 25 and older have obtained at least a bachelor's degree. The median

[180] Brown and Patten, "Hispanics of Peruvians Origin in the United States."

[181] Anna Brown and Eileen Patten, "Hispanics of Nicaraguan Origin in the United States, 2011," *Pew Research Center Hispanic Trends*. (2013): Accessed January 26, 2015. http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/06/19/hispanics-of-nicaraguan-origin-in-the-united-states-2011/.

annual personal earnings for Nicaraguans ages 16 and older were $22,000 in the year prior to this survey and 18% of the Nicaraguans that participated reported living in poverty. 44% of participants reported homeownership and three-in-ten Nicaraguans (31%) do have health insurance coverage. The Nicaraguans under the age of 18, about 10%, are uninsured. In 2011, second-generation Nicaraguans totaled 158,000.[182]

The ACS reported 259,000 Hispanics of Venezuelans origin residing in the U.S.[183] 69% of Venezuelans living in the U.S. are foreign born and 82% immigrated in the 1990s or later. 35% of Venezuelan participants of this survey reported that they are U.S. citizens. [184] Two-thirds of Venezuelans (68%) ages 5 or older speak English proficiently and 32% claim they speak English less than well. The median age for Venezuelans is 32 and 49% of Venezuelans in this study ages 15 or older are likely to be married. One-in-twenty (4%) female Venezuelans participants ages 15 to 44 gave birth in the 12 months prior to the survey. 65% of Venezuelans settle in the southern part of the U.S. 51% of Venezuelans ages 25 or older have at least a bachelor's degree and the reported median annual personal earnings were $25,000, 12 months prior to the survey. 15% of Venezuelans participants reported that they live in poverty, while 48% are homeowners, 26% of Venezuelans from the survey did not have health insurance coverage, and 12% of the total 26% were reported to be under the age of 18. According to this study approximately 80,000 second-generation Venezuelans live in the U.S. with

[182] Brown and Patten, "Hispanics of Nicaraguans Origin in the United States."

[183] Anna Brown and Eileen Patten, "Hispanics of Venezuelan Origin in the United States, 2011," *Pew Research Center Hispanic Trends*. (2013): Accessed January 26, 2015. http://www.pewhispanic.org /2013/06/19/hispanics-of-venezuelan-origin-in-the-united-states-2011/.

[184] Brown and Patten, "Hispanics of Venezuelan Origin in the United States."

at least one parent identifying as Venezuelan.[185]

The ACS reported 242,000 Hispanics of Argentinean origin living in the U.S. 62% of these Argentineans are foreign born, most immigrating during the 1990s or later. 49% of this population reported possessing U.S. citizenship. 74% of Argentinean participants reported speaking English proficiently and 26% reported speaking English less than very well. The median age of an Argentinean in the U.S. is 35.[186] 56% of participants ages 15 and older were likely to be married and 7% of the female Argentinean participants, ages 15 to 44, had given birth 12 months prior to this survey. 39% of Argentineans settle in the Southern part of the U.S. and 30% in the West. 40% of Argentineans ages 25 and older have at least a bachelor's degree. The median annual personal earnings for Argentineans were $30,000 12 months prior to the survey and 11% of Argentineans participants reported living in poverty. 22% of the total Argentinean population did not have health insurance coverage and approximately 11% of the 22% are under the age of 18. 53% of Argentineans participants are homeowners. The second-generation Argentine-Americans totaled 92,000 in 2011.[187]

These subgroups do share some similarities that can be grouped together to distinguish trends. Salvadorans, Dominicans, Guatemalans, Nicaraguans and Hondurans have poverty rates, education levels, and English proficiency that are substantially below the overall Hispanic and national U.S. averages. Immigrants from Colombia, Peru, Argentina, and Venezuela have educational attainment that is closer to the national U.S.

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[185] Brown and Patten, "Hispanics of Venezuelan Origin in the United States."

[186] Anna Brown and Eileen Patten, "Hispanics of Argentinean Origin in the United States, 2011," *Pew Research Center Hispanic Trends*. (2013): Accessed January 21, 2015. http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/06/19/hispanics-of-argentinean-origin-in-the-united-states-2011/.

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[187] Brown and Patten, "Hispanics of Argentinean Origin in the United States."

averages. The ACS reported that these four South American nationalities also experience lower poverty rates and increased English proficiency. For all the Hispanic subgroups the collective picture seems to indicate that the average Hispanic, including Colombians, Peruvians, Argentineans and Venezuelans, are starting out at or near the bottom rung of the socioeconomic ladder. Those who have immigrated with lower levels of education are likely to struggle socioeconomically for an extended period of time.

Another trend found in the ACS data is that higher fertility rates were common among Hispanics that are less education and had higher poverty rates.[188] Author Steven Camarota from the Center for Immigration Studies agrees and highlights in his writing that the "children born to immigrants have an influential part in the nation's future and their environment matters."[189] His study finds that "immigrants from the top sending countries tend to have more children than they would have had if they remained in their home countries."[190] Camarota's argument points to the levels of educational attainment among immigrants and the long-lasting impact it has on the child and the society they are affiliated with on a daily basis. A major component to assimilation is gaining access to opportunities that will better the chances of socioeconomic mobility. Scholars like Portes argue that if access to opportunity is blocked the expectation is a slower or divergent pathway to assimilation is likely, and it could take till the third or fourth generations to see socioeconomic increases.

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[188] Anna Brown and Eileen Patten, "Statistical Portrait of Hispanics in the United States, 2012," *Pew Research Center*. Accessed May 12, 2015. http://www.pewhispanic.org/2014/04/29/statistical-portrait-of-hispanics-in-the-united-states-2012/.

[189] Steve A. Camarota, "Birth Rates among Immigrants in America: Comparing Fertility in the U.S. and Home Countries," *Center for Immigration Studies*. (2005): Accessed April 25, 2015. http://cis.org/ImmigrantBirthRates-FertilityUS.

[190] Camarota, "Birth Rates among Immigrants in America."

Camarota suggests that "education is one of the key determinants of fertility" and as time progresses women throughout the world are becoming more educated and fertility rates are lowering. Although trends suggest a decline in birth rates throughout the community, some Hispanic subgroups continue to have high birth rates. Camarota believes that this could be one of the key reasons for the "lagging" assimilation pattern in specific Latin subgroups. He emphasizes that "when thinking about the second-generation, it is important to realize that the children of less educated immigrants will comprise a large share of births, a share that is significantly larger than would be expected if one simply assumes that all immigrants have the same fertility rates."[191] The fertility and poverty rates of minorities greatly influence the off-springs' formation of identity and that is an influential factor to all youth as they mature.

D'Vera Cohn, senior writer at Pew Research Center, specializes in analyzing census data and minority demographics.[192] Cohn argues that census data ranging from 2000-2010 illuminated a large identity shift among Hispanics. She suggests that Hispanics have made a great shift in how they report their race when asked on government survey forms.[193] In 2000, 2.5 million Hispanics indicated on the census that they were "some other race" and by 2010 reported that they were selecting Hispanic for ethnicity and white for race. This shift is a possible indicator that a change in identity formation is taking place over time towards "white" America. Rather than solidifying a distinct ethnic race, this shift suggests that the driving force of a "majority-minority" seems to be fading and as second and subsequent generations mature they are likely to

[191] Camarota, "Birth Rates Among Immigrants in America."

[192] Cohn, "Millions of Americans Changed Their Racial or Ethnic Identity from One Census to the Next." *Pew Hispanic Center*, (2014): Accessed March 23, 2015. http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank /2014/05/05/millions-of-americans-changed-their-racial-or-ethnic-identity-from-one-census-to-the-next.

[193] Cohn, "Millions of Americans Changed Their Racial or Ethnic Identity."

identify as "white" Americans. This trend resembles the path the Italians and Jewish immigrants took when they first immigrated to the U.S. As subsequent generations matured they would eventually be recognized as "becoming white" and shedding the minority status.[194]

Cohn's review of the 2010 census is debatable. Author Eric Liu explains that the first and most basic confusion to the Latino ethnicity is the term "Hispanic" and the diversity that this term encompasses. Liu finds that in general this term could apply to anyone of color and could be so overused in society that many might just overlook the weight of such a term when completing a census survey. Secondly, the 2010 data did not indicate that there was any recorded desire by Latinos to drop their ethnicity to become "white." Instead, he argues that this report reveals "a growing numbers of Hispanics, when told by government forms that they were not a race unto themselves, and they had to choose a race, they chose the category "white."[195] Liu also finds confusion in how researchers can accurately measure the Hispanics, who wants to identify as white versus those who use their ethnic Hispanic identity as a specific race.[196] Eric Liu does have valid concerns about Cohn's argument. However, these trends still suggests a valid population sample that indicated a significant shift when responding to the survey compared to years past. Perhaps what this data demonstrate is that identity shifts are apparent in the Hispanic community and the longer the generations live and go through the stages of assimilation the more likely they are to select the "white" category on national surveys.

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[194] Eric Liu, "Why Are Hispanics Identifying as White?" *CNN U.S. Edition*, (2014): Accessed April 28, 2015. http://www.cnn.com/2014/05/29/opinion/liu-study-hispanics-favor-whiteness/.

[195] Liu, "Why Are Hispanics Identifying as White?"

[196] Liu, "Why Are Hispanics Identifying as White?"

In the stages of classic assimilation theory, intermarriage is a critical step to blending and achieving full assimilation into American society.[197] Latinos who identify as Hispanic-white are also blending through intermarriage and this serves as a major contributor to the latest identity shift. Senior researcher Wendy Wang explains that ACS census in 2008-2010 had key findings that showed 28% of Hispanics are choosing to "marry out" of their ethnic group.[198] Wang argues that on the surface of this report, the findings suggest many similarities in groups that choose to "marry out" versus "marry in" but a closer examination finds that the data have distinct separation points among Hispanic immigrants. Wang suggests that "among Hispanics and blacks, newlyweds who married whites tend to have higher educational attainment than do those who married within their own racial or ethnic group."[199] As well, those Hispanics who chose to "marry out" and "white" had higher annual incomes and also were likely to live in the West and Northeast of the U.S. where a liberal perspective is more common. Though the trend of intermarriage is occurring at an increased rate, as children of immigrants mature, the subgroups who are more likely to considered intermarriage are those who come from Colombia, Peru, Argentineans, and Venezuelans. This is a critical difference within the Hispanic population that is often overlooked.

In 2010, Pew Social Trends reported that the public acceptance of intermarriage was more than "one-third of Americans (35%) that say a member of their family or close

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[197] Gillian Stevens, Mary E. M. McKillip, and Hiromi Ishizawa, "Intermarriage in the Second Generation: Choosing between Newcomers and Natives." *Migration Policy Institute.* (2006): Accessed May 20, 2015. http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/intermarriage-second-generation-choosing-between-newcomers-and-natives.

[198] Wendy Wang, "The Rise of Intermarriage: Rates, Characteristics Vary by Race and Gender," *Pew Hispanic Center* (2012): Accessed April 15, 2015. http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2012/02/16/the-rise-of-intermarriage/.

[199] Wang, "The Rise of Intermarriage."

relative is currently married to someone of a different race."[200] As well, 63% of Americans reported that "it would be fine with them if a member of their own family were to marry someone outside their racial or ethnic group."[201] Intermarriage rates are especially high for second-generation Hispanics and were last reported in 2010 at 56%. Pew Research Center reported that "second-generation Hispanics are roughly four times as likely as the first generation to be married to someone who is not Latino."[202] This report shows a few key components to assimilation that are taking place among ethnic groups through intermarriage. Those who are likely to marry outside of their race are also college educated, live in the northeastern or western part of the U.S. and refer to themselves as liberals. Among Hispanics that married white, "they were more likely to have higher educational attainment than do those who married their own racial or ethnic group."[203]

The census survey also found a large generational shift when Hispanics were asked "how they get along with blacks?"[204] 52% of first-generation Latinos indicated some sort of bias that implied a distinct separation between the two groups. Only 27% of second-generation Hispanics reported a tension or bias for blacks.[205] Hispanics often settle in urban areas and are more likely to encounter the heavily concentrated black populations living in similar environments. Many second-generation Latinos will often

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[200] Wang, "The Rise of Intermarriage."

[201] Wang, "The Rise of Intermarriage."

[202] Cary Funk and Gretchen M. Livingston, "Second-Generation Americans A Portrait of the Adult Children of Immigrants," *Pew Research Center* (2013): Accessed March 28, 2015. http://www.pewsocial trends.org/files/2013/02/FINAL_immigrant_generations_report_2-7-13.pdf. 58-60.

[203] Wang, "The Rise of Intermarriage."

[204] Funk and Livingston, "Second-Generation Americans," 60.

[205] Funk and Livingston, "Second-Generation Americans," 60.

experience racial differences for the first time when they enter school. Daily interactions with peers who are black, white, and other non-white ethnic groups come into contact and often organize based on likeness and relatable environments. This connection of experiences explains the shift seen in first to second generations and is an indicator that blending is occurring. More importantly, this is an indicator of how the environment influences the identity as children of immigrants mature. In general, second-generation youth are more likely to have friends outside of their ethnic groups. 64% of first-generation Hispanics reported that "most of their friends in the United States also trace their roots to the same country of origin."[206] The second-generation reported that 49% of their friends share the same ethnic background.

Richard Fry and Jeffrey Passel consult the results of the 2008 Decennial Census and find that "nearly nine-in-ten Hispanic children under the age of 18 were born in the United States" and 52% of all Hispanic children have one parent that is an immigrant.[207] The ACS reports that the immigrant inflows from 1980 through the 1990s were significant and the number of second-generation Latinos sharply increased.[208] In fact, second-generation Latinos quadrupled in size, from 30% in 1980 to 52% by 2007. Hispanics are the top contributor to U.S. population growth and the Asian populations follows closely behind. The next census survey is in 2020 and the expectation is that

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[206] Funk and Livingston, "Second-Generation Americans," 63.

[207] Richard Fry and Jeffrey S. Passel, "Latino Children: A Majority Are U.S.-Born Offspring of Immigrants," *Pew Hispanic Center*, Washington, D.C. (2009): Accessed April 28, 2015 http://www.pew hispanic.org/2009/05/28/latino-children-a-majority-are-us-born-offspring-of-immigrants/.

[208] Jorge Durand, Edward Telles, and Jennifer Flashman, "The Demographic Foundations of the Latino Population," *in National Research Council (US) Panel on Hispanics in the United States.* Accessed April 28, 2015. http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK19901/.

additional growth among the second generation will start to peak and third-generation youth will begin to increase. The trajectory of assimilation among Hispanics when using the ACS survey indicates that there is significant blending through intermarriage and it is expected to continue. The subgroups that will be quickest to climb the economic ladder are those from South America and that identity shift towards being "white" are more likely to occur as subsequent generation continue the adaptation process.

As second-generation Latinos mature the question of how they will assimilate into society is still difficult to discern through the ACS study. What can be confirmed is that second-generation Latinos are showing signs of active participation in American society. Yet, the question that seems to go unanswered is what part of society do most second-generation Latinos really assimilate into? Both of these perspectives allow researchers to be optimistic like authors Alba and Nee or they can be extremely pessimistic—arguing that children of immigrants are simply not joining into American society. Between the optimism and pessimism lies "segmented assimilation" theory. Portes and Rivas believe that segmented theory does not automatically predict positive or negative outcomes. They argue that "the forces underlying second-generation advantage may indeed be at play, but specific groups of immigrants face distinct barriers to upward mobility."[209]

Portes and Rumbaut's theoretical analysis is that assimilation outcomes of second-generation youth are highly dependent on a number of factors: 1) the history of the immigrants first generation; 2) the pace of acculturation among parents and children and its bearing on normative integration; 3) the barriers, cultural and economic, confronted by second-generation youth in their quest for successful adaptation; 4) the family and community resources for confronting these barriers.[210] Supporters of

[209] Portes and Rivas, "The Adaptation of Migrant Children," 224.

[210] Portes and Rumbaut, *Legacies*, 44-45.

segmented theory focus less on the assimilating process of the child and more on the segments of society that defines their destination.[211]

The segmented-theory is supported by the findings in the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS). This research project was a decade-long panel survey conducted in San Diego, California, and Miami/Ft. Lauderdale, Florida by Rubén Rumbaut and Alejandro Portes beginning in 1990.[212] Specifically focusing on the study of second-generation youth in this study, my hope is to capture a better understanding of why segmented theory is applied to Latinos and their offspring. Portes and Rumbaut use CILS to examine the relationships and interactions between immigrants and their children. In the ACS study evidence suggests that those who identify as Salvadorans, Dominicans, Guatemalans, Nicaraguans, and Hondurans have higher poverty rates, limited English proficiency, high fertility rates, and lower educational attainment.[213] Those who identified as Colombians, Peruvians, Argentineans, and Venezuelans were less likely to live in severe poverty, higher English proficiency rates, lower fertility rates, and possess comparable educational attainment to native U.S. populations.[214]

The CILS started in 1992-1993 and had 5,266 participants that were in the 8th and 9th grades, an average age of 14, and represented 77 different nationalities. The largest nationalities of this vast group identified as Cubans, Haitians, Colombians, Nicaraguans,

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[211] Yu Xie, and Emily Greenman, "The Social Context of Assimilation: Testing Implications of Segmented Assimilation Theory," *Social Science Research* 40, no. 3 (2011): 965-984.

[212] Alejandro Portes, Patricia Fernández-Kelly and William Haller: "The Adaptation of the Immigrant Second Generation in America: Theoretical Overview and Recent Evidence," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35, no. 7 (2009): 1077–1104. doi:10.1080/13691830903006127.

[213] Anna Brown and Eileen Patten, "Statistical Portrait of Hispanics in the United States," *Pew Research Hispanic Trend Project.*

[214] Fry and Passel, *Latino Children: A Majority.*

Dominicans, and Jamaicans who reside in the state of Florida. The other group located in California identified mostly as Mexican, Filipino, Vietnamese, Chinese, Cambodian, and Laotians.[215] Portes and Rumbaut reported that about half of the respondents were native born of foreign parentage (second-generation) and the remainder were members of the 1.5 generation.[216] Shortly after the survey in 1992 was completed, parents of the respondents were then selected from each metropolitan city to be interviewed to assist in understanding the distinct types of adaptation experienced when raising their children.

Three years later (1995–1996) the second survey was conducted with the intention of retaining the same respondents. This sample group was completing high school. The authors also included a 50% random sample of parents who participated in interviews at the same time as their children.[217] Overall, this was a large success and nearly 81.5 percent of the participants were from the original group in 1993. The goal of this particular survey was to take the baseline that had been originally established and see how things "changed over time in their family's situation, school achievement, educational and occupational aspirations, language use and preferences, ethnic identities, experiences and expectations of discrimination, and psychosocial adjustments."[218] This survey also capture the transitional period from high school seniors to young adults, planning futures and identifying their outlooks over the next few years.

The third and final CILS survey took place from 2001 to 2003. The average age of the participants ranged from 23 to 27 years old and included 3,564 original

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[215] Portes and Rumbaut, *Legacies*, 26-29.

[216] Portes and Rumbaut, *Legacies*, 24.

[217] Ruben G. Rumbaut and Alejandro Portes, *Ethnicities* (New York, Russell Stage Foundation, 2001), 11.

[218] Rumbaut and Portes, *Ethnicities,* 11-12.

respondents from the data collection in 1992.[219] An interesting finding was that a majority of the respondents remained in the same city/state they grew up in, but there was a small trend that found some respondents spreading out across the country as they entered their late twenties. The final sample suggests the second-generation outcomes are best measured through "educational attainment, language proficiency and preference, family incomes, employment and unemployment, marriage and parenthood, religion, and arrests and incarceration."[220] CILS captured the possible obstacles found within certain populations and how racial and ethnic biases influence the development of second-generation youth.

The analysis of adolescent outcomes is first examined by aspirations and expectations through the process of academic performance and achievement. Portes and Rivas acknowledge that much empirical work on migrant children's aspirations is based on many databases that include "the National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS); the National Educational Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health); the Panel Study of Income Dynamics; and the census Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) and some studies will draw on CILS data."[221] Results from these studies are not identical but for the purpose of Portes and Rivas the focus will be on the similarities found.

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[219] Alejandro Portes and Ruben G. Rumbaut, "The Second Generation in Early Adulthood: New Findings from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study," *Migration Policy Institute* (2006): Accessed January 3, 2015. http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/second-generation-early-adulthood-new-findings-children-immigrants-longitudinal-study.

[220] Portes and Rumbaut, *The Second Generation in Early Adulthood*.

[221] Portes and Rivas, "The Adaptation of Migrant Children," 226.

There are five converging points in the empirical studies on children of immigrants; 1) second-generation children have higher ambitions when they first start out in school, 2) national origin does significantly impact the child's ambition and performance, 3) parents and peers are powerful influences, 4) females have higher ambition than males and 5) human performance outcomes in economic and education obtainment throughout a lifespan.[222] From these five points two common themes emerge, the importance of the child and parent relationship and the socioeconomic status of the immigrant parents. Both of these themes play a large role in the child's adaptation pattern and achievements in school.[223]

"Youth see and compare themselves in relation to those around them, based on their social similarity or dissimilarity with the reference groups that most influence their experiences."[224] Rumbuat argues that self-identities and self-esteem directly correlated with aspirations and expectations for second-generation children.[225] How the immigrant is received and incorporated into society plays a large role in the conditioning of the second-generation youth. Portes and Rumbaut support this claim through identifying three fundamental dimensions that encompass today's immigrant: 1) their individual features, 2) the social environment that receives them, and 3) the attitudes of the native population.[226] An immigrant's birth place and length of residence in the host society is

[222] Portes and Rivas, "The Adaptation of Migrant Children," 227.

[223] Portes and Rumbaut, *Legacies*, 31-33.

[224] Alejandro Portes, "*The New Second Generation*." 124-125.

[225] Ruben G. Rumbaut, "The Crucible within: Ethnic Identity, Self-Esteem, and Segmented Assimilation among Children of Immigrants," *International Migration Review* 28, no 4, The New Second Generation (Winter, 1994): 748-794.

[226] Portes and Rumbaut, *Legacies*, 45.

influential to the children that they raise. When immigrants arrive they are not necessarily received equally and confront American society in many different ways. The governmental responses to immigrants are the contextual factors that determine the options of acceptance. Predetermined government responses include: exclusion, passive acceptance, or active encouragement.[227]

The majority of immigrants who face exclusion are those who arrive without the proper legal status and are forced into an underground and disadvantaged existence. The second alternative is defined through the act of granting immigrants legal access to enter the country without any additional effort on the part of authorities to assist in their adaptation. Many of the Latinos immigrants who entered during the 1990s have arrived under this context and do not receive "special concessions to compensate for their unfamiliarity with their new environment."[228] The final alternative Portes refers to is active encouragement, which is established through policy by government support and the direct involvement in recruiting of immigrants that are "preferred" and bring various skills to the labor market. This process allows for the easiest incorporation because the immigrant has access to many resources that will assist in their transitions. Many Puerto Ricans and Cubans were able to utilize this feature when migrating to the U.S.

The second contextual factor is the host society and its reception of newcomers. Previously, I argued that the U.S. interests in receiving Latino immigrants are often painted in the media as a "problem" or a burden to society. Portes and Rumbaut argue that the newcomers' physical appearance, class background, language, and religion, when compared to the host societies mainstream are extremely important in assimilating

[227] Portes and Rumbaut, *Legacies*, 46-47.

[228] Portes and Rumbaut, *Legacies*, 47.

quickly. Considering the historical treatment of people of color, the conceptual factors would predict that there is an increased chance that the Anglo-Americans response would include discrimination and perhaps be the key contributor to slowed adaptation patterns because of the lack in assistance through a governmental structure.[229]

The third contextual factor for second-generation adaptation is the "composition of the immigrant family, in particular the extent to which it includes both biological parents."[230] Depending on family and social structures in sending countries, Portes finds that there can be large variation in how the child is raised. These different modes of incorporation, specifically the internal and external authorities and strength in co-ethnic communities, can significantly impact the outcome of the parent and child relationship. One could argue that depending on the degree of exposure to these three conceptual factors, Latinos specifically would be susceptible to extremely varied outcomes leading to multiple pathways.

The CILS study also linked self-esteem and national identity among second-generation youth as an important link in understanding their level of acculturation. Immigrants who continue to use their national origin to describe their membership in society are electing to not adopt a "new" national identity.[231] Often second-generation children start out simply repeating what their parents identify as but when they come in contact with peers the shift in self-identity begins to change. Additionally, when the child encounters forms of discrimination based on skin color, i.e., black, mulattoes, mestizos the results of self-identity and self-esteem may lead to resistant response to the parent's

[229] Portes and Rumbaut, *Legacies*, 47.

[230] Portes and Rumbaut, *Legacies*, 47.

[231] Marta Tienda and Faith Mitchell, *Hispanics and the Future of America* (Washington DC: National Academic Press, 2006), 13-15.

native country of origin. Portes and Rivas argue that second-generation youth exercise their preferred identity based on how they categorize themselves among their peers. Simplified panethnic categories such as "Latino" become very influential in the process of assimilation the longer the family resides in the U.S.[232]

There are four distinct categories immigrants and their children choose to use to describe their identity (nonhyphenated American, hyphenated American, pan-ethnic, and nonhyphenated foreign-national) and Portes argues that it is an indicator when measuring assimilation patterns among minorities.[233] Rumbaut found that of the total sample (5,127) respondents "27 percent identified by national or ethnic origin, a plurality of 40 percent chose hyphenated American identification, 11 percent identified as American and 21 percent selected racial or panethnic self-identifications."[234] Of the 1.5 generation 43 percent identified by their national origin but by the second generation it sharply falls to only 11 percent.[235] These findings suggest that there is a "significant trend in ethnic self-identification from one generation to the next and that the most assimilative groups in this regard appear to be the Latin Americans."[236]

Portes and Rumbaut argue that "if joining the mainstream means adopting a nonhyphenated American identity, only a minority of second-generation youths do so."[237] Pew Research Center reported that 52% of Latinos ages 16-25 identify by country of

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[232] Alejandro Portes and Dag MacLeod, "What Should I Call Myself? Hispanic Identity Formation in the Second Generation," *Ethnic & Racial Studies* 19, no.3 (1996): 523-554.

[233] Portes and MacLeod, "What Shall I Call Myself?"

[234] Portes, *The New Second Generation*, 134.

[235] Portes, *The New Second Generation*, 135.

[236] Portes, *The New Second Generation*, 135.

[237] Portes and Rivas, "The Adaptation of Migrant Children," 229.

origin and among second-generation Latinos the term "American" is used secondly in hyphenated form. Less than 33% of U.S. Latinos use the term American first.[238] Rumbaut suggests that "in principle, the determination of ethnicity should be straightforward and unambiguous, based in the first instance on the birthplace of the foreign-born respondents, or, if U.S. born, on the birthplace of their parents."[239] Nevertheless, with the new fluidity and increasing patterns of intermarriage, CILS noted that 76.9 percent of the children in the sample had parents who were co-nationals and 12.6 percent of the cases had one parent that was U.S. born.[240] The influence of the mother on the child was prominent and often became the identity the child adopted. If the father was the only parent present in the child's life, CILS determined that only at that time was the father given precedence in assigning respondents by national origin. The concern becomes clear that what is a "methodological problem to the researcher is a central psychosocial problem to an adolescent in arriving at a meaningful ethnic self-definition."[241]

Utilizing the results from CILS surveys, it becomes apparent that second-generation youth that used hyphenated identities often came from higher educated immigrant parents who were using selective-acculturation.[242] When second-generation youth began using the pan-ethnic categories, such as "Latino" or "Hispanic" it served as a social indicator that they are undergoing a form dissonant acculturation."[243] Portes and Rivas argue that once pan-ethnic labels become stable in a community they can be

[238] PEW Hispanic Center. "Between Two Worlds," 36-38.

[239] Portes, *The New Second Generation*, 133.

[240] Portes, *The New Second Generation,* 133.

[241] Portes, *The New Second Generation*. 133.

[242]Portes and Rumbaut, *Legacies*, 54.

[243] Portes and Rivas, "The Adaptation of Migrant Children," 229.

powerful. The CILS reported that adult immigrants rarely confuse their ethnicity with their race, but second-generation youth did mix the two frequently. Pan-ethnic labels for Hispanics have developed into an unofficial racial category over the past years and as the subsequent generations mature the hyphenated ethnic identities are expected to fade leading to less defined differences and a blending of multiple subgroups.

Emphasizing the importance of self-esteem and identity among children of immigrants the Morris Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale remains the preferred instrument of choice for researchers.[244] Portes and Rivas use the Rosenburg's scale to support their argument.[245] Rosenberg's scale identified, fifty years prior, that immigrants who do not appear white had lower self-esteem due to increased incidents of discrimination. Portes and Rivas find that Hispanics who are exposed to discrimination have less interest in assimilating into mainstream society and are more likely to find membership with the impoverished urban members of society. Rumbaut refers to the writing of Portes and Zhou (1993), which argues that contextual factors that are most likely to shape the prospects of the new second generation have to do with the presence or absence of racial discrimination, location in or away from inner-city areas in context to the adversarial subcultures of underclass youths, and the strength of co-ethnic communities.[246]

Another contributor to lower self-esteem was found when conflict between the second-generation children and their parents persisted for a substantial amount of time because of external influences such as English proficiency and group identity. If these influences create rapid changes in children of immigrants it often leads to a negative response from the parent and the idea of "Americanization" becomes resisted. Children

[244] Portes and Rivas, "The Adaptation of Migrant Children," 231.

[245] Portes and Rivas, "The Adaptation of Migrant Children," 230-231.

[246] Alejandro Portes, *The New Second Generation*. 124-126.

with higher self-esteem were associated with higher academic performance and higher educational aspirations.[247] Portes and Rivas argue that the greatest influences on self-esteem and self-identity among second-generation youth are found in the parental economic status, length of U.S. residence, and fluent bilingualism. These three factors will be the main contributors to the self-esteem development in these youth.

The assimilation process often includes learning and adopting the language of the host society. As discussed in previous chapters, second-generation Latinos are progressing at rapid rates in English fluency and most are bilingual. The prolonged use of Spanish in Hispanic communities is still criticized among certain Anglo-Americans. These critics have repeatedly denounced the existence of linguistic enclaves in the U.S. The classical concept of one-language integration was an imperative factor as the United States was forming its unity against Europe. Currently the English language in the U.S. is evolving and acceptance of people who speak multiple languages is becoming extremely valuable in a global world. This new perspective on multicultural acceptance through language adaptation allows an increase of cultural integrations and changes in society. Linguistic adaptation in academic research contains multiple perspectives. Portes and Rivas argue that fluent bilingualism is associated with higher cognitive development, higher academic performance, and self-esteem in adolescents. Perhaps the most important advantage to being bilingual for second-generation youth is that it is a tool that can be used to facilitate the process of adaptation for the immigrant parent and the society around them.[248]

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[247] Alejandro Portes and Ruben Rumbaut, *Legacies*, 220-225.

[248] Portes and Rivas, "The Adaptation of Migrant Children," 233.

The CILS study affirmed many of the same themes that were identified in the ACS data. Those who have greater resources economically and socially generally are able to assimilate into mainstream America and have children who are ambitious and academically competitive. Those who are impoverished have a harder time accessing mainstream America and have lower levels of self-esteem. ACS trends indicated that the Latin American countries that have sent the largest immigrant groups in the twenty-first century are poor and have little education upon arrival. These immigrants are raising children who are exposed to increased poverty and racial discrimination because they are labeled as non-white.

The empirical study of adult outcomes is still a challenge for scholars because the second-generation Latino community is young. Portes and Rivas argue that there are two main data sources that assist with evaluating second-generation adult outcomes.[249] The first is the decennial census and quarterly Current Population Survey (CPS) data and the CILS study.[250] Analysis of CILS shows that some second-generation youth are doing very well in educational achievement and are in some cases exceeding the national averages. Even though the trends are positive trend for some, those who identify as Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Central American seem to fall significantly behind in high school completion and college graduation rates: "The student rankings in math scores generally reflect the socioeconomic status of their parents."[251] Portes, Rumbuat, and Rivas all agree that the link between educational attainment and poverty are substantial and the development of low self-esteem in youth would follow.

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[249]Portes and Rivas, "The Adaptation of Migrant Children," 233.

[250]Portes, *The New Second Generation*, 125-126.

[251] Portes, *The New Second Generation*, 139.

Nevertheless the second-generation children who have immigrant parents from South America seem to be sustaining steady growth in educational achievement. When respondents were asked in Miami if they thought gaining additional education would reduce their chances of experiencing discrimination, not all agreed. For the Cubans, Colombians, Nicaraguans, and other Latin Americans they found "lower levels of prejudice and generally disagreed with the statement that people would discriminate against them regardless of educational merit."[252] This optimistic outlook is a symptom that the evolving perspective of race is beginning to shift among the host society just as Alba and Nee suggested. Although there are some areas of great optimism, other areas still remain troubling. CILS reports that the highest rates of incarceration are among those who identify as Mexican-Americans but in general the Hispanic population in its entirety has elevated rates that exceed the native whites and Asian population. Female fertility among young Latina women has declined, reiterating what was found in the ACS data, but women who identify as Central American have higher fertility rates and still far exceed native-white and native-blacks overall.

Both ACS and CILS report that immigrants from Central America and the Dominican Republic have higher poverty rates compared to those from South American nationalities. The richest nationalities are Cubans among the Latinos in Florida and they are able to maintain a level of privileged lifestyle that is not commonly found among those of poorer nationalities.[253] Rumbaut argues that "in some respects, especially in the racial-ethnic diversification and stratification of the American population, the current transformation found among immigrants may be unprecedented in the American

[252] Portes, *The New Second Generation*, 145.

[253] William Haller, Alejandro Portes and Scott M. Lynch, "Dreams Fulfilled and Shattered: Determinants of Segmented Assimilation in the Second Generation," *Oxford University Press*, 89, no. 3 (2011): Accessed on July 31, 2015. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41290085.

experience."[254] He draws on the racial differences between immigrants of the past and present. Rumbaut suggests that Italians, Poles, Greeks, Russian Jews, (primarily European whites) and their subsequent generations eventually could choose to shed their ethnic identity if they chose to because they appeared as Anglo-whites by the second or third generation. Rumbaut argues that Latino immigrants and their children will not be able choose "ethnicity" or allow it to be an "optional" but rather they will remain ethnically different based on their race.[255]

Intermarriage is considered to be one of the most important signs of assimilation: "High-levels of intermarriage demonstrate and accelerate the fading of cultural and social boundaries between immigrant decent groups and the larger American population."[256] Members of second-generation Latinos are following the same straight-line theory by Milton Gordon through their participation patterns in intermarriage. In 2005, Current Population Survey (CPS) suggests the increased size of the second generation among Hispanics is much larger than the first generation and even with the pressure from their immigrant parents to remain loyal to racial and ethnic roots; the second generation has the access to marry outside the traditional lines. This study found that second-generation Hispanics might marry a first-generation or a third-generation Hispanic or choose to select a completely different ethnic partner.[257] This flexibility is due to the blurring of ethnic and racial lines as the Hispanic population ages, matures, and blends into

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[254] Portes, *The New Second Generation*, 121.

[255] Portes, *The New Second Generation*, 121-123.

[256] Gillian Stevens, Mary E. M. McKillip, Hiromi Ishizawa**, "**Intermarriage in the Second Generation: Choosing between Newcomers and Natives," *Migration Policy Institute.* (2006): Accessed July 31, 2015. http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/intermarriage-second-generation-choosing-between-newcomers-and-natives.

[257] Stevens, McKillip, and Ishizawa, "Intermarriage in the Second Generation."

mainstream American society. The CPS study found that the increase in intermarriage rates from first-generation to second-generation Hispanics was over 20% and by the third generation the overall totals of intermarriages among Hispanics was 40%.[258]

Intermarriage data strongly suggests that straight-line assimilation is likely to remain the most enduring theory when measuring progress and concerns about immigrant populations. Only time will tell how the effects of intermarriage will change the Latino culture and how the bright boundaries are maintained or forgotten. Making a prediction of how race and ethnicity will evolve in the U.S. as the momentum for a multicultural society in America is being embraced would be premature. What we know at this point is that in the past American society has absorbed immigrants and eventually the differences have enriched the culture as a whole. For Latinos, I see the bright boundaries of ethnicity remaining an active part of American society even as intermarriage continues to grow. The shift towards multiculturalism allows for a unique acceptance and continued participation of ethnic traditions that were not available to those who immigrated in the 20th century. Rumbuat's argument is not necessarily inaccurate, but rather a snapshot of the current situation of immigrants and their children who have just started out on the journey to assimilation. These transitions are subtle within culture and over time the U.S. has come to accept (on some level) a new multicultural society that is unique and expected to continue as racial barriers are slowly dissolving.

Segmented-assimilation theory is not empirically tested outside of the CILS data, but it has gained much attention from scholars as a new trajectory for the vast Hispanic minority. Alejandro Portes argues that the findings of CILS are congruent with the segmented hypothesis and that there is some support for the new melting-pot perspective

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[258] Stevens, McKillip, and Ishizawa. "Intermarriage in the Second Generation."

of an inclusive mainstream that was introduced by Alba and Nee.[259] The CILS data does have limitations that need to be considered before committing to the concept of segmented assimilation theory. This study took place in two cities that are heavily populated with Central America and Cuban immigrants that share similarities but more importantly exemplify polar opposite situations that leads to the image of segmentation among Hispanic communities. Cubans and Central Americans are not received the same way upon entering the U.S. and beginning a new life. The strength of this data is that it is longitudinal and establishes a precise time in which variables occurred as the participants aged.

Overall, CILS study describes four patterns that determine the outcome of the second generation. The first is how the immigrant is received when entering the country. This has a significant impact on how the second-generation develops. If one is received with resistance the child will suffer as well. The second pattern is the child's access to positive early expectations of educational achievement which resist downward assimilation patterns. Most immigrant parents initially had optimism when describing their desire for their child to achieve higher educational attainment but it dwindled as time progressed. The third pattern is highly dependent on the parents' educational background and their ability to maintain a strong parental guidance as the child comes of age. This study made it apparent that those who had parents who came to the U.S. with substantial or competitive educational backgrounds had better outcomes as their children progressed through school. Although these findings leave hope for progress, the underpinning of this theory argues that even if educational achievement is accomplished

[259] Portes, *The New Second Generation*, 1-7.

the odds of achieving significant gains is bleak, leading to the argument that assimilation is not an even process but rather segmented based on one's level of class and race.[260]

Despite the "perfect fit" segmented theory appears to be for the Latino populations from a distance. The three different types of acculturation that make up the theory do not necessarily provide a clear guide to what is seen when assessing second-generation youth on the ground. Scholars who criticize this model find that it is too pessimistic and that it exaggerates the racial bias that is working against the immigrant of color.[261] This theory focuses solely on the relationship between race, ethnicity, and poverty. For many new immigrants their success might not resemble the "traditional pathway" to assimilation, however many still are succeeding, including those of color. The next study I refer to supports this perspective by challenging the concept that "dissonant acculturation" automatically leads to downward mobility. Instead, scholars are beginning to argue that this type of acculturation could be a legitimate way to navigate the new economic environment through the working class that is drastically different from the 1920s.

The Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation Study (LISA) borrows tools from a variety of social science disciplines and moves beyond traditional survey practices, in an attempt to reveal a better understanding of children of immigrants coming of age in the Boston and San Francisco areas.[262] I am not going to conduct an in-depth review of LISA because of the substantial amount of overlap which occurs in the ACS and CILS analysis conducted earlier in this chapter. Instead I will briefly touch on the similarities and further areas of study the authors suggest. Carola Suarez-Orozco and

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[260] Portes, *The New Second Generation*, 166-168.

[261] Alba and Nee, "Remaking the American Mainstream."

[262] Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration*, 8.

Marcelo Suarez-Orozco codirected this study in hopes of capturing the perspective of children living in the U.S. The research concentrates on those who come from Central America, China, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Mexico, providing a unique comparative perspective of children of immigrants.[263] Both scholars argue that most research concerning assimilation lump together immigrants and the subsequent generations as one main group, and as a result the data become misleading.[264]

The participants in this study were born outside of the U.S. and had immigrated to the U.S. at a young age. Both children immigrants and second-generation youth share the experience of an immigrant parent and the influence of clashing identities while adjusting to the American culture. Carola Suarez-Orozco and Marcelo Suarez-Orozco identify the immigrant's resilience and optimism as a primary method to deal with what many natives would consider unbearable conditions, while raising their children in less than ideal environments. This optimistic outlook perpetuates the belief that hard work can bring opportunity and reward. Although the "American Dream" can be fulfilled, it seems to remain a myth for many Latinos, as the time passes and the children of immigrants mature: "Those born and raised abroad may share a number of characteristics with their parents—a dual frame of reference, an appreciation for new opportunities, and a general optimism about the future remain intact." Yet, the children that immigrate while they are young or are second-generation do not have the same "clear-cut frame of reference against which to measure their current situation, and generally experience a shift in priorities as they come of age."[265]

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[263] Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration*, 10.

[264] Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration*, 9.

[265] Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration*, 87-88.

The seduction of America through social media, habits, and ambitions from their peers pulls children of immigrants into the belief that they are being deprived from something better. Therefore, these nuances of the "American life" become quickly apparent to children and requirements at home are resisted because of the fear of being considered different or foreign. Portes references this as well is his research and argues that it is a major contributor to the formation of self-esteem. Carola Suarez-Orozco and Marcelo Suarez-Orozco suggest that while children are struggling to straddle two worlds the host country also is struggling with some anxiety about its ability to "culturally withstand the latest wave of new immigrants" and that American culture itself is "arguably at its most powerful and influential moment," while drawing the child to the dominant culture as the parents inevitably struggle in ambivalence.[266]

The balancing act between encouraging "Americanization" outside the home and requiring native cultural practices within the home creates a dual lens that will serve as a major contributor to the assimilation process. The ACS, CILS, and the LISA studies all seem to agree that children of immigrants, no matter what generation, want to be accepted into society. The difference for children of immigrants is they must acquire additional competences to deal with the two worlds they encounter on a daily basis between school and home. Therefore, "the pull to assimilate is—and always has been—extremely strong" and directly argues the concept that second-generation Latinos are resistant to assimilating into society.[267]

Carola Suarez-Orozco and Marcelo Suarez-Orozco do identify differences between the groups of immigrants in today's society. They explain that "previous waves

[266] Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration*, 88-89.

[267] Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration*, 91.

of immigrants, with adequate opportunities, a certain amount of luck, and with great effort, the second and third generations of immigrants—especially those who were white—largely 'disappeared' into mainstream culture."[268] Although, current-day immigrants, to some degree, still experience the ability to blend and "disappear" into white society, those of color are confronted with obstacles that include racial tensions, ethnic stereotypes, and powerful constraints. These are the same preexisting obstacles within the American society that Portes and Rumbaut found in their segmented theory. 2010 census data showed that immigrants migrating from Central American, with low socioeconomic and education levels, dominate the overall Hispanic population and upon arrival, the social stratification of class levels becomes apparent. An immigrant who was a professional in their country will have completely different access to socioeconomic mobility when migrating, whereas those who come with poor education and little financial backing are often absorbed into the lowest rung of society and the inner-city underclass.

We have established that Latinos are ethnically different. In general most come from low socioeconomic backgrounds; and have the largest second-generation youth coming of age. These youth start out with positive desires in attaining an education but for some it fails to remain relevant as they mature. Within the concept of crafting multi-identities for survival, Carola and Marcelo Suarez-Orozco find that the positive attitudes when children start school are unable to be maintained if they are subjected to a climate of insurmountable obstacles, cultural hostilities, identity threats, and psychological disparagement.[269] In the LISA study the children were aware of the hostile environments and when asked to complete the sentence, "Most Americans think [people from my

[268] Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration*, 91.

[269] Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration*, 99.

country] are _____" Latinos responded "Most people think we are bad."[270] 65% of the participants had a negative association with this question and according to child psychoanalyst D. W. Winnicott, these perceptions are very powerful and profoundly shape the reflections mirrored back to the child by others.[271] Concerned with the child's sense of self, children of immigrants, the results are as expected, split. "Some children will become resigned to the negative reflections" while others will remain hopeful and try to "mobilize to resist the mirrors of injustices they encounter."[272]

As discussed previously, Alejandro Portes argues that today's second-generation Latino youth often find their aspirations blocked from wealth and social status so they turn to an adversarial style of adaptation that creates an identity that resists all aspects of dominant culture considering it a betrayal to their ethnic identity. This is not the first time this has occurred as second-generation youth find their place in society. "Likewise, following previous waves of immigration, many of the disparaged and disenfranchised second-generation Italian-American, Irish-American, and Polish-American adolescents fit a similar profile" and as generations progressed so did society.[273] This sense of rejection found in second-generation youth often becomes a form of anger, and then is eventually absorbed by groups and gangs where the individual finds an identity that empowers their sense of self against the majority.

Most children of immigrants develop an adaptation style that is between adversarial and ethnic flight and is what Suárez-Orozco refers to as transcultural

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[270] Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration*, 88-90.

[271] D.W. Winnicott, *Playing the Reality* (Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1971), 4-5.

[272] Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration*, 100.

[273] Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco, Desirée Qin-Hilliard, *Globalization: Culture and Education in the New Millennium* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 189-190.

identities.[274] By fusing together bicultural identities they blend the value of their parent and the new values from the dominant group to find a balance that will become the lens they view their life through. This method is the most adaptive when forming ethnic identity for second-generation children. This method serves the individual well and also benefits society at large. So what draws a child to select one identity versus another? The Suárez-Orozco's determined through their research that a variety of physiological, social, cultural, and economic factors influence why children of immigrants gravitate to a certain identity style.

Another large contributor is how immigrants are accepted by the government when entering. If they are labeled as a group who is not "preferred" the impact on subsequent generations will be obvious through slowed assimilation patterns. Suarez-Orozco refers to the work of sociologist Mary Waters to reiterate the paramount importance of the social mirror that the children of immigrants of color go through when forming their identities. Waters claims that in this "race conscious society, a person becomes defined racially and identity is imposed upon them by outsiders."[275] As immigrants of color, Latinos all too often encounter the white Anglo-American and depending on how these social interactions are perceived the lens of the immigrant and the second-generation shifts, propelling either a positive or negative effect on the identity they claim.

The economic implications of large-scale immigration are an argument that Carola Suárez-Orozco and Marcelo Suárez-Orozco find a bit overemphasized. They argue that "the U.S. economy is so large, powerful, and dynamic that most responsible

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[274] Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration*, 112-118.

[275] Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration*, 120.

economists do not think immigration will either "make or break" it.[276] The authors conclude that the "intensity of public concern reveals more deep-seated, personal anxieties" and have to do with the demographic shift and cultural implications that are not European and non-English-speaking immigrants of color. Though there is an importance to how the government policy addresses the large influx of immigrants, Carola Suárez-Orozco and Marcelo Suárez-Orozco find that the relevant questions are often overshadowed by political rhetoric.[277] They argue that the focus should be on how we can ease their transition and adaptation to the American setting and how we can prepare them for the future.

LISA results as well agreed with ACS and CILS that the parents of the second-generation youths want nothing more than their children to excel. They believe it will lead to new opportunities they could not have provided if they remained in their native land. Throughout the course of Carola Suárez-Orozco and Marcelo Suárez-Orozco's research they found that "it has been obvious to us that many immigrant parents strongly resist a whole array of cultural models and social practices in American youth culture that they consider highly undesirable" and by doing this they are indicating that they have "interest, ability and control to steer their youth as the come of age in America."[278] This is a direct argument with immigrant labels that suggest that immigrant parents are not interested or lack the understanding of how to raise children as Americans do.

Carola Suárez-Orozco and Marcelo Suárez-Orozco argue that not all experiences are equal for immigrants and that acculturation should not continue to be defined as the achievement of acquiring linguistic skills and job skills. Rather a broader definition is

[276] Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration*, 154.

[277] Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration*, 155.

[278] Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration*, 158.

suggested that includes the "realm of values, worldviews, and interpersonal relations."[279] People come from diverse origins, financial resources, and social networks that greatly impact their experience in how the gravitate towards certain parts of American society. Optimism among immigrants is a distinct part of their identity and is what serves as their fundamental motivation in search of a better life.

As Alba and Nee suggested in their study, Carola Suárez-Orozco and Marcelo Suárez-Orozco also argue that "rather than advocating that immigrant children abandon all element of their culture as they embark on the uncertain journey, a more promising path is to cultivate and nurture the emergence of new hybrid identities and bicultural competences." The host country is evolving with the new diverse groups of immigrants it is receiving. By doing so the old rigid model of assimilation that required immigrants to "check all your cultural baggage at the door" has emerged into a new error. Carola Suárez-Orozco and Marcelo Suárez-Orozco clearly argue that research will continue to reveal different obstacles for children of immigrant but they suggest that it is extremely important to refrain from creating barriers through racial bias and political rhetoric because it will affect the population and host country through the dual frame of reference that develops from daily interactions.

This chapter aimed to illuminate the diversity within the Latino population and explores the collected data from the Census Bureau (ACS) and CILS longitudinal study to gage obstacles that the second-generation Latinos experience, when coming of age. Lastly, analysis of the LISA study together with the ACS and CILS studies illuminates the child's desire to be accepted into the dominant group, the dual lenses they must develop through life's encounters and the forming of identity as they move towards

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[279] Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration*, 156.

young adulthood. Each study emphasized the relevance of the socioeconomic status of the immigrant and the undeniable role of preexisting inequalities that tend to intensify subsequent inequalities. If immigrants come and have access to good education, institutional resources, pre-existing networks and connections for their children they have an advantage that will assist in the daily struggle of adaptation.

Carola Suarez-Orozco and Marcelo Suarez-Orozco argue that the value of hard work, family ties, and optimism about the future are a unique set of tools that immigrants bring with them to America. As immigration changes in America we must not be unaware of the value of time. Reflecting back on what was requested of the German Americans, Italian Americans, and the Irish Americans they also did not shed their ethnic identity immediately. The variables that researchers have identified in the census and longitudinal data among children of immigrants will prove how accurate these new trajectories are in the future. One must be careful to not project disadvantage to those who seem to be struggling because the optimism and hope of the immigrant is the survival mechanism that drives their success.

# Chapter VI

# Conclusion

This study explores how second-generation Latinos are faring in the 21st century, what pathways they are likely to assimilate into and how different Latino groups are faring on a wide variety of indicators. I also sought to clarify the mechanisms of assimilation and if the concept should be redefined. If assimilation is seemingly defined as immigrants and their offspring becoming more similar over time by acquiring linguistic skills, norms, behaviors, characteristics, and large-scale intermarriage then the consensus on these shared goals is universal and Latino-Americans are making significant progress.[280] However, throughout my research a broader definition seemed necessary when assessing the Latino-American assimilation process. For this reason, I argue that a broader definition is needed so that the theory of contemporary assimilation includes the vast realm of values, cultural worldviews, and interpersonal relationships.[281] Theoretical literature, specifically in the context of second-generation Latinos, is inconclusive and several vital questions within assimilation discourse remain unclear.

This thesis sought to answer two of these questions; 1) Are second-generation Latinos reluctant or indifferent to assimilating into mainstream American society? 2) Does segmented-assimilation theory effectively describe the adaptation process for Latino-Americans? How immigrants assimilate into mainstream society is highly dependent on their educational background, exposure to poverty and societal segregation,

[280] Richard Shweder, Martha Minow, and Hazel Rose Markus, *Engaging Cultural Differences: The Multicultural Challenge in Liberal Democracies* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2002), 34-38.

[281] Shweder, Minow, and Markus, *Engaging Cultural Differences*, 34.

government policy, English-language acquisition, promotion of academic achievement in the home, family and peer relationships, and community organizations. These critical factors determine the experiences of immigrants and the amount of time it will take for full assimilation to take place. Contemporary immigrants come with a wide range of preexisting skills and education levels that will lead to variable outcomes among a single minority group. Some immigrants will possess advanced educational levels that will propel their careers and offer opportunities in America that will resemble those offered to individuals in mainstream society while others may be illiterate and occupy low-wage manual labor positions, thus facing much more difficult pathways. Some immigrants will settle in well-established neighborhoods while others will have no choice but to live in areas of poverty. These differences greatly influence the opportunities available to children of immigrants, resulting in different social and educational outcomes that are dependent upon access to resources and the differences in settlement context.[282]

For all individuals academic advancement is linked to socioeconomic growth. For children of Latino immigrants these achievements are imperative because it will define the socioeconomic progress of the largest U.S. minority. The ACS reported that the median income for someone with less than a high school diploma was $18,000.00 while those who had an advanced degree earned over $60,000.00.[283] Differences in earnings by race and Hispanic origin varied across subgroups but people who identified as Non-Hispanic White who graduated from high school had the highest median incomes and those who identified as Black had the lowest. Hispanics who had bachelor or advanced college degrees still had the lowest median earnings across all populations while those of

[282] Portes and Rumbaut, *Legacies*, 269-286.

[283] U.S. Census Bureau, *Educational Attainment in the United States: 2009*, by Camille L. Ryan and Julie Siebens, Current Population Reports, P20-566. 12-13.http://www.census.gov/prod/2012pubs/p20-566.pdf.

Asian origin reported the highest earnings.[284] This gap between earnings and immigrant populations indicates a racial effect that seems to remain in place even controlling for education.

The Hispanic children of immigrants demonstrate a variety of educational trajectories and this paints a mixed picture, causing scholars to debate how they are faring socially and economically. Both ACS and LISA longitudinal studies found that some second-generation Latinos are navigating the U.S. educational system successfully while others struggle academically, departing from school without the necessary tools needed to succeed in a complex environment. Participants who had parents with origins from Central American and the Dominican Republic were more likely to struggle in U.S. schools while the children of immigrants from South America were more likely to have high educational goals and higher expectations of themselves as they mature into young adults.

A critical factor in assimilation outcomes is the exposure to poverty. Hispanics are over represented among the poor, making up "28.1% of the more than 45 million poor Americans and 37%of the 14.5 million children in poverty."[285] Latinos were the only major racial or ethnic group to see a statistically significant decline in its poverty rates from 2012 to 2013.[286] In 2012, 25.6% of Hispanics reported living in poverty but by 2013

[284] U.S. Census Bureau, *Educational Attainment in the United States: 2009*, 13.

[285] Jens Manuel Krogstad, "Hispanic Only Group to See Its Poverty Rate Decline and Incomes Rise," *Pew Hispanic Center*. Accessed May 25, 2015. http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/09/19/hispanics-only-group-to-see-its-poverty-rate-decline-and-incomes-rise/.

[286] U.S. Census Bureau, "Income and Poverty in the United States: 2013," Current Population Reports, by Carmen DeNavas-Walt and Bernadette D. Proctor. Accessed May 26, 2015. http://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2014/demo/p60249.pdf?eml=gd&utm_medium=email&utm_source=govdelivery.

it fell to 23.5%.[287] This decrease coincided with the rebound from the Great Recession and serves as a reminder that an immigrant's ability to climb the socioeconomic ladder is not solely dependent on their desire but also on the economic environment. Both CILS and LISA studies concluded that the negative impact of poverty on second-generation youth increases their vulnerability and risk of psychological distress. This includes but is not limited to, difficulties concentrating and sleeping, anxiety, depression, as well as heightened propensity for delinquency and violence, all of which have negative implications for educational outcomes.[288]

Although poverty remains a significant issue for Latino communities, another major influence is where the immigrant settles when they arrive. In chapter two the focus on the immigrant's journey and formation of mixed identities among their children highlighted how much influence the social surroundings are when raising a family. A large majority of Latinos are more likely to settle in segregated, urban neighborhoods that may include generations of poverty and flourishing underground economies. These neighborhoods provide immigrants and their children access to traditions and community of their country of origin while limiting their day-to-day interactions with Anglo-Americans. These neighborhoods are often characterized by dysfunctional schools that have low expectations, leading to the perfect formula to cultivate the continuation of poverty. It is not surprising that youth exposed to this type of environment will form an identity that is different from those raised in middle-class environments.

Although segregated neighborhoods are plagued with negative influences there are ethnic enclaves in these neighborhoods that "bridge the periods between the arrivals

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[287] U.S. Census Bureau, Income *and Poverty in the United States: 2013*.

[288] Carola Suarez-Orozco and Marcelo Suarez-Orozco, *Learning a New Land: Immigrant Students in American Society* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

of new and culturally different immigrant groups and the assimilation into the United States society."[289] This type of ethnic enclave has been in existence for as long as people have been migrating to America and is a meaningful part to assimilation. An historical example of how these enclaves can influence and add to the host culture is represented in the Italian communities or as they are better known, the "Little Italy's" found in many major cities. These enclaves offer traditional foods, music, and freedom to converse in their native tongue without the fear of discrimination or American influence. At the same time these neighborhoods offer the sustainability of specific customs and become a place future generations visit to remember and partake in their ancestors traditions. Ethnic enclaves are relevant because they represent the "new" or "different" culture that will eventually blend and be shared by the host society.

There is a distinct difference between a ghetto and an enclave: "The *American ghetto* model is involuntary and plural (non-assimilatory). It starts in the inner city, but with almost an exclusive concentration of the minority."[290] As it expands it remains dually exclusive. Often this model has high concentrations of inner-city black populations and Hispanics. The *voluntary plural* model is the persistent enclave. "A high proportion of the population of these areas may be of a given ethnic group."[291] These enclaves are the "Little Italy's" of cities and have a symbolic or tourist center, institutional or market center, and it remains persistent over time, but it is not the exclusive center of the ethnic

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[289] Joseph R. Rudolph, Jr. "Ethnic Enclaves," *Immigration in America*. Accessed May 16, 2015. http://immigrationinamerica.org/484-ethnic-enclaves.html.

[290] David P. Varady, *Desegregating the City: Ghettos, Enclaves, and Inequality*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012), 31-55.

[291] Varady, *Desegregating the City*, 45, 46.

group.[292] The theory of successful assimilation among minorities has a direct relationship between the degree of residential, spatial segregation and the degree of social distance.[293] As neighborhoods and generations age the spatial segregation and social distance among the outside population will either become fluid or remain exclusive to the ethnic group.

Italian Americans and Latinos are often compared in research concerning assimilation patterns because throughout the early stages of migration Italians were considered a non-white minority. If this is an accurate comparison the time in which it took the Italian to begin showing signs of adaptation and boundary blurring is an important frame of reference for second-generation Latinos. Richard Alba argues that the second-generation Italians remained committed to using the hyphenated identity, were bilingual, actively practiced Italian traditions, and were likely to live in or near impoverished urban ethnic enclaves. It took until the third-and fourth-generations to see a significant blending occur with mainstream America and now (decades later) an Italian American will identify as white on a census survey.[294] This form of assimilation follows the traditional theory where the first generation begins concentrated, segregated and unassimilated in the inner city. The second generation ripples away from the original neighborhood, begins mixing with the outside, is proficient in English and intermarriage becomes a common theme. By the third generation, the socioeconomic structure resembles the majority of the population and is suburbanized and assimilated. What started out as a ghetto has developed into an ethnic enclave that carries the traditions of the old world and incorporated the social norms of the mass population.

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[292] Varady, *Desegregating the City*, 45.

[293] Varady, *Desegregating the City*, 46.

[294] Richard Alba, *Italian Americans: Into the Twilight of Ethnicity* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1985), 76.

Hispanics are certainly affected by poverty and urban environments that are not ideal to raise their children, but they are not the first immigrant group to experience these types of obstacles. Before predicting downward or stagnant assimilation trajectories, which label Latinos as an unsuccessful group, it is important to remain patient. Recent trends like those described in a 2002 Pew Research Center report found that Latinos are starting to expand across America and move to suburbs and smaller cities in increased numbers. When asked why they were moving away from crowded urban environments the response was that they wanted to experience the "American Dream" where better school systems and healthier environments were accessible.[295]

Government policy is another critical factor in how negative labels can be assigned to specific minorities. Many Latino immigrants who have recently arrived from Central America, South America, and the Dominican Republic receive little to no support from the government. In chapter three the concept of the "desired" immigrant was reviewed in detail to clarify how immigrants are perceived, accepted, or rejected from mainstream society through government policy. Over the years the human-capital immigrant is greatly desired because of the economic value and skills they bring to a nation. Their experiences often are accompanied with societal acceptance, which allows for a smoother transition. For those who come to America with the label as labor immigrants the opportunity to experience the wealth of America can be far from their reality. Although my study did not address the contemporary issue of illegal immigration, I am not ignoring that it may have significant influence on the assimilation process of second-generation Latinos. Alba and Nee argue that many immigrants from Mexico,

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[295] Roberto Suro and Audrey Singer, "Latino Growth in Metropolitan America: Changing Patters, New Locations," *Center on Urban & Metropolitan Policy and The Pew Hispanic Center*. Accessed May 28, 2015. http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/reports/10.pdf.

Central, and South America, and also the Caribbean, have illegal statuses and this frequently drives the immigrant parents into a social and economic underground where they are afraid to insist on the rights that legal residence and citizens see as their due right.[296] Alba and Nee emphasize that there is no "systematic evidence yet about how undocumented status intrudes, directly or indirectly, on the offspring that are citizens based on birthplace."[297] Only time will reveal the impact of illegal immigration on second-generation Latinos, but we can assume that there will be certain areas of assimilation that will be altered because of these experiences.

The majority of second-generation Latinos have displayed a great interest and ability to learn and speak English. While signs point to a bilingual future, there are still concerns in how Latinos are doing academically. Carola Suarez-Orozco and Marcelo Suarez-Orozco argue that children of immigrants are still second-language learners. "English-language difficulties present particular challenges for optional performance on high-stakes tests."[298] The ability to do well in exams determines the ability and access to higher education. Throughout their longitudinal survey, they found exams like the Texas Assessment of Knowledge and Skills (TAKS) and the Massachusetts Comprehension Assessment System (MCAS) were masking the actual skills and knowledge of children of immigrants.[299] They believe this oversight becomes evident in a university setting, and perhaps helps to explain the possible connection between lower GPA averages among Latinos in universities. However, the ACS reports in 2010 showed that Latino youth are

[296] Alba and Nee, "Remaking the American Mainstream," 275.

[297] Alba and Nee, "Remaking the American Mainstream," 275.

[298] Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration*, 137-140.

[299] Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration*, 138.

showing significant success in the English language and by the third generation the language of choice switches to English.

Consistently throughout my analysis all trends indicated that children are a product of their surroundings and second-generation youth are a very vulnerable group. If their environment nurtures and promotes academic engagement it will lead to success but gaining access to such an environment can be challenging for minority children that experience discrimination and economic hardships. A healthy support network is directly linked to a better adjustment process and the "interpersonal relationships and social companionships serve, maintain and enhance self-esteem, acceptance, and approval."[300] Longitudinal surveys have also confirmed that when respondents had access to additional friendships with English-speaking natives, specialized tutoring and positive role models it helps deflect the negative influences often found in urban immigrant neighborhoods.

The strength of family cohesion is yet another critical factor in raising children of immigrants and can be difficult to maintain because of the requirements that many immigrants are subjected to because of ongoing socioeconomic pressures. Children of immigrants learn English quickly and begin a tug-of-war with their parents as soon as they become exposed to the "American" society. Role reversal is a common theme found in immigrant homes because many parents depend on their children to assist in day-to-day activities that require English skills and knowledge of the external world. The key to maintaining a well-functioning system is through supervision, authority, and mutuality.[301] This is easily lost among Latino immigrants who are starting out at the bottom-rung of

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[300] Marcelo Suárez-Orozco and Carola Suárez-Orozco, "Moving Stories: Immigrant Youth Adapt to Change," *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*. Cambridge Journals Online, 1742-0598 (2007): Accessed May 1, 2015, doi:10.1017/S1742058X07070130.

[301] Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, "Moving Stories," 255-256.

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society because of limited resources and their paradox between the old world and the "American" way.

In the surveys I consulted for my research, immigrant parents seem to start out with a positive outlook on educational achievement for their children, but the promotion of high academic expectations was not enough for the student to reach success. Carola Suarez-Orozco and Marcelo Suarez-Orozco argue that the parents must also have the ability to facilitate growth and remain in control as the child advances.[302] For low-income immigrants, many must work long hours and multiple jobs, and their ability to promote U.S. cultural models and expectations are unlikely. The child quickly exceeds the parent academic knowledge, which leads to culture clashes that become a common strife within the family unit. Peer relationships are also large contributors to the formation of identity and their overall assessment of their social competence. Peers may support or subtract from academic engagement and can quickly become a distractions for children who are already struggling at home with their parents. For immigrant families that settle in neighborhoods with segregation, poverty, and poor schools they are often surrounded by peers that are more likely to distract and limit their access to knowledgeable networks where high academic success is encouraged and achieved.

A final critical factor that influences the assimilation process is found in the larger cohesive community. Though Latinos are a vast group with multiple differences, they share an important bond through language that can assist in finding community membership. Of course some Latino communities are very established (Mexican, Cuban, and Puerto Rican) but the subgroups often find others from Spanish-speaking countries through language similarities and that creates a community that can greatly assist in the

[302]Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, "Moving Stories," 255.

outcomes of their children while embracing and promoting differences found among various countries. Carola Suarez-Orozco and Marcelo Suarez-Orozco argue that "youth-serving community-based organizations—much like churches, some ethnic-owned businesses and extended family networks—can enrich immigrant communities and foster healthy development among their youth through the support they provide parents and families."[303] They refer to the community staff as "cultural-brokers" for youth that can bridge the disparate norms at home and outside, so that academic success with tutors, educational guidance, career paths and advice on the college application processes. The access to mentors and community networks are seen as very important factors in assimilation and encourage growth that is productive to society.

Assimilation is a master trend among the descendants of prior waves of immigrants, and occurred in groups of immigrants who were regarded as racially different, such as the Italians. They now have blurred boundaries and have fully joined mainstream society over the past decades. As we look at the current Latino population the ethnic/racial concerns still remain but should not overshadow the contributions they offer to U.S. society. Alba and Nee acknowledge that "assimilation is unlikely to achieve the same preeminence among the descendants of contemporary immigrants, but that it will be a force of major consequence."[304] Their commitment to assimilation as a social process should not be considered an assertion that it is inevitable, but rather as a process that could be as prominent in the future as it was in the past. However, even if it is a significant social process, the time scale will be many generations from now.

[303]Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, "Moving Stories," 256-257.

[304] Richard Alba and Victor Nee, "Remaking the American Mainstream," 273.

I find segmented assimilation theory interesting and perhaps a theory that will have more relevance as the immigrant communities of the 21st century matures. When I began the study I found this argument to match what I had experienced on a local level. I quickly applied the downward trends to a vast group, not knowing that I was not acknowledging the strides they are making in life and quickly defining an entire vast population with a label that did not necessarily encourage positive growth. With this in mind I complete this analysis with the best answers, at this time, for my two main questions.

Are second-generation Latinos reluctant or indifferent to assimilating into mainstream American society? Latinos are not anymore reluctant or indifferent to assimilating into mainstream society then other immigrants. Second-generation Latinos did show an extreme interest and desire to join mainstream society if given the opportunity. They were easily attracted to the "American" lifestyle and culture but also had to maintain a close relationship with their heritage because of their immigrant parents.[305] This is not uncommon and has been the way many children of immigrants have formed their unique identities. I acknowledge that this is a complex identity but in no way does it diminish their desire to being an "American."

The second question I set out to answer was does segmented-assimilation theory effectively describe the adaptation process for Latino Americans? This question is complex and if a snapshot was taken today, the average second-generation Latino would be under 30 years of age and will have experienced a Great Recession that had a significant impact on the U.S. economy. With this in mind, we can apply segmented-assimilation theory and find a divide that shows a concerning amount of Hispanic

[305] Taylor, Lopez, Martinez, and Velasco, "When Labels Don't Fit."

immigrants living below the poverty line, in urban inner-city neighborhoods with failing schools. We can also find Hispanic immigrants who are achieving success in the U.S., living in urban or suburban neighborhoods, with children who are excelling in U.S. schools and are fully bilingual. The second-generation Latino is represented on both sides and that is what Alejandro Portes and Ruben Rumbaut intended on highlighting when developing this theory. But this theory also what it is also overemphasizes a racial divide that is not necessarily accurate.

Alba and Nee find that this perspective labels a specific nonwhite minority group and ignores the impact of socioeconomic conditions that often have a great impact on society as a whole. Segmented-theory can also misrepresent the youth's interest in joining the inner-city underclass while over emphasizing the degree of discrimination and rejection they experience from outsiders.[306] They both find this model troubling and that it greatly reduces access to upward mobility by leading one to believe it is virtually impossible for nonwhite second-generation children to achieve upward economic success due to extreme racial boundaries. Upward mobility is by no means as reduced as the segmented model seems to portray and socioeconomic advancement among the second-generation is already occurring at a steady rate. I argue that what might seem to be horizontal mobility from first to second generations is instead an intergenerational growth that is promoting internal improvements that will be noticed as generations mature and progress. The Pew Research Center research finds in several of its surveys, that there are steady signs of growth among second-generation youth and as of 2008 improvements in economic and class status significantly surpassed their immigrant parents.[307]

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[306] Richard Alba and Victor Nee, "Remaking the American Mainstream," 276-277.

[307] PEW Hispanic Center, "Second-Generation Americans: A Portrait of the Adult Children of Immigrants."

Segmented theory stresses the issue of race in the U.S. society and how it may be the largest obstacle for Latinos to overcome when assimilating into mainstream society. Alba and Nee believe there is significant hope that fading racial barriers will continue throughout American society and eventually Latinos will experience the same acceptance as immigrant groups have before them. The Annual Population Association of America reported that in 2010, the U.S. Census survey reported more Hispanics are identifying as racially "white" compared to the 2000 U.S. Census survey and that this trend is expected to continue as Latinos assimilate.[308] Alba and Nee do not diminish the discrimination that brown-skinned Latinos face and the increased racial barriers that occur the darker one's skin is but they do believe that overtime these differences will subside leading to less rigid racial boundaries, acceptance of cultural differences and an increase in joining mainstream America.

From the standpoint of the present, there is no definite trajectory that will encompass all the variables that occur as second-generation Latinos come of age. The pathways may be varied but the process of assimilation is still ongoing. I do not think that segmented theory best describes the Latino assimilation patterns and that labeling a specific group will only lead to increased racial divide. Assimilation cannot dissolve racial distinctions and end inequalities but it can promote a society where racial origins increasingly diminish and count for less. Both the host country and the immigrant must evolve and blend for assimilation to work. Additional research and time is needed to really see how second and subsequent Latino generations fare in the U.S.

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[308] D'Vera Cohn, "Millions of Americans Changed Their Racial or Ethnic Identity from Census to the Next," *Pew Research Center*. (2014): Accessed June 15, 2015. http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/05/05/millions-of-americans-changed-their-racial-or-ethnic-identity-from-one-census-to-the-next/.

Perhaps the most important take away from what we know about contemporary immigrants is that the empirically tested classic assimilation model is still the best to apply when assessing their progress. It does not project a negative label onto nonwhite minorities and it does not assume that the process of assimilation is achieved within a specific timeframe. Second-generation Latinos are making significant strides and throughout this analysis I acknowledge that there are challenges but let's not underestimate the power of a large group of American citizens who will have a significant impact on America's global future and its economic success. By actively improving what we know influences youth, inner-city urban underclass environments, poor public schools and promoting good citizens through equality and access to opportunities, there is much hope that second-generation Latinos will be successful.

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