Ethnic identity in children of immigrants: identity pathways, academic outcomes, and the mediating effect of parents and peers

By

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to Vincent (without whom it would not have been written), and to my daughters Maïlis and Béa (without whom it would have been written much faster).

Acknowledgements

Kiitos elämäni suurille naisille jotka pohjustivat tämänkin tieni: äiti, Mailis-mummi, ja Vuokko-mummi.

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Abstract

This goal of this dissertation was to examine self-assigned ethnic identity label use and outcomes related to it in second generation immigrant youth. The data were drawn from the Cuban and Mexican participants in the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study.

In Chapter 1 I reviewed immigrant acculturation theories and connected them to literature on ethnic identity formation and youth outcomes. While early ideology maintained that full assimilation to the Anglo-Saxon society was the best option, contemporary theories view bicultural acculturation (i.e. maintenance of a meaningful connection to heritage culture while learning to maneuver in the host culture) optimal.

Chapter 2 examined what change in ethnic identity over time reveals about acculturation pathways. First, I established that the ethnic identity labels were distinguishable from each other by looking at language use and values. Results regarding longitudinal change suggested that for Cuban youth the psychological barrier between hyphenated (Cuban-American) and pan-ethnic identity (e.g. Latino) labels was highly permeable. For Mexican-origin youth this cluster also included country-origin identity (i.e. Mexican). The best predictors for identity label choice were earlier identity label choice and length of stay in the U.S. The hyphenated label emerged as the favorite in both groups by age 24.

Chapter 3 investigated how longitudinal identity pathways are associated with academic outcomes in immigrant youth. Hyphenated identity (e.g., Cuban-American) was associated with most adaptive outcomes while country-origin identity (e.g., Cuban) was associated with least positive outcomes. Change towards hyphenated or pan-ethnic identity was associated with overall positive outcomes, and change towards country-origin identity with negative outcomes. The results suggest that concurrent identity status is a sufficient predictor for youth outcomes.

Finally, Chapter 4 tested whether parental and peer messages about education mediate the link between identity label and educational aspirations. The results showed that youth with a

country-origin identity (e.g., Cuban) had the least academically oriented parents and peers, while youth with a hyphenated identity (e.g., Cuban-American) had the most academically oriented peers. These messages mediated the relationship between identity label and aspirations. This is in line both with the immigrant acculturation theories and the Expectancy Value Theory.

Chapter 1

Acculturation, ethnic identity, and academic outcomes in immigrant youth: Theoretical considerations

Abstract

Immigrant students make up a sizable proportion of the students body in U.S. schools, and academic success is often their principle way of improving life situations. Adolescence is a time of identity formation for all youth, and the outcome of this process influences, for example, future career goals. Immigrant adolescents have to deal with ethnic identity development and acculturation in addition to the general identity development all youth grapple with. In this paper I will first review immigrant acculturation theories, and then connect them to literature on ethnic identity formation. Early immigration ideology maintained that full assimilation to the Anglo-Saxon society was the best option, but contemporary theories suggest that abandoning the heritage culture is associated with stress. Instead, bicultural acculturation (i.e., maintaining a meaningful connection to heritage culture while learning to maneuver in the host culture) is considered optimal. Several background variables are likely to influence acculturation and ethnic identity formation process, including national origin, gender, language skills, and social class. Finally, I review the Expectancy Value Theory by Eccles and the Racial Ethnic Self-schema theory by Oyserman and colleagues which have connected ethnic identity to academic adjustment in youth.

The proportion of immigrant students in US schools is not only large but steadily increasing: one out of five students is an immigrant or a child of an immigrant (Hernandez & Charney, 1998)[1]. Some have predicted that in the next couple of decades a third of US children will be growing up in an immigrant household (Hernandez & Charney, 1998; Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco & Todorova, 2008), although others have suggested that immigration rates have leveled off since year 2000 (Myers, 2007). Reflecting the continuing globalization of the United States, over 40% of the US school age population consist of ethnic minorities, Hispanic students forming the largest group (21%) (NCES, 2012).

Schooling is likely to be particularly important to immigrant students, as for them academic success is nearly the only ticket for a better tomorrow (Suarez-Orozco et al., 2008). But how does being an immigrant affect the schooling experience? Research on immigration has revealed that being a relative newcomer does not result in uniformly positive or negative educational consequences. For example, immigrant youth often outperform their native-born peers academically (see e.g., Fuligni, 1997), but students from minority culture backgrounds, particularly those who belong to a visible minority, are also likely to suffer from psychological distress resulting from perceived discrimination in schools (Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000).

Teachers offer similarly mixed insights into the issue: some describe immigrant students as bright and willing to learn, yet others describe immigrant students as lazy and prone to getting into trouble (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001). In part the different reactions undoubtedly stem from the fact that immigrant students are not a uniform group. Rather, they come from diverse cultural, economic, religious, and social backgrounds which influence their thoughts, feelings, motives, and behaviors (Kumar & Maehr, 2010). Even immigrant students from the same culture are likely to experience schooling differently depending on their gender (e.g. Suarez-Orozco et al., 2008) and social class (e.g. Shen & Takeuchi, 2001).

In addition to a new adjusting to academic setting, immigrant youth are likely to grapple with ethnic identity formation: trying to find a balance between the majority (white) culture they encounter in schools, and the minority ethnic culture endorsed in their homes and often in their neighborhoods. Current theoretical models on immigrant adjustment describe the psychological

[1] I am sensitive to the fact that all Americans, with the exception of Native Americans, are in fact immigrants and children of immigrants. The immigrant research discussed here, however, focuses on recent first and second generation immigrants, typically of visible minority status.

detriments of fast and thorough assimilation, and highlight the psychological benefits of bicultural pathways where the individual maintains important features of his or her heritage culture while learning to navigate and take part in the majority culture (Berry, 1997; Lafromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Phinney, Berry, Vedder & Liebkind, 2006; Portez & Zhou, 1993).

In the sections that follow, I will review literature pertaining to immigrant acculturation and identity formation. The term *acculturation* will be used to refer to the changes the immigrant group undergoes as they adapt to the new cultural environment (as described by Berry, 1997). I am particularly interested in examining acculturation and identity formation within the educational context, and in exploring how acculturation, ethnic identity, and academic adjustment influence each other in immigrant youth. To do this, I will first review the literature on immigrant acculturation and key influences on acculturation (e.g., gender). I will then look at how acculturation relates to adolescent identity development and ethnic identity development in immigrants. Finally, I will discuss theories that connect ethnic identity to academic outcomes, and discuss opportunities for future research.

Immigrant acculturation and ethnic identity

Prior to the American revolution, North American settlers were mostly English and protestant. During the 19th century, however, the demographic landscape was altered by several significant events: the arrival of large numbers of poorer European immigrants, the emancipation of Blacks, the establishment of Native American reservations, and the arrival of Asian immigrants. This was the demographic backdrop in the early 19th century US against which first theories on immigrant acculturation in North America were formulated (Gordon, 1961).

The earliest immigration ideologies focused on what Gordon (1961) called Anglo-Conformity: the perceived need to adopt the English language and adapt to the Anglo-Saxon culture and institutions. Anglo-Saxon conformity raised few issues when most immigrants where English Protestants. This changed, however, in the early to mid-1800s with the influx of Irish Catholic, Italian, Polish, and German immigrant groups who wished to retain their language and cultural ways, choosing to live separately from the earlier settlers. Fear of "foreign radicals"

prompted political movements aimed at making the naturalization process harder and at keeping the foreign-born out of political positions. Gordon (1961) argued that Anglo-Conformity was the dominant ideology regarding on immigration in the US by the time his book was published. While Anglo-Conformity was also the earliest stance, it reached its height only after World War II when federal, state, local, and private organizations joined forces in an attempt to encourage immigrants to "Americanize" by learning English, abandoning their native language, buying war bonds, and so forth.

The mid-1800s saw the rise of another immigrant ideology: the Melting Pot. The melting pot was based on the notion that American culture is not just (modified) English culture, but a new blend of cultures. Although this idea was explored even in a popular play in 1908 (called "The Melting Pot") and discussed as blending of all cultures and races entering the US, in reality it was more limited. In fact, Gordon (1961) argued that while intermarrying was happening across national lines (e.g., Germans marrying the Swedes; Italians marrying the Irish), there was little "melting" across religious lines, and rather than one melting pot, there were three major melting pots: the Protestant, the Catholic, and the Jewish melting pots.

Despite of the long history of mass immigration to the US, it was not until late in the 1910s that Cultural Pluralism, or the notion that maintenance of the heritage culture was not problematic to the larger society, was officially formulated (Gordon, 1961). Even when faced with the press for Anglo-conformity or cultural melting, continuing to speak one's native language and banding together with family, friends, and previously unknown countrymen in an ethnic enclave had of course been the most commonly adopted route for all immigrants (and still is) in an unfamiliar land. Support for Cultural Pluralism came from middle class Americans who had chosen to live in immigrants settlements (and quickly came to grips with the realities of newcomers), and from liberal intellectuals who endorsed internationalism and tolerance (including John Dewey). Gordon (1961) concluded that America now "stands at cultural cross-roads" with regards to how to approach the issue of immigrant assimilation.

Although these early theories made little distinction between those who arrived here voluntarily (e.g., the English) and those for whom immigration was a not a choice (e.g. black slaves), later theorists have focused on this distinction. In particular, Ogbu and Simons (1998) differentiated minorities into voluntary and involuntary groups based on the reason(s) that

brought the minority group to the new country, and the nature of the dominant groups' involvement in the process.

Ogbu defined voluntary minorities as those who choose to move to the new country, typically in the hopes of improving their life economically or politically. Involuntary minorities, on the other hand, are people who did not choose to immigrate, and were instead conquered, colonized, or enslaved. They typically interpret their presence in the new country as being forced. Ogbu further defines the United Stated as a settler society, where the dominant group arrived from other countries because they wanted to improve their economic, political, or social status (or for other similar reasons). Thus, in the U.S. voluntary minority groups are here for similar reasons as the dominant group.

Several contemporary frameworks address the immigrant acculturation process. Below I will review three such theories by Lafromboise and colleagues (1993), Berry (1997), and Portes, Zhou, and colleagues (1993; 2001). These theoretical overviews converge on several points, and they are also complementary in that the piece by Lafromboise and colleagues offer a comprehensive overview of the contemporary immigrant acculturation theories; Berry puts a strong emphasis on the role of the receiving culture in the acculturation process, and Portes and Zhou explore why different immigrant groups acculturate differently into the same society; and why this is sometimes the case even for groups which are seemingly similar in background characteristics.

Lafromboise and colleagues on biculturalism

Lafromboise, Coleman, and Gerton (1993) explored the literature on the impact of biculturalism from several theoretical perspectives. The authors noted three dangers associated with the traditional *assimilation* model: 1) the possibility of being rejected by the majority culture, 2) the possibility of being rejected by the heritage culture, and 3) the stress experienced when attempting to learn to operate in the new culture while trying to unlearn the behaviors associated with one's heritage culture.

Other models of immigrant acculturation do not require the complete rejection of the heritage culture. Lafromboise et al., however, criticize typical *acculturation* models for assuming 1) a hierarchical relationship between the cultures, 2) unidirectional movement between the

cultures, and 3) that only one group acquires the culture of the other. The authors argue that true bicultural acculturation does not assume a unidirectional continuum between the culture (heritage culture → host culture), but rather an orthogonal and additive relationship between the cultures. What follows is that the person can hold both cultures at equal value although she might personally prefer one. The bicultural model assumes that the majority culture members also learn about the minority culture, and that there is bidirectional movement between the cultural groups (heritage culture ↔ host culture). These features are argued to reduce the acculturation stress experience by immigrants (Lafromboise et al., 1993).

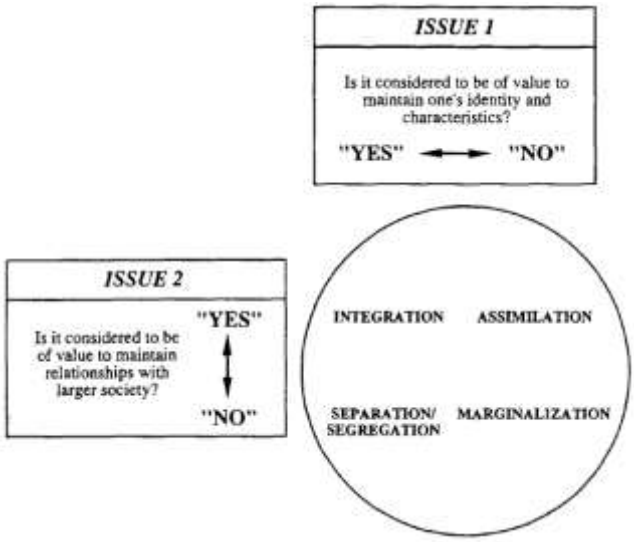
One route to bicultural adaptation is *cultural alternation*. In this model the person is knowledgeable about two (or more) cultures and is able to switch between them depending on the context, much like a bilingual person switches between languages depending on the conversational partner. The *multicultural* model posits that different groups can coexist separately without losing their identities, and share exchanges and language; whereas the *fusion* model is similar to the melting pot idea in which the groups form a new culture after "melting" (but one culture is not assumed to be superior). Opponents of the multicultural model, however, have argued that without discrimination or chosen separation (e.g., the Amish in the US), this will not be sustainable and there will be cultural blending. Critics of the fusion model argue that the likelihood of the minority group assimilating to the majority group is higher than the likelihood of cultures remaining at equal status during the fusion (Lafromboise et al., 1993).

Berry's acculturation model

Berry (1997) has described different acculturation patterns as a function of two dimensions: 1) heritage culture maintenance and 2) contact with and participation in the host culture. In Berry's model the *assimilationist* pathway is characterized by frequent contact with the dominant culture but lack of heritage culture maintenance. The opposite condition (lack of contact with the dominant group but maintenance of the heritage culture) leads to *separation*. When participation in the majority culture is restricted by the dominant group, this pathway is called *segregation*. When there is little interest in maintenance of the heritage culture and little desire or opportunity to participate in the majority culture, the immigrant (group) becomes *marginalized* (Berry, 1997).

The optimal pathway in this model is also one where both maintenance of the heritage culture and participation in the dominant culture are valued, leading to *integration*. This pathway has not only been found to be the most common identity profile in immigrant youth (Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind, 2006), but it has also been linked to more positive outcomes than having either of the cultural orientations alone (Vedder, van de Vijver & Liebkind, 2006). Figure 1.1 below describes the acculturation strategies depending on the degree to which the above-mentioned dimensions are adhered to.

Figure 1.1 Acculturation pathways



Berry (1997) highlights the importance of the receiving culture in the acculturation process. Integration, for example, can only take place in a culture where the members of the dominant culture are receptive to minority participation, and where the immigrant's ethnocultural group is collectively maintaining the heritage culture. Berry argues that the "fit" between the immigrant (group) and the receiving culture is an important determinant of the acculturation process, and that cultures that can be described as multicultural are conducive to integration. In fact, already Gordon (1961) noted in his review that "it takes two to tango" and what has been missing in the US is an authentic invitation from the white Protestant America to its minority members "to dance".

Segmented assimilation

Similarly to Berry (1997), Portes and Zhou (1993) have argued that immigrant assimilation is not a linear path, but a segmented process in which the background characteristics (e.g., country of origin, social class, and human capital), in addition to the arrival conditions influence the assimilation process. The first of the three paths they describe leads to integration (or melting) into the middle class; the second path into similarly high economic advancement but with maintenance of the heritage culture; and the third path leads to poverty and assimilation into the underclass. In their later work, Portes and Rumbaut (2001) labeled these assimilations path as thin, bicultural, or thick.

Thin racial-ethnic identities follow the traditional view on assimilation, so that as the person stays in the country longer, their ethnic identity becomes "thinner" and they come to identify increasingly as American. Portes and colleagues (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Portes & Zhou, 1993) argued that this is particularly the case with immigrants who arrive with high human capital, and for them thinning of ethnic identity is associated with positive academic outcomes. An example of a group experiencing this assimilation path is the Cuban immigrants to Florida particularly in the early waves, who were highly educated, did not face a great deal of discrimination due to their political refugee status, and could benefit from the prosperous ethnic enclave in Miami (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

Bicultural racial-ethnic identities, in turn, are characterized by selective assimilation in which the individual maintains a strong connection to the in-group while desiring to succeed in the larger society. Gibson (1988) argued that voluntary minorities in this path maintain strong ties to the heritage culture and have healthy disrespect towards the host culture, while still accommodating to the features of the host society that allow then to succeed. In agreement, Portes and Rumbaut (2001) suggested that bicultural association is also likely to lead to positive academic outcomes in immigrant youth. The example Portes and Zhou (1993) offer of this path is Punjabi Sikhs in California, who had two protective factors in their favor: the absence of a downtrodden Indian American community to which their children could assimilate to, and the economic progress generated by the first generation even in the absence of a protective ethnic enclave.

Finally, *thick racial-ethnic identities* are likely to occur in inhospitable contexts and are associated with decreasing assimilation. The key features of these contexts of arrival are non-white skin color, segregated location, and the absence of a social mobility ladder. The immigrant youth in these conditions experience discrimination and come to distance themselves from the host culture, and this assimilation trajectory is hypothesized to be associated with negative academic outcomes (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Portes & Zhou, 1993). An example of this identity path are U.S.-born Mexican–American children who join reactive subcultures as a reaction to seeing their parents and grandparents face discrimination and being able to attain only menial jobs (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

Table 1.1 below summarizes and makes comparisons between the different acculturation pathways included in the theories reviewed here.

Table 1.1 Comparison of theories on immigrant acculturation

Berry (1997)	**Lafromboise et al. (1993)**	**Portes & Zhou (1993) Segmented assimilation**	**Comments**
Assimilation	Assimilation -- Acculturation stress	Thinning identity (American identity) --Positive outcomes	Segmented assimilation theory hypothesis that assimilation to mainstream U.S. culture results in positive outcomes, whereas Lafromboise et al. suggest that it results in acculturation stress and anxiety.
Separation (voluntary)/ Segregation (involuntary)	Multicultural model -- Groups remain separate, but coexist peacefully (comparable to voluntary segregation)	Thickening identity (national origin identity) --Negative outcomes, reactive identity to the mainstream culture (comparable to involuntary segregation)	The similarity between these identity pathways is that the immigrant group remains separate from the mainstream culture. The difference is that in the separation and multicultural model this is voluntary, but in the segmented assimilation and segregation this in involuntary and a reaction to rejection.
Marginalization	No equivalent	No equivalent	Only Berry considers the

			possibility of rejection of both the host and the heritage culture.
Integration	Cultural alternation -- Positive outcomes, comparable to bilingualism	Bicultural assimilation (hyphenated identity) --Positive outcomes	All three models associate positive outcomes with biculturalism.
No equivalent	Fusion model --new culture as a result of fusion	No equivalent	

Bicultural acculturation: the best pathway?

Although disagreeing on some aspects of the immigrant acculturation process, all the theories reviewed here point to the benefits of the bicultural pathway in which immigrants simultaneously integrate into the host culture and maintain their heritage culture. As mentioned above, LaFromboise et al. (1993) argued that when an individual becomes bicultural they are able to "switch" between cultural frameworks depending on their social surroundings. Much like a bilingual person, bicultural persons can adjust their behaviors and respond appropriately depending on whether they are among co-ethnics (e.g., at home or in the local community) or the white majority (e.g., at the work place or in school).

Empirical research supports the notion that people can hold more than one cultural framework in their minds, and that these frameworks influence their cognitions and behaviors. For example, Chinese-Western bicultural individuals have been reported to make different causal attributions for others' behavior depending on whether they were primed with American images or Chinese images, supporting the argument that individuals who have internalized two cultures are able to switch between the frameworks depending on the context (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martinez, 2000).

Empirical research also supports the argument that bicultural identity, with affectionate ties to both culture of origin and host culture, is the most adaptive identity for immigrants. In a recent meta-analysis, Nguyen & Benet-Martinez (2013) looked at this by examining the influence of bicultural acculturation on psychological adjustment (on life satisfaction, self-esteem, and depressive symptoms), social adjustment (on academic achievement, career success, delinquency) and on health outcomes (e.g., headaches, exercise levels, and eating habits).

Supporting the assertions of the theoretical models reviewed above, the authors concluded that bicultural individuals tended to be significantly better adjusted than individuals who were oriented towards one culture only. While involvement in any culture was positively linked to adjustment, this link was also found to be stronger for bicultural than monocultural individuals.

Finally, testing specifically Berry's model of immigrant acculturation, Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder (2006) found that immigrant youth who endorsed the integration profile had above-average adaptation scores both in the psychological domain (on self-esteem, lack of psychological problems) as well as in school adjustment. They also found the integration (or bicultural) profile to be the most common acculturation path, suggesting that most immigrant youth resolve the acculturation process in a way that is optimal for them.

Acculturation and ethnic identity

Berry (1997) and Phinney (1990) use similar terms and concepts in their work, but while Berry focuses on the acculturation experience, Phinney has applied these concepts to immigrant ethnic identity formation. Phinney underlines that although acculturation and ethnic identity are sometimes used almost interchangeably in immigration literature, they are different in that acculturation typically refers to how immigrant groups relate to the dominant culture, whereas ethnic identity is an individual experience of dealing with the conflict between the dominant culture and heritage culture.

Ethnic identity can be and has been defined in a multitude of ways, ranging from feelings and attitudes towards one's group (e.g. sense of connectedness) to knowledge about the cultural aspects of the ethnic group (e.g. language, history) to a dynamic product constructed by the individual in a specific context (as opposed to something that is a given). One salient way of acknowledging cultural heritage and connection is to include ethnicity in self-identification label, for example when describing self as "a Latino" or "Chinese-American" (Phinney, 1990). Rumbaut (2005) argues that the ethnic identity labels immigrants use reveal important information both about ethnic loyalties and about the acculturation pathway. Below I will give further consideration to important background variables influencing the immigrant acculturation

and identity formation process before discussing ethnic identity development in immigrant youth in particular.

Importance of country of origin

As discussed above regarding the determinants of segmented assimilation, both the departure conditions and the receiving conditions have an important influence on subsequent assimilation to the US society. The most salient determinant of these contexts is the country of origin of the immigrant as it determines the political conditions of both departure and arrival (e.g., the policies and programs in place for people from the country in question). Typically, immigrants from the same country also share a language, religion, beliefs, and cultural customs. Berry (1997) notes how the departure country also influences the degree of voluntariness in the decision to emigrate. Berry's argument suggests that the voluntary/involuntary categorization might not always be a dichotomy but, rather, that there might be degrees of voluntariness.

The influence of country of origin on immigrant ethnic identity is considerable. Immigrant research typically focuses on a specific country-origin group (e.g. Chinese or Mexican immigrants) or groups individuals into large pan-ethnic groups (e.g. Asians or Latino/Hispanic immigrants). Although focusing on one national group has the advantages of taking into account the fact that immigrant groups differ tremendously, it has the disadvantage that it offers little insight into how generalizable the results are to other immigrant populations, limiting the policy implications. Furthermore, sample sizes can become very small when, for example, collecting data from one or a few sites (e.g., focusing on Chinese-American high school students).

The problem with focusing on pan-ethnic groups is that considerable variation exists between groups. For example, within the Latino population high school graduation rates vary from 73% among adult Cubans to 51% among adult Mexicans (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2001). Furthermore, Umaña-Taylor and Fine reported that psychological scale reliabilities varied importantly between Latino groups.

The final consideration regarding country-origin is directly related to studying immigrant acculturation and ethnic identity. Researchers may categorize immigrants into pan-ethnic groups for study purposes, but when asked, immigrants often reject these labels and prefer country-

specific labels (e.g., Chinese or Mexican-American) (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Important national differences also exist between adherences to identity labels. Cubans, for example, have been reported to be unenthusiastic about the Hispanic label, whereas Nicaraguans have more readily assigned that label to themselves (Portes & McLeod, 1996).

Because of these important differences between national groups it is important to take the country of origin into consideration (rather than to just group individuals as "immigrant students" or "Latino immigrant students") when doing educational or psychological research. Indeed, research on academic outcomes in immigrant populations suggests differences between ethnic groups (e.g. Kao & Tienda, 1995). At the same time including more than one national group in the same study allows the examination of group differences (or similarities), which can help refine theory. To further illustrate the importance of taking country of origin into consideration, I will compare Cuban and Mexican immigrants to the US in more detail before discussing other important background variables.

Cuban immigrants. Cubans are the largest minority group in Florida. They are, however, a unique immigrant group in the US, both in terms of their immigration process and in terms of their integration into the U.S. society (Pedraza-Bailey, 1985; Pedraza, 2007; Pérez, 2001). The current immigration to the U.S. has its origins in the Cuban communist revolution in 1959 which resulted in four major waves of immigration. The first spanned from 1959 to 1962, and was facilitated by the U.S. lifting restrictions it placed on other refugee groups. Individuals in higher socioeconomic status and the Cuban elite were disproportionally represented in this first wave.

The second wave lasted from 1965 to 1973, during which the Cuban government allowed Cubans residing in the U.S. to come and pick up relatives desiring to leave the country. This was the largest wave, consisting of 261,000 people, and it was partly controlled by the Cuban government (e.g. military aged men were not allowed to leave, but applications of the elderly were expedited).

The third wave took place in 1980 when the Cuban government opened the port of Mariel for unrestricted emigration. The "Mariel exodus" was a disorganized migration in which people left from Florida to Mariel in boats and other vessels to fetch relatives. More than relatives boarded the boats, however, and this was the first immigration wave which included sizable

numbers of individuals from lower socioeconomic status, and represented the Cuban population more closely in terms of economic situation and ethnicity (Pedraza-Bailey, 1985; Pedraza, 2007).

The latest of the four waves began in 1989 with the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. In 1994 the Cuban government announced that it would not restrict emigration to the U.S, and within a month nearly 37,000 Cubans had left on rafts and other vessels were saved by the U.S. coast guard (Pedraza, 2007). Since this "rafter crises" the U.S. has agreed to let in at least 20,000 Cubans yearly through the normal visa process.

Pérez (2001) described how Cuban settlement in the U.S. has been unusual in the sense that a strong ethnic enclave has allowed Cubans to have an economic edge over other immigrant groups. Unlike most other immigrant enclaves, the Cuban enclaves consist of people with a wide range of skills and professions, allowing them entry into various means of self-employment. The enclaves also have several private schools in which most teachers are first generation Cubans, reinforcing the parents' values in the students, and shielding them from discrimination they would likely encounter in public schools (or in private, non-Cuban schools).

Interestingly, the schooling of Cuban immigrant children has been referred to as the "achievement paradox" (Pérez, 2001). Given the favorable immigration conditions and the advantages of living in an ethnic enclave, high academic outcomes should be expected of Cuban students. On the contrary, however, Pérez describes below average grades and high drop-out rates among children of Cuban immigrants. He suggests that perhaps due to the high acculturation levels of Cuban youth, they start to resemble the native students who have high educational expectation and confidence without putting forward extraordinary academic effort. The other explanation he offers is that because these Cuban youth live in a strong, advantageous ethnic enclave, they feel that the enclave will provide them with good jobs and upward mobility even in the absence of academic success.

Mexican immigrants. Mexican people have resided in what is now the southwest United States for centuries, but have been outnumbered by Anglos since 1848 (Alvarez, 1973). Thus, Mexican immigration to this area and beyond has been a permanent feature of U.S. immigration for well over 100 year (Waters & Jiménez, 2005), and there are both native and migrant Mexican families in California. Like Cubans in Miami, Mexican in California form the largest non-white ethnic group. Unlike Cuban immigrants who are political refugees, most Mexican immigrants are

looking to improve the economic situation for themselves and their families (López & Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Waters & Jiménez, 2005).

Another difference between these two groups is that Mexican immigrants lack many of the resources available to Cuban immigrants. Mexican adult immigrants typically have only a few years of schooling, know little English, and have limited job skills needed in an urban job market (López & Stanton-Salazar, 2001). An issue often discussed with regards to education and Mexican immigrants is low achievement and its long-term consequences. Lopez & Stanton-Salazar argue that low achievement is understandable when considering the historical segregation, economic exploitation, enduring racial stereotypes, and socioeconomic disadvantages of this immigrant population. The authors note that the Mexican-American case demonstrates the importance of cultural and material capital (or rather, their absence) to immigrant acculturation.

As highlighted by the above descriptions, Cuban and Mexican immigrant groups to the U.S. differ substantially, starting with different reasons for emigration and different approaches taken by U.S. to their immigration (Pedraza-Bailey, 1985). While Ogbu groups both Cuban and Mexican immigrants under voluntary immigrants, the situation is more complicated for the Mexican immigrants: in addition to newly arrived Mexican immigrants there are also native-born Mexican families in California who have been in the Southwest U.S. well before white settlers. The native-born Mexicans of that area were conquered by settlers, and thus became an involuntary minority (Obgu & Simon, 1998). Alvarez (1973) eloquently argues that Mexican immigrants leave a lower *class* status in Mexico but enter a lower *caste* status in the U.S.

The importance of the reaction of the receiving culture highlighted by Berry (1997) is very apparent in the difference between acculturation among Cuban and Mexican immigrants to the U.S. Cuban immigrants were welcomed by the majority and allowed to maintain their heritage culture, and as predicted by Berry's model, they have largely integrated to U.S. society. Mexican immigrants, however, have received a less warm welcome, and have become more segregated/separated from the white majority (again in agreement with Berry's model).

Ogbu argues that although children of immigrants follow their parents' status as voluntary or involuntary immigrants, later-generation Mexican immigrants tend to assimilate to the local Mexican minority, becoming involuntary immigrants (despite the fact that their parents or grandparents were voluntary immigrants to the U.S.). Ogbu notes, however, that an

importance difference between black involuntary immigrants and Mexican immigrants is that the children of Mexican immigrants may approach the white majority by becoming "whiter" through intermarriage. Ogbu maintains that because of this, and because of different history and circumstances, Mexican Americans show less conformity to the involuntary minority status than black Americans (Obgu & Simon, 1998).

Despite these important differences there are, however, striking similarities between Cuban and Mexican immigrants. One important similarity is in the values held by Latino communities. Family and family cohesiveness is important in both Cuban and Mexican cultures, and it is a source of self-confidence and security. In addition, respect for the family and protection of its reputation are valued.

Latinos also tend to hold more collectivist values than the white majority in the U.S., putting more emphasis on conformity, mutual respect, and sacrificing personal success for the common good of the in-group. Altarriba and Bauer (1998) also note that in addition to the nuclear family, Hispanic households are likely to include other members of the extended family such as aging parents, and they often take part in household chores and child-rearing.

Another similarity in values comes from shared religion. The majority of both Cubans and Mexicans are Catholic. Although religion is typically seen as more personal than institutional, Catholicism plays an important role in the life of the traditional Latin family, and is integral to maintaining cultural identity (Altarriba & Bauer, 1998).

Importance of gender

Similarly to the early theories on immigration, which ignored the influence of cultural background on immigrant assimilation, early psychological research assumed that the influence of gender was negligible, and that research conducted among men was simply extensible to women and girls. If immigration research started to acknowledge the importance of cultural background in the early "melting pot" theories of the 1910's, in psychology it was not until the 1980's that Carol Gilligan's (1982) work on gender differences in moral reasoning convinced researchers of the importance of including gender (although often only as a control variable).

Early and even more recent research on immigration also ignored the gendered perspective, implicitly assuming that an "immigrant" was a young male, whereas in reality legal

immigration to the U.S. has more often than not been dominated by women (Pedraza, 1991). Pedraza characterized refugee movements (such as the early Cuban exodus to the U.S.) by the mentality associated with a sinking ship: women and children first. It is also more typical for immigrant men to dream about and plan to return to the homeland, whereas women are often more motivated to put down social and financial roots in the U.S., and enjoy the more relaxed gender roles and new-found freedom.

Others (e.g. Berry, 1997) have suggested, however, that the different role expectations of women in the two cultures may increase the stress they experience by bringing them into conflict with the heritage culture. Indeed, the interaction of gender and ethnicity creates unique situations for immigrants. For example, Mahalingam and Haritatos (2006; Mahalingam, Balan, & Haritatos, 2008) have suggested that immigrants hold idealized cultural beliefs about their group (both ethnic and gender groups), which help them feel pride. The authors reported that idealized cultural beliefs about gender (e.g. with respect to chastity and masculinity) were linked to higher self-esteem, but also to higher depression in Asian immigrants (Mahalingam & Haritatos, 2006).

Gender also influences ethnic identity formation during the acculturation process. Smith, Steward and Winter (2004) reported that Latvian female immigrants were more likely to endorse an integrated identity (that included aspects of both the Latvian and the U.S. culture) in high school, whereas males were less likely to be as integrated. Stewart and McDermott (2004) have argued that although studies focusing on bicultural identity have not typically put gender in the forefront the field would benefit from a more explicit recognition of gender differences.

Comparison of Cuban and Mexican immigrants. As Latinos, gender-role expectations are similar in Cuban and Mexican cultures. Within the family unit, men and women carry more traditional roles and responsibilities than in the white majority American culture. The role of men is to provide for the family and make the major decisions, whereas the role of women is to be responsible for childcare and housework (Altarriba & Bauer, 1998).

Although increasing numbers of Hispanic women have entered the workforce (Altarriba & Bauer, 1998), Pessar (1999) argued that immigrant women from patriarchal societies minimize the importance of their work and contribution to the family income, often saying that they are merely “helping their husbands.” Pessar argued that this is because immigrant women feel they

need to protect their culture and family against excessive Americanization, and that they see the family as the "last bastion" against losing their culture and values through acculturation.

Importance of language

Language can be an effective marker of ethnic cohesion and is central to ethnic collective identity (Ashmore et al., 2004), as well as providing access to the heritage culture (Phinney Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2000). In accordance with the increased rate of immigration, the proportion of people living in the US speaking a non-English language at home rose to 20 % in 2007, representing a 140 % increase from 1980 (Shin & Kominsky, 2010).

Despite the increase in non-English languages spoken in U.S. households, bilingualism tends to be a transitional phase for immigrant populations. The typical language shift trajectory for children of immigrants arriving to the United States goes from second generation immigrants (born in the U.S. to foreign-born parents) speaking the heritage language at home and English outside the home to their children (third generation immigrants) typically speaking only English both at home and outside home (Portes & Hao, 2002; Waters & Jiménez, 2005). This rapid and typically complete shift to English has led some to refer to the United States as a "cemetery" for foreign languages (Portes & Hao, 2002).

English is the language of schooling, and good command of English is crucial for academic and professional success. Suarez-Orozco et al. (2008) reported that English proficiency was by far the best predictor of academic success for first generation immigrants, explaining three times as much variance as other predictors in their model. Interestingly however, Fuligni (1997) found that first and second generation immigrants outperformed both their third generation peers and native-born students academically, despite their being more likely to use a non-English language at home. This suggests that there is more to immigrant achievement than just good command of English.

Comparison of Cuban and Mexican immigrants. Cubans and Mexicans share the Spanish language as their heritage language. Children of Cuban immigrants follow the typical path where they come increasingly to use and prefer the use of English over Spanish, with the

exception of youth living in the ethnic enclave and attending private (mostly Cuban) schools that can actually improve their Spanish proficiency as they get older (Pérez, 2001).

The language shift from heritage language to English is for Mexican immigrants than for Asian immigrants, and in places like southern California Mexican-origin children are mostly bilingual (López & Stanton-Salazar, 2001). Despite the relatively strong position of Spanish in the Mexican community compared to other immigrant groups, López & Stanton-Salazar noted that as the children of Mexican immigrants age they often start to prefer English (over Spanish). Like for most immigrant groups, then, the Mexican bilingualism is likely to be another example of transitional bilingualism.

Importance of social class

Social class is quite salient among immigrants from different countries. For example, both Korean and Mexican immigrants often immigrate to improve their economic situation, but they differ importantly in social class. Contemporary Korean immigrants are highly educated, with over half of Korean-born immigrants aged 25-34 holding a Bachelor's degree (Zhou & Kim, 2006), whereas many adult Mexican immigrants have completed only a few years of formal schooling (López & Stanton-Salazar, 2001).

Rumbaut (1994) argued that social class (and not race) shaped the faith of earlier white immigrants (e.g. Poles, Italians), but that for the current (mostly non-white) immigrant populations ethnicity is more salient than their social class in determining their acculturation in the U.S. Despite this, social class influences acculturation outcomes within the same country of origin group. For example, among Asian immigrants higher socio-economic class (SES) individuals have more social support, better health perceptions, and lower negativity and stress, which have been noted to mediate the relationship between SES and depressive symptoms (Shen & Takeuchi, 2001).

Relating social class specifically to ethnic identity in youth, Rumbaut (2005) has reported that higher family SES was associated with an identity attached to the heritage country (e.g. Cuban-American, Cuban) in Latino youth, whereas lower family SES was associated with youth's reports of a pan-ethnic identity (e.g. Hispanic). Others, however, have found that social class negatively predicts commitment to ethnic group and maintenance of cultural tradition in

Latino youth (Hurtado, 1994) - a finding that agrees with the thickening racial identity path described in the segmented assimilation theory.

Comparison of Cuban and Mexican immigrants. Compared to Mexican immigrants, Cuban immigrants are more similar to the white majority in socioeconomic characteristics, including higher family income and higher occupational status. They are also more similar to the native-born population in their college graduation rates (Altarriba & Bauer, 1998). As mentioned above, Mexican immigrants tend to be disproportionately affected by poverty, and have low levels of education among adults, resulting in difficulty finding other than low-wage jobs (López & Stanton-Salazar, 2001).

Perceived discrimination

Although the majority of immigrant youth in a recent cross-cultural study reported experiencing little to no discrimination (Phinney et al., 2006), when discrimination is present, it has severe effects on the acculturation process. These include reduced psychological and sociocultural adaptation, and reduced orientation towards integration (Vedder et al., 2006). Vedder et al. found that reports of discrimination predicted stronger affiliation to one's ethnic group - a likely source of support. Several theories on ethnic identity indeed suggest that ethnic identification may be a buffer against the negative effects of perceived discrimination (e.g., Phinney, 1996; Sellers et al., 1998).

Perceived discrimination may also influence the identity formation process. Phinney et al. (2006) found that youth with either integrated or national profile reported less discrimination than youth in the ethnic or diffused categories. This is also what Berry's model on immigrant acculturation would predict in Figure 1 above: when there is a lack of positive contact with the host culture, the acculturation profile is more likely to be segregation or marginalization than integration. Phinney's findings are in agreement with Rumbaut (1994), who reported that a country of origin identity was associated with increased expectation of future discrimination, and those who reported having experienced discrimination were less likely to report an American identity.

Comparison of Cuban and Mexican immigrants. Cuban-origin students were the least likely to report having experienced discrimination in a large, multi-group study, with half of the Cuban respondents reporting that they had never felt discriminated against (Pérez, 2001). Pérez concluded that this is likely due to a combination of living in a strong ethnic enclave where they are the dominant group and the relative advantage of their political refugee status.

López and Stanton-Salazar (2001) made the claim that Mexican-origin youth in California inherit the "caste-like status" of their Mexican-American parents living in severe poverty, and that this influences both the way they are seen by the white majority and the way they see themselves. Fully 66 % of Mexican-American youth in this large survey reported having experienced discrimination, both in schools and in general. Despite this, the same youth perceived the educational opportunities of Latino youth to be comparable to those available to white youth. The authors suggest that this may be because the Mexican-heritage youth adhere to the values of individualism and self-reliance (like their white peers).

Identity development in youth

Erikson (1968; 1994) described identity formation as the main psychosocial developmental task in adolescence. Identity formation is influenced both by the adolescents' personal needs and experiences, and by their social environment (including family, friends, and the society). During what Erikson called the *identity crisis* stage, youth are acutely aware of these (sometimes competing) expectations, and actively work to form their identity. A successful resolution of the crisis is an identity which balances the various roles and expectations placed upon the adolescent. Although Erikson (himself a German immigrant to the U.S.) did not formulate his theory from the immigrant youth perspective, the central question youth struggle with during this time ("Who am I?") is likely to be particularly salient to immigrant youth who, in addition to the universal identity development task, have to negotiate an ethnic identity in the host country.

Marcia (1989) extended Erikson's work by stating that youth work through one or several distinct stages during their identity development. In the *identity diffusion* stage the individual has no interest in exploring their identity, and in the *identity foreclosure* stage adolescents accepts an

identity typically endorsed by their parents without engaging in serious exploration. Common examples of foreclosed identities include religious or political identities. *Moratorium* is the stage of active identity exploration where the adolescent tries out different identities, and the ideal result of moratorium is *identity achievement*.

Ethnic identity development in youth

Phinney (1990) has maintained that these stages are also present in ethnic identity development in minority youth. Although a foreclosed ethnic identity (i.e., accepting the identity endorsed by one's parents) may seem like the effortless choice, it may not be a viable option for many immigrant youth. Rumbaut (2005) argued that adult immigrants who came of age in their country of origin typically maintain a strong alliance to the heritage culture and nation (also manifested in their ethnic identity), despite acquiring English and learning to maneuver in the new country. Their children, however, may have never visited their parents' birth country, and thus feel more conflicted about a national alliance, thus experiencing a more complex and difficult process of cultural identity construction.

Youth who have not given much thought to their ethnic identity can be characterized as being diffused (Phinney, 1990). Some diffused immigrant-origin adolescents may also deliberately deny their heritage, and, if asked about their non-white looks, make up stories about false heritage(s) (Padilla, 2006).

Youth who voluntarily or involuntary (e.g., by force of social or political changes) become immersed in activities and issues relating to their heritage can be described as being in moratorium (Phinney, 1990). Cross and Cross (2008) argued that although racial-ethnic-cultural "epiphanies" generally happen between early and middle adulthood, they can occur as early as late adolescence. If they happen later in life they can re-trigger the identity exploration process, particularly for individuals who entered adulthood with foreclosed ethnic identities.

Finally, individuals who, through exploration, have come to a deeper understanding of their ethnic identity reach identity achievement. To many immigrant groups this may also mean coming to terms with the lower status of their ethnic group relative to the dominant culture (Phinney, 1990). Research conducted with African-American youth suggests that the stages of ethnic identity development are not only distinct but also align well with Erikson's

developmental theory. Moratorium was found to be the most common stage in adolescents, and as minority youth moved to college-age and young adulthood, achieved ethnic identity became the most commonly reported stage (Yip, Seaton & Sellers, 2006).

As mentioned above, self-assigned ethnic identity labels are one way in which individuals can reveal their ethnic identity. Phinney (1997) has argued that young children may use "incorrect" ethnic identity labels when describing themselves, and adhere to labels that do not correspond to their parents' ethnicity. In adolescence and beyond, however, self-assigned identity labels are not only correct, but reveal deliberate and complex aspects of ethnic identity (e.g., allegiance to certain ethnic groups over others). Similarly, Rumbaut (1994) has drawn connections between immigrant ethnic identity and assimilation pathways based on the identity labels youth chose. He equated the heritage culture label (e.g., Mexican) with low levels of acculturation, and the American label with the highest level of acculturation. Another connection between identity labels and Erikson's theory may lie in the connection to parents' ethnic identity: using the same label as one's parent may reveal a foreclosed ethnic identity.

In addition to being influenced by their parents' views and attitudes regarding ethnic identity, immigrant youth are likely to receive mixed messages on identity and its meaning from their American teachers, co-ethnic family members, and a possibly diverse peer group (Padilla, 2006). Thus, these youth are particularly likely to struggle with what sociologists call the "social mirror" (Suarez-Orozco & Qin, 2008). The social mirror reflects the image the host society – e.g. the media, teachers, police – conveys of the ethnic group, and these images influence identity formation. In the case of ethnic minority immigrant youth, the social mirror images tend to be negative, leaving the adolescent to struggle with the formation and maintenance of a positive self-image. The social mirror also depends on national origin and gender. For example, Latino boys are often stereotyped as dangerous and delinquent, whereas Asian males are depicted as unmasculine.

Immigrant acculturation, ethnic identity, and schooling

Of the different social settings youth encounter, after the home, schools are the most formative developmental context (Eccles & Roeser, 2011). Much of the research and theoretical

frameworks on schooling and race/ethnicity in the U.S. has focused on African-American students, and it suggests that identification with one's own ethnic group is important to wellbeing. For example, strong, positive identification and sense of connection with one's ethnic group has been found to buffer against psychological stressors such as discrimination and prejudice (Phinney, 1996; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). Minority youth who have a strong racial-ethnic identity are also more persistent and more efficacious in schools than youth who have a weaker racial-ethnic identity (Altschul, Oyserman, & Bybee, 2008; Wong et al., 2003).

The connection between ethnic identity and social and academic success can also be found in the immigrant achievement literature. For example, immigrant students who maintain strong emotional and linguistic ties to their culture of origin tend to succeed better academically than those who assimilate fast to the host culture (Gibson, 1998; Portes & Zhou, 1993). Bicultural immigrant students were also found to be better protected against negative academic outcomes (such as dropping out) than their peers who endorsed either only their heritage culture or the Anglo-centric culture (Feliciano, 2001). These findings are also in agreement with the acculturation models reviewed above.

In other ways research on African-American students may not be readily applicable to immigrant students. One of the most interesting and puzzling findings about immigrant acculturation is the "Hispanic paradox", i.e. the finding that despite several social and economic barriers, first generation Hispanic immigrants often manifest unexpectedly good health and educational outcomes (for a brief review, see Palacios, Guttmannova & Chase-Landsdale, 2008). For example, first generation immigrant Latina mothers (i.e., women born outside the U.S.) experience better birth outcomes (lower rates of low birth weight babies and lower infant mortality) than comparable non-immigrant women or later generation Latina women (see Mendoza, 2009 for a summary).

Similarly in education, both immigrant children (Palacios et al. 2008) and youth (e.g. Fuligni, 1997) outperform their later generation and non-immigrant peers. However, a Sam Vedder, Ward and Horenczyk (2006) did not find a benefit for immigrant youth when compared with non-immigrant youth. Some factors that have been suggested to account for the immigrant paradox include selection bias (i.e., healthier people are more likely to emigrate), cultural norms and values among the immigrant groups, and kinship ties (as summarized by Sam et al., 2006; Palacios et al. 2008).

Phinney et al. (2006) argued that one reason for the lack of measurable difference between immigrant and native-born youth in the study conducted by Sam et al. (2006) is that "immigrant youth" is a heterogeneous group in terms of experiences and characteristics. They further note that the key to understanding immigrant youth adaptation is to first look at their acculturation process, and only then connect different acculturation paths to adjustment outcomes. Their findings indicated that adolescents with the integrated profile (within Berry's model those who include aspects of both the heritage and host culture in their lives), were the best adapted psychologically and socioculturally. Youth who showed a weak connection to the heritage and host culture had the lowest levels of adaptation. The authors noted that these youth endorsed contradictory acculturation attitudes (e.g. assimilation and separation), which seemed to indicate that they were confused about their place in society.

Country of origin and gender. Country of origin and gender are key background variables connected to ethnic identity and academic adjustment in immigrant youth. Research specifically focusing on ethnic identity labels and academic outcomes suggests that the relation between acculturation and adjustment may depend on country of origin. Fuligni et al. (2005) found that choosing a country-origin label (i.e., Chinese) was associated with higher GPA for Chinese students; whereas choosing a hyphenated (i.e., Mexican-American) label was associated with a higher GPA for Mexican-origin students.

Based on the Segmented Assimilation Theory, Portes and MacLeod (1996) hypothesized that second generation Latin American adolescents who labeled themselves Hispanic would be the best assimilated, but their results indicated the opposite conclusion. The Hispanic label was also associated with lower socio-economic status, suggesting that better-off immigrants were more likely to (or able to) resist a label that is applied to them from the outside.

In addition to country of origin, gender is an important factor shaping the schooling experience of (immigrant and non-immigrant) youth. For example, research on gender differences suggests that non-immigrant boys tend to value competitive achievement more than girls (e.g. Eccles, 1983), and that immigrant girls tend to receive higher grades than immigrant boys (e.g. Fuligni, 1997; Suarez-Orosco et al., 2008). But although immigrant girls may do better academically, the opposite seems to be true in the social domain. Compared to immigrant boys, girls have been found to report lower levels of emotional well-being (Suarez-Orosco et al., 2008)

including lower self-esteem, higher depression, and higher parent-child conflict (Rumbaut ,1994).

Theoretical frameworks connecting identity to academic adjustment

In the first part of this paper I have discussed immigrant acculturation and identity formation theories, and their connections with academic adjustment for immigrant youth. These theories, however, do not adequately address *why* different acculturation pathways, and particularly ethnic identities, should lead to different academic outcomes for immigrant youth. To understand this connection it is helpful to consult the literature on collective identities and self-schemas.

Collective identities encompass cognitive beliefs such as stereotypical traits or ideological positions shared by the members of a particular group, which influence thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of group members in an important way (Ashmore, Deaux & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). Examples of collective identities include gender identity and ethnic identity. Self-schemas are distinct and personally defining ideas the individual holds about herself, and which reflect domains that are valued in one's social context. Like collective identities, self-schemas also direct thoughts and feelings (Eccles, 1983; Oyserman et al., 2003).

Below I will discuss two theoretical frameworks that focus on how self-schemas on identity influence outcomes for the individual: the socio-cultural Expectancy-value model by Eccles and colleagues, and the Racial-ethnic self-schema (RES) theory by Oyserman and colleagues.

Expectancy-value theory

Expectancy-value theory is a human motivation theory that views our actions as the function of two things: the *expectancy* we have for the outcome, and the *value* we have for the goal we are striving towards (Eccles, 1983). Expectancies are importantly influenced by an estimation of our ability, although they focus more on the estimation of future ability than present ability. Indeed, expectancies for success are a better predictor of future performance in math than actual previous performance. When considering the other component of the theory (value of the task), we take

into consideration the importance of the task, its intrinsic value, its utility value, and weigh these against the cost of engaging in the activity (Eccles, 1983; Wigfield & Eccles, 2000).

An example of this cognitive process is a student who values the outcome of a test (i.e. a good grade) because of its utility value (she want to get into a good college), but has low expectations based on her previous performance, resulting in decreased motivation to study. She further has to weigh in the cost of time spent studying instead of spending that time with friends. Our expectancies for success and task values, then, have a direct influence on achievement choices (e.g. whether to study for tomorrow's test), and also on performance, effort, and persistence (Eccles, 1983). These two constructs are empirically distinguishable, and children have been reported to be aware from early elementary grades regarding what they are *good at,* and what they *value* (Eccles, Wigfield, Harold, & Blumenfeld, 1993).

In addition to being influenced by previous ability and perceived difficulty of the task, our expectancies and values are influenced by our affective memories, personal goals, and self-concepts (Eccles, 1983). The goals we choose and our performance expectancy depends in part on how we perceive our social environments' expectations of us, including the stereotypes related to culture and ethnicity (Eccles, 1983; 2009). Within model 1 above this means that stereotypes associated with different ethnic identities ("I am Mexican-American" vs. "I am Mexican") carry different stereotypical expectations, which influence the behavior and the cognitions of the individual.

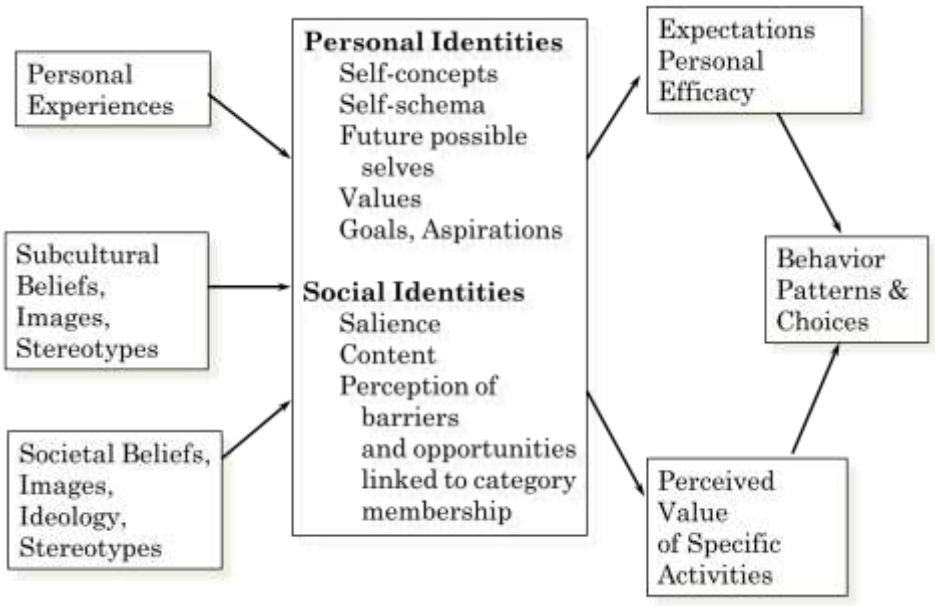
Gender role and other social role identities are important aspects of self-schema, and the child is likely to value activities that are congruent with his or her gender identity. Eccles and colleagues have made the argument that for many males "achievement" means success in a competitive situation. In contrast, females may define achievement in a larger sense, including social activities, child rearing, and community involvement. Thus, although boys and girls might place an equally high value on math, girls are likely to value other options as highly, making it more probable that they will choose another of those equally attractive options to pursue (Eccles, 1983).

Eccles (1983; 2011) has further argued that the range of available options is limited by cultural norms and socialization pressures. She and her colleagues argue that the options that seem possible for an individual are limited by the lack of knowledge regarding all the choices, inaccurate information on either the choices or the self, and by discarding some choices as not

compatible with one's self-schema. Perceptions of gender roles and other social roles, for example, influence all of these. For example, if a young woman and those around her adhere to traditional gender roles she may not be offered information on career choices that others do not deem suitable for women. Rather, she might think that certain careers require capacities that women do not possess, and also think that some career choices would make her less feminine. Eccles noted that her research has discovered that parental endorsement of traditional gender-roles in child-rearing (e.g. encouraging participation in sports and math-related activities more with sons) influences children's subsequent expectancies and values in these domains.

Although much of the research on expectancy-value has involved gender differences, it has also been applied in studies exploring how ethnic identity influences motivation in African American adolescents (e.g. Eccles, Wong, & Peck, 2006; Wong, et al., 2003). This research suggests that a strong connection to one's ethnic group can protect against the decline in academic motivation associated with perceived discrimination. Figure 1.2 below puts emphasis on cultural elements of the expectancy-value model.

Figure 1.2 Expectancy-value model



The assumption of the model in Figure 1.2 is that the adolescent's social and personal identities are influenced by perceived cultural stereotypes in addition to personal experience. In the case of minority youth, social identity is influenced not only by the content of racial-ethnic identity but also by societal barriers youth perceive as being linked to that group membership. The personal

and social identities of youth in turn influence their expectations for efficacy and the value they attach to activities in academic settings and beyond.

A recent study suggests that one of the ways in which perceived discrimination influences the individual is by reducing expectations for success and value for the task. When women were made to believe in an experiment that the person evaluating their job application was prejudiced against women, they reported valuing the potential promotion less and had lower expectations of receiving the promotion than women who were in the unprejudiced-manager condition (Eccelston & Major, 2010).

Finally, the intersection of gender and ethnicity is likely to result in unique social identities that influence achievement values in immigrant youth. Comparing aspirations in math and science-related occupation, minority boys were found to hold aspirations comparable to their white peers despite their lower achievement. White, black and Hispanic girls, however, had lower math aspiration than white boys, but black girls reported higher aspirations compared to the two other female groups (Riegle-Crumb, Moore, & Ramos-Wada, 2010). This suggests that several social identities can be salient at the same time, and need to be considered simultaneously in order to understand their influence on academic achievement.

Racial-ethnic self-schemas

Oyserman and colleagues (e.g. Altschul, Oyserman, & Bybee, 2008; Oyserman et al., 2003) have developed a model focusing specifically on how the content of racial-ethnic self-schemas (RES) influences academic engagement and disengagement in minority youth. Racial-ethnic identity theory includes three main components that are relevant to academic outcomes in minority youth: connectedness (to ethnic in-group), embedded achievement, and awareness of racism. Connectedness focuses on the positive sense of belongingness and a feeling of being linked to the history, traditions, and future of one's group. Embedded achievement, in turn, refers to the belief that academic success characterizes one's in-group and can help the status of the group to improve in the larger society. Finally, awareness of racism focuses on being aware of the obstacles and making sense of one's experience while feeling good about ones' own ethnic group (Oyserman, Bybee, & Terry, 2003).

The components appear to differ in salience to boys and girls so that boys are likely to benefit academically from higher connectedness whereas girls benefit from heightened embedded achievement. Oyserman and colleagues hypothesized that this empirical difference may be because girls already receive higher social connectedness messages while boys are likely to receive more achievement-related messages. As described above, this line of thinking is also supported by Eccles and colleagues' work on gender and achievement-related choices. Youth high in all three components (connectedness, embedded achievement, and awareness of racism), however, should experience academic success regardless of gender (Oyserman, Bybee, & Terry, 2003).

Oyserman and colleagues (2003) argued that individuals are either racial ethnic self-schema (RES) aschematic, in-group focused RES, or larger society RES. *Aschematic* individuals are aware of their group membership, but have not formed a coherent cognitive structure about the racial-ethnic group membership. These individuals are vulnerable to negative stereotypes as they have little positive content regarding their ethnicity buffers those stereotypes, and thus are at risk of academic disengagement.

Those who solely focus on *in-group self-schemas* are also at risk for academic disengagement. Oyserman et al. argue (2003) that this is due to the incongruence the individual perceives between their in-group identity and academic achievement. Basing their argument on Ogbu's work (e.g. Fordham & Ogbu, 1986) on oppositional identities, the authors argue that academic success is seen as a white, middle-class issue. Ogbu's work has focused on African American youth, but Zhou (1997) has suggested that a similar process of oppositional identity and seeing academic achievement as "acting White" has taken place among immigrant youth in America. Oyserman and colleagues argue that following social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 2004) more generally, low-status groups do not want to compete in the domain claimed by the high-status groups (here, academic achievement), but rather choose to excel in other domains valued by their in-group (e.g., sports, music).

Some researchers, however, have not observed this phenomenon in minority youth. Eccles et al. (2006) looked at this phenomenon in a large sample of African American and white adolescents, and found that over 75% both white and African American youth reported being academically successful as something they associated with their future selves. The measures included self-reported questions such as "is getting good grades part of acting white?" as well as

objective measures (e.g., grades) reported by the school. Only 5% of the African American participants mentioned school performance as an example of what it meant for a Black person to "act white".

Examining these same data, Harris (2006) reported no quantitative support for the "acting white" oppositional culture hypothesis among African American youth. The results did not support arguments regarding Blacks' lower perceived return from education, lower affect or greater resistance towards school, peer sanctions for "acting white", or counter-educational peer cultures. Harris concluded that the comparatively lower performance among black youth was not due to an oppositional culture or lack of desire to learn. Instead he suggested that the reason lies in black youth not acquiring the skills necessary for academic success.

In addition to the oppositional identity theory, the stereotype threat theory by Steele and colleagues has been influential in understanding the lower academic achievement of marginalized groups. The theory maintains that if a student is aware of a negative stereotype attached to their group (e.g., "girls are not good at math" or "Black students are lazy"), it will adversely affect their performance in a situation where that stereotype is made salient.

Steele (1997) has suggested that stereotype threat works through two processes: 1) emotional reaction in the achievement situation and, 2) decreased identification with the domain after the student evaluates that his or her chances of success are low. What follows from the first point it that all negatively stereotyped groups underperform when the stereotype is made salient (due to the fact that the stereotype triggers negative emotions, including anxiety). According to the second point, however, students may be more likely to disidentify with the negatively stereotyped domain so that they will underperform regardless of whether the threat is present or not.

An example of the first mechanism would be a girl underperforming on a math test when she is reminded of her gender, and an example of the second would be her deciding that math is "just not for girls", and investing less effort to studying for future math tests. Related to how Oyserman hypothesizes on the incongruence of in-group identity and positive academic self-identity, it could be that immigrant youth identifying only with their country-origin are more susceptible to stereotype threat, and come to disidentify with school as a protective measure.

Finally, Oyserman et al. (2003) define *larger society racial-ethic schema* as schema that emphasizes both the in-group identity and the membership of the larger community. This can

either work so that the content of RES emphasizes a positive connection with the ethnic and larger society identity (dual RES), or so that both are recognized, but the connection to the larger society is approached from a disadvantaged minority point of view where the person considers that they will have to work harder to overcome obstacles to succeed in the larger society (minority RES). The authors hypothesized that dual RES is more effective at buffering stereotypes because the person can discard negative stereotypes about the minority group by identifying (also) with the majority culture to which these stereotypes do not apply. This would also be in line with Steele and colleagues' (1997) stereotype threat theory and minority identity discussed above. However, Oyserman et al. found that academic persistence was greater among the students who focused on both the in-group and the larger society regardless of whether they had the dual or the minority RES.

Altschul, Oyserman, and Bybee (2008) have suggested that their theory on racial-ethnic schemas is very compatible with the segmented assimilation theory (Portes & Zhou, 1993) described earlier in this paper. Table 1.2 below summarizes the comparison between these theories.

Table 1.2 Comparison of racial-ethnic self-schema theory and segmented assimilation theory

Racial-ethnic self-schema **Oyserman et al.**	**Segmented assimilation** **Portes & Zhou**	**Comments**
In-group RES →negative outcomes	Thickening identity →Negative outcomes, reactive identity to the mainstream culture	
Dual RES →positive outcomes	Bicultural assimilation (assimilative identity) →positive outcomes	
Larger society RES with an emphasis on minority identity →positive outcomes	Bicultural assimilation (dissimilative identity) →positive outcomes	Segmented identity theory groups pan-ethnic and American identities closer together because they both are "fabricated in the U.S." RES groups hyphenated and pan-ethnic closer together because they include a notion of both cultures.
Aschematic RES →negative outcomes	Thinning identity →positive outcomes	The theories also differ in RES would predict the worst outcomes for aschematic youth, whereas segmented assimilation would predict positive outcomes.

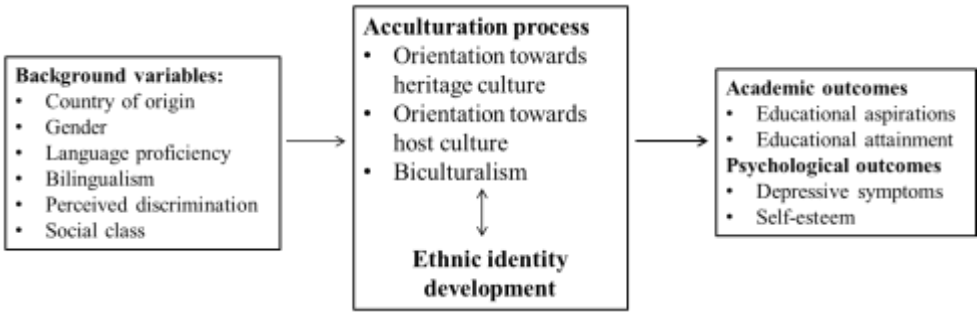
Conclusions

Contemporary immigrant acculturation theories speak to the benefits of maintaining cultural ties to the country of origin while learning how to navigate in and becoming a member of the host culture: a bicultural and bilingual form of selective assimilation. Maintaining a positive connection to one's ethnic group is important for minority youth as it is associated with positive academic and social adjustment. While acculturation and adjustment to the host culture are salient issues for all immigrants, they are likely to be particularly relevant to immigrant youth who are forging their identities in the cross-section of two cultures. In addition to making sense of different role expectations all youth cope with during identity formation, most minority youth also have to negotiate the prevalent negative racial stereotypes.

While evidence of the benefits of bicultural acculturation and strong identification to one's ethnic group is increasing, a limitation of the current literature is that much of the research is cross-sectional in nature. Thus, while some researchers may talk about acculturation pathways as described by the theories, the data are typically able to reveal outcomes associated only with the youth's current acculturation status and ethnic identity. It is possible, however, that the way in which the youth arrived at their current status influence the current acculturation or identity status. For example, some individuals may have always felt that they are fully part of both the host and the heritage culture, and both aspects of their identity may be supported and reinforced by the community they live in. Others (particularly youth born in the U.S.) may originally feel that they are just like their white peers, and identify little with their parents' culture of origin. As they grow older, however, non-white immigrant youth are likely to become increasingly aware of racial discrimination, which may cause them to re-evaluate their ethnic identity, perhaps reinforcing their ties with their culture of origin.

The model below is a simplified representation of this possibility with the background variables discussed above.

Figure 1.3 The hypothesized associations between identity pathways, and academic and psychological outcomes



It is conceivable that the different acculturation and/or identity pathways (in addition to the current status) are meaningful in understanding academic and social adjustment in immigrant youth. It could be, for example, that active identity exploration helps youth find their place in today's multi-ethnic society, but it also could be that through this process they become more aware of the problems in their society (e.g., persistent discrimination), undermining their psychological well-being.

Because bicultural identity is argued by some to be the most beneficial immigrant identity, it is interesting to explore whether the outcomes depend on how and when the person arrives at that identity. For example, do individuals who have "always" identified biculturally experience benefits over and above someone who has been oriented only towards the host culture until experiencing identity crisis in adolescence, and who takes a long time to resolve the crisis? If identity is dynamic and different choices are possible along the way, answers to these questions could point to those developmental stages where support for optimal acculturation is useful. Thus, investigating whether the process of acculturation and identity formation is connected to youth outcomes seems like a worthwhile pursuit.

The present dissertation includes three empirical studies that explore different parts of Figure 1.3 above. In Chapter 2, I look at the left side of the model: what ethnic identity label use over reveals about immigrant acculturation, and how background variables influence that process. In Chapter 3, I focus on the right side of the model, connecting the different identity pathways to youth outcomes at age 17 and at age 24. Finally, in chapter 4 I investigate a possible causal explanation between ethnic identity labels and youth outcomes, focusing on the (academic) social support coming from the parents and peers of second generation immigrant youth.

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Chapter 2

Ethnic identity pathways in immigrant youth and predictors of change in identity

Abstract

According to Erikson (1968) and Marcia (1966), main developmental task in adolescence is identity formation. Ethnic identity formation in immigrant youth is importantly affected by their acculturation process. In the present study, I examined this process by looking at self-assigned ethnic identity labels in youth of Cuban and Mexican origin. The data were drawn from the Children of Immigrant Longitudinal Survey. First, I established that the ethnic identity labels were distinguishable from each other in language variables and values. Second, I looked at the longitudinal shifts in identity label use. The multidimensional scaling solutions suggested that for Cuban youth the psychological barrier between hyphenated (Cuban-American) and pan-ethnic identity (e.g., Latino) was highly permeable. For Mexican-origin youth, this cluster also included country-origin identity (i.e. Mexican). Regression models revealed that the best predictors for identity label choice were earlier identity label choice and length of stay in the U.S. The results of this study suggest that identity labels have difference schema content attached to them and reveal information about immigrant acculturation. Finally, the Segmented assimilation theory suggests that plain American identity is the highest acculturation stage, but these data imply that few Latin American immigrants "make it" to the American label. Instead, the hyphenated label increased in relative popularity over time, and emerged at the favorite by age 24 in both groups.

Identity development in youth

Erikson (1968) described adolescence as a period of identity crisis. According to him, during this time, youth are consumed by an identity crisis in which they try to figure out their place and role in the world. The main developmental task for this period is to actively try out different identities before resolving the crisis by reconciling them into a coherent identity. The different identities under consideration stem from personal needs and preferences, and are imposed on the adolescent by the family and the society.

Marcia (1966) has operationalizes ego identity development into four distinct stages. In *diffusion* the adolescent is not exploring identities and has no interest in doing so, and in *foreclosure* she or he has accepted an identity typically endorsed by one's parents without much active exploration. In *moratorium* the adolescent is preoccupied with identity exploration and making a commitment to an identity (the active identity crisis). Moratorium typically follows either the diffused or foreclosed stage. The outcome of the moratorium is ideally the fourth stage: *identity achievement* (Kroger, Martinussen & Marcia, 2012).

Results of a recent meta-analysis on identity development stages suggested that across the included studies, half of the participants remained in the same category between the two assessments; the other half reported a different identity category at the second assessment. Committed foreclosure and achieved status were the most stable statuses; moratorium was the least stable in these studies, which spanned from adolescence to early adulthood (Kroger, Martinussen & Marcia, 2012).

Furthermore, Kroger et al. (2012) found that for those who reported a different status at time 2, progressive movement (diffusion/foreclosure → moratorium → achievement) was twice as likely as regressive movement. As predicted by Erikson's theory, movement from moratorium to achieved status was the most common move. Although Kroger at al. reported considerable fluctuation in the ratio of the identity statuses across different ages, rates of reported moratorium rose steadily until they peaked at age 19, and then declined after. This is in accordance with what Marcia would predict.

Development of ethnic identity

Despite himself being a German immigrant to the U.S., Erikson did not discuss the development of ethnic identity as part of this theory. However, Phinney (1989; 1990) has applied Marcia's concepts and has argued that ethnic identity development takes place in a comparable, stage-like fashion as ego identity development described by Marcia.

The first stage of ethnic identity development is akin to identity diffusion, and is characterized by a lack of interest or concern for ethnic identity. The other early stage is comparable to identity foreclosure. In this stage, the individual has not engaged in any ethnic identity exploration, and often has internalized someone else's values. These could be the values of their parents, or the values of the society's dominant majority (Phinney, 1989; 1990). Phinney (1989) examined how different ethnic identity stages mapped on the Eriksonian ego identity stages, but her coders had difficulty distinguishing between foreclosed and diffused stage based on the qualitative answers youth provided to questions regarding identity exploration. This suggests that foreclosure and diffusion may be part of the same combined stage for ethnic identity development (Phinney, 1989).

The stage of identity exploration (moratorium) is characterized by an intense interest in one's ethnicity, and an immersion into one's cultural heritage, for example by engaging in conversations about it with friends and family (Phinney, 1989; 1990). Cross and Cross (2008) have argued that entering a period of exploration can be triggered by a specific (often shocking) event ("epiphany") that makes the individual receptive to new views on his or her ethnic identity. Examples of epiphanies include recognition of racial profiling or experience of racism, and they typically challenges previous, foreclosed ethnic identity. Racial epiphanies can take place in adolescence, but they can also happen in later life, typically then challenging a foreclosed or diffused racial identity (Cross, Strauss, Fhangen-Smith, 2010)

When resolved successfully, the moratorium (i.e., identity crisis) should result in an achieved ethic identity. Individuals who are in the achieved ethnic identity status have a confident sense of their ethnic identity. This means that the individual has a clear sense of the cultural differences between their group and the dominant majority, and may also mean that the person has to come into terms with the power and status disparities between their group and the majority (Phinney, 1989; 1990). In a qualitative study a little over half of the Asian, Black, and

Hispanic adolescents were in the diffused/foreclosed stage, while the rest of the 15-17 year olds were divided between moratorium and achieved stages, supporting Marcia's stage theory (Phinney, 1989).

Immigrant acculturation

Ethnic identity formation may be further complicated for immigrant youth, who often face the challenge of going from an identity associated with the dominant majority in the country of origin to a minority identity in the host country. Children of immigrants born in the host country can continue to be affected by this conflict as the identity messages they receive are likely to be different at home, school, and in the media.

Erikson's theory is useful in this context as it has been praised for having influenced psychology as a field to move from considering identity as predominantly an individual perspective to including a more social stance by considering how important relationships influence identity (Moje & Luke, 2009). The social context might be particularly salient for minority youth who, in addition to Eriksonian universal identity crisis, have the added challenge of negotiating their ethnic identity in a society that is likely to place a value judgment on ethnic labels and devalue some non-white groups more than others (e.g. French, Seidman, Allen & Aber, 2006; Phinney, 1989).

Below I will consider immigrant assimilation from a theoretical perspective that puts an emphasis on the social context surrounding immigration. I will then discuss the connection of the segmented assimilation theory to the development of ethnic identities in immigrant youth, followed by proposing hypotheses for the present study.

Segmented assimilation

As discussed in chapter one, Portes and Zhou (1993) and later Portes and Rumbaut (2001) have argued that rather than being a linear process (moving from identifying with the country of origin to identifying with the host culture), immigrant assimilation is a segmented process. The social context of immigration influences the assimilation pathways, which according to Portes and colleagues can happen via one of three different pathways: The first path leads to integration into the white middle class (thinning of ethnic identity); the second leads to rapid economic

advancement but with deliberate preservation of the heritage culture (bicultural ethnic identity); and finally the third leads to the opposite direction – permanent poverty and assimilation into the underclass (thickening ethnic identity) (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

Portes, Fernández-Kelly, and Haller (2005) examined the existence of segmented assimilation in a longitudinal sample of immigrant youth and found evidence for both upward and downward assimilation, supporting the theoretical assumptions. The authors described accounts of both upward and downward assimilation (as measured by educational attainment, family income, employment and incarceration) within the same national origin in a sample of second generation Latin American and black immigrants. The authors stressed that context variables (e.g., family characteristics, living in poverty, and delinquent peer groups) were a key determinant of the kinds of life situations the youth found themselves in in early adulthood.

Segmented assimilation theory also connects the assimilation pathways to ethnic identity. According to Portes and Rumbaut (2001), those who arrive with high human capital are more likely to experience "thinning" of ethnic identity as they assimilate to American society. Those moving towards a bicultural identity maintain strong ties to heritage culture while desiring to succeed in the majority culture. "Thickening" of racial-ethnic identities is likely to occur in inhospitable receiving context where the immigrant does not feel welcomed by the majority, and as a result, will want to distance him or herself from the host culture.

Connecting ethnic identity and immigrant acculturation

To summarize, the literature reviewed thus far here highlights two psychological tasks that immigrant youth have to deal with: identity development (a task that also non-immigrant youth grapple with) and acculturation (a task that immigrants regardless of age grapple with). Although acculturation and ethnic identity have sometimes been used interchangeably in the literature, Phinney (1990) has argued that ethnic identity is the aspect of acculturation that denotes a subjective sense of belongingness to a culture (or cultures).

An attempt to connect acculturation and ethnic identity is made by Oysermann and colleagues within the racial ethnic self-schema theory. Oyserman and colleagues have also discussed how acculturation pathways may be connected to ethnic identity development for immigrant youth.

Racial-ethnic self-schemas (RES)

According to Oysermann and colleagues youth can be one of three options with regards to their racial-ethnic self-schemas (RES): aschematic, in-group focused RES, or larger society RES. Aschematic individuals are aware of their ethnic group membership, but have not formed a deep understanding of what it means to be part of that group. In-group focused youth are focused on their ethnic identity, but are solely oriented towards their ethnic group. Larger-society RES youth are also focused on their ethnic identity, but acknowledge their place in the majority culture in tandem with considering their place in the minority ethnic culture. Those youth who feel like they are full participants of both the minority and the majority culture are categorized as having a dual RES, while those who acknowledge both but approach their relationship with the majority culture from the viewpoint of a disadvantaged minority are categorized as having minority RES (Oyserman et al., 2003).

As discussed in chapter 1, Altschul, Oyserman and Bybee (2008) suggested that their theory on racial-ethnic schemas is compatible with the segmented assimilation theory (Portes & Zhou, 1993). Table 2.1 below summarizes the connections between the identity categories, and lists whether the theory assumes that the identity should be associated with negative or positive adaptation (e.g., academic success and psychological well-being).

Table 2.1Comparison of segmented assimilation theory and racial ethnic self-schema theory

Segmented assimilation Portes & Zhou	**Racial-ethnic self-schema** Oyserman et al.
Thickening identity →negative outcomes	In-group RES →negative outcomes
Bicultural assimilation (assimilative identity) →positive outcomes	Dual RES →positive outcomes
Bicultural assimilation (dissimilative identity) →positive outcomes (less clear on this)	Larger society RES with an emphasis on minority identity →positive outcomes
Thinning identity →positive outcomes	Aschematic RES →negative outcomes

Altschul, Oyserman and Bybee (2008) noted that segmented assimilation theory assumes that the content of the ethnic identity differs in the pathways, but this assumption has not been

empirically tested by Portes and colleagues. Interestingly, Altschul et al. found that even in what would be called "inhospitable contexts" within the segmented assimilation theory, low income Mexican-origin youth displayed a variety of identities. Dual RES identities were, in fact, reported most commonly.

Few empirical studies have attempted to connect ethnic identity categories or labels to the stages of ethnic identity development. One such effort was made by Oyserman, Kemmelmeier, Fryberg, Brosh, Hart-Johnson (2003) who analyzed their data in a way which makes comparison to ethnic identity development as discussed by Phinney possible. Although their data were cross-sectional, differences between younger and older students suggested specific developmental patterns in RES in early (grades 8 and 9) and late (grades 11 and 12) high school students. Fitting with Erikson's identity development theory, the authors found that while 24% of the younger students were aschematic (i.e., did not report a clear sense of ethnic identity), only 14% of the older students were aschematic, suggesting that they had moved away from identity diffusion. In this study Oyserman et al. colleagues also found that older youth were more likely to be minority RES schematic, but less likely to be dual RES schematic. Older and younger students did not differ in likelihood of being in-group focused.

Present study

In the present study I am interested in exploring what ethnic identity labels reveal about the ethnic identity development and acculturation pathways in second generation immigrant youth. In accordance with Phinney (1990), I make the assumption that the self-assigned ethnic identity label (e.g. Mexican or Mexican-American) can reveal which group(s) the individual identifies with.

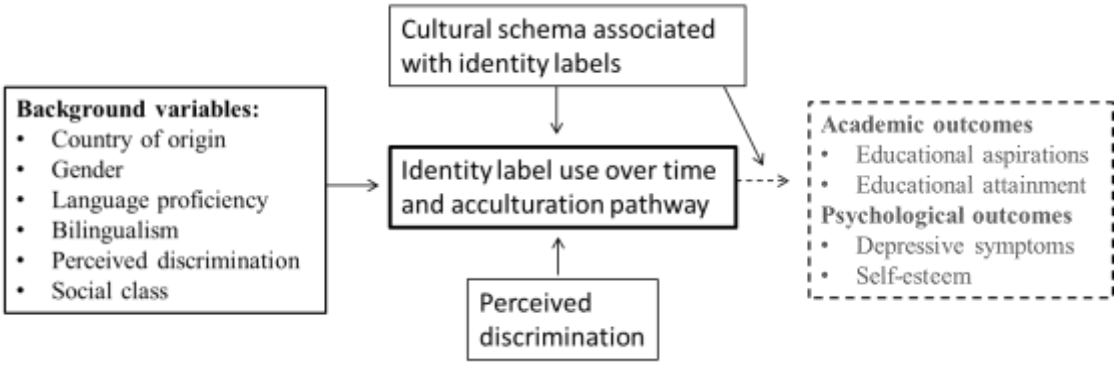
One recent study investigated identity label use and ethnic identity using in-depth interviews with Latino/a youth (Zarate, Bhimji, & Reese, 2005). In this study the majority of youth chose more than one identity label. Youth who chose Chicano, American, or Mexican labels were also likely to choose the Hispanic label, and those who chose the Chicano label were also likely to indicate hyphenated label. The interviews revealed that Chicano label was chosen by youth who felt more Americanized than those who described themselves as Mexican, and that it was associated with higher preference for the English language than the Mexican label. Pan-

ethnic identities (and the Hispanic label even more than the Latino/a label), were seen as being imposed on the people, and not stemming from the groups themselves (Zarate, Bhimji, & Reese, 2005).

The majority of the participants in this study reported at least one bicultural, or hyphenated, identity. Many participants explained that in this was in part because in the US they are seen as Mexican, but when they visit Mexico they are seen as American. One participant eloquently described that she sees herself as Mexican American because her past roots are in Mexico, but her future roots are in the U.S. Interestingly the Mexican American label did not correlate with either Mexican or American label, suggesting that these labels are separate entities, and perhaps do not form a linear continuum from Mexican to Mexican American to American, as would have been predicted by the earlier immigrant assimilation models discussed in Chapter 1. In accordance with Phinney (1990), Zarate et al. (2005) conclude that identity labels have real meaning for minority youth, and are connected to their ethnic identities.

In the present study I am interested in 1) whether the identity labels differ in their schema content, and in 2) change in identity label over time. I will examine the variables that might predict change from one time to another, as well as look at the change patterns over adolescence and into young adulthood. A model for the present study can be seen below in Figure 2.1. The questions will be further elaborated below, following the description of the data.

Figure 2.1 Framework for the present study



Description of the data

The data I used to explore these questions was collected by Alejandro Portes and Rubén Rumbaut in the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) (see, e.g. Rumbaut, 1994).

These data were collected in Miami and Ft. Lauderdale in Florida, and in San Diego, California in three waves. The first data collection was conducted in 1992 as surveys in schools when the respondents were in 5th grade. The original sample included 5,262 students from 77 nationalities. The largest ethnic groups in these data are Cubans, Haitians, Nicaraguans, and West Indians in Florida; and Mexicans, Filipinos, Vietnamese, Laotians, and Cambodians in California. The sample is evenly divided by gender, and by students born in the US and abroad. Participants born in the US have at least one foreign-born parent. In the present analysis I will include participants from Cuban or Mexican origin only. The comparison of these two groups which are similar in many ways (both being Latin American immigrant population) while being very different in other ways (e.g., departure and arrival conditions) allows me to draw conclusions on the generalizability of the findings.

The first follow-up survey was conducted three years later when the respondents were in 8th or 9th grade, and 81.5% of the original sample was reached. Together with this follow-up a random sample of half of the parents (N=2,442) was interviewed. The third and final data collection wave was conducted in 2001 when the respondents had reached adulthood and were on average 24 years old. This final follow-up retrieved 3,613 participants, representing 69% of the original sample and 84% of the first follow-up sample.

In addition to CILS being a longitudinal large-scale dataset on immigrant youth, I find this data particularly pertinent to my questions as the development of a strong racial identity often takes place during adolescence and young adulthood (e.g. Cross & Cross, 2008; Phinney & Chavira, 1992), and the content of racial-ethnic identity has been previously linked to academic outcomes in 8th grade (Oyserman, Gant, & Ager, 1995). Children of immigrants are also in a unique situation for identity formation in that their parents are likely to emphasize the use of the heritage language and carry on the customs of the country of origin, but peers at school are likely to surround them with English and all things American (Phinney et al., 2000).

Finally, gender roles are particularly salient during this time (Eccles, 2009), making the age range captured in the CILS data a suitable developmental period for studying my questions of interest. Experienced racial discrimination may also be particularly harmful in adolescence when the individual has to deal with other stressors such as declining academic motivation, heightened susceptibility to peer influences, and lower self-conception (Wong, et al. 2003).

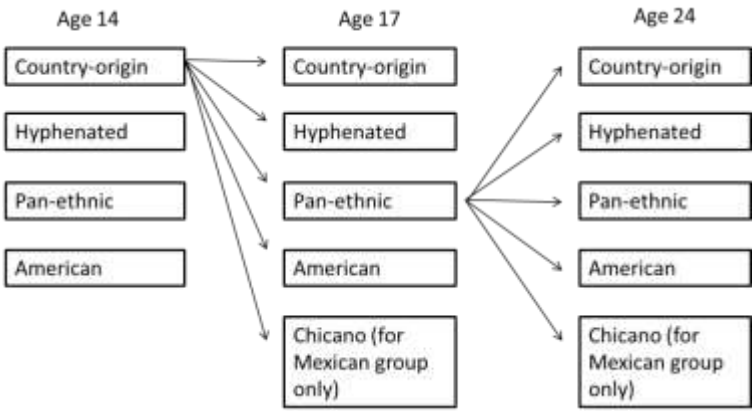
Ethnic identity variables in the CILS study

In addition to asking about national origin of the student and her parents, all the waves included a question about ethnic identity by asking the open ended question "How do you identify, that is what do you call yourself? (Examples: Anglo, African-American, Hispanic, American, Cuban, Cuban-American, Jewish, Irish, Mexican-American, etc.)". In waves 2 and 3 this question was followed by the question "And how important is this identity to you, that is what you call yourself?" (1 = not important, 2 = somewhat important, 3 = very important).

Rumbaut and Portes (2001) argued that immigrant ethnic identities emerge from the interplay of racial/ethnic categories and labels imposed on them by the larger society and the identification with ancestral origins. They also argue that as such, ethnic identities are malleable and context-dependent in that identity is likely to change depending on the situation (e.g. whether one is in the presence of co-ethnic family or white American peers), developmental stages (e.g. childhood versus choosing a marital partner) and historical contexts (e.g. political atmosphere). Rumbaut (1994) noted that the CILS data do not reveal which context the respondent had in mind when answering the identity question. Because the questionnaires were completed in schools in waves 1 and 2 (ages 14 and 17) and had several other scales on educational experiences, it seems reasonable to expect that school was the salient context for these youth.

The question about identity was open-ended, and the data were coded into four broad categories: 1) country-origin identity (e.g. Cuban) 2) hyphenated identity (e.g. Cuban-American), 3) American identity (i.e. American) or 4) pan-ethnic identity (e.g. Hispanic, Latino/a). Chicano/a label was included within the pan-ethnic identities in the publically available data set, but for the present analyses I used it as a fifth, independent category. This is because the Hispanic label is more politicized than the other two pan-ethnic labels, and was chosen only by Mexican participants. The figure below represents the possible identity choices within these data. The arrows represent the options for a Mexican participant who identified with the country of origin at age 14, and then as pan-ethnic at age 17.

Figure 2.2 Identity label possibilities for the CILS participants over the three waves



I am making the assumption that these identity labels reveal something both about the acculturation pathway and about the cultural schema youth attach to their identity. To connect the identity labels to cultural schema labels I made a theoretical connection as well as examined the present data that can be used as a proxy for identity content. Table 2.2 below connects segmented assimilation theory and RES similarly to Table 2.1. The third column suggests how these are connected to the identity labels in the CILS data.

Table 2.2 Connecting CILS labels to theory

Segmented assimilation Poter & Zhou	**Racial-ethnic self-schema** Oyserman et al	**CILS**	Comments
Thickening identity --negative outcomes	In-group RES --negative outcomes	County-origin	
Bicultural assimilation (assimilative identity) --positive outcomes	Dual RES --positive outcomes	Hyphenated	RES groups hyphenated and pan-ethnic closer together because they include a notion of both cultures.
Bicultural assimilation (dissimilative identity) --positive outcomes (less clear on this)	Larger society RES with an emphasis on minority identity --positive outcomes	Pan-ethnic Chicano (?)	Segmented identity theory groups pan-ethnic and American identities closer together because they both are "fabricated in the U.S".
Thinning identity --positive outcomes	Aschematic RES (?) --negative outcomes	American	

To the extent that the secondary data at hand allow, I explored the variables which are likely to reveal differences in the content of the cultural schema. The third major component of Figure 2.1 above is background variables, discussed below.

Background variables

As discussed in Chapter 1, some background variables are likely to influence on the acculturation process and identity pathways. In Chapter 1, the focus was on how these background variables influence the acculturation process. Here I focus on how the background variables influence the process of choosing identity labels, and particularly how they are connected to the data I use here.

Country of origin. As discussed in Chapter 1, immigrants typically prefer identity labels that are specifically attached to their country of origin over pan-ethnic labels, (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), although this finding is not uniform across immigrant groups (Portes & McLeod, 1996). To investigate both some of the country-origin specific effects as well as findings that apply to pan-ethnic groups, I examine the data by immigrants of Cuban and Mexican origin for all the following analysis.

In the CILS data set, ethnic origin was strongly related to identity label choice. For example, Latin American students overall were the most likely to indicate an American identity, with the exception of Mexican students who are the least likely to do so. Students of Asian and Cuban origin in contrast, were the most likely to indicate a hyphenated identity (Rumbaut, 1994). As discussed in Chapter 1, both the emigration and immigration conditions influence acculturation (including identity), and are largely dependent on the country of origin.

Gender. In terms of racial identity development the research findings are mixed: French et al. (2006) and Phinney (1989) reported no gender differences, but Phinney's (1990) later research suggest that women participate more in cultural traditions, although this may depend on the culture.

In the longitudinal CILS data, gender made a difference: girls were more likely to indicate a hyphenated or pan-ethnic identity than boys, possibly indicating that ethnic identity may be more fluid and permeable for women (Rumbaut, 1994). Girls were also more likely to retain their ethnic identity from the first CILS wave to the next (Rumbaut & Portes, 2001). Other researchers, however, have reported that boys were more likely to move towards hyphenated labels over time, and girls were more likely to retain country-origin labels (Qin-Hillard, 2003).

Language. From wave 1 to 2, CILs respondents increasingly preferred using English as their language of communication. The logical conclusion would be that as children of immigrants become more acculturated they increasingly adopt American or hyphenated American identities. This was not the case, however, as 53% of the respondents identified as hyphenated American in the first wave, but only 34% did so in the second wave three to four years later (Rumbaut, 2005). The plain American identity took the biggest hit: 10% chose this identity in the first wave, and only 3.5% did so in the second wave. Kiang, Yip, and Fuligni, (2008) found that heritage and American identities can operate in tandem rather than oppositional to each other, so that increase in one does not need to result in a decrease in the other. This suggests that the CILS results may have been different had the students been allowed to choose more than one identity label.

Between waves two and three, participants continued to report higher preference for English use over heritage language use, suggesting increasing acculturation. Despite this, they also reported higher level of bilingualism than in adolescence (Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, & Haller, 2005).

Social class. In the CILS data, parental SES was not a significant predictor in the full model, but in general higher SES was associated with foreign national identity, perhaps suggesting that children of more affluent families had more reason to associated social honor with their family origin (Rumbaut, 2005). Looking at only movement between ages of 14 and 17 (i.e. two first data collection waves), Rumbaut (1994) found that higher parental socio-economic status was associated with higher chance of choosing a country-origin label and lower chance of choosing a hyphenated label. Preference for language use was also associated with labels, with foreign language preference associated with country-origin labels and English preference associated with the American label. And finally, perception of parents' ethnic self-identity (particularly mother's

self-identity) influenced children's identity label choices between ages 14 and 17 (Rumbaut, 1994).

For Cuban CILS participants, a salient social class indicator is attending a private versus public school. Pérez (2001) noted that while Cuban youth in both types of school reported adhering to the Cuban-American label most often, those attending private schools were more likely to report the plain American identity and those attending public school were more likely to report the plain Cuban identity at age 14. He noted that this fits the segmented assimilation theory in that those youth who are in more advantageous surroundings experience "thinning" of ethnic identity (i.e. approaching the American label), and those who are in less advantageous surroundings experience "thickening" of ethnic identity (i.e. adhering to the heritage label).

Perceived discrimination. Rumbaut (2005) argued that immigrant ethnicity is shaped by two opposing powers: acculturation and discrimination. Rumbaut reported that, in the CILS data, high acculturation and low discrimination is associated with reports of American identity, and the reverse is associated with national-origin identity. Hyphenated identity is between these, but closer to American identity. Cuban origin students reported least perceived discrimination in the CILS sample (Pérez, 2001). Chicano identity was associated with higher expectation of racial discrimination than Hispanic identity (Rumbaut, 1994), supporting the decision to keep them separate. Because perceived discrimination is rather sensitive to changes over time (unlike gender for example, and still to a greater degree than other less stable features like social class), it is included separately with each wave in Figure 3 below.

In addition to those outlined in Chapter 1, I will to give additional consideration to two background variables in to the present study: length of stay in the U.S., and importance of identity.

Length of residence. Traditionally research on immigrant acculturation has suggested that the longer immigrants resided in the new country, the more likely they are to acculturate to the host country. In addition to positively predicting acculturation in the host country, length of residence has also been found to negatively predict maintenance of heritage culture in Latino youth (Birman, 1989). Others, however, have reported that length of stay was associated with

increasing association with the national identity (here, American identity), but not with a loss of attachment to the ethnic identity (Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkid, 2006).

Length of residence has been found to influence acculturation and identity so that those youth who had been in the host culture for at least 6 years reported most often having an integrated identity in a recent cross-cultural study (comparable to a hyphenated identity in CILS) (Phinney, Berry, et al., 2006). Similarly, Latvian immigrants who arrived to the US before age 10 reported having an integrated identity in high school, whereas youth who arrived in early teens reported less assimilated identities (Smith, Steward, & Winter, 2004).

Generational status made a difference in who chose a hyphenated identity so that second generation immigrants (born in the U.S.) were more likely to do so than first-generation immigrants of the same ages (i.e. who were born abroad). In fact the strongest predictors of American and hyphenated American identities in the CILS data were being born in the U.S. and having citizenship (Rumbaut, 1994). Both length of stay and citizenship status are included as background variables in the present study.

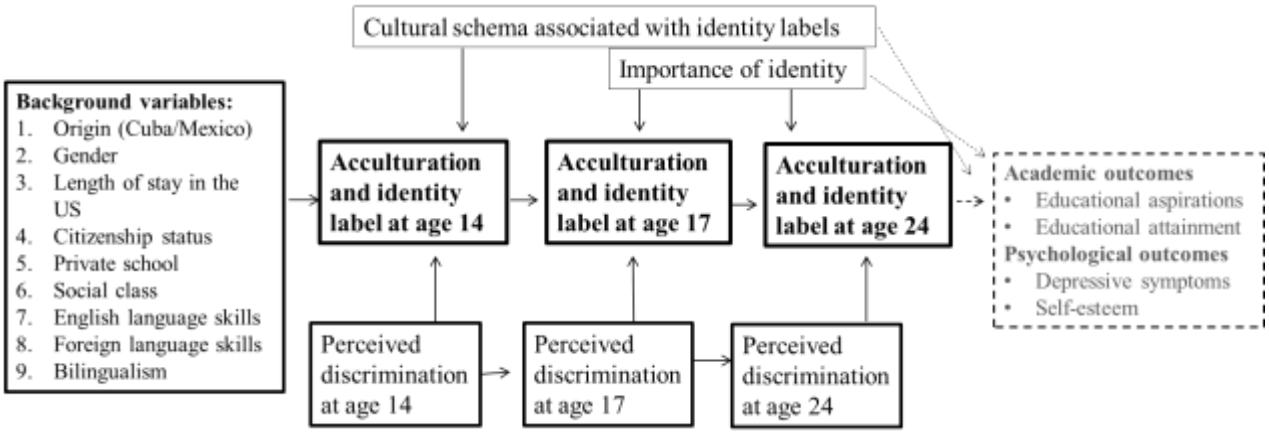
Importance of identity. Some identity researchers suggest that the importance adolescents place on their ethnic identity is more relevant for youth outcomes than the label they chose (e.g Fuligni, Witkow, & Garcia, 2005). The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) by Sellers and colleagues is a theory that addressed how the content of racial identity influences perceptions, and it highlights the importance of identity for youth outcomes. MMRI suggests that African Americans make decisions about how to behave in a given situation in part based on their take on racial regard (i.e. affective judgment of their own race), ideology (i.e. perception of how a Black person should behave), centrality (whether race is a core part of their identity), and salience of their identity (i.e. how accessible their racial ideology and regard are to them) (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998).

Sellers and colleagues argued that the more central racial identity is to the person, the higher it climbs on the hierarchy of psychologically available identities (e.g., compared to gender or occupational identity), and as such becomes a larger influence on the behavioural choices made by the individual. The more central the identity, the more likely it is also to become salient in racially ambiguous situations. Centrality is also correlated with a positive appraisal of one's ethnicity (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton & Smith, 1997). In the CILS data importance of

identity might thus be both relevant to the schema associated with identity labels and to the outcomes (although youth outcomes are not the focus of the present study).

Figure 2.3 below expands the model presented in Figure 2.1 to include the relevant features of the CILS data. The main focus of the present study is to examine the change in identity label from age 14 to age 17 and finally to age 24. I make the assumption that the change in identity label reflects acculturation pathways for immigrant youth, and I will explore how background variables predict movement from one identity label to another over time.

Figure 2.3 Proposed framework



In this study, I first explore whether the identity labels are distinguishable from each other in terms of the cultural schema attached to them. To do this, I use indicators of language use and preference as well as a set of value items. I then examine the movement between identity categories from age 14 to age 17 and to 24 to take a closer look at the acculturation and ethnic identity formation process in immigrant youth. In combination with this, I also explore how the background variables listed in Figure 2.3 predict the movement from one identity category to another over time.

I look at these questions separately for Cuban and Mexican youth since these groups have both important differences and similarities, making it of theoretical interest to look at the acculturation and identity pathways separately. Finally, the right-most box with the dashed line (academic adjustment outcomes) is the focus of the second study 2 in the next chapter.

Methods

All the data for the following analyses come from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study described above.

1. Are the identity labels distinguishable from each other?

Language can be importantly related to ethnic identity. In addition to providing access to heritage culture (Phinney et al., 2000), it can be an effective marker of ethnic cohesion, and increase the salience of collective ethnic identity (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughling-Volpe, 2004). On the other hand, English is the majority language in the US, and the language of schooling.

In this study, I explore how the identity label groups are distinguishable from each other in their self-reported heritage language and English proficiency, bilingualism, and language used with parents. These variables were available in wave 1 and 2 (ages 14 and 17, respectively). Heritage language and English proficiencies were composites scores consisting of the mean score for answers to questions on ability to read, write, speak, and understand the language (each coded from 1=Not at all to 4=Very well). Bilingualism was coded on a 4-point scale from 1=Limited bilingual to 4=Fluent bilingual.

In wave 3, the available language variables were: the language participants used most often in general and specifically with their parents, and the language in which they wished to raise their children in. Where appropriate, all language items were coded so that higher scores indicated preference for English, lower scores indicated a preference for foreign language, and the middle scores indicated using both.

For the Cuban sub-sample, the foreign language was Spanish in 99.3% of the cases. Ten participants (or .8%) reported other languages: 6 of those French. Of the Mexican participants 99% reported Spanish. Seven participants (or .9%) reported other languages: of those 2 reported French and 3 a Philippine language. Thus, the heritage language in virtually all cases was Spanish.

Identity labels were distinguishable from each other regarding a set of value variables. Value profiles were created to depict the extent to which the youth adhering to different identity

labels differ in 1) their perceptions of economic opportunity for minorities in the U.S.; 2) perception of the U.S. as the best country in the world; 3) own and parents' preference for doing things "the American way"; and 4) whether "American ways" weaken family life. Preference for "Doing things the American way" was coded on a 4-point scale from "All the time" to "Never", and the other items here were coded on a 4-point scale from 1=Agree a lot to 4=Disagree a lot. For the present analysis these were reverse-coded so that higher mean scores denote higher agreement.

These same value variables were also present in wave 2, and included in the results below (with the exception of discrimination in economic opportunity and perceiving American ways as weakening family life because these two items no longer distinguished between the identity labels). A family variable available in wave 2 was familism, which was a composite scores indicating the degree to which the participants agrees that family togetherness was important, and that relatives have a high obligation to help out. Finally, importance of ethnic identity was included for waves 2 and 3, and was coded on a 3-point scale from 1=Not important to 3=Very important.

Similar effort to distinguish acculturation profiles in immigrant youth have been made by Phinney et al (2006) who also included heritage language use and proficiency, host language use and proficiency, emphasis on ethnic identity, and familism in their acculturation profiles.

2. Movement between identity labels over time and the predictors of change.

The first question of this study asks what the identity labels and movement between identity label categories reveals about ethnic identity development in immigrant youth. Looking cross-sectionally at the first data collection wave, Rumbaut (1994) suggested that based on characteristics such as length of stay and citizenship, social class, language use, familism, and reported discrimination, there appeared to be a path of acculturation from country-origin label to hyphenated label to American label in the CILS data (e.g., Cuban → Cuban-American→ American).

He found that the country-origin label was associated with the fewest acculturation indicators, whereas the American label was associated with relatively higher English use, upward social mobility, decreased discrimination, and greater psychological well-being. Rumbaut

described the hyphenated label as transitional, and perhaps even as unstable, whilst factors such as increasing English language skills and diminishing heritage-language skills increasingly associate the immigrant with the host culture. According to Rumbaut (1994), the pan-ethnic identity does not fit well within this linear pathway, and is associated with more mixed findings. For example, the youth adhering to the Hispanic label reported low levels of discrimination, but those adhering to the black label reported high discrimination.

In the analyses here, I look at the change for the Cuban and Mexican sub-samples separately from wave 1 to wave 2, and again from wave 2 to wave 3. To uncover patterns of movement between the four identity labels, I use multi-dimensional scaling. Multidimensional scaling gives a spatial representation of the object based on the perceived similarities between them. This configuration represents the "hidden psychological structure" in the data, making interpretation of the movement between identity labels easier (Kruskal & Wish, 1978). The data matrix I entered contained movement between the identity labels between the two first waves. I assigned identity labels as nominal variables (rather than ordinal), and assigned the numbers in the matrix as similarities (as opposed to distances) since they represented the movement between two categories.

I addition to examining the movement patterns from one category to the next, I also explored how background variables that are theoretically influential predict movement from one identity label category to the next over time. The background variables I included are those illustrated in Figure 3 above: gender, length of stay in the U.S., citizenship, measures of social class, language skills. I will also include perceived discrimination and importance of identity as predictors.

Gender was coded 1=male and 2=female for all three waves. The questions regarding *length of stay* in the U.S. was a question with four answer options: 1= Less than 5 years, 2=5-10 years, 3= More than 10 years, and 4= All my life. *Citizenship* was coded as 1=Has U.S. citizenship and 2=Does not have U.S. citizenship.

The social class measures I included here included *mother's and father's level of education* for waves 1 and 2 as reported by the student. I also included a *family SES* composite score that was a unit-weighed standardized scale score composed of mother's and father's education, their occupational socioeconomic index score, and home owner status. Going to a

private school is another SES indicator which was included as a separate predictor here (coded 0=Public school and 1=Private school for waves 1 and 2).

The language variables I included on exploratory basis on the first round of analyses included self-reported *English proficiency, foreign language proficiency, and bilingualism.* The coding of these items is detailed above in the description of the schema content items. Finally, *perceived discrimination* was coded as 0=No and 1=Yes, and *importance of identity* was coded on a three-point scale from 1=Not important to 3-Very important.

Results

I discuss the results pertaining to the two questions (content of identity labels as well as movement and predictors of change in identity labels) in two separate sections below.

Before looking at the identity labels, I summarize the differences between Cuban and Mexican students, and between the two genders within each ethnic group.

Brief summary of differences between ethnic groups, genders, and identity labels

As discussed above, Cuban youth tend to come from higher SES families and have enjoyed more favorable immigration and acculturation conditions than Mexican youth (Lopez & Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Pérez, 2001). Perhaps not surprisingly, the two groups differed on all background variables but gender ratios. Means, standard deviations, as well as significant p-values are reported in Table 2.3 below.

Table 2.3 Background variables

	Cuban	Mexican	p-value
Age 14	N=1226	N=755	
Gender	1.49 (.50)	1.50 (.50)	.722
Length of stay in the U.S.	3.59 (.659)	3.14 (1.098)	.000
Father's level of education	4.23 (1.516)	2.99 (1.654)	.000
Mother's level of education	4.22 (1.367)	2.60 (1.524)	.000
Family SES index	.142 (.968)	-.644 (.627)	.000
Participant bilingual at age 14	2.06 (1.08)	2.54 (1.06)	.000
Foreign language knowledge at age 14	3.05 (.696)	3.22 (.879)	.000
Being at private school at age 14.	15 (.356)	N/A	.000
Experienced discrimination at age 14	.38 (.486)	.65 (.477)	.000
Age 17	N=968	N=599	
Participant bilingual at age 17	1.9 (1.03)	2.26 (1.08)	.000
Foreign language knowledge at age 17	3.114 (.743)	3.308 (8.24)	.000
Being at private school at age 17	.14 (.348)	.01 (.082)	.000
Experienced discrimination age 17	.50 (.50)	.66 (.475)	.000
Importance of ethnic identity	2.43 (.693)	2.59 (.651)	.000

On average, Cuban students had stayed in the U.S. longer, had parents with higher education, had higher family SES, reported higher English knowledge, and were more likely to attend a private school. Mexican students in this sample attached higher importance to their identity, were more likely to be bilingual and report better Spanish knowledge, and reported more discrimination.

Next, I took a closer look at gender differences. Researchers have argued that immigrant sons and daughters receive different treatment regarding, for example, educational expectations and behavioral rules (e.g. (Mahalingam & Haritatos, 2006; Suarez-Orozco & Qin, 2006). To examine this in the present study, I looked at gender differences within ethnicity. Means, standard deviations, as well as significant p-values are reported in Tables 2.4 and 2.5 below.

Table 2.4 Background variables for Cuban youth by gender

	Cuban boys	Cuban girls	p-value
Age 14	N=645	N=581	
Length of stay in the U.S.	3.63 (.619)	3.55 (.679)	.048
Father's level of education	4.40 (1.51)	4.03 (1.50)	.000
Mother's level of education	4.39 (1.34)	4.04 (1.37)	.000
Family SES index	.243 (.722)	.031 (.623)	.000
Participant bilingual at age 14	2.15 (1.12)	1.96 (1.03)	.001
Foreign language knowledge at age 14	2.999 (.691)	3.105 (.697)	.008
Being at private school at age 14	.24 (.43)	.04 (.21)	.000
Experienced discrimination at age 14	.39 (.487)	.38 (.485)	.000
Age 17	N=497	N=471	
Participant bilingual at age 17	2.03 (1.09)	1.76 (.945)	.000
Foreign language knowledge at age 17	3.05 (.729)	3.18 (.754)	.010
Being at private school at age 17	.24 (.427)	.04 (.187)	.000
Experienced discrimination age 17	.52 (.50)	.48 (.50)	.233
Importance of ethnic identity	2.40 (.718)	2.46 (.665)	.176

Table 2.5 Background variables for Mexican youth by gender

	Mexican boys	Mexican girls	p-value
Age 14	N= 389	N=366	
Length of stay in the U.S.	3.19 (1.071)	3.09 (1.126)	.250
Father's level of education	3.20 (1.687)	2.79 (1.60)	.002
Mother's level of education	2.83 (1.544)	2.38 (1.473)	.000
Family SES index	-.573 (.672)	-.719 (.567)	.001
Participant bilingual at age 14	2.67 (1.04)	2.41 (1.106)	.001
Foreign language knowledge at age 14	3.12 (.922)	3.320 (.819)	.002
Experienced discrimination at age 14	.62 (.486)	.68 (.467)	.078
Age 17	N=302	N=297	
Participant bilingual at age 17	2.40 (1.08)	2.12 (1.06)	.001
Foreign language knowledge at age 17	3.188 (.878)	3.431 (.747)	.000
Experienced discrimination age 17	.69 (.465)	.63 (486)	.114
Importance of ethnic identity	2.55 (.686)	2.64 (612)	.085

In the Cuban group, boys reported higher SES indicators (mother's and father's education, family SES), and were more likely to attend a private school. Girls reported both higher English and Spanish use, but boys reported being more fluently bilingual. Likewise for the Mexican group, boys reported higher SES measures (mother's and father's education, family SES). They also reported higher Spanish knowledge and higher likelihood of being bilingual.

It is curious that for both groups boys reported higher SES measures. When looking at what mothers reported in the parent interview (sub-sample of all parents), it looks like there was no difference for Cuban participants, but for Mexican participants mothers of boys indeed reported slightly higher education levels (p=.028) than mothers of Mexican girls.

The tables with the means for these analyses can be found in Appendix A (Tables 1-4).

In the Cuban sample, the SES difference favoring boys seems to be related with boys being sent more readily to private school, and parents of boys who attended private schools having participated more readily in the parental interview. Table 5 in Appendix A shows that indeed, during data collection waves 1 and 2 participating Cuban boys were more likely to be in private school than Cuban girls (the most popular private school in these data was Belen Jesuit Preparatory school, an all-boys school). Furthermore, Table 6 shows that of the Cuban students who attended private school, parents of boys were more likely to take part in the parental interview study than parents of girls.

Examining gender differences in identity label choice also revealed different patterns in Cuban and Mexican youth. Tables reflecting these results can be found in Appendix B. For Cuban youth, chi-square statistics indicated that boys and girls differed in their adherence to the identity labels only at age 14. At that time boys were more likely to report American identity than girls (Table 1 in Appendix B). For Mexican youth at age 14, it looks like boys were also more likely than girls to report American identity, and girls were relatively more likely than boys to choose pan-ethnic identity (Table 2). Similar results emerged for Mexican youth at waves 2 and 3, with the additional fact that Chicano identity was more popular among boys than girls in both of those waves (Tables 3 and 4 in Appendix B). Sample sizes for Mexican youth who chose the plain American label were very small (N=21 at age 17; N=7 at age 17; and N=6 at age 24).

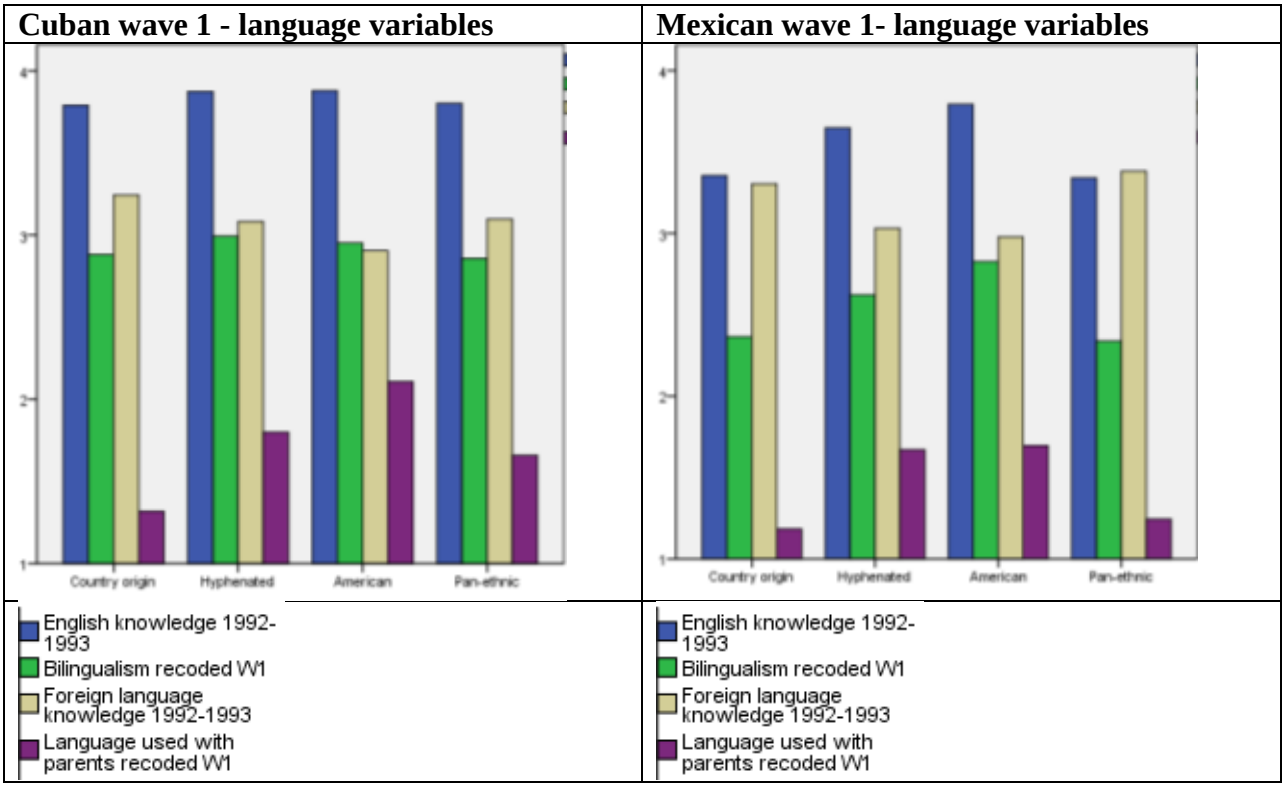
Because of the clear theoretical and empirical differences between the two national origins, all the following analyses were conducted separately for the Cuban and Mexican samples. The gender differences in identity label choice, on the other hand, were less pronounced, and the patterns were less clear. For this reason, the content of the identity labels is not analyzed separately by gender, but gender is included as a predictor variable in the analyses regarding change from one wave to another.

1. Are the identity labels distinguishable from each other?

Below are the results from language and value variables by wave. I used planned contrasts to compare the identity label groups to each other cross-sectionally. I compared the identity label groups separately within the Cuban and Mexican samples. The graphs represent the group means, and help visualize the differences between the identity labels. For the Cuban group at

wave 1 (age 14) all identity groups had over 87 participants, but for the Mexican group only 21 participants reported American identity (and replied to these questions).

Figure 2.4 Language variables at age 14



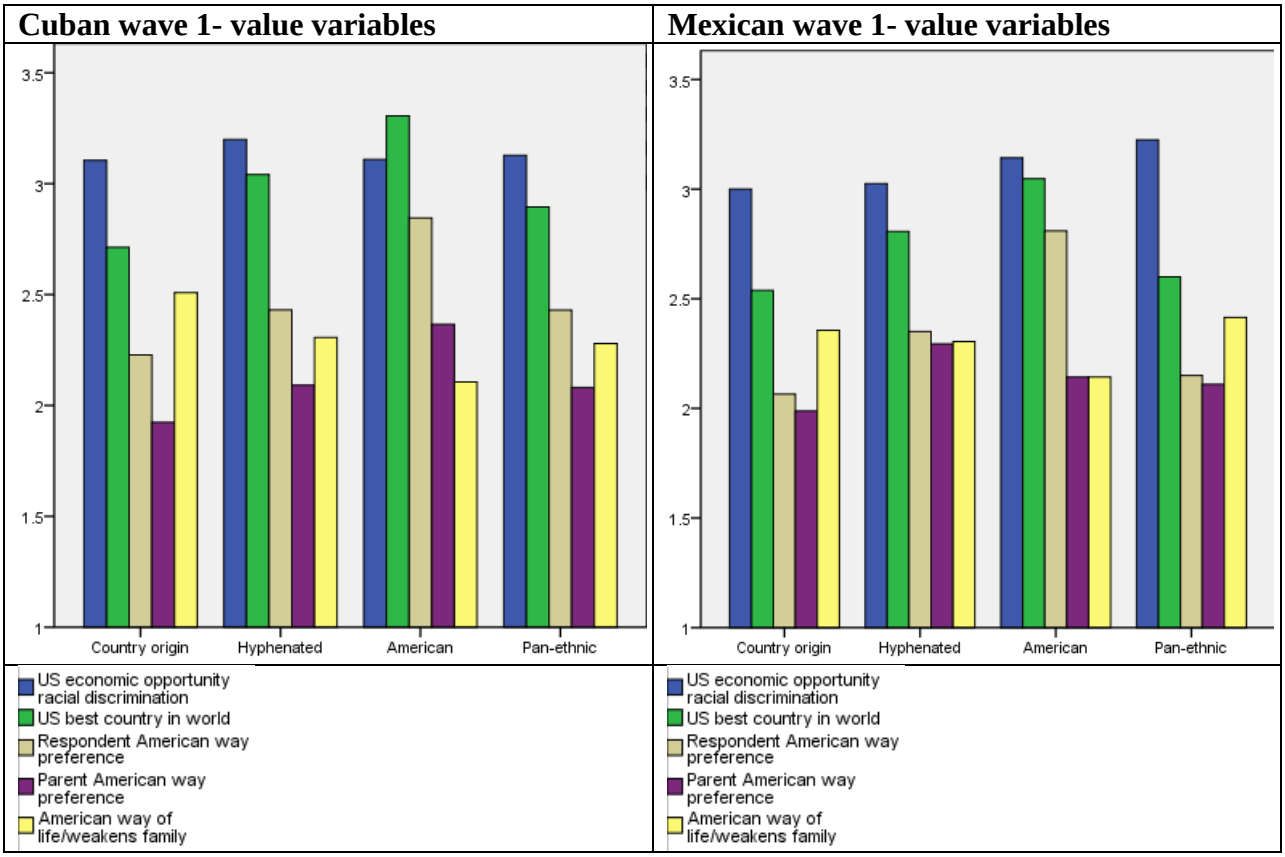
Although the contrasts indicated that Cuban participants identifying as plain Cuban reported significantly lower English skills than those identifying as American or Cuban-American (higher blue bars denote preference for English), the fairly similar height of the bars graph suggests that English skills are not a very good way to distinguish between the identity labels for the Cuban participants at age 14. There were no differences in reports of bilingualism either (green bars).

Spanish knowledge and language used with parents distinguish more clearly between the identity groups, with those identifying as Cuban reporting the best Spanish skills and highest frequency of using Spanish with their parents, and those adhering to American and hyphenated labels reporting using English more comfortably and more often with parents (beige and purple bars). Tables denoting significant differences can be found in Table 1 in Appendix C.

For Mexican participants at age 14, those identifying as Mexican or pan-ethnic reported higher Spanish proficiency, but lower levels of bilingualism and English proficiency than those

identifying as American or Mexican-American (blue and green bars). Tables denoting significant differences can be found in Appendix C (Table 2).

Figure 2.5 Value variables at age 14



For Cuban students at age 14, there seem to be a linear progression with how favorably the adolescent views American and American values. Youth who identity with Cuba only are least favorable to American values, followed by youth identifying as Cuban-American and Hispanic/Latino/a, and finally youth who identify as American are the most the most favorable. Hyphenated identity falls in between these, and is statistically significantly different from both country-origin identified and American youth. It can be seen from the bar graph that pan-ethnic youth adhere to values that are similar to the hyphenated youth, and in most cases the pan-ethnic group does not significantly differ from the hyphenated or country-origin group (see Table 3 in Appendix C).

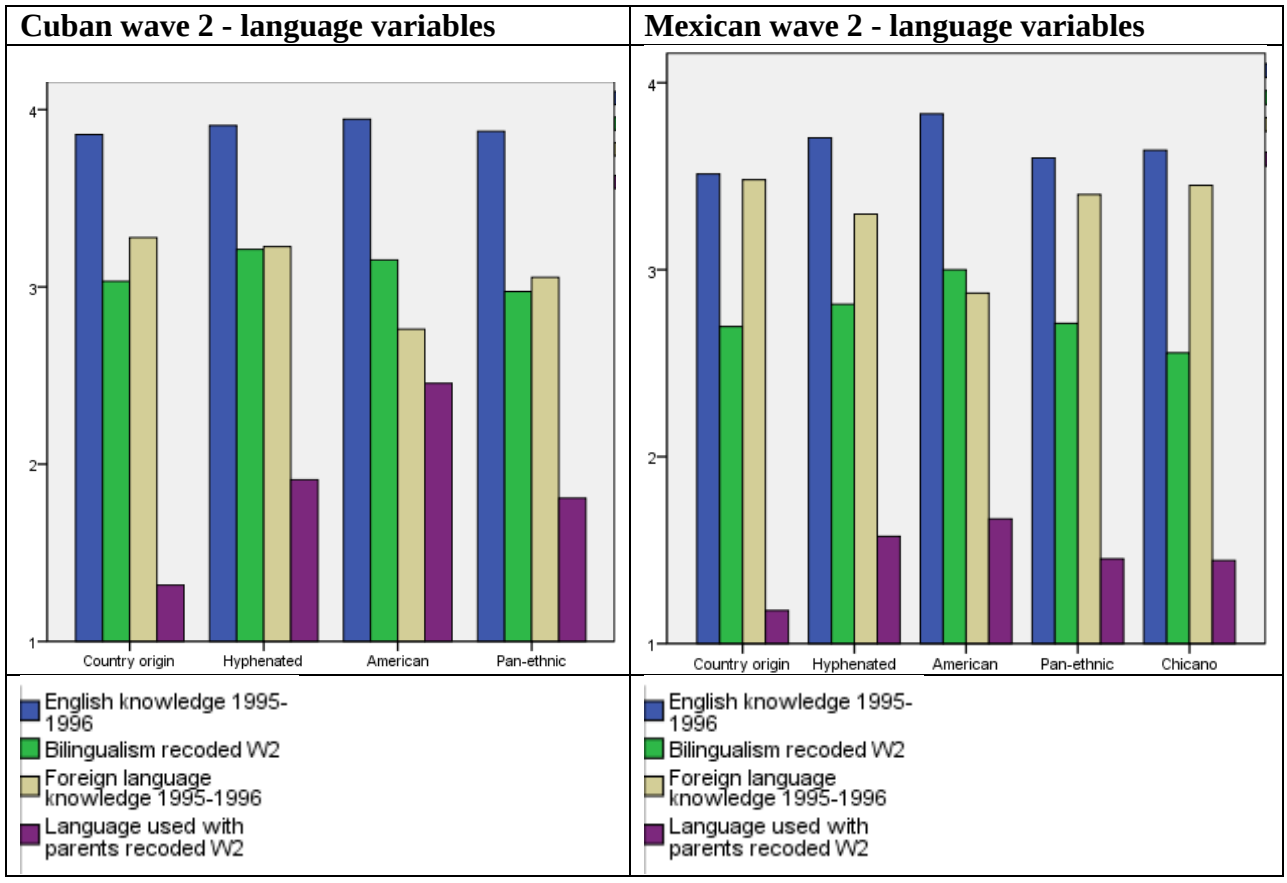
The value profiles are largely similar for the Mexican group, with those identifying as American holding the most positive views of the American culture. Like with the Cuban group,

those holding a hyphenated identity seem to be in between country-origin and American identified students at age 14. Unlike in the Cuban group, however, Mexican students identifying as pan-ethnic seem to hold the least favorable views of the U.S. (see Table 4 in Appendix C).

Wave 2

For Cuban students at age 17, the sample size for those who reported American identity and responded to these questions was 47. For the Mexican group Chicano emerged as a new label, and is kept separate here. In the Mexican group, 43 students reported Chicano identity and responded to these questions. The sample size for the plain American identified is only 7 at age 17. All other categories had over 90 participants.

Figure 2.6 Language variables at age 17

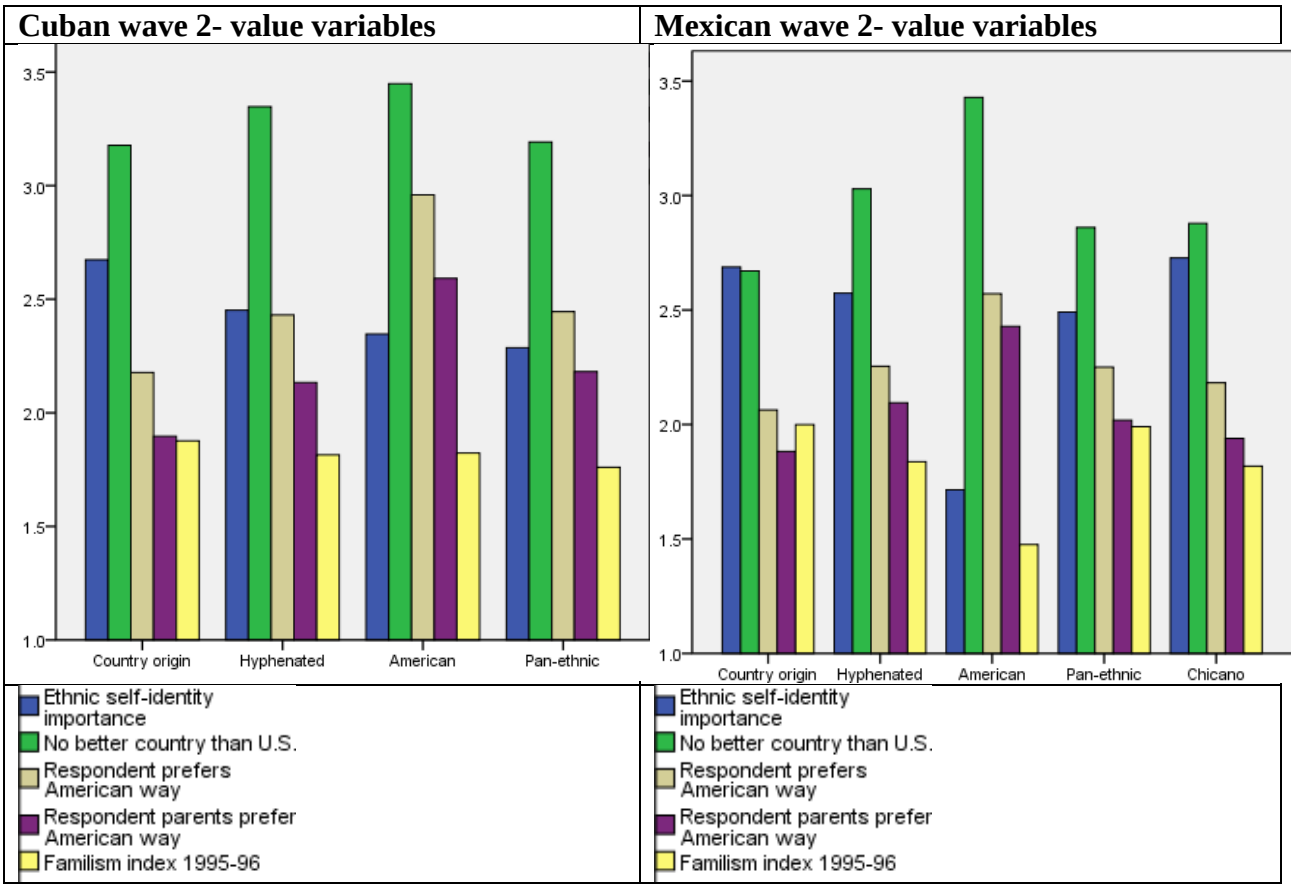


Like at age 14, at age 17 Cuban students who identified only with Cuba had lower English skills and higher Spanish skills than students identifying either with hyphenated or

American identity. And again, pan-ethnic identity was close to hyphenated identity on the language variables (see Table 5 in Appendix C).

For Mexican students at age 17, the most differences emerged between Mexican and Mexican-American identified students, with the country-origin group preferring and using relatively more Spanish and the hyphenated group using more English. None of the contrasts were significant for the American of Chicano groups, but that may in part be due to the small sample sizes (see Table 6 in Appendix C).

Figure 2.7 Value variables at age 17



For Cuban students at age 17, importance of identity seemed to decreased with more acculturated identity: important of identity was the highest for youth identifying with Cuban only, then for hyphenated youth, then plain American youth, and then pan-ethnic identity (although American was not significantly different from hyphenated or pan-ethnic). Like before, plain American identified youth were the most favorable to American values, followed by hyphened, pan-ethnic, and country-origin identified. Hyphenated and pan-ethnic identified had

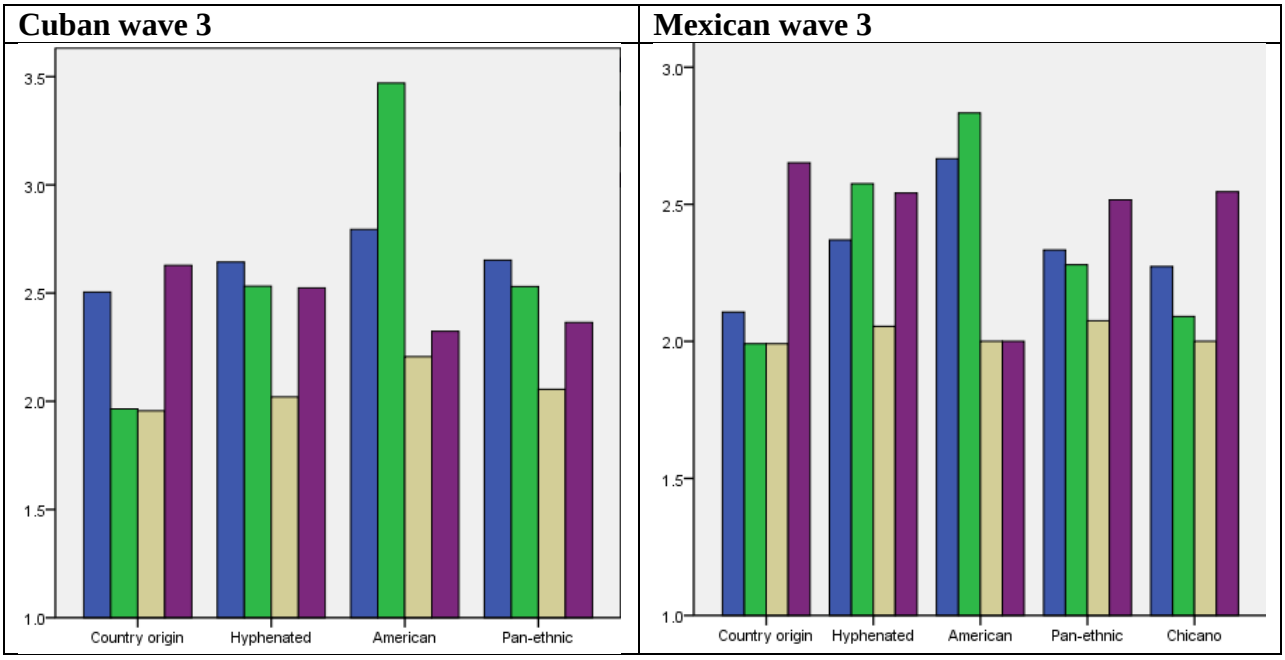
similar profiles here, with notable differences in importance of identity and agreeing whether the U.S. is the best country in the world (Table 7 in Appendix C).

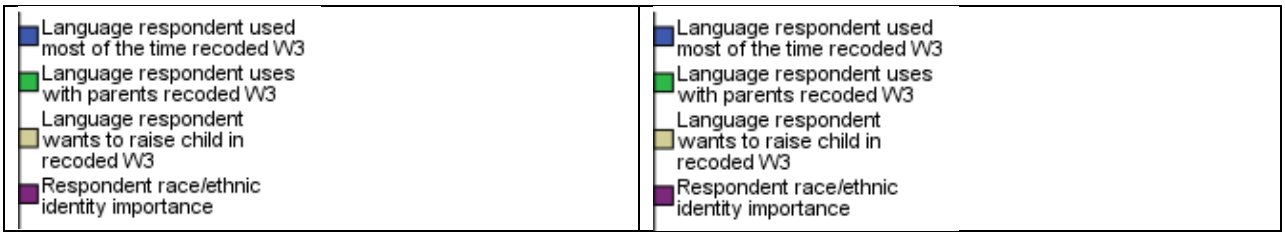
Likewise in the Mexican sample, those adhering to the American identity had the best opinion about the U.S. and attached the least importance to their ethnic identity, while the exact opposite was true for those who identify as Mexican (and Chicano, to somewhat lesser extent). Again, hyphenated and pan-ethnic identities were in-between Mexican and American identities value-wise at age 17. Finally, Cuban students did not differ on endorsement of familism, but Mexican students identifying with Mexico only endorsed familism values more than those identifying with the Mexican-American identity (Table 8 in Appendix C).

Wave 3

In wave 3 (age 24) language items were again coded so that higher scores indicate preference for English, and the middle option indicated use of both (or the use of Spanglish). American identity continued to be the least popular identity choice (Cuban N=36, Mexican N=6), and for the Mexican group only 11 participants reported Chicano identity at this time.

Figure 2.8 Language variables and importance of identity at age 24





At age 24, Cuban youth identifying as American continued to be the "most American", as indicated by preferred language use, and the trend was for English to be the preferred child-rearing language. American-identified youth also continue to attach the least importance to their ethnic identity. Most differences here merged between the Cuban-identified group and all other identities at age 24 (Table 9 in Appendix C).

Similar profiles emerge for the Mexican youth at age 24 with country-origin identified preferring Spanish relatively more, and hyphenated and pan-ethnic identified relatively preferring English. Unlike in the Cuban group, differences in importance of identity were not significant between any groups. Sample size for the plain American identified group is so small, however, that it is difficult to make any inferences based on the mean of the group. Tables listing significant differences can be found in Appendix C (Table 10 in Appendix C).

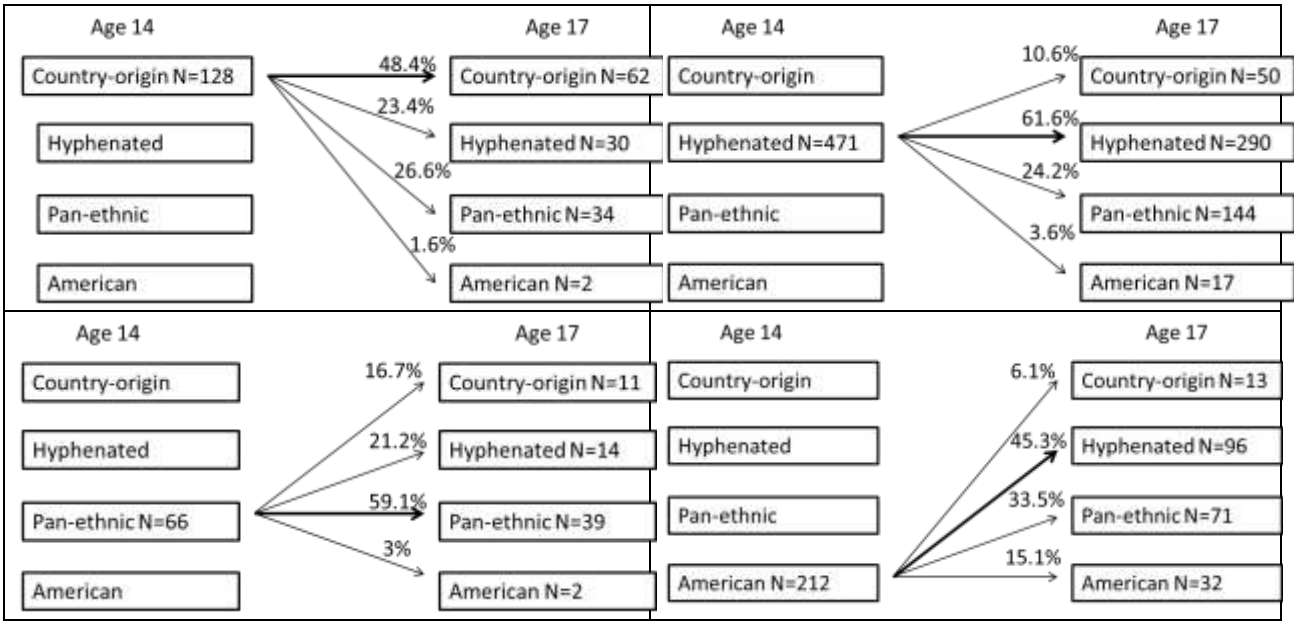
2. Movement between identity labels over time and the predictors of change.

Identity label use and pathways

The central question to this paper has to do with the change in identity (label) over time. Below I summarize the findings by wave. At each time point I will first discuss the movement between identity label categories followed by an examination of the predictors of change.

Cuban sample: Movement between identity categories from wave 1 to wave 2. The figure below shows the movement from one identity label category to another between waves 1 and 2. The mean age for respondents at wave 1 was 14 years, and 17 year at wave 2.

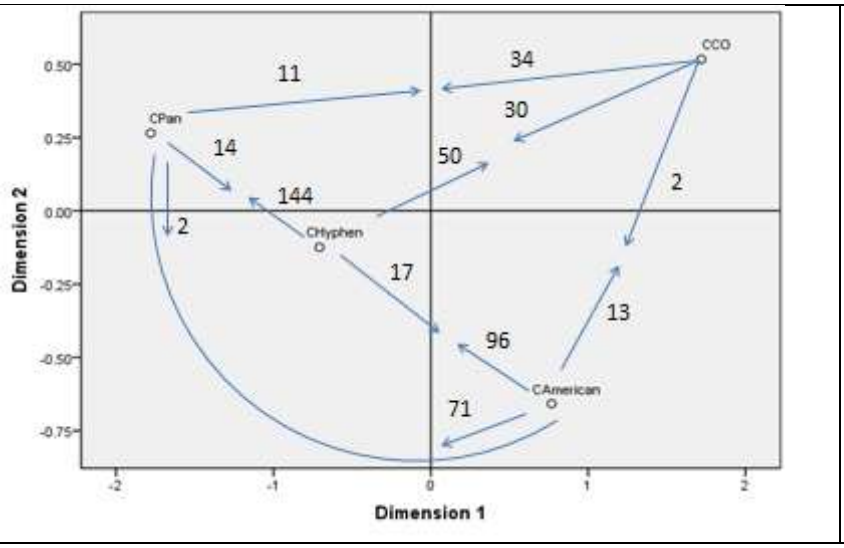
Figure 2.9 Change in identity label category for Cuban youth from age 14 to age 17



For all categories except American, stability in identity label was the most common choice between ages 14 and 17. Same label was chosen later by almost half of those who identified with country-origin only, and 60% of those who identified with either the hyphenated or pan-ethnic label.

I used multidimensional scaling to get a better understanding of the underlying psychological structure in the identity label data between the ages 14 and 17. The stress values indicated that a 2-dimensional solution fit the data best. The stress for the Cuban group was .000, indicating a perfect fit (Giguère, 2006). I have added the raw numbers representing movement from one label to another on the multidimensional configuration below. It can be seen, for example, that of those identifying as Cuban at time 1, only two people moved to the American label, and 30 people moved to the hyphenated label, while 13 individuals moved from American to Cuban label during this time.

Figure 2.10 Movement between categories from wave 1 to wave 2 imposed on the MDS configuration (Cuban sample)



Stayed CO 62 (48.4%)
Stayed hyphenated 290 (61.6%)
Stayed Pan 39 (59.1%)
Stayed American 32 (15.1%)

What can be inferred from the above is that for Cuban adolescents country-origin identity seems to be psychologically distant from the other three identities. In addition, pan-ethnic and American identities are also psychologically distant from each other.

To look at what predicted change in identity label from one data collection point to another I used a combination of linear regression and multinomial logistic regression. I first analyzed the change from wave 1 (age 14) to wave 2 (age 17).

I used linear regressions for the first round of change analyses for the ease of interpretation. For this, I created a dichotomous identity variable for each of the time points to be used as the outcome variable (e.g. country-origin identified or not; hyphenated identified or not). I then ran four regressions for the Cuban group, once with each new identity outcome variable. For the Mexican group I ran five regressions due to the inclusion of the Chicano label. The small sample size of American and Chicano identities also posed problems with some of the predictor variables in the multinomial logistic regression, but did not pose a problem for the linear regression (although care needs to be used in interpretation due to the small Ns).

Due to the large number of background variables listed in Figure 2.3 I built the regression model in a stepwise fashion, excluding variables that were not significant even with very few other predictor variables in the model (i.e., identity label at a previous time and gender). The background variables included in the final regression were identity label at the previous time

point, gender, length of stay in the U.S., citizenship status, perceived discrimination, heritage language skills, and going to a private versus public school (relevant only for the Cuban sample).

Table 2.6 above shows that previous identity label was a significant predictor for identity label change for all groups in the Cuban sample. P-values are in parenthesis after the standardized coefficient. Because identity at the previous time point is a nominal outcome (and not a scale), interpreting the results regarding this variable in a liner regression is not meaningful. I used multinomial regression to examine how previous identity labels acts as a predictor.

Table 2.6 Linear regression results for predicting identity label choice at age 17 for the Cuban sample.

	Identity label choice at age 17			
Predictors at age 14	Country-origin N=126	Hyphenated N=379	American N=46	Pan-ethnic N=236
R^2	.183	.087	.047	.042
Adjusted R^2	.175	.079	.039	.033
Identity label	-.120 (.000)	-.104 (.004)	.102 (.005)	.150 (.000)
Gender	-.050 (.141)	.042 (.238)	-.022 (.558)	.003 (.931)
Length of stay	-.294 (.000)	.169 (.000)	.111 (.015)	-.020 (.653)
Being a US citizen	-.094 (.028)	.032 (.475)	-.017 (.704)	.046 (.322)
Discrimination	.042 (.197)	-.066 (.052)	-.015 (.661)	.049 (.158)
Spanish knowledge	.046 (.167)	.028 (.431)	-.099 (.006)	-.012 (.742)
Private school	-.043 (.215)	.197 (.000)	-.094 (.012)	-.132 (.000)

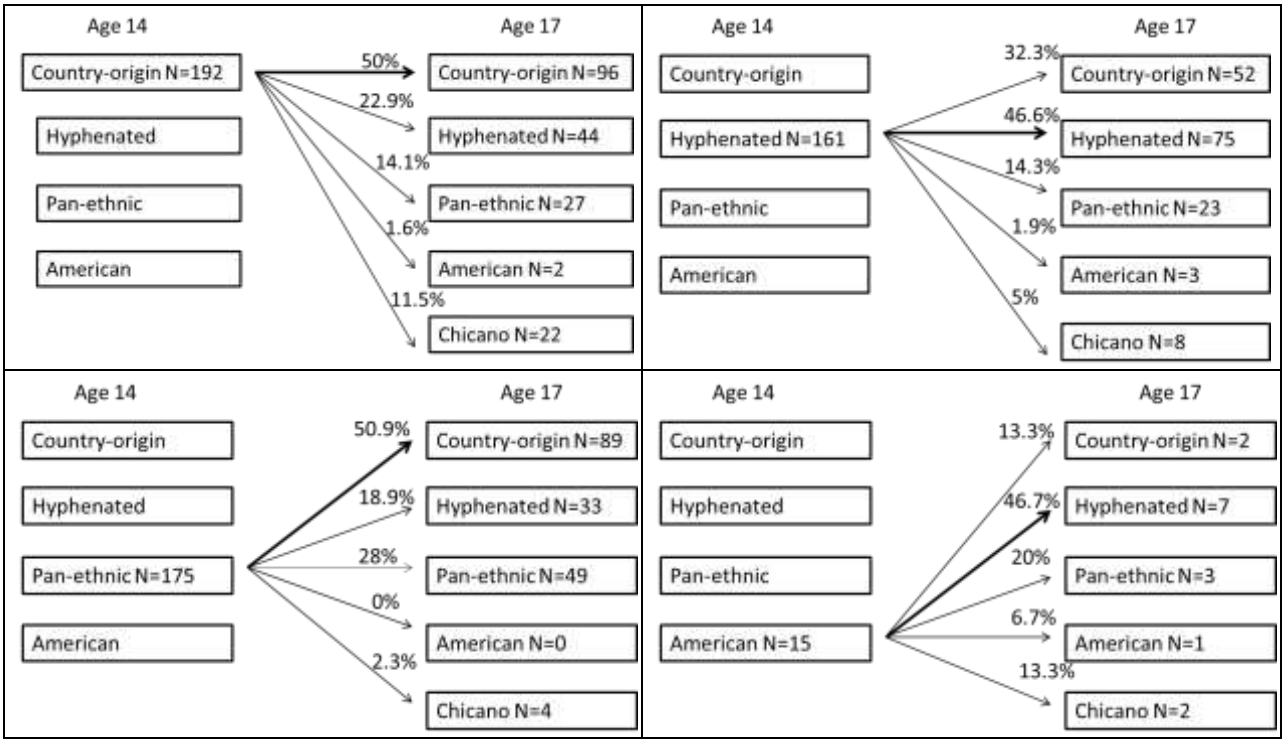
Length of stay negatively predicted choosing the Cuban label at age 17 so that the longer Cuban students had resided in the U.S., the less likely they were to choose the plain Cuban label and the more likely they were to choose the plain American label and hyphenated label. Going to private school (versus a public school) positively predicted choosing a hyphenated label, and negatively predicted choosing an American or pan-ethnic label. Not being a U.S. citizen at age 14 predicted choosing the Cuban label at age 17, and reporting low Spanish skills at age 14 negatively predicted choosing the American label at age 17. The R^2 suggests that this model explains the most variance for predicting country-origin identity.

Table 1 in Appendix D summarizes the multinomial regression results regarding the predictive power of identity label at the previous time point. The results confirm the pattern evident in

Figure 2.9 above: indicating any identity (except plain American identity) was a good predictor of reporting that same identity again at the next survey. Choosing the plain American identity at age 14 was most associated with of choosing a hyphenated identity at age 17. Having had chosen either a country-origin or hyphenated identity at age 14 was a significant predictor for not to choose the other of those two options three years later.

Mexican sample: Movement between identity categories from wave 1 to wave 2. The figure below shows the movement from one identity label category to another between waves 1 and 2.

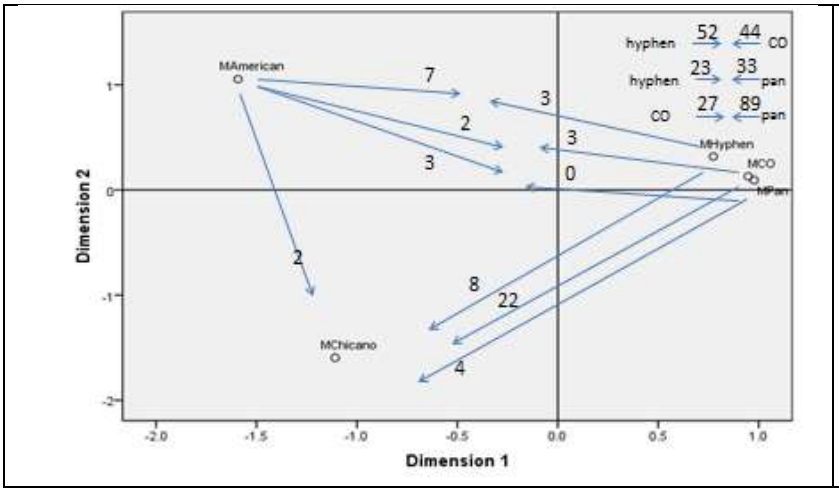
Figure 2.11 Change in identity label category for Mexican youth from age 14 to age 17



For the Mexican group, stability of the previous identity was most common in youth who identified with country-origin (50%) or hyphenated identity (47%). For youth who identified with pan-ethnicity at time 1 the move to country-origin identity was the most popular choice. Like for Cubans, retaining American label was uncommon, as was movement towards that label. The 2-dimensional nominal multidimensional scaling (MDS) solution yielded a stress value of .00172, which is considered excellent (Giguère, 2006; Kruskal & Wish, 1978).). One thing to note about the low stress values for both groups, however, is that with the relatively few cells in the matrix (here 4x4) low stress values are more likely to occur than with a larger matrix

(Kruskal & Wish, 1978). However, imposing the numbers again on the MDS configuration helps to see that this configuration seems to describe the data well.

Figure 2.12 Movement between categories from wave 1 to wave 2 imposed on the MDS configuration (Mexican sample)



Stayed CO 96 (50%)
Stayed hyphenated 75(46.6%)
Stayed Pan 49(28%)
Stayed American 1 (13.3%)

What can be inferred from this configuration is that American and Chicano identity are psychologically distant from each other, and also from the three other identities (CO, pan, and hyphenated) which in turn form a close cluster. Similar to the Cubans, American identity is an unstable identity between ages 14 and 17.

Table 2.7 Linear regression results for predicting identity label choice at age 17 for the Mexican sample.

	Identity label choice at age 17				
Predictors at age 14	Country-origin N=237	Hyphenated N=162	American N=6	Pan-ethnic N=108	Chicano N=36
R^2	.120	.076	.026	.057	.065
Adjusted R^2	.108	.062	.011	.043	.051
Identity label	-.009 (.830)	-.036 (.411)	-.034 (.458)	.153 (.001)	-.136 (.002)
Gender	-.062 (.153)	-.017 (.698)	.025 (.587)	.158 (.000)	-.101 (.024)
Length of stay	-.122 (.029)	.160 (.005)	.028 (.628)	-.092 (.111)	.074 (.197)
Being a US citizen	-.237 (.000)	.103 (.063)	.005 (.925)	.096 (.087)	.121 (.031)
Discrimination	-.025 (.563)	.051 (.248)	-.023 (.604)	.019 (.665)	-.063 (.154)
Spanish knowledge	.036 (.436)	-.036 (.453)	-.139 (.004)	-.044 (.354)	.122 (.011)
Private school	-.033 (.440)	.063 (.149)	-.003 (.939)	-.016 (.713)	-.024 (.584)

For the Mexican youth previous identity label choice and gender predicted identity choice at age 17 for the pan-ethnic and Chicano group (Table 2.7). The gender difference indicates that girls were more likely to choose pan-ethnic labels, while boys were more likely to indicate the Chicano identity. Like in the Cuban group above, youth who had resided in the U.S. the least time and did not have U.S. citizenship were likely to choose the Mexican label. Youth who had resided in the U.S. the longest were more likely to choose the Mexican-American label. Finally, Spanish knowledge negatively predicted the choice of the American label, and positively predicted the choice of the Chicano label. Like for the Cuban sample this model best predicts the choice of country-origin identity.

And again like for the Cuban youth, for the Mexican youth the most common choice was to retain the previous identity choice (except for the American group, not illustrated here due to a very low sample size at age 17). The logistic regression results concur with this finding. They also show that choosing a plain Mexican identity at age 14 was the best identity label predictor of choosing a Chicano identity at age 17. Results of the multinomial logistic regression can be found in Table 2 in Appendix D.

Further analysis regarding length of stay

In CILS data, there was fairly little variance in length of stay since everyone was a child of an immigrant. In the data, this variable is coded on 4-points: “Less than 5 years”, “5-10 years”, “More than 10 years”, “All my life”. The vast majority of Cuban students (91%) had been in the country more than 10 years by the first data collection wave. This means they would have arrived before age 4. For Mexican students the situation was not as skewed, but nonetheless 71% of them had been in US more than 10 years. Lopez and Stanton-Salazar (2001) note regarding length of stay that “it makes little sense to distinguish between the native born and those who arrived before the age of 5 (p.65)”

Despite this, length of stay predicted identity label choice between ages 14 and 17. For both groups in wave 2 (age 17), those choosing an American label had been in the country the longest, followed by those who chose a hyphenated label, and then by those who chose the pan-ethnic label (Figure 2.13 below).

Figure 2.13 Length of stay with identity label choice at age 14

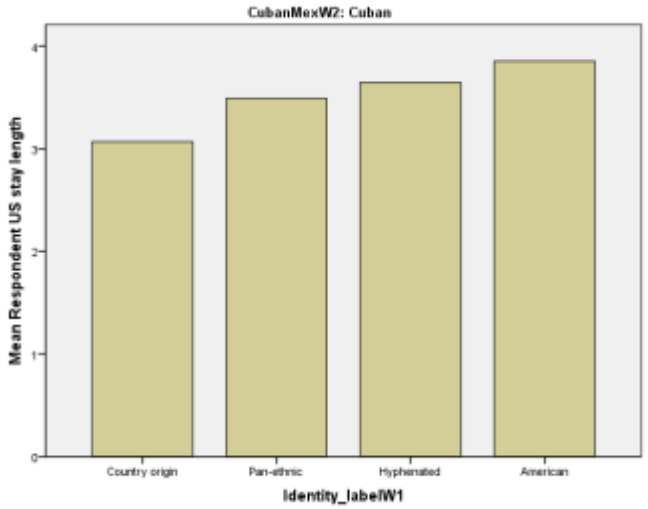
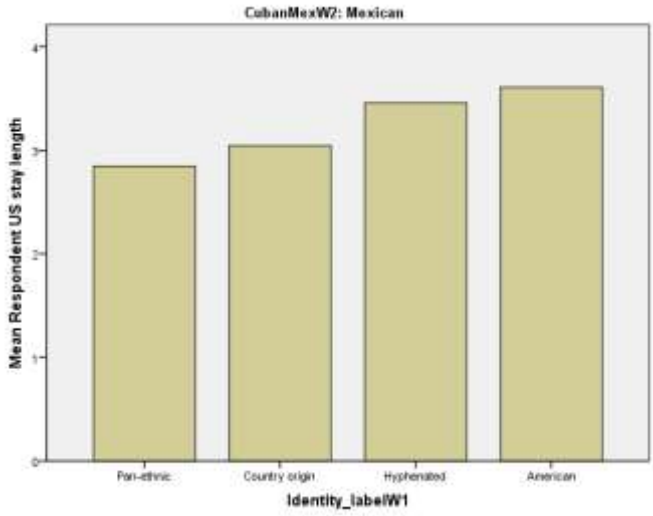
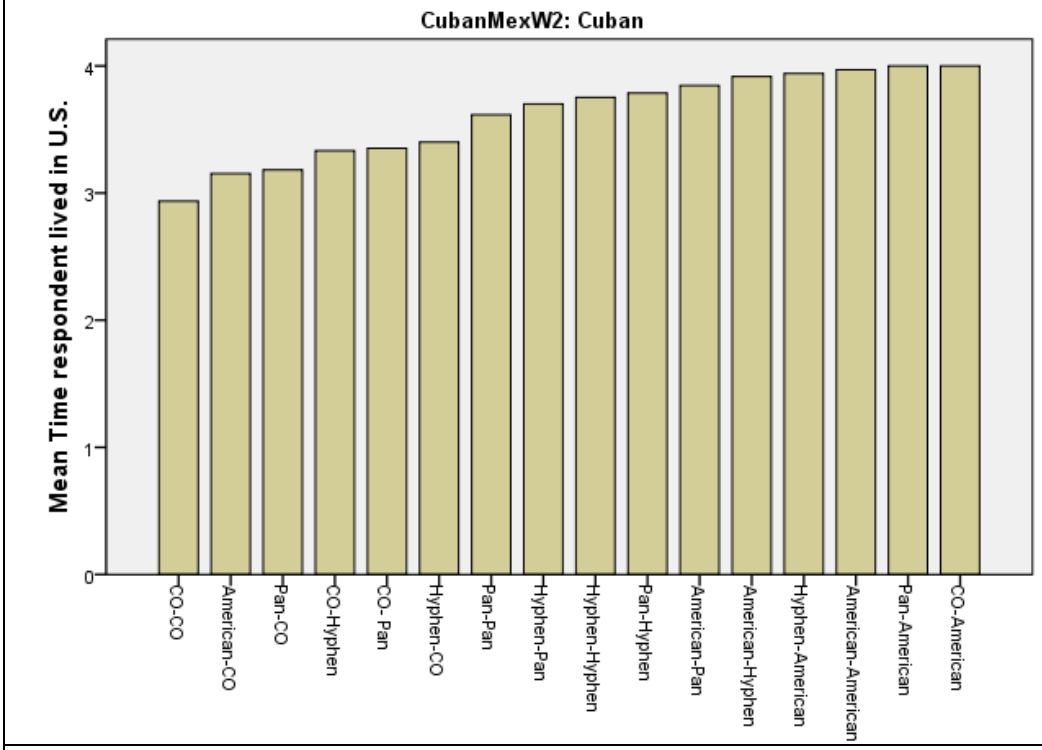
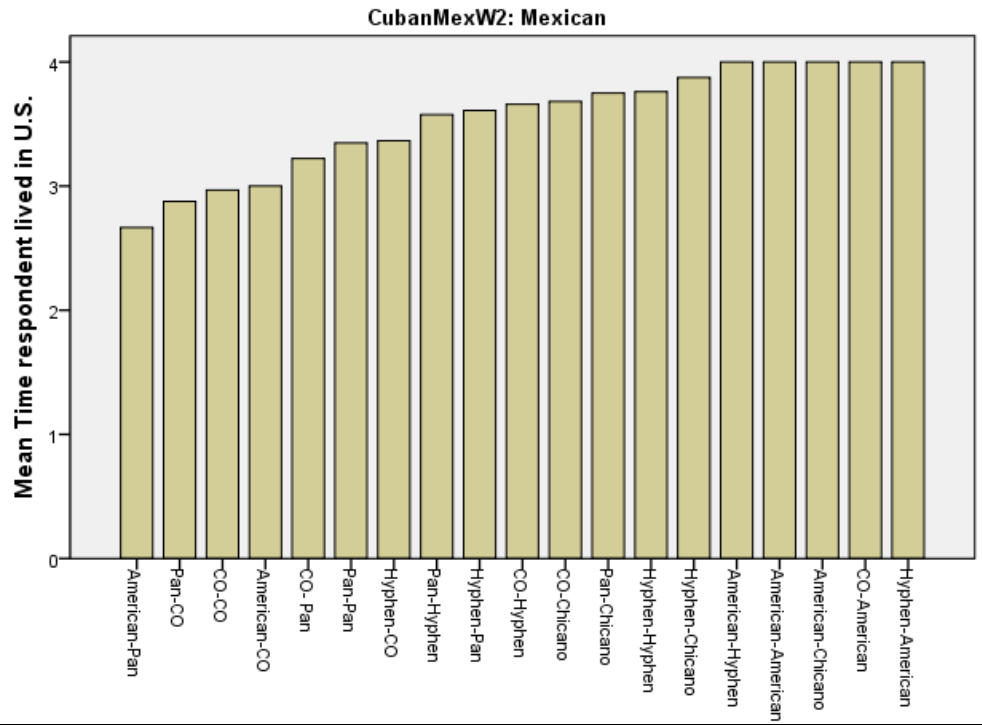
Cuban wave 1	Mexican wave 1
	

Figure 2.14 Identity pathways by length of stay

Cuban youth from age 14 to age 17



Mexican youth from age 14 to age 17



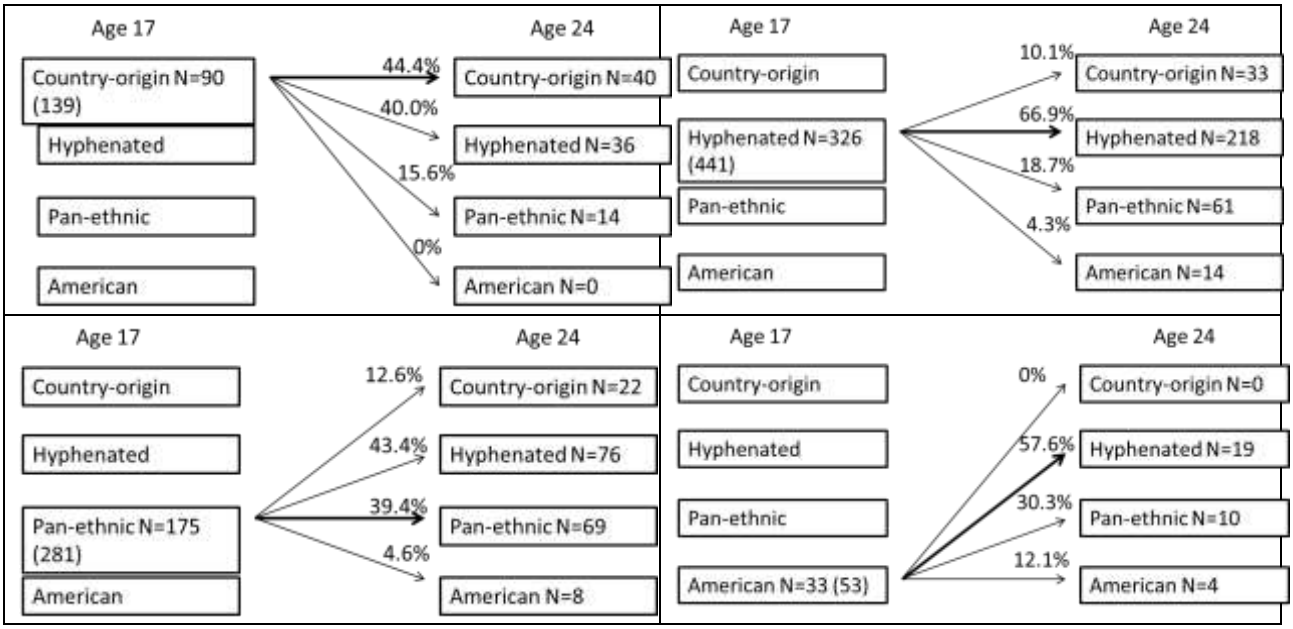
Looking at the identity change pathways in Figure 2.14 with the length of stay, additional information about the sequence of ethnic identity is revealed. On the right (highest length of stay) we see movement towards the American label, and on the left (shortest length of stay) we see movement towards country-origin label for both groups. In the middle we see combinations of pan-ethnic and hyphenated identities (although this is less clear for the Mexican youth youth).

Identity from wave 2 to 3

Cuban sample: Movement between identity categories from wave 2 to wave 3. The figure below shows the movement from one identity label category to another between waves 2 and 3. The number in parenthesis in the "starting category identity" indicates how many participants reported that identity at the age 17 survey (i.e. the change described in figures 9 and 11 above). The N in the same box indicates how many participants in that identity label group provided identity label data both at ages 17 and 24, thus the comparison of the two numbers represents sample size attrition. For example, looking at the very first box we can see that 139 Cuban

participants reported plain Cuban identity at age 17, but only 90 of these participants also took part in the survey at age 24.

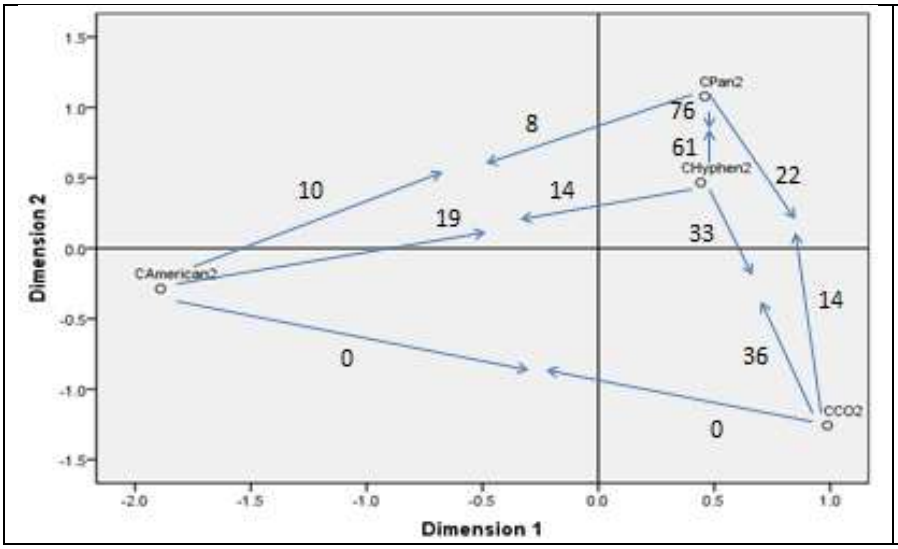
Figure 2.15 Change in identity label category for Cuban youth from age 17 to age 24



Between ages 17 and 24, most of the identity categories were less stable than they were between ages 14 and 17 for Cuban youth. Retaining the previous identity category clearly the most popular choice only for the youth who identified as hyphenated at age 17. For those identifying as Cuban at age 17 almost equal number (36) moved to hyphenated category as retained that identity (40). Again, there was little movement towards the American category, and only 4 people (12%) retained that identity between these two data collection waves.

The 2-dimensional nominal MDS solution again yielded a stress value of .000 (perfect fit). The raw numbers imposed on the graph represent the movement between identity categories between waves 2 and 3.

Figure 2.16 Movement between categories from wave 2 to wave 3 imposed on the MDS configuration (Cuban sample)



Stayed CO 40 (44%)
Stayed hyphenated 218 (67%)
Stayed pan 69 (39%)
Stayed American 4 (12%)

As can be seen from above, the psychological jump between identifying with plain Cuban to plan American is too large to make. Hyphenated and pan-ethnic identities have the most exchange between them. Move from the plain Cuban label to either hyphenated or pane-ethnic identity is also more common than a more from Cuban to plain American label.

Table 2.8 Linear regression results for predicting identity label choice at age 24 for the Cuban sample.

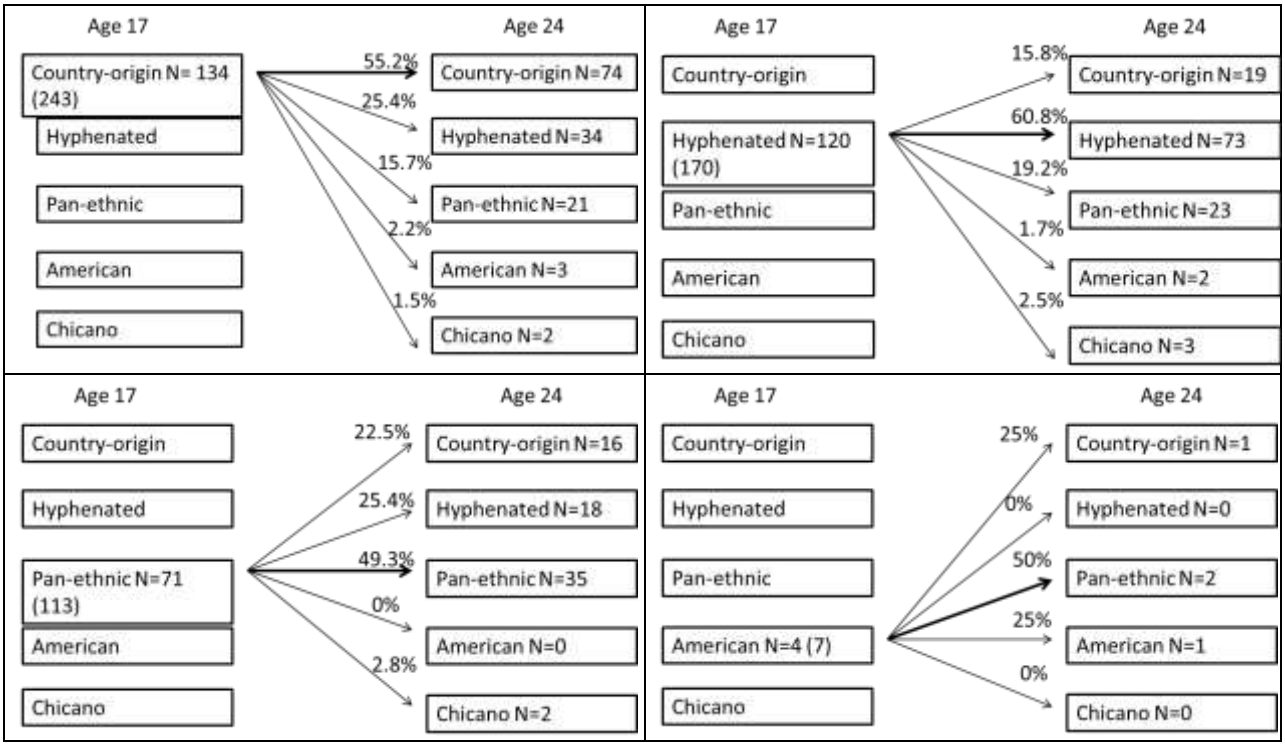
	Identity label choice at age 24			
Predictors at age 17	Country-origin N=114	Hyphenated N=402	American N=35	Pan-ethnic N=182
R^2	.109	.059	.042	.063
Adjusted R^2	.097	.046	.029	.050
Identity label	-.102 (.014)	-.109 (.010)	.047 (.276)	.189 (.000)
Gender	-.046 (.277)	.053 (.226)	-.004 (.930)	-.021 (.631)
Length of stay	-.182 (.001)	.148 (.010)	.110 (.056)	-.068 (.229)
Being a US citizen	-.143 (.011)	.049 (.393)	.000 (.998)	.062 (.281)
Discrimination	-.001 (.973)	.032 (.430)	-.127 (.002)	.021 (.607)
Spanish knowledge	-.009 (.825)	.074 (.082)	-.098 (.022)	-.033 (.428)
Private school	.026 (.547)	.065 (.147)	.022 (.633)	-.106 (.018)
Importance of identity	-.031 (.455)	.050 (.232)	.037 (.386)	-.049 (.243)

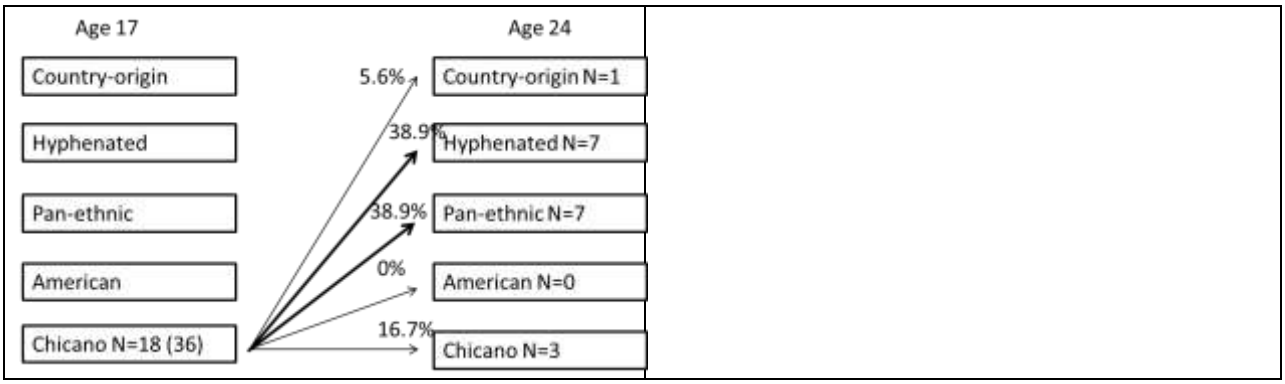
At age 24 previous identity predicted country-origin, hyphenated, and pan-ethnic labels for the Cuban youth. Like at age 17, length of stay and lack of citizenship again negatively predicted country-origin identity. Hyphenated identity was positively predicted by length of stay. American identity was predicted by lack of discrimination experiences and low Spanish knowledge. Pan-ethnic label at age 24 was predicted by having been at a public school at age 17. Again, the R^2 values suggest that this model best predicts the choice of country-origin identity.

The results of the logistic regression regarding the identity variables confirmed that previous identity label again was a significant predictor of retaining that same label six years later. Results of the multinomial logistic regression can be found in Table 3 in Appendix D.

Mexican sample: Movement between identity categories from wave 2 to wave 3. The figure below shows the movement from one identity label category to another between waves 2 and 3. Again, comparison of the two numbers in the "starting identity" box on the left side gives represents sample attrition between ages 17 and 24.

Figure 2.17 Change in identity label category for Mexican youth from age 17 to age 24

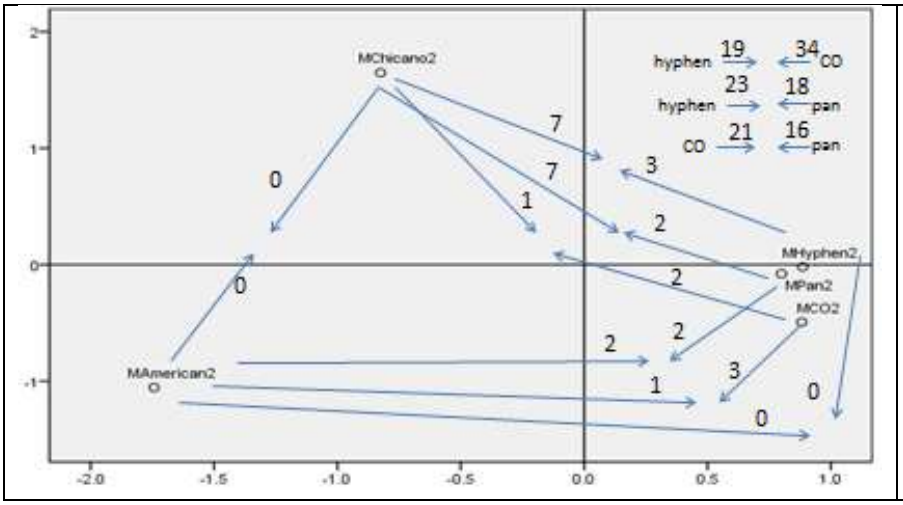




Mexican youth showed more continued preference for their identity than Cuban youth in that retaining the same identity between ages 17 and 24 was the most popular choice for those reporting country-origin, hyphened, or pan-ethnic identity at age 17. Moving towards the American label was extremely unpopular, with a total of only 6 students doing so. Chicano label was also unstable in that only 3 people retained that identity, with the majority of Chicano identified youth moving to either hyphenated or pan-ethnic identity by age 24.

The 2-dimensional nominal MDS solution yielded a stress-value of .00397, which according to Kruskal and Wish (1978) is excellent. Again, the numbers represent the people who moved between categories.

Figure 2.18 Movement between categories from wave 2 to wave 3 imposed on the MDS configuration (Mexican sample)



Similar to the Cuban group, American identity is psychologically distant from the other identity labels, and pan-ethnic and hyphenated identity are close together. What is different, however, is that while country-origin identity formed another psychologically distant option for the Cuban

youth, it is located in a close cluster with the pan-ethnic and hyphenated identity for the Mexican youth. Like American identity, Chicano identity is distant from every other identity option, and more people move away from it than towards it.

Table 2.9 Linear regression results for predicting identity label choice at age 24 for the Mexican sample.

	Identity label choice at age 24				
Predictors at age 17	Country-origin N=117	Hyphenated N=147	American N=6	Pan-ethnic N=105	Chicano N=11
R^2	.236	.170	.045	.101	.066
Adjusted R^2	.217	.149	.021	.078	.043
Identity label	-.199 (.000)	-.083 (.118)	-.067 (.239)	.273 (.000)	.136 (.017)
Gender	-.085 (.090)	.098 (.062)	-.086 (.128)	.080 (.144)	-.183 (.001)
Length of stay	-.046 (.521)	.019 (.796)	.094 (.239)	-.051 (.507)	.125 (.113)
Being a US citizen	-.334 (.000)	.313 (.000)	.035 (.652)	-.008 (.918)	.007 (.931)
Discrimination	-.062 (.212)	.052 (.317)	.103 (.065)	-.045 (.403)	.055 (.323)
Spanish knowledge	.068 (.202)	-.132 (.018)	.019 (.749)	.044 (.442)	.062 (.292)
Private school	-.020 (.682)	.097 (.062)	-.033 (.547)	-.063 (.238)	-.032 (.560)
Importance of identity	-.083 (.093)	.138 (.008)	-.104 (.062)	-.036 (.503)	.008 (.886)

Identity label choice at age 17 predicted identity label choice six years later for Mexican youth who had identified as country-origin, pan-ethnic, or Chicano identity previously. Only gender difference at age 24 was that males were more to report Chicano identity. Not having U.S. citizenship at age 17 predicted indicating a plain Mexican identity at age 24. Hyphenated identity was predicted by having citizenship, low Spanish skills, and attaching high importance to identity at age 17. And finally, the R^2 value suggests that this model best predicts the choice of country-origin identity (as in all the models here).

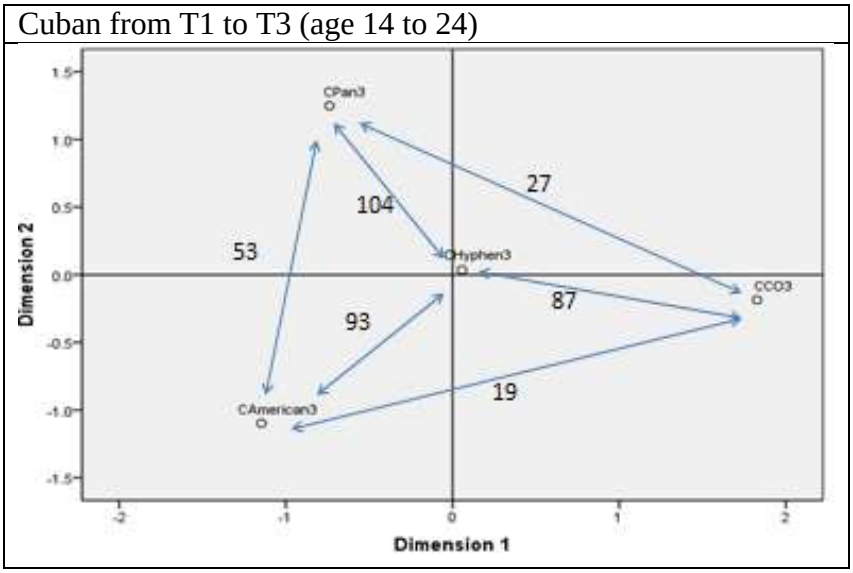
Results of the multinomial logistic regression can be found in Table 4 in Appendix D. As for the Cuban group, for the Mexican youth from age 17 to age 24 previous identity label was a significant predictor of retaining that same identity label later for the country-origin, hyphenated and pan-ethnic labels. Chicano label lost popularity between these two time points. While at age 14 Mexican label was a significant predictor of moving to Chicano label at age 17, Mexican label no longer predicted the same change between ages 17 and 24. In fact only two individuals

moved from the Mexican label to the Chicano label between these two time points, and most of those who had reported Chicano identity at age 17 reported hyphenated or pan-ethnic identity at age 24 (also apparent from Figure 2.17).

Additional analyses. I ran additional MDS models to look at the change from wave 1 to wave 3. This jump describes what identity the youth started out with at age 14 and what they reported at the third and last data collection point in young adulthood (age 24). The stress value for this 2-dimensional MDS solution yielded a stress .00318 (excellent).

When looking at the change from age 14 to age 24 ignoring the middle data collection wave, the configuration for the Mexican group looks similar to the above-presented data and is thus omitted here, but something interesting is revealed for the Cuban group: the centrality of the hyphenated (Cuban-American) identity (Figure 2.19). Indeed, 83% of the Cuban sub-sample who provided data for all the three waves had reported hyphenated identity at least once.

Figure 2.19 Centrality of Cuban-American identity



Finally, when looking at where the youth have arrived by age 24, this is what we learn from the "end state" identity data:

Table 2.10 Cross-sectional identities reported at age 24 for Cuban youth

Cuban youth age 24		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Country origin	115	9.4	15.5	15.5
	Hyphenated	406	33.1	54.6	70.1
	American	37	3.0	5.0	75.1
	Pan-ethnic	185	15.1	24.9	100.0
	Total	743	60.6	100.0	
Missing	System	483	39.4		
Total		1226	100.0		

Table 2.11 Cross-sectional identities reported at age 24 for Mexican youth

Mexican youth age 24		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Country origin	117	15.5	30.3	30.3
	Hyphenated	147	19.5	38.1	68.4
	American	6	.8	1.6	69.9
	Pan-ethnic	105	13.9	27.2	97.2
	Chicano	11	1.5	2.8	100.0
	Total	386	51.1	100.0	
Missing	System	369	48.9		
Total		755	100.0		

As can be seen from above, hyphenated identity was the most popular identity reported by age 24 for both groups. Only 37 Cuban respondents (5%) and 6 Mexican respondents (1.6%) reported the plain American identity, which is associated with the highest level of acculturation by some theorists (e.g. Portes & Zhou, 1993).

Discussion

In this study, I first explored whether the identity labels used by immigrant youth have distinct identity schema attached to them. Then, I looked at what change in identity label choice over time reveals about the identity formation process and acculturation pathways in immigrant youth.

Content of identity labels

I examined the different patterns of the identity schema content by using planned contrasts to compare the language skills and values of students adhering to different identity labels. The

results at wave 1 suggested that identity labels at age 14 represent the degree of acculturation from country origin to pan-ethnic to hyphenated identity, and finally to American identity. This was reflected in language ability so that those who identified with country-origin were close to those who identified as pan-ethnic (relatively higher Spanish use and lower English use); whereas hyphenated and American identified youth were also similar in their language skills (relatively higher English and lower Spanish use) at age 14.

These findings were in agreement with what Rumbaut (1994) found in the entire CILS sample. He reported that self-labelling as "American" was associated with higher likelihood of being U.S. born male, higher social status, being more linguistically assimilated, endorsing individualistic (rather than familial) values, and agreeing that the U.S. is the best country in the world. Based on these results, he argued that youth identifying as American have assimilated to the American middle class, and have a "thinned" ethnic identity.

The first glance at the data at age 17 seemed to confirm this pattern. What is now different from age 14, however, is that the Cuban pan-ethnic group starts to look like it may be separate from the linear acculturation progression. Pan-ethnic Cuban students attach little importance to their identity comparable to those identifying as American, but unlike the American-identified students, they agree the least with the statement that U.S. is the best country in the world. For the Mexican group, it has become clear now that acculturation is not a straight line that ends with an American identity: only 7 adolescents adhered to that identity at age 17.

The present results agree with the racial-ethnic self-identity theory by Oyserman and colleague's (2003). *In-group focused RES* fits the country-origin identified group here in that the youth report the highest Spanish proficiency and lowest English proficiency. Furthermore, they indicated the least preference for "doing things the American way". Those identifying with plain American identity were on the opposite end of the spectrum, preferring and using English above Spanish, and having the most positive views of the U.S. While it can be argued that this may not fully match what Oyserman and colleagues call being *RES aschematic*, these youth clearly have the least attachment to their *racial-ethnic* (i.e. non-White) *identity*. This is also reflected in their low mean scores for importance of ethnic identity label.

Larger society RES incorporates both cultures, and there is evidence here that this is the case with both the hyphenated and pan-ethnic youth. For the most part these youth were in between country-origin and American youth in terms of language proficiency and use, as well in

terms of having positive views of the U.S. Oyserman et al. (2003) further divide this category into dual RES (those who feel like they are full participants of both cultures) and minority RES (who approach the majority culture from the viewpoint of a disadvantaged minority). The present results suggest that those holding a hyphenated identity fit better in the dual RES category, and those holding a pan-ethnic identity fit in the minority RES category. Particularly for the Mexican youth pan-ethnic identity was associated with higher perception of economic discrimination in the U.S., and with lower adherence to the statement "the U.S. is the best country in the world". At age 17 the Chicano identity group reported, on average, attitudes similar to that of the pan-ethnic group, with the exception of higher importance attached to that identity.

The findings regarding differences between Cuban and Mexican participants are also in line with Ogbu and Simons' (1998) notion of how voluntary and involuntary minorities develop different cultural models of the U.S. society, and interpret the world differently. The authors note that while contemporary Cuban and Mexican immigrants are both voluntary immigrants to the U.S., Mexican newcomers are likely to assimilate to the existing Mexican minority in the American southwest (which is largely made up of native-born, conquered Mexican Americans), thus becoming an involuntary minority.

Ogbu and Simons (1998) argue that voluntary minorities have a positive dual frame of reference where they compare their current situation in the U.S. favorably to the situation they left in the country of origin and, for example, see more economic and educational opportunity in the U.S. Involuntary minorities also have a dual frame of reference, but the comparison they make is negative: instead of comparing to the country of origin they compare their current (disadvantaged) situation to the economic and social status of the American white middle class. Thus, the difference in the values the pan-ethnic between Cuban and Mexican youth may be a reflection of the dual frame of reference of a voluntary versus involuntary minority.

The findings are also in agreement with Phinney et al. (2006) who used Berry's immigrant assimilation framework, and explored differences in language preferences and values between youth in different assimilation profiles. They reported that youth who had the integrated profile (comparable to hyphenated label here) were proficient in both the host language and heritage langue, and were close to the mean in terms of endorsing family relationship values. The "ethnic group" (here, country-origin) showed preference for using heritage language and rated family values high. And again, what Phinney et al. call the national profile matches the American

group here: highest reported use and preference for the host language, and low use of heritage language and low emphasis on ethnic identity.

Finally, Phinney et al. (2006) categorized youth who reported high heritage language use but low ethnic identity and low national language profile as having a *diffuse profile*. The authors argued that this group seemed confused about their place in the society, and it was thus named after the diffusion stage described by Marcia (1966). Although the mean differences between the pan-ethnic group and other identity groups here were not significant for most cases, the trends agree with Phinney et al.'s finding: both pan-ethnic groups reported both relatively low English and Spanish use, rated the importance of their ethnic identity lower than other groups (except American identified), and indicated lowest agreement with the statement "the U.S. is the best country".

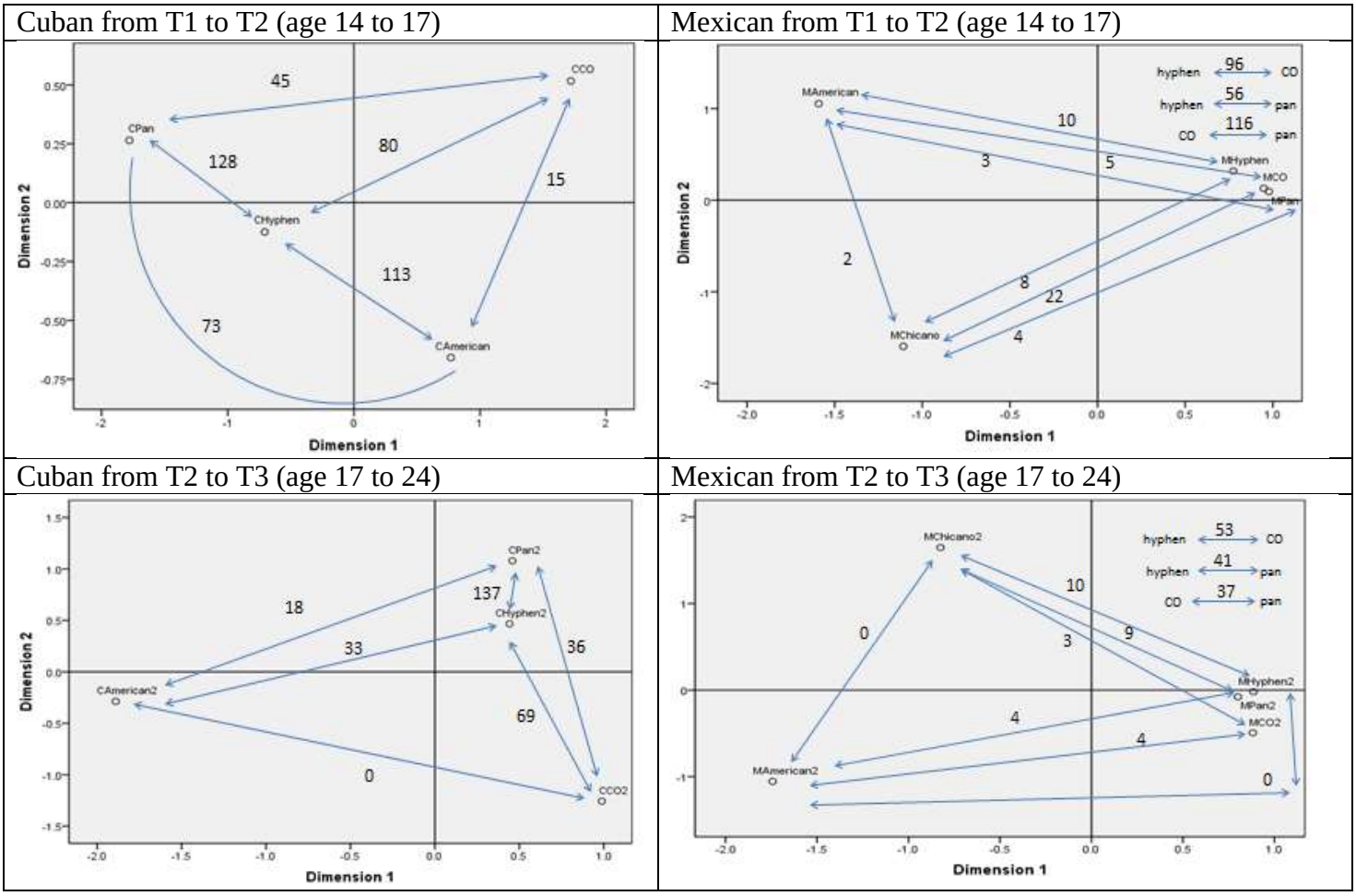
Identity pathways as an indicator of acculturation pathway

From the above analysis it appears that the identity labels have meaningful differences in terms of schema attached to them. It also seems plausible that the labels are at least a partial reflection of different degrees of acculturation.

The cross-sectional data at wave 1 fits the linear acculturation pathway well (Rumbaut, 1994), but a counter argument emerges at wave 2, and is clearly evident by wave 3: despite the original trend at age 14, Latino youth in fact do *not* move towards the plain American identity as they age. Instead the group reporting American identity is so small by age 24 for both groups that it is hard to make any inferences at all based on the group means.

Looking at both of the transitions side by side for both groups, it can be seen that the two groups have some similarities and differences in their identity pathways.

Figure 2.20 Identity change for Cuban and Mexican youth over the three waves



What is strikingly similar for both groups is the psychological distance of the plain "American" label from the other options. This is very clear for the Mexican group from the beginning, and becomes clearer in the Cuban group as the participants age. The present result then, fail to support the Segmented assimilation theory that suggest that immigrants with higher human capital (here, Cuban immigrants) experience "thinning" of ethnic identity over time.

Looking at the left side of the above figure, the Cuban identities particularly at the later transition seem to fall along two dimensions. Specifically, plain Cuban and plain American identities seem to form a dimensions that could be perhaps labelled "assimilation" and Cuban-American and Latino/Hispanic identities seems to form the other dimension which can perhaps be labelled "biculturalism". For the Mexican group, however, the dimensions are not as clear.

One clear difference between the groups is that while the country-origin identity remains separated from pan-ethnic and hyphenated identity for Cuban youth, it is closely clustered with

them for the Mexican group. This could be at least partly explained by the fact that Mexican immigrants can travel back and forth between the two countries (thus "replenishing" their ethnic identity), but this is not a viable option for most Cuban immigrants. Additionally, new Mexican immigrants to southern California may marry local Mexican Americans, thus "replenishing" the ethnic identity of the later generation Mexican immigrants (Waters & Jiménez, 2005).

Alvarez (1973) argued that the adoption of a new "immigrant" identity is in some ways more evident for immigrants who have to travel a great distance to get to their destination. Longer travel distance gives them time to psychologically dissociate their social identity from their country of origin, and contemplate what it means to be part of the society at the new land. In the context of the present study Mexican immigrants can cross the U.S. border even by foot, but Cuban immigrants have to cross the sea. Cubans also have to make peace with the fact they are unlikely to return to their homeland once they emigrate to the U.S. Finally, another possibility is that Cuban immigrants are viewed more positively by the white majority, perhaps making it easier for them to adopt an identity that is linked to the US (and abandoning the plain Cuban identity in exchange).

The configurations also seem to suggest that the psychological barrier between hyphenated and pan-ethnic labels is more permeable than between any other two labels. Pérez (2001) noted that Cubans displayed the most dramatic shift towards Hispanic identity label between the first two data collection waves, whereas Mexican students moved away from it. One reason for this might be that half of the Cuban youth still reported not experiencing any discrimination in the second wave (perhaps a testament to living in an ethnic enclave where they are the dominant Latin culture, and the relative advantage of being a Cuban immigrant to the US). Perceived racial discrimination was more common among the Mexican students, and two thirds reported having experienced discrimination by age 17. This might be related to the fact that in Miami Cubans are considered to be a valuable asset to the city's community and economy (Pérez, 2001), whereas in L.A. Mexicans immigrants (although substantial in number) are regarded as a minority whose contribution is not considered essential (López, & Stanton-Salazar, 2001).

For Mexican-origin youth, country-origin label is included in the highly permeable identity cluster along with hyphenated and country-origin labels. One reason for the popular movement towards the "Mexican" label might be the political events regarding immigrant rights

in California where almost all Mexican participants resided. In fact, all but two Cuban students were from Florida, and all but 28 Mexican students were from California, providing distinct political settings for the youth.

One month before the second data collection wave California passed Proposition 187 which denied access to non-emergency health care and social services (including access to public schools) for undocumented immigrants. Rumbaut (2005) argued that the movement against Proposition 187 solidified the ethnic identity of many Mexican immigrant students, likely also showing up in the CILS data (Prop 187 was later found unconstitutional by the federal court). It is also possible that the surge of Chicano identity at wave 2 and its relative unpopularity by wave 3 is related to these events.

Proposition 187 could, then, be an example of a racial "epiphany" described by Cross and colleagues. Cross and Cross (2008) note that racial/ethnic epiphanies push the individual into a period of intense ethnic identity exploration, and although they typically emerge at early or middle adulthood, they can happen as early as late teens. It may be that the participants in CILS were too young for racial epiphanies to take place, but at the same time it is likely that proposition 187 could be one such salient experience. Cross et al. (2010) have also noted that taking a militant approach to one's ethnicity is a characteristic for the racial epiphany, and of the present labels Chicano fits that description the best. It would also fit the description that by age 24 the Mexican origin youth have had more time to process their ethnic identity, moving past the militant phase (apparent in the relative unpopularity of the Chicano label by age 24).

Life was not uneventful for the Cuban community in Florida during this time either. The summer of 1994 (the year before the second data collecting wave) was the time of the Balseros (rafter) crisis during which over 36,000 left Cuba in make-shift vessels, and were temporarily housed in Guantanamo, from where they gradually came to the U.S. The Balseros crises prompted the U.S. to review its immigration policy regarding Cubans and to increase the number of visas granted to them. This crisis can also be viewed as an opportunity for the Cuban minority in Florida to "replenish" their sense of ethnic identity.

Thus, the Balseros crises and substantial influx of Cuban immigrant to Miami could have affected the Cuban CILS participants in a comparable way that Proposition 187 affected the Mexican participants (i.e. solidifying their ethnic identity, and perhaps prompting racial epiphanies). The present results, however, suggest that it did not increase the popularity of the

country-origin label among the Cuban origin youth. One reason for this might be that, as suggested by Alvarez (1973), the physical and thus also the psychological distance from Cuban to the U.S. is greater than the distance from Mexico to the U.S. Thus, Cuban immigrants might have to "leave Cuba behind" in a different sense when they exit Cuba than Mexican immigrants when they leave Mexico.

Predictors of change in identity

The logistic regression results corroborate the results of the multidimensional scaling solutions on the previous identity label predicting the next label. The most common finding here was that between ages 14 and 17 was stability of ethnic identity. Furthermore, the proximities apparent in the MDS solution were also apparent in the logistic regression results for the Cuban youth: making the transition between country-origin and hyphenated label between ages 14 and 17 was not a common pathway. For the Mexican youth the short psychological distance between country-origin, hyphenated, and pan-ethnic identities was also apparent in the logistic regression which revealed several significant differences between the three identity categories, but without any apparent pattern.

Length of stay was another significant predictor of identity label. For both groups in wave 2 (age 17), those who chose the American label had been in the country the longest, followed by those who chose a hyphenated label, and then by those who chose the pan-ethnic label. Youth who chose a country-origin label had been in the U.S. the least amount of time at age 17. What is interesting is that if this is a linear progression (from identifying as country-origin to eventually identifying as American), pan-ethnic label comes before hyphenated label.

This is particularly interesting as Portes and Zhou (1993) argued that pan-ethnic label is closer to the American label as it is "fabricated in the U.S.", so I would have expected to see is it closer to the American label. One explanation for both this and the relative popularity of the American label at age 14 could be the lack of ethnic identity exploration in early adolescents. Choosing the American label might be a manifestation of lack of awareness of the racial categories imposed on immigrants, while choosing the pan-ethnic identity might reflect acceptance of a label imposed on one's ethnic group without critical reflection on one's ethnic self-identity.

Although the data here do not correspond very well to Marcia's theory on identity development, some inferences may be possible from the present results. As discussed above, Oyserman et al. (2003) have compared the aschematic RES to identity diffusion, and found that the proportion of students reporting this identity decreases with age. If the American identity is taken as indication of an aschematic racial ethnic identity, then the results of this study are in agreement with Oyserman's findings. Unlike Oyserman and colleague's findings, however, the present results show that older youth were the most likely to report hyphenated identities (comparable to dual RES) and not pan-ethnic identities (comparable to minority RES) which they found to be the most popular in older youth.

Kroger, Martinussen, and Marcia, (2012) found that for those youth who reported a different identity status at time 2, progressive movement (diffusion/foreclosure → moratorium → achievement) was twice as likely as regressive movement. As predicted by Erikson's theory, movement from moratorium to achieved status was the most common move. What is evident from the MDS solutions is that the most movement was between hyphenated and pan-ethnic identities for the Cuban participants, and between country-origin, hyphenated, and pan-ethnic identities for the Mexican participants. Again, if the American identity is equated with the diffusion status, it is fitting that the movement away from it is much more common than movement towards it. In fact only 24 Cuban students and five Mexican students moved towards American identity between ages 17 and 24, making it the least stable identity in these data.

Although few significant gender differences emerged here, gender was predictive of the identity label so that boys were more likely to choose the Chicano label, and Cuban girls were more likely to indicate pan-ethnic identities. The latter finding is in line with Rumbaut (1994). Overall the present findings agree with the previous research which has not found gender differences in ethnic identity development (French et al., 2006; Phinney, 1989).

Social class did not predict choice of identity label for either group, with the exception of going to private school versus a public school being predictive of identity label for the Cuban youth at both times. Going to private school at age 14 was associated with choosing a hyphenated identity at age 17 and going to a public school at age 14 was associated with choosing an American or pan-ethnic identity at age 17. The type of school attended at age 17 was predictive of the identity at age 24 only in the pan-ethnic youth (who were more likely to have attended a public school at age 17).

Looking at identity and type of school attended cross-sectionally at age 14 with these same data, Pérez (2001) reported that youth in both types of schools adhered to hyphenated identity equally. He described how Cuban youth in private schools were more likely to choose the plain American identity, and he took that as an indication of these youth assimilating to the white American middle class. Instead it looks like, however, that at age 17 Cuban private schools are creating environments which foster strong bicultural identities in immigrant youth.

To take a closer look at this possibility, I looked at the information provided by the two most commonly attended private schools in these data (school names were included in the wave 2 data): Belen Jesuit Preparatory School (Catholic all-boys school) and La Progresiva Presbyterian School (coed). The mission statement of Belen Jesuit states that their goal is to "guide and support our students in their process of becoming men who are proficient in both English and Spanish, (…), so they can work as leaders for the defense of faith and the promotion of justice in a multicultural society ", and further that their "Bilingual and bicultural settings and curricula better prepare our students to live and work in a multicultural society". Similarly La Progresiva lists the following statement among their goals: "To appreciate our American heritage, and attain awareness of the problems facing our nation today". Thus, the mission statements and goals of the Cuban private schools in Miami seem to be very much in agreement with the bicultural identities chosen by their students.

Although the CILS youth overwhelmingly moved towards English as their more proficient and preferred language between waves 1 and 2 (Rumbaut, 2005), Spanish skills remained a significant predictor in the full model, although only in that they negatively predicted American identity at age 17 for both groups, and also negatively predicted hyphenated identity for the Mexican group at age 24. Despite providing access to heritage culture (Phinney Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2000) and distinguishing the identity schema from each other (as described above), foreign language proficiency did not predict movement towards the identity labels which denote higher affiliation with one's ethnic group. Similarly, while importance of identity helped to distinguish between the identity labels cross-sectionally, it did not have predictive power over time (with the exception that for the Mexican group higher reported importance at age 17 predicted choosing a hyphenated label at age 24).

Although Rumbaut (2005) argued that perceived discrimination is one of the two major forces shaping ethnic identity (the other is acculturation), it did not predict identity label choice

from one wave to the next. The only exception to this was Cuban students for whom experienced discrimination at age 17 negatively predicted choosing an American identity at age 24. Rumbaut made the same observation from these data using a larger sample of the available nationalities. For the Cuban group, a partial explanation might lie in the fact that no discrimination was reported by 62% of the participants at age 14, and even at age 17 half of the Cuban youth said they had not experienced discrimination (perhaps a testament to the benefits of living in a strong ethnic enclave where they are the dominant Latin culture). However, 65% of the Mexican participants reported discrimination in both waves, without it predicting identity label choice at either time point.

Finally, the cross-sectional look at the wave 3 data at age 24 agrees with Altschul et al. (2008) who found that even in economically diverse and low-income contexts Latino youth endorsed a variety of ethnic identities, of which dual RES was the most common. Thus, although Mexican youth in the present study were more likely to adhere to the country-origin identity than Cuban youth (example of the "thickening" ethnic identity or downward assimilation in segmented assimilation theory), for both groups the development of a bicultural identity appears to be the most common ethnic identity as they enter young adulthood.

Limitations

The CILS data have limitations which warrant serious consideration. First of all, the data were self-reported, and it is possible that particularly the 14-year-olds may not have been able to accurately report on events such as the age of arrival to the U.S. Secondly, the data are somewhat dated since even the latest data collection wave took place 8 years ago. The youth of the study are now in their early 30s, and their experiences may not be reflective of the realities of today's children of immigrants. For example, use of social media is much more widespread than it was when the CILS participants were in high school, and may allow immigrants to stay connected to people and events in their (parent's) country of origin easier than before (e.g. via Facebook or Skype).

Most importantly, these data were not collected with the purpose of looking at content of identity in a detailed way, and only limited indicators of the content of identity schema are available. In addition, it would have been useful to have indicators of identity exploration to

better map the labels to the identity development stages as discussed by Erikson (1968) and Marcia (1966).

Finally, further data collection points between ages 17 and 24 could have shed additional light into the identity formation and acculturation process in immigrant youth. According to Kroger et al. (2012), identity moratorium peaks at age 19 and declines after. It could have been informative to have an additional data point perhaps around 19-20 years of age to get a fuller picture of the most active identity construction phase.

Conclusions

Despite these limitation, the results of this study offer insight into the identity construction process and acculturation in children of immigrants. To the extent that the data allowed examining, the identity labels do seem to differ in schema content and are distinguishable from each other.

Multidimensional scaling analyses suggested that movement from one identity label to another is not random, but rather reveals patterns of identity construction and acculturation in immigrant youth. Although segmented assimilation theory predicted that identity change in immigrant youth is a fairly linear progress from country-origin identified to American identity, the data here suggests that very few immigrants "make it" to the American identity. The MDS analyses instead suggested that for Mexican youth the psychological barriers between country-origin, hyphened, and pan-ethnic labels are highly permeable, whereas for the Cuban youth the hyphenated identity clearly takes the center place. For both groups the hyphenated identity was the single most popular identity label choice by age 24.

The regression results on the predictive power of the previous identity label further indicated that youth do not randomly choose identity labels: there was considerable continuity between data collection points, and change from one identity to another was not random. Of the available background variables length of stay was the best predictor of identity label (with shorter stay associated with country-origin labels and longer stay with hyphenated and American labels), again suggesting that immigrant acculturation and ethnic identity are interconnected. Although very few participants adhered to the most acculturated plain American label at age 24, the most popular label for both groups acknowledged American identity as part of the hyphened

label. All theories reviewed in Chapter 1 associated a hyphenated identity with positive adaptation, so it is encouraging to see that this identity is the most popular identity choice in young adulthood in both immigrant groups included in these analyses.

The next steps, then, involve exploring how the identity pathways are related to youth outcomes. Since school is such an integral part of life for youth, it is logical to look at academic and social outcomes related to schooling. Some scholars have in fact argued that school and identity development are tightly intertwined for adolescents: as in school, identity construction involves learning, and school is also an important setting for social interaction and messages about social roles (e.g. gender roles) (Flum & Kaplan, 2012).

Appendix A

Tables 1-4: Additional t-tests between parental reports on SES measures

Table 1. Fathers of Cuban students

	Respondent sex	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Parent highest education level	Male	85	5.89	2.944	.319
	Female	43	6.14	2.957	.451
Parent family total income/past year	Male	82	10.98	2.183	.241
	Female	42	10.95	1.899	.293

Table 2. Mothers of Cuban students

	Respondent sex	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Parent highest education level	Male	162	5.40	2.740	.215
	Female	106	5.26	2.598	.252
Parent family total income/past year	Male	153	9.91	2.706	.219
	Female	103	9.89	2.258	.222

Table 3. Fathers of Mexican students

	Respondent sex	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Parent highest education level	Male	57	3.02	2.341	.310
	Female	37	2.78	2.462	.405
Parent family total income/past year	Male	55	8.65	2.205	.297
	Female	37	8.68	1.916	.315

Table 4. Mothers of Mexican students

	Respondent sex	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Parent highest education level	Male	112	2.96	2.618	.247
	Female	134	2.30	1.916	.165
Parent family total income/past year	Male	105	8.41	2.213	.216
	Female	132	7.75	2.184	.190

Table 5. T-tests of gender difference in private school attendance among Cuban youth

	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Private school 1995-1996	Male	794	.15	.358	.013
	Female	766	.03	.160	.006
Private school 1992-1993	Male	799	.16	.366	.013
	Female	768	.03	.159	.006

Mean differences significant at both times at p<.000.

Table 6. T-test of participation in parental interview by gender among Cuban students going to private school

	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Private school 1995-1996	Male	218	.39	.489	.033
	Female	141	.09	.290	.024
Private school 1992-1993	Male	222	.41	.494	.033
	Female	142	.11	.308	.026

a. **CubanMexW2 = Cuban, Parental interview done = Yes**

Mean differences significant at both times at p<.000

Appendix B
Gender differences in identity label choice

Table 1. Cuban - wave 1
Chi-square significant at p<.000

			Identity_labelW1				
			Country origin	Hyphenated	American	Pan-ethnic	Total
Gender	Male	Count	60	239	144	32	475
		% within Gender	12.6%	50.3%	30.3%	6.7%	100.0%
		% within Identity_labelW1	46.5%	48.1%	65.2%	47.1%	51.9%
		% of Total	6.6%	26.1%	15.7%	3.5%	51.9%
	Female	Count	69	258	77	36	440
		% within Gender	15.7%	58.6%	17.5%	8.2%	100.0%
		% within Identity_labelW1	53.5%	51.9%	34.8%	52.9%	48.1%
		% of Total	7.5%	28.2%	8.4%	3.9%	48.1%
Total		Count	129	497	221	68	915
		% within Gender	14.1%	54.3%	24.2%	7.4%	100.0%
		% within Identity_labelW1	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	14.1%	54.3%	24.2%	7.4%	100.0%

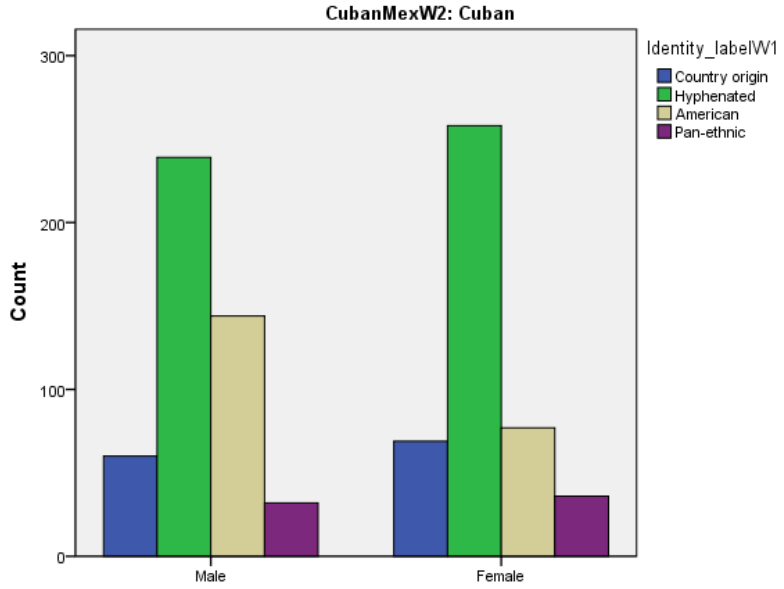


Table 2. Mexican - wave 1
Chi-square significant at p<.05

			Identity_labelW1				
			Country origin	Hyphenated	American	Pan-ethnic	Total
Gender	Male	Count	104	88	14	78	284
		% within Gender	36.6%	31.0%	4.9%	27.5%	100.0%
		% within Identity_labelW1	53.1%	52.1%	77.8%	42.9%	50.3%
		% of Total	18.4%	15.6%	2.5%	13.8%	50.3%
	Female	Count	92	81	4	104	281
		% within Gender	32.7%	28.8%	1.4%	37.0%	100.0%
		% within Identity_labelW1	46.9%	47.9%	22.2%	57.1%	49.7%
		% of Total	16.3%	14.3%	.7%	18.4%	49.7%
Total		Count	196	169	18	182	565
		% within Gender	34.7%	29.9%	3.2%	32.2%	100.0%
		% within Identity_labelW1	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

	% of Total	34.7%	29.9%	3.2%	32.2%	100.0%

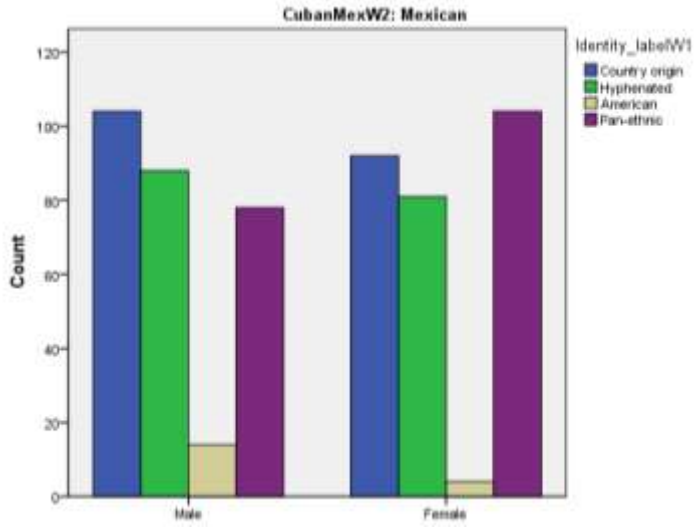


Table 3. Mexican – wave 2
Chi-square significant at p<.000

			Identity_labelW2					
			Country origin	Hyphenated	American	Pan-ethnic	Chicano	Total
Gender	Male	Count	125	90	4	38	25	282
		% within Gender	44.3%	31.9%	1.4%	13.5%	8.9%	100.0%
		% within Identity_labelW2	51.4%	52.9%	57.1%	33.6%	69.4%	49.6%
		% of Total	22.0%	15.8%	.7%	6.7%	4.4%	49.6%
	Female	Count	118	80	3	75	11	287
		% within Gender	41.1%	27.9%	1.0%	26.1%	3.8%	100.0%
		% within Identity_labelW2	48.6%	47.1%	42.9%	66.4%	30.6%	50.4%
		% of Total	20.7%	14.1%	.5%	13.2%	1.9%	50.4%
Total		Count	243	170	7	113	36	569
		% within Gender	42.7%	29.9%	1.2%	19.9%	6.3%	100.0%
		% within Identity_labelW2	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	42.7%	29.9%	1.2%	19.9%	6.3%	100.0%

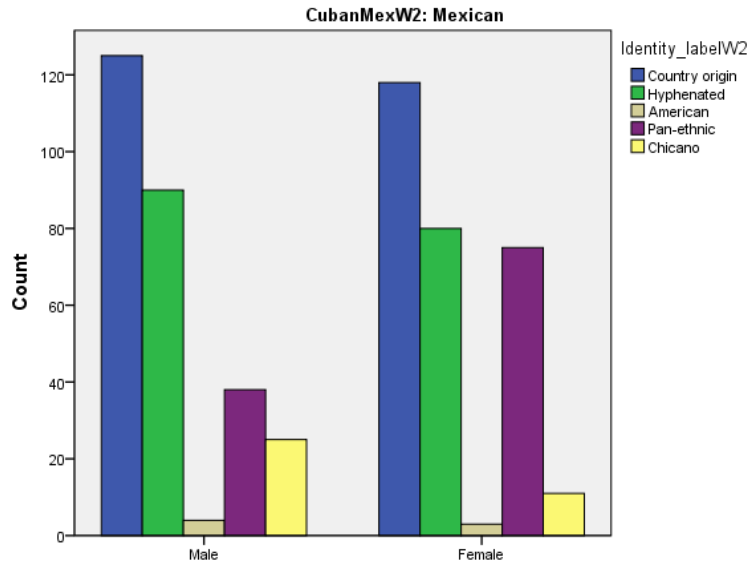
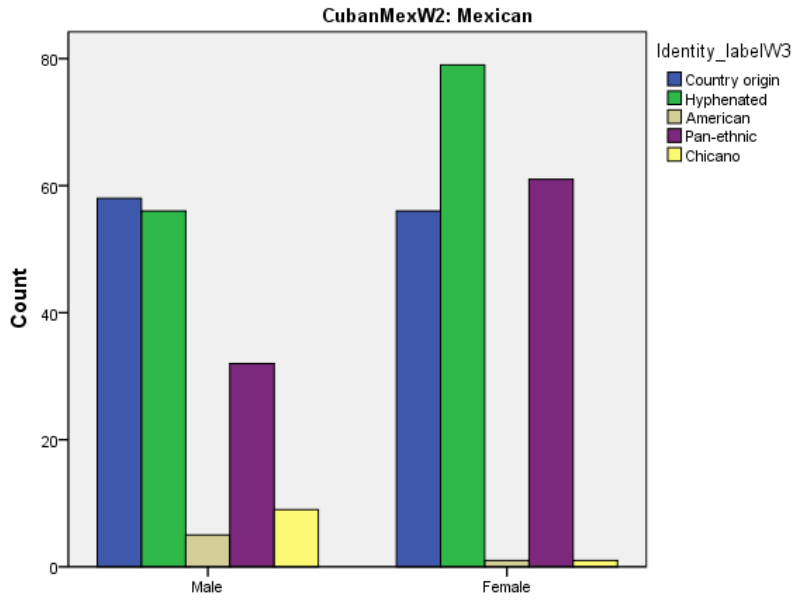


Table 4. Mexican - Wave 3
Chi-square significant at p=.001

			Identity_labelW3					
			Country origin	Hyphenated	American	Pan-ethnic	Chicano	Total
Gender	Male	Count	58	56	5	32	9	160
		% within Gender	36.3%	35.0%	3.1%	20.0%	5.6%	100.0%
		% within Identity_labelW3	50.9%	41.5%	83.3%	34.4%	90.0%	44.7%
		% of Total	16.2%	15.6%	1.4%	8.9%	2.5%	44.7%
	Female	Count	56	79	1	61	1	198
		% within Gender	28.3%	39.9%	.5%	30.8%	.5%	100.0%
		% within Identity_labelW3	49.1%	58.5%	16.7%	65.6%	10.0%	55.3%
		% of Total	15.6%	22.1%	.3%	17.0%	.3%	55.3%
Total		Count	114	135	6	93	10	358
		% within Gender	31.8%	37.7%	1.7%	26.0%	2.8%	100.0%
		% within Identity_labelW3	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	31.8%	37.7%	1.7%	26.0%	2.8%	100.0%



Appendix C
Cross-sectional contrasts testing for the schema content associated with identity labels.

One star (*) denotes that the contrast between the two identity label groups was significant at p<.010. Two stars (**) denotes that the contrast was significant at p<.005. Because the matrices are symmetrical, only the lower half is included.

Age 14 (wave 1)

List of included language variables:
English knowledge
Bilingualism
Foreign language knowledge
Language used with parents

Table 1. Language variables for Cuban youth at age 14

	Country-origin N= 176	Hyphenated N=616	American N=271	Pan-ethnic N=92
Country origin				
Hyphenated	English knowledge ** Foreign language knowledge**			
American	English knowledge ** Language used with parents * Foreign language knowledge**	Foreign language knowledge**		
Pan-ethnic			Language used with parents * Foreign language knowledge*	

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

Table 2. Language variables for Mexican youth at age 14

	Country-origin N=262	Hyphenated N= 207	American N= 23	Pan-ethnic N= 213
Country origin				
Hyphenated	English knowledge ** Foreign language knowledge**			
American	English knowledge ** Bilingual * Language used with parents *			

Pan-ethnic		English knowledge ** Bilingual * Foreign language knowledge**	English knowledge ** Bilingual * Language used with parents *	

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

List of included value variables:
There is racial discrimination in economic opportunities in the US
American way of life weakens family
There is not better country then the U.S.
Respondent prefers American way of doing things
Parents prefers American way of doing things

Table 3. Value variables for Cuban youth at age 14

	Country-origin N= 174	Hyphenated N= 606	American N =268	Pan-ethnic N= 87
Country origin				
Hyphenated	U.S. best country ** Prefers American ways** Parent prefers American ways ** American ways weaken family *			
American	American ways weaken family ** U.S. best country ** Prefers American ways** Parent prefers American ways **	American ways weaken family ** U.S. best country ** Prefers American ways** Parent prefers American ways **		
Pan-ethnic	Prefers American ways*		U.S. best country ** Prefers American ways** Parent prefers American ways **	

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

Table 4. Value variables for Mexican youth at age 14

	Country-origin N=256	Hyphenated N=199	American N=21	Pan-ethnic N=205
Country origin				
Hyphenated	U.S. best country * Prefers American ways**			

	Parent prefers American ways **			
American	Prefers American ways**			
Pan-ethnic	Racial discrimination in economic opportunity * Parent prefers American ways *	U.S. best country * Racial discrimination in economic opportunity * Prefers American ways** Parent prefers American ways **	Prefers American ways**	

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

Age 17 (wave 2)

List of included language variables:
English knowledge
Bilingualism
Foreign language knowledge
Language used with parents

Table 5. Language variables for Cuban youth at age 17

	Country-origin N= 139	Hyphenated N=439	American N=53	Pan-ethnic N=280
Country origin				
Hyphenated	Language used with parents **			
American	English knowledge * Foreign language knowledge ** Language used with parents **	Foreign language knowledge ** Language used with parents **		
Pan-ethnic	Foreign language knowledge * Language used with parents **	Bilingualism ** Foreign language knowledge **	Language used with parents ** Foreign language knowledge *	

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

Table 6. Language variables for Mexican youth at age 17

	Country-origin N=243	Hyphenated N=170	American N=7	Pan-ethnic N=113	Chicano N=36
Country origin					
Hyphenated	English knowledge **				

	Foreign language knowledge ** Language used with parents **				
American					
Pan-ethnic	Language used with parents **				
Chicano					

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

List of included value variables:
Importance of identity
There is not better country then the U.S.
Respondent prefers American way of doing things
Parents prefers American way of doing things
Familism index

Table 7. Value variables for Cuban youth at age 17

	Country-origin N=126	Hyphenated N=379	American N=46	Pan-ethnic N=236
Country origin				
Hyphenated	Importance of identity ** Prefers American ways** Parent prefers American ways **			
American	Importance of identity ** Prefers American ways** Parent prefers American ways **	Prefers American ways** Parent prefers American ways **		
Pan-ethnic	Importance of identity ** Prefers American ways** Parent prefers American ways **	Importance of identity ** US best country *	Prefers American ways** Parent prefers American ways **	

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

Table 8. Value variables for Mexican youth at age 17

	Country-origin N=237	Hyphenated N=162	American N=6	Pan-ethnic N=108	Chicano N=36
Country origin					
Hyphenated	US best country **		Importance of identity *		

	Prefers American ways** Familism*				
American	Importance of identity * US best country * Prefers American ways* Parent prefers American ways **				
Pan-ethnic	Importance of identity * Prefers American ways*		Importance of identity *		
Chicano					

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

Age 24 (wave 3)

List of all included variables:
Importance of identity
Language responded uses most often
Language responded uses with parents
Languages responded wants to raise children in
Importance of identity

Table 9. All variables for Cuban youth at age 24

	Country-origin N=114	Hyphenated N=402	American N=35	Pan-ethnic N=182
Country origin				
Hyphenated	Language responded uses most * Language used with parents **			
American	Language responded uses most ** Language used with parents ** Languages responded wants to raise children in*	Language used with parents ** Languages responded wants to raise children in*		
Pan-ethnic	Importance of identity ** Language responded uses most * Language used with	Importance of identity *	Language used with parents **	

	parents **			

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

Table 10. All variables for Mexican youth at age 24

	Country-origin N=115	Hyphenated N=146	American N=3	Pan-ethnic N=96	Chicano N=11
Country origin					
Hyphenated	Language responded uses most ** Language used with parents **				
American	Language responded uses most *				
Pan-ethnic	Language responded uses most * Language used with parents *		Languages responded wants to raise children in*		Languages responded wants to raise children in*
Chicano					

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

Appendix D

Multinomial logistic regression results regarding previous identity label as a predictor of identity label in the next data collection point

Table 1. Multinomial logistic regression results regarding effect of identity label at age 14 on the identity label choice at age 17 for Cuban youth

Reference group below	CO W2 N=113	Hyphen W2 N=404	American W2 N=52	Pan-ethnic W2 N=237
CO W2		Indicating a hyphenated identity at W1 was associated with 1.354 increase in the log odds of choosing a hyphenated identity over the CO identity at W2. Indicating an American identity at W1 was associated with 1.161increase in the log odds of choosing a hyphenated identity over the CO identity at W2.	Indicating an American identity at W1 was associated with 1.914 increase in the log odds of choosing a American identity over the CO identity at W2.	
Hyphen W2	Indicating a hyphenated identity at w1 was associated with a -1.354 decrease in the log odds of choosing an CO identity over hyphenated identity at w2.			Indicating a hyphenated identity at w1 was associated with a 1.785 decrease in the log odds of choosing a pan-ethnic identity over hyphenated identity at w2. Indicating an American identity at w1 was associated with a 1.070 decrease in the log odds of choosing a pan-ethnic identity over hyphenated identity at w2.
American W2				Indicating an American identity at w1 was associated with a 1.823 decrease in the log odds of choosing an American identity over pan-ethnic identity at w2.
Pan-ethnic W2				

Table 2. Multinomial logistic regression results regarding effect of identity label at age 14 on the identity label choice at age 17 for Mexican youth
Note: American excluded due to low N

Reference group below	CO W2 N=206	Hyphen W2 N=152	American W2 N=6	Pan-ethnic W2 N=93	Chicano W2 N=93
CO W2		Indicating a hyphenated identity at W1 was associated with 1.041 increase in the log odds of choosing a hyphenated identity over the CO identity at W2.		Indicating a CO identity at W1 was associated with .655 decrease in the log odds of choosing a pan-ethnic identity over the CO identity at W2.	Indicating a CO identity at W1 was associated with 1.784 increase in the log odds of choosing a Chicano identity over the CO identity at W2.
Hyphen W2	Indicating a hyphenated identity at W1 was associated with 1.043 decrease in the log odds of choosing a CO over hyphenated identity at W2.			Indicating a hyphenated identity at W1 was associated with 1.546 decrease in the log odds of choosing a pan-ethnic over hyphenated identity at W2.	Indicating a CO identity at W1 was associated with 1.674 increase in the log odds of choosing a Chicano identity over the hyphenated identity at W2.
American W2					
Pan-ethnic W2	Indicating a CO identity at W1 was associated with .655 increase in the log odds of choosing a CO over pan-ethnic identity at W2.	Indicating a CO identity at W1 was associated with .765 increase in the log odds of choosing a hyphenated over pan-ethnic identity at W2. Indicating a hyphenated identity at W1 was associated with 1.546 increase in the log odds of choosing a hyphenated over pan-ethnic identity at W2.			Indicating a CO identity at W1 was associated with .765 increase in the log odds of choosing a Chicano over pan-ethnic identity at W2.

Table 3. Multinomial logistic regression results regarding effect of identity label at age 17 on the identity label choice at age 24 for Cuban youth

Reference group below	CO W3 N=89	Hyphen W3 N=337	American W3 N=23	Pan-ethnic W3 N=147
CO W3		Indicating a CO identity at W2 was associated with 1.021 decrease in the log odds of choosing a hyphenated identity over the CO identity at W3.		Indicating a CO identity at W2 was associated with 1.740 decrease in the log odds of choosing a pan-ethnic identity over the CO identity at W3.
Hyphen W3	Indicating a CO identity at W2 was associated with 1.021 increase in the log odds of choosing a CO identity over the hyphenated identity at W3.			Indicating a hyphenated identity at W2 was associated with 1.024 decrease in the log odds of choosing a pan-ethnic identity over the hyphenated identity at W3.
American W3				
Pan-ethnic W3	Indicating a CO identity at w2 was associated with a 1.740 increase in the log odds of choosing an CO identity over pan-ethnic identity at w3.	Indicating a hyphenated identity at w2 was associated with a 1.204 increase in the log odds of choosing a hyphenated identity over pan-ethnic identity at w3.		

Table 4. Multinomial logistic regression results regarding effect of identity label at age 17 on the identity label choice at age 24 for Mexican youth

Reference group below	CO W3 N=102	Hyphen W3 N=126	American W3 N=6	Pan-ethnic W3 N=83	Chicano W3 N=10
CO W3		Indicating a CO identity at W2 was associated with 2.369 decrease in the log odds of choosing a hyphenated identity over the CO identity at W3.		Indicating a CO identity at W2 was associated with 3.150 decrease in the log odds of choosing a pan-ethnic identity over the CO identity at W3.	Indicating a CO identity at W2 was associated with 4.125 decrease in the log odds of choosing a Chicano identity over the CO identity at W3. Indicating a hyphenated identity at W2 was associated with 3.780 decrease in the log odds of choosing a Chicano identity over the CO identity at W3.
Hyphen W3	Indicating a CO identity at w2 was associated with a 2.369 increase in the log odds of choosing a CO identity over hyphenated identity at w3.			Indicating a hyphenated identity at w2 was associated with a 1.243 decrease in the log odds of choosing a pan-ethnic identity over hyphenated identity at w3.	Indicating a hyphenated identity at w2 was associated with a 3.078 decrease in the log odds of choosing a Chicano identity over hyphenated identity at w3
Amer W3					
Pan-ethnic W3	Indicating an CO identity at w2 was associated with a 1.350 increase in the log odds of choosing an CO identity over pan-ethnic identity at w3.	Indicating a hyphenated identity at w2 was associated with a 1.243 increase in the log odds of choosing a hyphenated identity over pan-ethnic identity at w3.			
Chicano W3	Indicating a CO identity at w2 was associated with a 4.125 increase in the log odds of choosing a CO identity over Chicano identity at w3. Indicating a CO identity at w2 was associated with a 3.780 increase in the log odds of choosing a hyphenated identity over Chicano identity At w3.	Indicating a hyphenated identity at w2 was associated with a 3.078 increase in the log odds of choosing a hyphenated identity over Chicano identity at w3			

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Chapter 3

Do immigrant acculturation paths and identity labels predict youth outcomes?

Abstract

The majority of the research connecting ethnic identity to youth outcomes is cross-sectional in nature. Identity development, however, is a longitudinal process, and youth may arrive to the same identity via several difference pathways (e.g., foreclosure or moratorium). The present study investigated how different identity pathways are associated with academic and social outcomes in immigrant youth. The data I examined included Cuban and Mexican respondents from the Children of Immigrant Longitudinal Survey. The results suggest that as predicted, hyphenated identity (e.g., Cuban-American) was associated with the most adaptive outcomes, and country-origin identity (e.g., Cuban) is associated with the most negative outcomes. Similarly, change towards hyphenated or pan-ethnic identity was associated with overall positive outcomes, and change towards country-origin identity with negative outcomes. Finally, looking at identity label longitudinally versus cross-sectionally did not alter the results.

Approximately 11 million school-aged children (or a one fifth of the total U.S. student body), were children of immigrants in 2005 (Rong, 2009). Immigrant youth are likely to have a heighted awareness of the importance of academic success as it is the principal way to improve life circumstances both for themselves and for their family. The importance of education is further highlighted for immigrant and non-immigrant youth alike at adolescence, when the educational choices (e.g., going to college) have long-lasting effects (e.g., on life-time earnings) (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001).

Decisions affecting future career opportunities are connected to what Erikson (1968; 1994) argued was the main developmental task in adolescence: identity development. During identity exploration, adolescents are likely to be preoccupied with figuring out "who they are" and what their place society is. While this is a significant developmental task for all youth, it is additionally complicated for immigrant youth by their acculturation experience. Acculturation and ethnic identity development are closely related, and both are likely to influence how adolescents view their place in society and future opportunities.

In the present study I investigate the extent to which ethnic identity development is associated with educational outcomes in immigrant youth. I argue that self-assigned ethnic identity labels reveal important information about acculturation and ethnic identity development, and that different acculturation pathways and identity choices are related to different youth outcomes in adolescence and early adulthood.

Identity development and youth outcomes

Although ego identity development research has typically focused more on the process than on the outcomes associated with different identity stages, Marcia (1966) observed that identity stages were associated with youth outcomes. In his study, foreclosed status was associated with endorsement of authoritarian values, higher stress, and failure to adjust goals based on performance. Youth who were in identity moratorium (active exploration) or had an achieved identity persevered longest on tasks, maintained realistic aspiration levels, and were the least susceptible to authoritarian values, with the exception that youth in moratorium exhibited more variability. Finally, those in the identity diffusion stage did not exhibit a clear pattern, but their overall scores were better than those of the foreclosed group.

More recent research has also found positive associations for the achieved identity status. Compared to their peers in moratorium stage, college students with achieved identity had better-defined educational goals and life management skills, while those in the diffused stage had the poorest interpersonal skills (Berzonsky & Kuk, 2000). Research on adolescent substance abuse has further revealed that diffused adolescents engaged in risky behavior the most, and foreclosed adolescents did so the least (Jones & Hartman, 1988).

Ethnic identity development and youth outcomes

In contrast, research on ethnic identity development has often put youth outcomes at the forefront. The results of this research suggest that achieved status is associated with the most beneficial youth outcomes; diffusion is associated with least adaptive outcomes. Among black college students the exploration and achieved statuses are linked to better self-evaluation, sense of mastery, and social relationships (Phinney, 1989). In contrast, the diffusion stage has been associated with higher depression rates compared to those in the achieved status (Yip, Seaton, & Sellers, 2006). Furthermore, youth who consider their ethnicity to be a core feature of their identity and have a positive evaluation of own ethnicity have higher academic achievement and educational attainment than youth who felt alienated from their racial group (Chavous et al. 2003).

Ethnic identity formation for immigrant youth is importantly influenced by their acculturation experience. Next, I discuss the link between acculturation, ethnic identity development, and youth outcomes. I particularly focus on segmented assimilation theory, racial ethnic self-schema theory, and Berry's acculturation framework. Since the theoretical foundations for these three theories were covered in chapters 1 and 2, here I put emphasis on the associated youth outcomes.

Connecting segmented assimilation and RES to youth outcomes

Segmented assimilation theory by Portes and colleagues (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Portes & Zhou, 1993) asserts that immigrants who arrive with high human capital will experience a *"thinning"* of their ethnic identity as they assimilate to the American white middle class.

Bicultural identities, in contrast, occur when immigrants are able to assimilate to the middle class while maintaining a strong connection to their heritage culture. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) argue that both of these identity paths should be associated with positive academic outcomes in immigrant youth.

"Thickening" of ethnic identity occurs when the immigrant (group) is not welcomed by the majority population. As a result, newcomers will distance themselves from the American culture, and turn increasingly towards the minority communities established by their fellow countrymen. These thick ethnic identities are hypothesized to be associated with negative academic outcomes.

Connecting acculturation to identity. Altschul, Oyserman, and Bybee (2008) examined whether immigrant youth living in inhospitable contexts would indeed show evidence of "thickening" ethnic identity. Contrary to the prediction of segmented assimilation theory, youth in inhospitable context endorsed a variety of ethnic identities, and "thinning" of ethnic identity was actually associated with maladaptive outcomes (e.g., low grades in school). Similarly Portes, Fernández-Kelly, and Haller (2005) found evidence of both upward and downward assimilation with the same immigrant populations. These results suggested that immigrant assimilation is not a uniform process, and that the social context does not fully determine the acculturation pathway either.

Altschul et al. (2008) have connected segmented assimilation theory to racial-ethnic self-schema (RES) theory, but suggest partly different processes and outcomes. Within RES, youth who focus only on *in-group self-schemas* (= thickening of ethnic identity) are argued to be in danger of disengagement because they view academic achievement as a white middle class issue (i.e., something that does not apply to them). It should be mentioned, however, that most other researchers have not found evidence for this "oppositional identity" (e.g. Eccles et al., 2006; Harris, 2006).

Youth who have a *larger society racial-ethnic self-schema* (= bicultural path) can buffer negative stereotypes by recognizing that they are also part of the non-stereotyped majority society (Oyserman et al., 2006). Larger society RES can either be manifested as dual RES (emphasizes positive connection to both cultures) or as minority RES (approaches majority

culture from a minority point of view), and Oyserman et al. found that youth in both groups had equal academic persistence.

Oyserman and colleagues do not suggest an exact match for thinning of the ethnic identity (i.e. the case where minority ethnic identity is "replaced" by a majority culture identity). Instead, they suggest that a third broad category is the absence of racial ethnic schema. *Aschematic youth* do not have a coherent cognitive structure about their ethnic group membership; thus, they are vulnerable to negative stereotypes. According to Oyserman and colleagues this puts aschematic youth in risk of academic disengagement (Oyserman et al., 2006). This identity, then, is similar to the diffused ego identity development stage.

Berry's acculturation model and youth outcomes

A recent multinational study based on Berry's acculturation model provides direct insight into how different acculturation profiles are associated with youth outcomes (Sam, Vedder, Ward, & Horenczyk, 2006). The authors categorized outcome variables into psychological adaptation (reflective of emotional well-being and satisfaction, e.g. life-satisfaction, self-esteem), and socio-cultural adaptation (skills one needs to succeed in the society, e.g. school adjustment, behavioral problems). The results indicated that the integrated group (with ties to both cultures) had the best mean scores on both outcomes, while the diffuse ethnic identity group had the worst outcomes on both. Youth adhering to a national profile (here comparable to an American identity) also had lower than average scores on both measures, but still reported better outcomes than the diffuse group.

Analyzing these same data, Vedder, Van de Vijver, and Liebkind (2006) found that perceived discrimination was associated with reduced psychological and sociological adaptation. Furthermore, perceived discrimination was associated with weaker orientation towards integration to the host society, and stronger orientation towards own ethnic group. Despite this, Sam et al. (2006) reported that youth outcomes were mixed for the ethnic profile in that they reported relatively positive psychological adaptation, but negative sociological adaptation. It is possible that turning towards the ethnic group helps protect psychological adjustment in the face of discrimination, but at the same time it might further distance the immigrant from the host society, making academic adjustment and success in (host society) schools harder for youth.

Based on these same data, Phinney et al. (2006) concluded that integration is the most adaptive acculturation path for immigrant youth. If that is not a viable option, then an orientation towards ethnic culture is the "second best" option as it is associated with good psychological adaptation but less good sociological adaptation. Orientation towards the host culture and a mixed orientation (i.e. not clearly oriented towards either culture) were associated with negative adaptation.

Table 3.1 below summarizes what segmented assimilation theory, racial ethnic self-schema theory, and Berry's acculturation model expect in terms of youth outcomes for different acculturation profiles.

Table 3.1 Connecting Segmented assimilation theory, RES, and Berry's acculturation theory

Segmented assimilation Portes & Zhou	**Racial-ethnic self-schema** Oyserman et al.	**Berry's acculturation model** Berry, Phinney, et al.	**Notes**
Thickening identity → negative outcomes	In-group RES → negative outcomes	Ethnic profile → mixed outcomes	The individual is solely focused on and turned towards heritage culture
Bicultural assimilation (assimilative identity) → positive outcomes	Dual RES → positive outcomes	Integrated profile → positive outcomes	Acknowledgement and participation in both cultures. Requires that individual is well-received by the majority.
Bicultural assimilation (dissimilative identity: healthy disrespect towards host culture) → positive outcomes (less clear on this)	Larger society RES with an emphasis on minority identity → positive outcomes		Acknowledgement and participation in both cultures. Emphasis on approaching the majority culture from a disadvantaged standpoint. No equivalent in Berry's model.
Thinning identity → positive outcomes		National profile → negative outcomes, but not as negative as in diffuse profile	Turning towards the majority culture at the expense of minority culture.
	Aschematic RES → negative outcomes	Diffused profile → negative outcomes	Lack of interested and focus on ethnic identity.

In summary, the three theories predict positive outcomes with an identity that emphasizes biculturalism, and overall negative outcomes with an identity that is solely focused on the ethnic

in-group. Empirical findings form Berry's model suggests that an ethnic in-group identity might be associated with both positive and negative outcomes depending on the domain, but the two other theories expect negative outcomes for this identity.

The clearest contrast in the above table is between Segmented Assimilation theory and Berry's model, which predict opposite outcomes with an identity that rejects the ethnic identity and focuses solely on the majority culture. Portes and colleagues see this as full assimilation to the host society and predict similar outcomes as with non-immigrant youth. In contrast, Berry and colleagues argue that full assimilation at the expense of ethnic culture is associated with acculturative stress, and will results in negative outcome for immigrant youth. RES also predicts that an identity that ignores ethnicity is associated with negative outcomes for minority youth, but it is somewhat unclear how well this matches "thinning" of ethnic identity. The assumption in Segmented assimilation is that the immigrant assimilates to the majority culture, while RES associates aschematic identity with complete absence of (ethnic) identity.

While the theories listed in Table 3.1 above equate hyphenated or bicultural identity with positive outcomes, few of the theories suggest a causal explanation for this. Next, I discuss Eccles and colleagues' Expectancy-value theory, which is a motivational theory seeking to answer *why* identities influence behaviors and beliefs.

Expectancy-value theory

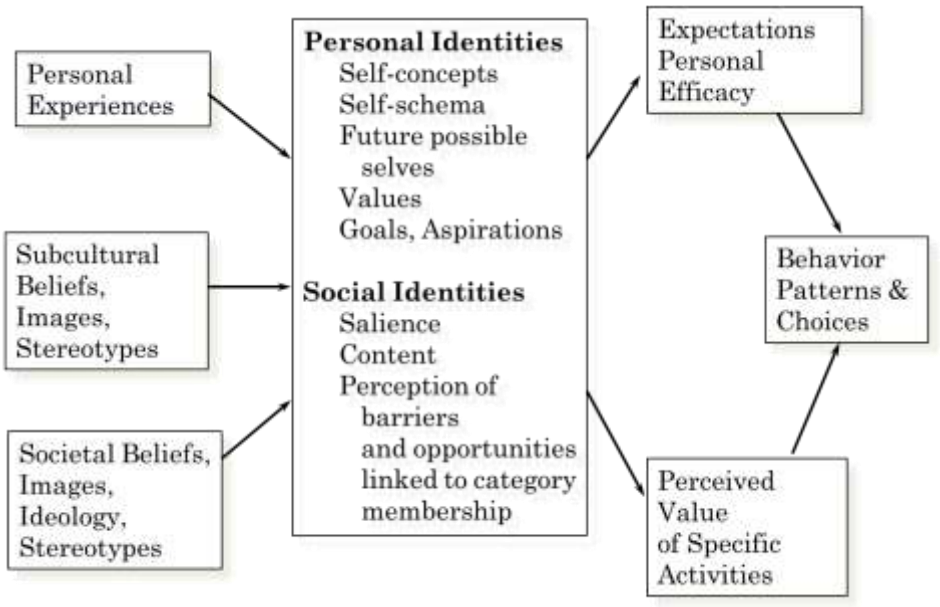
Expectancy value theory is a motivational theory positing that our choices are a function of the *expectation* for the outcome in a given task and the perceived *value* of that task. When evaluating the perceived value of the task, we take into account what we can gain from the activity (e.g. money, pleasure) as well as what we might lose by engaging in the activity (e.g. time). When evaluating our expectancy for success we rely on in part past successes with similar tasks (Eccles, 1983). This is the psychological component of expectancy-value theory.

The other component of the theory is the socialization component. According to Eccles and colleagues, children's perceptions of their abilities are importantly influenced by their socializers' beliefs about them. Thus, a child is likely to internalize parents', teachers', and peers' messages, and base his or her own expectations on those messages (Eccles, 1983; Frome & Eccles, 1998). In addition, our expectancies and values depend on our identities, and we are

more likely to value and expect positive outcomes of activities and goals that are compatible with our identities (Eccles, 1983; Wigfield & Eccles, 2000). Identities, of course, do not develop in a vacuum either, but are importantly influenced by our social environment (e.g. Eccles, 1983; Erikson, 1994).

Gender and ethnic identity are examples of identities which have both a personal and societal component. In the following sections I will take a closer look at how gender identity and ethnic identity has been connected to youth outcomes within the expectancy-value theory, and connect this research to the identity labels that are central to the present study. Figure 3.1 puts the role of identities within the expectancy value theory to the forefront.

Figure 3.1 Expectancy-value model



The right side of the model displays the basic assumption in expectancy-value model: we are more likely to engage in tasks in which we expect to be successful and which we value. An example of this is a student who chooses to spend the night studying for an exam because past experience has told her that this can result in a good grade. As highlighted in Figure 1, different identities have different schema content attached to them, and these schemata guide our goal pursuits. For example, if a woman believes that a career in engineering is not compatible with a female identity, she is unlikely to pursue that goal (Eccles, 1983; 2009; 2011).

In a study that is directly relevant to the present piece, Barber, Eccles, and Stone (2001) described how identity labels chosen by youth were connected to developmental pathways. The

social identity labels for this study were taken from the popular 1980s teen movie "Breakfast Club", which describes the lives of the high school Jock, Princess, Brain, Basket Case, and Criminal. Barber and colleagues found that these identity labels were predictive of both current and future outcomes. For example, Jocks and Criminals reported drinking most often, and Brains were most likely to have graduated from college by age 24. Interestingly, participation in sports was linked with educational and occupation success regardless of the identity, but Jock identity was a better predictor of psychological well-being (e.g. self-esteem, low suicide attempts) than sports participation alone. This suggests that the label youth identify with can have predictive power over and above the measurable behaviors associated with the label (Barber, Eccles, & Stone, 2001).

In the present study I am working with the assumption that different ethnic identity labels chosen by immigrant youth are associated with different identity schema, which in turn influences their academic engagement. In addition, I give special attention to gender identity and its association with academic choices.

Schema differences and ethnic identity. Country of origin is undoubtedly an important influence on immigrant identity schema. Despite being both part of the Latino population in the U.S., Mexican and Cuban immigrants differ in important ways, including political and economic conditions of departure and arrival (see chapter 2 for full discussion). Although technically both are voluntary immigrants to the U.S., Alvarez (1973) and Ogbu and Simons (1998) argue that Mexican immigrants to California assimilate to the existing local Mexican minority, thus becoming part of an involuntary, colonized minority.

According to Ogbu and Simons (1998) voluntary minorities hold a positive dual frame of references when they compare their current living situation to the one in their country of origin and, for example, see ampler educational opportunity in the U.S. Children of immigrants still come to this comparison based on the stories they hear from their parents and grandparents. These parents are also typically strongly committed to their children's education, and rarely question teachers for their children's academic problems. Ogbu and Simons further argue that voluntary minorities are likely to experience initial academic difficulties due to adjustment to the host culture and language, these issues are not long-lasting (unlike for involuntary minorities).

Involuntary immigrants, on the other hand, also have a dual frame of reference, but for them the comparison is negative: they look at the situation of the white middle class and see their comparatively disadvantaged situation. They believe the American proverb that hard work will pay off, but they have also seen that in their immediate surroundings this is not necessarily true. Parents' attitudes about education are similarly ambivalent, with strong belief in the importance of education on the one hand, but on the other hand knowing too many examples where schooling has failed to bring economic rewards (Obgu & Simons, 1998). The authors argue that the educational attainment of the subsequent generations continues to be affected by the voluntary/involuntary immigration status of their forebears.

Non-white immigrant youth are also likely to encounter discrimination from the white majority. Experiences of discrimination undermine academic adjustment, and daily experiences of racial discrimination result in declines in academic self-ability, task-values, and GPA in African American youth (Eccles, Wong, & Peck, 2006). A recent study by Eccelston and Major (2010) found that women reported devaluing a potential promotion when they were told that the person in charge of evaluating the application was prejudiced against women. This suggests that perceived discrimination has a negative impact because it reduces both expectations for success and value for the task.

Importance of identity. Wong et al (2003) found that strong connection to one's ethnic group in African American youth was able to buffer the negative effect of perceived discrimination. Research from the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) perspective by Sellers and colleagues supports the argument that significance of identity matters. MMRI addresses how the content of racial identity influences perceptions, and although not originally devised to address educational experiences, it has been applied to educational research. MMRI suggests that African Americans make decisions about how to behave in a given situation in part based on racial regard (i.e. affective judgment of their race), ideology (i.e. perception of how a Black person should behave), centrality (whether race is a core part of the identity) and salience of their identity (i.e. how accessible their racial ideology and regard are to them) (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998). High racial centrality has been associated with, for example, higher self-esteem (Rowley, Seller, Chavous, & Smith, 1998) and lower alcohol use (Caldwell, Seller, Bernat, & Zimmermann, 2004).

Specifically investigating the relation between identity labels and academic outcomes, Fuligni, Witkow, and Garcia (2005) reported that strength and centrality of ethnic identity was associated with several academic measures, including higher utility value of education and greater identification with school. Using the strength of identity as a mediator, the authors concluded that importance of identity was more relevant to educational outcomes than the identity labels youth used. Similarly, Estela Zarate, Bhimji, and Reese (2005) found that positive content attached to the identity label (e.g. positive evaluation of one's ethnic origin) was correlated with positive academic outcomes. Thus, racial/ethnic centrality may be a more important predictor of positive academic outcomes than the identity label youth choose.

Schema differences and gender. The influence of gender on achievement-related choices has been a major focus of Expectancy Value Theory. Several studies suggest that men define success more narrowly in terms of career success. In contrast, women define success in other realms of life as well, including relationships and family responsibilities. This also means that a broader set of life choices may be equally appealing for women (e.g. deciding between a career in business and being stay-at-home mother). Gender differences are also apparent in educational choices so that women are more likely to choose careers that are related to helping others, while men are more likely to value and choose careers that deal more with "things" than people (e.g. computer science) (Eccles, 2011).

In the "Breakfast Club study" discussed above, Barber et al. (2001) found that identity label associations depended on gender. For example, female Jocks and Brains completed more years of schooling than their male counterparts, but male Princesses, Basket Cases, and Criminals completed more years of schooling than their female counterparts. This suggests that identities do not work in a vacuum, but rather are influenced by the other identities the individual holds.

A salient example of the influence of multiple identities comes from immigrant research on gender and achievement. Research has repeatedly found that when compared with immigrant boys, immigrant girls have higher grades (e.g. Fuligni, 1997; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Qin-Hilliard, 2003; Sam et al., 2006; Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco & Todorova, 2008). Immigrant girls also have better attitudes towards school, and higher aspirations. Perhaps not surprisingly then, immigrant girls are more favorably perceived by their teachers (Qin-

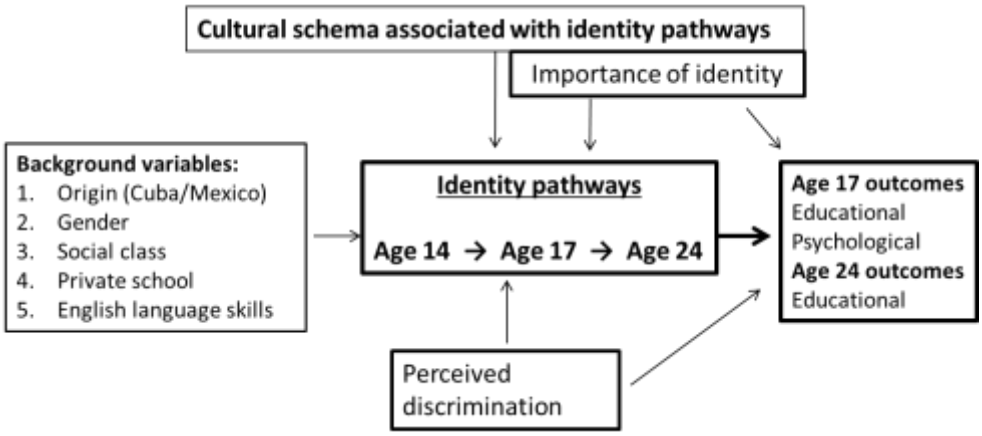
Hilliard, 2003). Interestingly, this better academic adjustment does not seem to extend to the social domain, and in fact immigrant girls typically report worse social adaptation than their male counterparts (Phinney et al. 2001; Sam et al., 2006; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2008).

The present study

The immigrant acculturation theories reviewed above argue that immigrant acculturation and identity development are associated with youth outcomes. The Expectancy Value Theory maintains that identities are connected with youth outcomes because identities are associated with different schemata, and the content of these schemata influence our thoughts and actions. The first goal of the present analyses is to examine whether ethnic identity labels chosen by youth are differentially connected to academic and psychological outcomes. I hypothesize that hyphenated identity is associated with better adjustment than the other identity labels.

Much of the research looking at immigrant ethnic identity and youth outcomes is cross-sectional. However, both immigrant acculturation and youth (ethnic) identity formation are longitudinal processes, and a looking at how identity formation over time is associated with youth outcomes is likely to give a more complete picture of the process. While I still expect to see more positive youth outcomes associated with a hyphenated identity, I am not making firm hypotheses on the effect of change on outcomes. It could be, for example, that stable hyphenated identity is associated with additional benefits over moving into hyphenated identity from another category. Alternatively, the cognitive process involved in identity formation and identity change (i.e. identity moratorium stage) might increase the cognitive engagement in other areas too and, for example, serve to increase academic motivation. Figure 3.2 below outlines the model for the present analyses.

Figure 3.2 Framework for examining the associations between identity pathways and youth outcomes

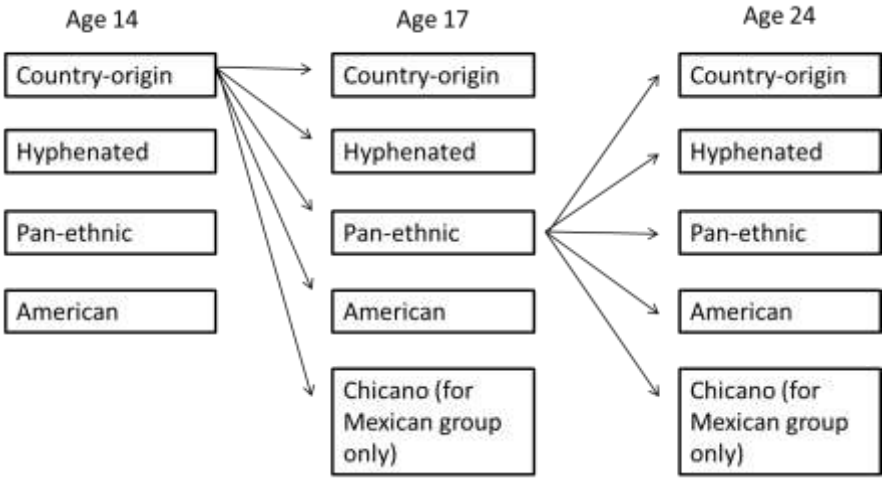


Description of the data and hypotheses

Data for the present analyses comes from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey (CILS) which was described in detail in chapter 2 (see, e.g. Rumbaut, 1994 for full description). Below I focus on features of the data that are relevant to the present analyses and were not covered in detail in chapter 2. Chapter 2 I examined whether cross-sectional identity labels are distinguishable from each other in terms of background variables and schema content, and what change in identity label choice over time revealed about immigrant acculturation pathways.

The focus of the present study is on connecting the longitudinal identity label data to youth outcomes. Figure 3.3 below gives one example of the data provided by a participant who participated in each of the three waves.

Figure 3.3 Identity label possibilities for the CILS participants over the three waves: an example



As a brief reminder, the first CILS data collection took place in 1992 when the participants were on average 14 years old, and the second data collection was conducted three years later. Both of these surveys were administered in schools, and the questionnaires included several questions on educational experiences and future plans. The final data collection was conducted in 2002 when the participants were on average 24 years old. All participants were children of immigrants, and had at least one foreign-born parent. In the present analyses I only include participants from Cuban or Mexican origin.

The identity question was open-ended, and the data were coded into four broad categories: 1) country-origin identity (e.g. Cuban) 2) hyphenated identity (e.g. Cuban-American), 3) American identity (i.e. American) or 4) pan-ethnic identity (e.g. Hispanic, Latino/a). I re-coded the Chicano/a label as a fifth, independent category in waves 2 and 3, although Portes and Rumbaut included it under the pan-ethnic label.

The main question of the present study is: Are diverse identity pathways differently associated with educational and psychological outcomes for second generation immigrant youth? Table 3.2 below summarizes the outcome expectations of the theories reviewed in the introduction for each identity label available in the CILS data.

Table 3.2 Outcomes expectations for different identity/acculturation pathways

CILS data identity variable	Theories expecting positive outcomes	Theories expecting negative outcomes
Country-origin		Berry, Lafromboise et al. Segmented assimilation RES
Hyphenated	Berry, Lafromboise et al. Segmented assimilation, RES (Larger society RES with emphasis on dual RES)	
Pan-ethnic	RES (Larger society RES with an emphasis on minority identity) Segmented assimilation (Bicultural assimilation - dissimilative identity)	
American	Segmented assimilation	Berry, Lafromboise et al. RES
Chicano		Segmented assimilation (Bicultural assimilation - dissimilative identity)

The literature reviewed above (and in chapters 1 and 2) suggest that a hyphenated identity should be associated with best youth outcomes. Similarly to the hyphenated identity, a pan-ethnic identity should be associated with positive youth outcomes according to these theories. Thus, the first hypothesis is that both hyphenated and pan-ethnic identities are associated with positive youth outcomes. While Chicano identity also acknowledges both cultures, is it likely that is it more of an example of turning towards one's in-group than about bicultural identity. Thus, the analyses regarding Chicano identity are more exploratory in nature.

All the theories hypothesize that country-origin identity is associated with negative youth outcomes, but Sam et al. (2006) found that youth with ethnic profile (comparable to country-origin identity) had relatively higher psychological adaptation despite their lower sociological adaptation. Finally, the theories reviewed here differ with regards to an American identity: Segmented assimilation theory views it as becoming a full member of the host society and expects outcomes comparable to non-immigrant youth. The other theories view it as a rejection of a core part of the self, and expect negative outcomes. Agreeing with the theories that view

ethnic identity as a non-negligible part of self, I hypothesize that both country-origin and American identity are associated with less positive youth outcomes than hyphenated and pan-ethnic identity, but the results may not be clear-cut.

Expectancy Value Theory suggests that identities are connected to achievement-related choices via their schema content. The analyses in chapter 2 suggested that the identity label groups indeed differed in language preference and use (connecting them to the heritage and host cultures in differing degrees) as well as in values. Youth identifying with their country of origin (or country of origin of their parents, i.e. Cuba or Mexico) reported the highest foreign language preference and proficiency, attached the most importance to their identity, and adhered the least to pro-U.S. values. Youth identifying as "American" were their polar opposites in that they preferred using English most of the time, attached the least importance to their identity, and had the most favorable opinions of the U.S. Youth identifying as hyphenated (e.g. Cuban-American) or pan-ethnic (e.g. Latino) were between these two extremes, yet differed in important ways. Their language profiles suggested a connection to both the heritage and host culture, but the pan-ethnic group was more critical of the U.S. (e.g. in terms of perceived economic discrimination), and they also attached less importance to their identity than the hyphenated youth.

The research reviewed above suggests that the associations between identity label and youth outcomes may depend on country-origin and gender. For example, while integration was the best profile for most immigrant groups in a recent multinational study, there was some national variation: an example of this is that orientation towards the ethnic culture was more beneficial than integration for Turkish immigrant youth, perhaps a testament to the benefit of maintaining a closer bond with their parents) (Phinney et al, 2006).

One important difference between Mexican and Cuban students in this study is the data collection sites. The Californian CILS site in San Diego receives increasing numbers of Mexican immigrants from the neighboring Mexican city, Tijuana. Although the economy of San Diego is increasingly dependent on Latino workers and the Mexican-origin school population is growing, the atmosphere in San Diego is not necessarily hospitable to immigrants (López & Stanton-Salazar, 2001). Indeed, in the CILS data, Mexican-origin students experienced the most educational hardship (Rumbaut, 1994). The Cuban data were collected in Florida where Cuban immigrants often live in prosperous ethnic enclaves (particularly Cubans who arrived in the

earlier waves, including most parents of the youth included in the present study). These differences are also reflected in Ogbu and Simon's (1998) argument about involuntary (Mexican) and voluntary (Cuban) minorities.

In addition to depending on country-origin, academic and psychological adjustment in immigrant youth is likely to depend on gender. Gender differences were not the focus of Pérez (2001) or López and Stanton-Salazar's (2001) studies when they analyzed the Cuban and Mexican samples of the CILS data, but they noted that in both groups girls had significantly higher GPAs.

The first step in the present study, then, is to compare Cuban and Mexican students as well as genders within ethnicity on the outcome variables. Next, I compare stable identity pathways to each other to examine differences in youth outcomes. The reasoning behind this as a starting point was that if no differences emerge here (where the power of the identity should be the most "potent", so to speak), then it is unlikely that identity label pathways have an influence on academic or psychological outcomes in second generation youth.

In the third part of the analyses I take a closer look at how change in identity influences outcomes. For example, if hyphenated identity is associated with more positive youth outcomes, is stable longitudinal hyphenated identity more beneficial than cross-sectional hyphenated identity? On the other hand, change in identity status (particularly between ages 14 and 17) could be a sign of having entered the stage of identity exploration, which has been associated with positive youth outcomes when compared to a diffused identity (Berzonsky & Kuk, 2000).

To explore the effect of change in identity label, I 1) compare stable identity label groups, 2) look at the associations of change versus stability in identity, and finally 3) examine the change from one identity label to another. In line with the theories reviewed above, I hypothesize that change towards hyphenated or pan-ethnic identities is associated with more positive youth outcomes than change towards country-origin or American identities.

Finally, I examine the influence of importance of identity. The analyses in chapter 2 confirmed that importance of ethnic identity was not equal between these identity label groups, and the suggestion that follows from Fuligni et al. (2005) and Sellers and colleagues' work is that as long as students rate their identity as "very important", it may not matter whether they label themselves Cuban, Cuban-American, Hispanic, or American.

Methods

The identity predictor variables were created differently for each set of analysis, and are discussed separately below. The outcome measures used in each set of analyses were the same. Bivariate correlations between the youth outcomes can be seen in Table 1 in Appendix A. The original sample sizes at age 14 were very large (N=1156 for Cubans and N=709 for Mexicans), but there was attrition over time. At age seventeen 914 Cubans and 569 Mexican students re-took the survey, and at age twenty four 734 Cubans and 386 Mexicans participated in the last data collection. The total sample sizes are impressive across the waves they become considerable smaller when the sample is further divided by chosen ethnic identity label and gender. Adding the longitudinal component further limits the sample, and restricts the analysis that can be done to look at the outcomes associated with identity label data over the full three years. Most of the present analyses, then, look at change either from age 14 to age 17, or from age 17 to age 24.

Age 17 variables

Grade point averages were provided by the schools.

Number of study hours was self-reported by the participant. The question asked the student to indicate how many hours he or she spends studying or doing homework on a typical weekday. There were 6 answer choices ranging from 1 "Less than one" to 6 "Five or more".

Ideal educational attainment was inquired about with the question "What is the highest level of education that you would like to achieve?" The answer choices ranged from 1 "Less than high school" to 5 "Finish a graduate degree (masters, doctor etc.)"

Realistic educational attainment was inquired about with the question "And realistically, what is the highest level of education that you think you will get?" The answer choices were the same as above.

Importance of good grades was measured with the question "How true is the statement for you? It is very important to be to get good grades". Answer choices ranged from 1 "Very true" to 4 "Not true at all". This item was reverse-coded for the present analysis so that higher score indicated higher agreement with the item.

Importance of good education was measured with the item "How important is each of the following to you in your life? Getting a good education". Answer choices ranged from 1 "Not important" to 3 "Very important".

Self-esteem measure was a composite score based on a scale of 13 items. Ten of these items came from Rosenberg's self-esteem scale. Examples of the items included "I feel that I have a number of good qualities" and "I certainly feel useless at times". The answer scale ranged from 1" "Agree a lot" to 4 "Disagree a lot".

Depression was also a composite score measured with five items from the CES-D Depression scale. The prompt was ""How often have you felt this way in the past two weeks?" Examples of the items included "I felt depressed" and "I could not get "going"". The answer options ranged from 1 "Rarely (less than once a week)" to 4 "Most of the time (5-7 days a week)".

Importance of identity was measured with an item asking "how important is this identity to you, that is what you call yourself?" Answer choices were 1=Not important, 2=Somewhat important, and 3=Very important.

Perceived discrimination was coded as 0=No and 1=Yes, and importance of identity was coded on a three-point scale from 1 "Not important" to 3 "Very important".

Expectance of future discrimination was measured with the item "No matter how much education I get, people will still discriminate against me". Answers were coded from 1 "Very true" to 4 "Not at all true". The item was reverse coded here for easier interpretation.

To look at the underlying psychological structure in the data I conducted a factor analysis of the available educational and psychological adjustment indicators in the total sample at wave 2. The results suggested that the first factor is formed of the ideal educational level and realistic educational level. The second factor is made up of the two psychological well-being indicators: self-esteem and depression. The third factor consists of perceived discrimination (both discrimination experienced thus far and anticipated future discrimination), and the fourth factor is made up of study hours and grade point average (the "studious factor"). Finally, the fifth factor comprises the importance the participant places on getting good grades and the importance of getting a good education. These five factors explain 63% of the cumulative variance in the factor

analysis. I will include each of these variables separately in the analyses in order to obtain the clearest picture of the results.

Age 24 variables

The educational outcomes that were measured at age 24 were fewer than those measured at age 17. Bivariate correlations between the youth outcomes at age 24 can be found in Table 2 in Appendix A.

College graduation and *current enrollment in school* were coded as 0=No and 1=Yes.

Highest school grade/year of education completed was coded from 1="Some high school, no diploma" to 9="Professional/Doctoral Degree (JD, MD, DDS, Ph.D.)".

Question on *total family income* provided 12 answer choices, from "Less than $5,000" to "$200,000 or more". The variable included in the present analyses was recoded to the midpoint of each of these categories in the publically available data set (top was coded as $350,000).

Identity variables and statistical methods

Part 1: Country-origin and gender differences. In the first part of the analyses I conducted t-tests to compare Cuban and Mexican students as well as genders within ethnicity on the outcome variables. *Gender* was coded 1=Male and 2=Female.

Part 2: Comparison of stable identity pathways. In the second part I used planned contrasts to compare stable identity pathways to each other on youth outcomes. The four pathways were: 1) country-origin identity (Cuban or Mexican), 2) hyphenated (Cuban-American or Mexican-American), 3) American, and 4) pan-ethnic (Hispanic or Latino/a). I used wave 2 outcomes for pathways from age 14 to age 17, and wave 3 outcomes for pathways from age 14 to age 17 and to age 24. Only participants who had indicated stable pathways were included in this first set of analysis (e.g. hyphenated identity at age 14 and again at age 17).

In addition, I took a closer look at how attending a *private versus a public school* may influence the relationship between identity labels and outcomes for Cuban youth. This was done because analyses in chapter 2 revealed that hyphenated identity was by far the most popular

identity among privately schooled Cuban youth. This variable was coded as 0=Public school and 1=Private school.

Part 3: Outcomes associated with change in identity label over time. In the third part of the analyses I examine how change in identity is associated with outcomes using both t-tests and planned contrasts. First, I used t-tests to compare all the participants who changed their identity between ages 14 and 17 to the youth who maintained one of the four stable identities.

Next, I used planned contrasts to compare the youth who started out in the same identity label category at age 14 (e.g. country-origin). For example, I compared those who remained stable in their country origin identity to those who reported moving to any of the other identity categories by the next wave.

The third set of analysis regarding change involved t-tests comparing cross-sectional and longitudinal identities. The question here was that if, for example, hyphenated identity has a benefit over country-origin identity, is it even better to have a stable hyphenated identity? To answer this question I compared youth who reported a stable identity from age 14 to age 17 (e.g., pan ethnic + pan ethnic) to youth who moved to that label only at age 17 (e.g., country-origin + pan-ethnic)

The final set of analyses here compared "identity foreclosure" to "identity moratorium". Because the acculturation theories reviewed above associate country-origin identity with negative youth outcomes and hyphenated identity with positive outcomes, I used these two as the start and end point for the "moratorium" group. Thus, I compared the youth who reported a hyphenated identity at all three waves ("identity foreclosure") to youth who started out as country-origin identified at age 14, but had arrived to a hyphenated identity at age 24 ("identity moratorium").

Part 4: Importance of identity and perceived discrimination. To test for the impact of importance of identity and perceived discrimination I used analysis of variance (Anova). I used ideal educational attainment reported at age 17 as the outcome variable. In order to use the identity variables in the Anova I created a set variables each comparing one identity label pair (e.g. Country-origin vs hyphenated; Pan-ethnic vs hyphenated).

The first predictor variable in the model was the identity label (pair), after which country-origin (Cuban vs Mexico) was entered, followed by importance of identity or perceived discrimination. When looking at the influence of importance, I included perceived discrimination as a control variable, and vice versa. Finally, interaction terms regarding the importance of identity (or perceived discrimination) with identity label and country-origin were included in the model.

Results

Part 1: Country-origin and gender differences.

I first examined whether the two immigrant groups and genders within ethnicity differed from each other on the outcomes. To do this, I conducted t-tests where the grouping variable first was country-origin (Cuba vs Mexico), and then gender (while keeping Cuban and Mexican students separated). These data have been analyzed in this manner by Pérez (2001) and by López and Stanton-Salazar (2001), who found that Cuban students overall had more positive academic outcomes than Mexican students, and that girls had a higher GPA than boys within both groups. The present analyses pertaining to country-origin and gender differences, then, are mainly replicatory.

Table 3.3 below presents the results of the t-tests regarding the comparison between Cuban and Mexican students. Standard deviations are in parenthesis, and p-values are reported in the fourth column.

Table 3.3 T-tests between Cuban and Mexican youth at age 17 and age 24

	Cuban N=962	Mexican N=595	P-value
Means for outcomes at age 17			
Grade point average	2.2 (.917)	2.25 (.878)	.248
Respondent hours studying	2.38 (1.43)	2.45 (1.23)	.344
Ideal attainable education level	4.63 (.697)	4.18 (.968)	.000
Realistic attainable education level	4.35 (.801)	3.72 (1.03)	.000
Importance of good grades	3.50 (.731)	3.55 (.744)	.180
Importance of good education	2.87 (.365)	2.87 (.389)	.758
Self-esteem	3.53 (.491)	3.36 (.503)	.000
Depressive symptoms	1.60 (.6142)	1.64 (.659)	.221
Perceived discrimination	.50 (.50)	.66 (.475)	.000
Expectance of future discrimination	1.79 (.915)	2.14 (1.03)	.000
Importance of identity	2.43 (.693)	2.59 (.651)	.000
Means for outcomes at age 24	N=786	N=407	
College graduation	.40 (.491)	.17 (.378)	.000
Current enrollment in school	.52 (.50)	.41 (.492)	.000
Highest school grade/year of education	4.25 (1.768)	3.23 (1.51)	.000
Total family income	$67,086 (64,028)	$39,589 (30,415)	.000

The differences here are in favor of the Cuban group: At age 17, Cuban students were more likely to have higher ideal and realistic educational aspirations, and higher self-esteem. At age 24 they were more likely to have graduated from college, to be currently in school, and to have completed a higher grade of education. Cuban young adults also reported higher family income at age 24. Mexican students reported more experienced discrimination, and were more likely to think that they will encounter future discrimination regardless of their level of education.

Table 3.4 T-tests between genders among Cuban youth at age 17 and age 24

Cuban	Boys N=490	Girls N=468	P-value
Means for outcomes at age 17			
Grade point average	2.12 (.950)	2.29 (.871)	.002
Respondent hours studying	2.22 (1.36)	2.56 (1.49)	.000
Ideal attainable education level	4.53 (.790)	4.73 (5.67)	.000
Realistic attainable education level	4.3 (.854)	4.41 (.748)	.023
Importance of good grades	3.39 (7.99)	3.61 (.634)	.000
Importance of good education	2.83 (.417)	2.92 (.293)	.000
Self-esteem	3.55 (.476)	3.51 (.506)	.143
Depressive symptoms	1.507 (.587)	1.69 (.628)	.000
Perceived discrimination	.52 (.50)	.48 (.50)	.223
Expectance of future discrimination	1.91 (.976)	1.66 (.827)	.000
Importance of identity	2.4 (.718)	2.46 (.665)	.176
Means for outcomes at age 24	N=398	N=395	
College graduation	.40 (.491)	.41 (.492)	.817
Current enrollment in school	.48 (.500)	.57 (.496)	.014
Highest school grade/year of education	4.28 (1.77)	4.22 (1.52)	.344
Total family income	$76,655 (75,224)	$57,911 (49,427)	.000

At age 17, Cuban girls had higher GPAs, spent more hours studying, had higher aspirations, and held good grades and a good education at a higher regard than Cuban boys. At age 24 they were also more likely to be in school than Cuban boys. Despite that these difference indicate superior academic adjustment, girls at age 17 reported significantly more depressive symptoms. Interestingly, girls reported experiencing more discrimination from other students, but in the future they expected a good education to lessen discrimination more so than boys did. And finally, despite being more academically engaged and motivated at age 17, Cuban young women reported significantly lower family income than young Cuban males at age 24.

Table 3.5 T-tests between genders among Mexican youth at age 17 and age 24

Mexican	Boys N=300	Girls N=296	p-value
Means for outcomes at age 17			
Grade point average	2.10 (.892)	2.40 (.837)	.000
Respondent hours studying	2.24 (1.17)	2.66 (1.26)	.000
Ideal attainable education level	4.02 (1.02)	4.34 (.882)	.000
Realistic attainable education level	3.54 (1.05)	3.89 (.974)	.002
Importance of good grades	3.46 (.807)	3.65 (.663)	.000
Importance of good education	2.79 (.473)	2.94 (.260)	.000
Self-esteem	3.368 (.472)	3.342 (.534)	.310
Depressive symptoms	1.52 (.617)	1.75 (.680)	.000
Perceived discrimination	.69 (.465)	.63 (.485)	.114
Expectance of future discrimination	2.21 (1.09)	207 (.956)	.098
Importance of identity	2.55 (686)	2.64 (.612)	.085
Means for outcomes at age 24	N=392	N=394	
College graduation	.20 (.399)	.15 (.358)	.207
Current enrollment in school	.36 (.481)	.45 (.499)	.068
Highest school grade/year of education	3.21 (1.63)	3.25 (31.42)	.428
Total family income	43881$ (36098)	36810$ (23522)	.021

Similarly for the Mexican group, at age 17 girls reported higher GPAs, more study hours, higher aspirations, and attached more importance to good grades and education. And again similarly to the Cuban youth, Mexican girls also reported more depressive symptoms at age 17, and lower family income at age 24 than Mexican boys. It is noteworthy that boys and girls within each group differ on more variables than the combined Cuban and Mexican groups differ from each other.

Part 2: Comparison of stable identity pathways

The first step of analysis to answer the main question of interest was to look at whether stable identity pathways are differently associated with student outcomes. For example, can we expect higher educational outcomes from youth who were stable in their hyphenated identity when compared to youth who were stable in their country-origin identity? I conducted planned contrasts to compare the stable identity pathways. Tables 3.6-3.11 below summarize the significant contrasts separately for Cuban and Mexican students, and by gender.

Cuban youth: Age 14 to age 17 with age 17 outcomes

The tables below summarize the significant differences using in a matrix that compares each stable identity path with all the other paths. For example, Table 6 shows that for the combined Cuban sample only significant differences emerged between youth who were in the stable country-origin identity (i.e. Cuban) and stable hyphenated identity (i.e. Cuban-American).

Table 3.6 Cuban youth: Combined sample

	Cuban-Cuban N=60	Hyphen-hyphen N=224	Amer-Amer N=31	Pan-Pan N=35
Cuban-Cuban				
Hyphen-hyphen	Realistic education level hyphen higher* GPA hyphen higher*			
Amer-amer				
Pan-pan				

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

Table 3.7 Cuban youth: Boys only

	Cuban-Cuban N=25	Hyphen-hyphen N=78	Amer-Amer N=16	Pan-Pan N=17
Cuban-Cuban				
Hyphen-hyphen	Hyphen higher GPA*			
Amer-amer				
Pan-pan	Pan more study hours*			

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

Table 3.8 Cuban youth: Girls only

	Cuban-Cuban N=35	Hyphen-hyphen N=146	Amer-Amer N=15	Pan-Pan N=18
Cuban-Cuban				
Hyphen-hyphen			American good education higher importance**	
Amer-amer				
Pan-pan				

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

Summary of results for the Cuban youth:

In the combined Cuban sample, those who maintained a hyphenated (Cuban-American) identity had higher GPAs at age 17 and expected to attain a higher level of education than youth who maintained a stable country-origin (Cuban) identity. When looking at the samples separated by gender, boys with a hyphenated identity reported higher GPAs than boys with a country-origin identity, and boys with a pan-ethnic identity reported studying more than boys with a country-origin identity. For Cuban girls, the only significant difference was that students with a stable American identity attached more importance to getting a good education (note that the sample size is only 15 here).

Public versus private schooling in Cuban youth. Because the analysis in chapter 2 suggested that hyphenated identity was relatively more popular among Cuban youth attending private schools, I additionally examined the influence of private school here. Taking a preliminary look at the mean scores for GPA suggests that Cuban youth attending private schools have higher GPAs within each identity path. A closer look at the sample sizes for each path reveals that while all identity paths are represented in public school, the Cuban-American identity was dominant among students attending a private school at age 17 (for those who were on a stable identity path). See tables 1-3 in Appendix B.

To explore the possibility that the mean scores were higher for the "stable hyphenated" sample due to the privately schooled youth, I ran the contrasts again removing the privately schooled youth (i.e. both the 56 students with the stable hyphen-hyphen path and the four students who indicated other stable paths). This did not change the results from what is reported above for the combined sample or for the female sample.

For Cuban boys, two additional significant contrasts emerged: the benefit of stable country-origin identity over stable hyphenated identity for self-esteem, and the benefit of stable pan-ethnic identity over hyphenated identity in study hours (see Table 4 in Appendix B). The fact that none of the previously significant contrasts disappeared by removing the private schooled youth from these analyses, however, suggests that the mean differences between privately and publically educated Cuban youth were not driving the above-described results.

Mexican: Age 14 to age 17 (wave 1 to wave 2) with age 17 outcomes

Table 3.9 Mexican youth: Combined sample

	Mexican-Mexican N=95	Hyphen-hyphen N=75	Amer-Amer N=1	Pan-Pan N=49
Mexican-Mexican				
Hyphen-hyphen	Study hours hyphen higher** Realistic education level hyphen higher** Good grades importance CO higher*			
Amer-amer				
Pan-pan	Study hours pan higher*			

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

Table 3.10 Mexican youth: Boys only

	Mexican-Mexican N=49	Hyphen-hyphen N=41	Amer-Amer N=1	Pan-Pan N=15
Mexican-Mexican				
Hyphen-hyphen	Good grades important hyphenated higher * Ideal education higher for hyphen * Realistic education level higher for hyphen** Study hours higher for hyphen**			
Amer-amer				
Pan-pan	Ideal education level higher for pan*			

** p<.010.
* p<.050

Table 3.11 Mexican youth: Girls only

	Mexican-Mexican N=47	Hyphen-hyphen N=34	Amer-Amer N=0	Pan-pan N=33
Mexican-Mexican				
Hyphen-hyphen	GPA hyphenated higher**			
Amer-amer				
Pan-pan	Grades important pan higher* Study hours pan higher*	GPA hyphenated higher**		

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

Summary for the Mexican youth from age 14 to age 17

For the Mexican youth both hyphenated and pan-ethnic identities had an advantage over the stable country-origin identities in terms of academic outcomes in the combined sample. Compared to the stable country-origin youth, hyphenated Mexican youth reported higher study hours and higher realistic educational aspirations. Stable pan-ethnic youth also reported higher study hours than the country-origin group, but youth who were stable in their county-origin identity attached more importance to good grades than stable hyphenated youth.

The benefit of hyphenated identity over a country-origin identity was also clear in the sample of Mexican boys, where those with stable hyphenated identity reported higher study hours, higher realistic and ideal educational aspirations, and attached more importance to good grades. Interestingly, in the combined sample, hyphenated youth attach higher importance to grades than country-origin youth, but in the boys' sample the direction is the opposite. Both of these effects are only significant at p<.050, however, and in the girls-only sample the direction of the effect is to the benefit of the hyphenated group. Finally, pan-ethnic identity also had an advantage over country-origin identity in terms of ideal educational aspirations for Mexican boys.

For Mexican girls, those youth who held a stable hyphenated identity had higher GPAs than youth who had a stable country-origin or pan-ethnic identity. Stable pan-ethnic identity also had an advantage over country-origin identity in terms of importance of good grades and number of study hours for Mexican girls.

Stable identity pathways from age 14 to 17 to 24 with age 24 outcomes

Table 3.12 Cuban youth: Combined sample

	Cuban-Cuban-Cuban N= 25	Hyphen-hyphen-hyphen N=154	Amer-Amer-Amer N=4	Pan-Pan-Pan N=18
Cuban-Cuban-Cuban				
Hyphen-hyphen-hyphen	Hyphen more likely to have graduated from college** Hyphen has higher family income*			
Amer-amer-amer				
Pan-Pan-Pan				

** p<.010.
* p<.050

Table 3.13 Mexican youth: Combined sample

	Mexican-Mexican-Mexican N=38	Hyphen-hyphen-hyphen N=33	Amer-Amer-Amer N=0	Pan-Pan-Pan N=17
Mexican-Mexican-Mexican				
Hyphen-hyphen-hyphen				
Amer-amer-amer				
Pan-pan-pan		Hyphenated completed more years of schooling*		

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

Summary of the three-wave path results

Separating by gender is not useful here as the sample sizes becomes too small. The results corroborate the earlier findings: A stable hyphenated identity is associated with better educational outcomes in early adulthood than stable country-origin identity Cuban group. Only one significant difference emerged in the Mexican group (benefit of hyphenated group over pan-ethnic in terms of number of years of schooling), but the samples sizes are fairly small even for the combined sample.

Part 3: Youth outcomes associated with change in identity label over time

Comparing "changers" to "stayers"

I used planned contrasts to combine each of the stable pathways to all those youth who changed identity label between ages 14 and 17. The results are displayed in Tables 3.14-3.19 below.

From age 14 to age 17 (wave 1 to 2)

Table 3.14 Cuban youth: Combined sample

	Cuban-Cuban N=62	Hyphen-hyphen N=290	Amer-Amer N=32	Pan-Pan N=39
Changers N=544	Stable co-co higher self-esteem*	Changers had lower realistic educational attainment expectation* and ideal attainment *, lower GPA**, attached lower importance to education*, and have lower self-esteem*		Pan-ethnic attach higher importance to education*

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

Table 3.15 Cuban boys (age 17 outcomes)

	Cuban-Cuban N=26	Hyphen-hyphen N=132	Amer-Amer N=16	Pan-Pan N=19
Changers N=304	Changers have higher GPA** Co-co have higher self-esteem**			Pan studying more hours* Pan value ed higher*

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

Table 3.16 Cuban girls (age 17 outcomes)

	Cuban-Cuban N=36	Hyphen-hyphen N=158	Amer-Amer N=16	Pan-Pan N=20
Changers N=241		Hyphen higher ideal ed level* Hyphen place more importance on grades*	American higher realistic ed level* American place more importance on ed**	

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

Summary for Cuban youth between ages 14 and 17. The only advantage changers had in the Cuban sample is that boys who changed identity between ages 14 and 17 had a higher GPA than boys who maintained a country-origin identity. All the other differences were in favor of the youth who maintained their identity over the two times points.

Interestingly, the patterns are different for the two genders. For boys differences emerged between stable country-origin identified and changers, and between stable pan-ethnic and changers. The effects were for the benefit of the stable pathways, except for the results that Cuban boys who remained in the stable country-origin identity path had higher self-esteem than those who changed. In contrast, for the girls the differences emerged between changers and stabled hyphenated and American groups, to the detriment of the changers. However, samples sizes are fairly small in stable country-origin, American, and Pan-ethnic pathways.
Below are the same data for Mexican youth.

Table 3.17 Mexican youth - combined sample

	Co-co N=69	Hyphen-hyphen N=75	Amer-Amer N=1	Pan-pan N=49
Changers N=378	Changers reported higher study hours*	Hyphenated had higher realistic ed aspirations** and GPA**, and thought that good grades were more important*		

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

Table 3.18 Mexican boys (age 17 outcomes)

	Co-co N=49	Hyphen-hyphen N=41	Amer-Amer N=1	Pan-pan N=15
Changers N=196		Hyphenated higher realistic ed level* Hyphenated higher ideal ed level** Hyphenated value grades more**		

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

Table 3.19 Mexican girls (age 17 outcomes)

	Co-co N=47	Hyphen-hyphen N=34	Amer-Amer N=0	Pan-pan N=34
Changers N=182		GPA higher for hyphenated**		

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

In the Mexican sample the benefits of maintaining a stable hyphenated identity over changing identity between ages 14 and 17 were clear. The only exception to this was that in the combined sample changers reported higher study hours than those who had a stable country-origin identity.

Change from age 17 to age 24

Next, I conducted the same analysis for the identity change from age 17 to 24. The outcomes here came from wave 3 data (age 24).

Table 3.20 Sample sizes for identity change from age 17 to age 24

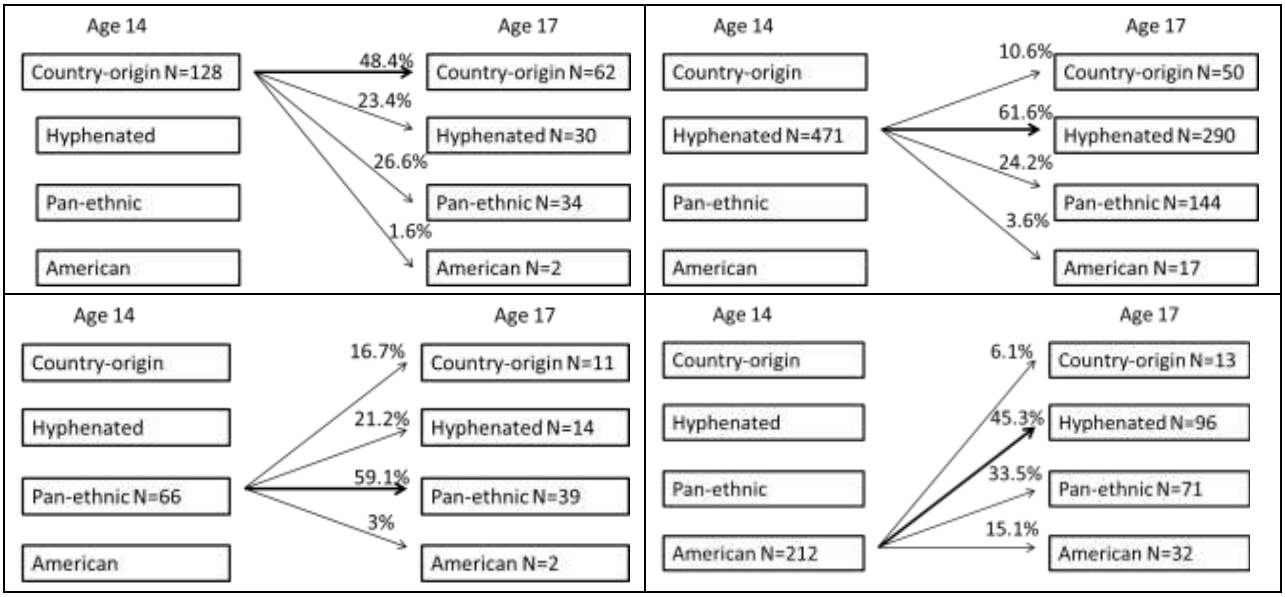
	Cuban all	Cuban boys	Cuban girls	Mexican all	Mexican boys	Mexican girls
"Changers"	293	153	140	267	71	196
Country-origin – country-origin	40	18	22	74	38	36
Hyphen-hyphen	218	104	114	73	33	40
Amer-Amer	4	2	2	1	0	1
Pan-Pan	69	36	33	35	6	29
Chicano	N/A	N/A	N/A	3	3	0
Total	624	313	311	347	151	196

Significant results here emerged mainly for Cuban boys, for whom having a stable hyphenated identity was better than changing, but changing was better than having a stable country-origin

identity. Specifically, Cuban boys who maintained a stable hyphen-hyphen identity had a higher likelihood of having graduated from college (p<.010), having higher family income (p<.050), being in school at age 24 (p<.050), and having completed a higher grade of school at age 24 (p<.010) than those Cuban boys who changed identity. On the other hand, those who changed identity label were more likely to have completed a higher grade of school at age 24 (p<.050) than those who adhered to a stable Cuban identity between ages 17 and 24.

Comparing movement from one identity label to others. I used planned contrast to compare the groups that results from looking at where youth ended up in from each identity label starting category. Figure 3.4 below described these data for the combined Cuban sample.

Figure 3.4 Cuban youth combined sample: change between ages 14 and 17



Summary of results for Cuban youth from age 14 to 17

Starting out at country-origin identified: None of the contrast were significant.

Starting out at hyphenated identified: Compared to those who moved to pan-ethnic identity, those who stayed hyphenated had higher realistic educational aspirations and attached higher importance to getting a good education at age 17 (p<.050 for both). Compared to those who moved to country-origin identity, those who remained hyphenated had a higher GPA at age 17 (p<.010).

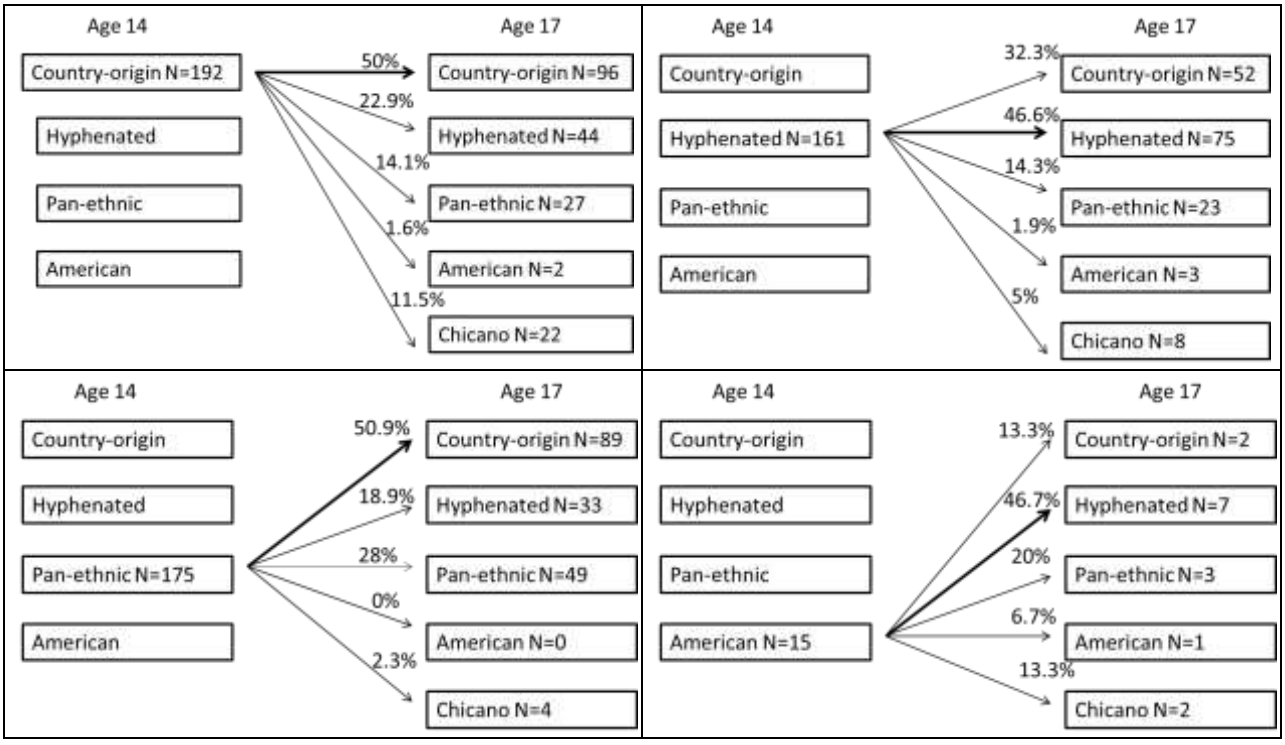
Cuban boys with stable hyphenated identity had higher self-esteem but expected more future discrimination regardless of educational attainment than boys who moved to pan-ethnic identity ($p<.050$ for both). Cuban girls with stable hyphenated identity thought grades were more important than girls who moved to pan-ethnic identity, and they also expected less future discrimination regardless of educational attainment at age 17 than girls who moved to pan-ethnic identity ($p<.050$ for both).

Starting out at pan-ethnic identified: Sample sizes not sufficient

Starting out at American identified: Significant contrasts emerged only when separated by gender. Compared to Cuban boys who remained American, boys who moved to hyphenated had higher GPA, and higher realistic educational aspirations at age 17 ($p<.050$ for both). (Note: sample size only 15 for those who remained American).

Compared to Cuban girls who remained American identified, girls who moved to hyphenated identity attached more importance to getting a good education, and girls who moved to pan-ethnic identity reported more experiences of discrimination at age 17 ($p<.050$ for both). (Note: sample size is only 15 for those who remained American).

Figure 3.5 Mexican youth combined sample – change between ages 14 and 17



Summary of results for Mexican youth from ages 14 to 17

Starting out at country-origin identified: Youth who moved to hyphenated identity reported higher realistic educational aspirations ($p<.050$), and lower depression ($p<.010$) at age 17 . When separated by gender, the findings regarding realistic educational attainment was significant only for boys ($p<.050$), and the one regarding depressive symptoms only for girls ($p<.050$) at age 17.

Starting out at hyphenated identified: Youth with stable hyphenated identity had higher ideal educational aspirations and attached more importance to good grades than youth who moved to country-origin identity ($p<.050$ for both) at age 17. Compared to youth who moved to plain Mexican identity, youth who moved to pan-ethnic had higher GPA at age 17 ($p<.050$).

Starting out at pan-ethnic identified: For the combined sample, youth who stayed pan-ethnic reported fewer depressive symptoms at age 17 than youth who moved to country-origin identity ($p<.050$). Boys who stayed pan-ethnic aspired to have a higher educational level than boys who moved to country-origin identity ($p<.050$). Girls who moved to Mexican identity placed lower importance on good grades than girls who moved to hyphenated ($p<.010$).

Starting out at American identified: Sample sizes not sufficient

Comparing cross-sectional and stable identity pathways. In the third part of analysis regarding change I was interested in whether longitudinal identity had more impact than a cross-sectional identity.

Longitudinal vs. cross-sectional identity at age 17. I created variables which had the stable path for each identity (e.g., hyphenated + hyphenated) and the cross-sectional identity (e.g., all else hyphenated + hyphenated), and compared the means using t-tests.
I analyzed the groups separately for Cuban and Mexican students and by gender where the sample size allowed.

Very few significant differences emerged. Stable pan-ethnic identity was associated with higher valuing of education for the combined Cuban sample ($p<.050$), but with higher depression for the combined Mexican sample ($p<.050$). In addition, stable hyphenated identity was associated with higher GPAs ($p<.010$), but also higher depression ($p<.010$) than cross-sectional hyphenated identity for Mexican girls only. See tables 1-11 in Appendix C.

Maintaining a stable hyphenated identity over the three waves vs. arriving to a hyphenated identity after a presumed "identity exploration" period. The literature reviewed above and the present results thus far suggest that holding a hyphenated identity has an advantage over the other identity choices for Latino immigrant youth, and particularly over country-origin identity. The second set of t-tests here compare stable hyphenated identity (hyphen-hyphen-hyphen) to arriving at a hyphenated identity from country-origin identity (Country-origin – X - hyphen). Outcomes were measured at age 24.

Table 3.21 Sample sizes

	Cuban	Mexican
Hyphenated-hyphenated-hyphenated ("Foreclosed")	154	41
Country-origin – X – hyphenated ("Moratorium")	41	33

None of the t-tests were significant for the Mexican group. The mean values for the Cuban group are displayed in Table 22 below.

Table 3.22 Mean values for Cuban group at age 24

	College graduate	Currently in school	Highest year of schooling completed	Total family income
Hyphenated foreclosed	.54 (.50)	.58 (.50)	4.68 (1.72)	68682 $ (58375)
Hyphenated moratorium	.38 (.49)	.41 (.50)	3.80 (1.79)	60329 $ (42236)

Only one significant t-test emerged: Cuban youth in a "foreclosed" hyphenated (cuban-American) identity group reported higher educational attainment at age 24 ($p<.010$).

Part 4: Importance of identity and perceived discrimination

Finally, I examined the effect of importance of identity and perceived discrimination on ideal education aspirations at age 17 using analysis of variance (Anova). This outcome was chosen because it is a proxy for academic motivation, and because it seemed to tease out the largest

differences between the identity groups. As the main predictor variables, I created identity pairs which compared one cross-sectional identity pair at a time (e.g. country-origin vs. hyphenated). Table 23 below display the results for importance of identity (controlling for discrimination). The tables display F-values followed by p-values are in parentheses.

Table 3.23 Importance of identity on ideal educational attainment

	Country-origin vs hyphenated	Country-origin vs pan-ethnic	Country-origin vs American	Hyphenated vs pan-ethnic	Hyphenated vs American	Pan-ethnic vs American
Identity label	8.137 (.004)	5.454 (.020)	.432 (.511)	.203 (.652)	.312 (.577)	.121 (.728)
Cuban vs Mexican	27.185 (.000)	23.210 (.000)	4.896 (.027)	30.870 (.000)	6.658 (.010)	5.813 (.016)
Importance of identity	.983 (.374)	.379 (.685)	.790 (.455)	.959 (.384)	1.687 (.186)	1.148 (.318)
Importance x label	.079 (.604)	.309 (.661)	.291 (.748)	.172 (.842)	.652 (.521)	.794 (.453)
Importance x country origin	.512 (.467)	.117 (.734)	1.426 (.241)	.766 (.465)	2.861 (.058)	2.340 (.098)
Importance x label x origin	.307 (.634)	.026 (.974)	1.085 (.339)	.955 (.385)	2.222 (.109)	1.896 (.151)
Discrimination (control)	2.014 (.156)	1.816 (.178)	2.931 (.088)	.010 (.919)	.004 (.948)	.110 (.741)
R^2	.096	.081	.076	.056	.070	.065
Adjusted R^2	.085	.066	.050	.045	.053	.039

Importance of identity did not predict ideal educational attainment in any of the models. The interaction of importance with identity label or county-origin was not significant either.

Table 3.24 Influence of perceived discrimination on ideal educational attainment

	Country-origin vs hyphenated	Country-origin vs pan-ethnic	Country-origin vs American	Hyphenated vs pan-ethnic	Hyphenated vs American	Pan-ethnic vs American
Identity label	17.232 (.000)	7.162 (.008)	.003 (.959)	.931 (.335)	2.202 (.138)	1.414 (.235)
Cuban vs Mexican	52.130 (.000)	39.511 (.000)	7.732 (.006)	49.108 (.000)	10.939 (.001)	10.160 (.002)
Perceived discrimination	3.537 (.060)	2.610 (.107)	1.910 (.168)	.179 (.672)	1.468 (.226)	1.380 (.241)
Discrimination x label	2.158 (.142)	1.759 (185)	.129 (.720)	.007 (.935)	1.072 (301)	.995 (.319)
Discrimination x country-origin	.214 (.644)	.834 (.361)	1.522 (.218)	1.959 (.162)	2.869 (.091)	3.324 (.069)
Discrimination x label *origin	.079 (.779)	.503 (.418)	1.364 (2.44)	.392 (.532)	1.987 (.519)	1.304 (.254)
Importance (control)	2.031 (154)	.255 (.614)	.183 (.669)	.867 (.352)	.912 (.340)	.089 (.766)
R^2	.096	.084	.073	.053	.059	.061
Adjusted R^2	.089	.074	.056	.045	.048	.044

Perceived discrimination was not significantly associated with ideal educational attainment for any of the groups. Again, identity label was significant when country-origin identity was compared with either hyphenated or pan-ethnic identity. The only other significant predictor in the model was whether the participants was Cuban or Mexican. The t-tests in part 1 of the analysis showed that Mexican students both attached higher importance to their identity and reported more discrimination.

Discussion

In this study, I examined how ethnic identity labels are connected to academic outcomes in second generation immigrant youth. First, I compared youth from Cuban and Mexican origin, followed by comparing boys and girls within each group. Then, I compared stable identity pathways and the effect of change in identity on the youth outcomes. Finally, I looked at whether importance of identity or perceived discrimination mediate these connections.

Country-origin and gender differences. As expected, Cuban students had better overall academic adjustment than Mexican students. The present results replicate the findings of Pérez

(2001), as they should. Pérez noted that these adjustment variables should positively influence educational outcomes for Cuban youth, but surprisingly, this does not result in higher GPA for Cuban youth at age 17.

Also as expected, girls had better academic adjustment than boys within both groups, but this did not extend to psychological adjustment (girls reported more depression in both groups). These findings add to the multitude of studies recording this gender difference in immigrant youth. Girls' better academic adjustment at age 17 did not, however, result in relatively higher income at age 24.

Stable pathways. The present results clearly suggest that stable hyphenated identity is associated with better academic adjustment than a stable country-origin identity both for Cuban and Mexican youth, for both genders. While fewer significant contrasts emerged when comparing country-origin and pan-ethnic identity, when significant, the differences point to the benefit of a pan-ethnic identity over a country-origin identity. Sample sizes limited exploring the differences with stable American identity.

For Cuban boys two additionally significant contrasts emerged: the benefit of a stable Cuban identity over stable Cuban-American identity for self-esteem, and the benefit of a stable pan-ethnic (Latino/Hispanic) identity over hyphenated identity in study hours (see Table 5 in Appendix B). This is in agreement with Sam et al. (2006) who found that youth outcomes were mixed for the ethnic profile in that these youth reported relatively negative sociological adaptation (e.g., academic achievement) but positive psychological adaptation (e.g. self-esteem). It could be that turning towards one's ethnic in-group helps protect sense of self-esteem in the short term, but it may not be associated with positive adaptation to the host society in the long-term.

While the low sample sizes limited the exploration of this hypothesis over the three data collection waves, the results still corroborated the finding that a stable hyphenated identity is associated with better educational outcomes in adolescence and in early adulthood than any of the other identity pathways. Again, the differences were the largest between country-origin and hyphenated identity. Finally, while hyphenated identity was associated with going to a private school (based on analyses in chapter 2), that did not drive the present results.

The benefit of a hyphenated identity over the other identity options agrees with the immigrant acculturation theories. All of the theories (Segmented assimilation, RES, and Berry's theory) hypothesized that a hyphenated identity is the most beneficial to immigrant youth. In addition, all of these theories also assumed that pan-ethnic identity would be associated with positive youth outcomes (although some theories, like RES, were less clear about this and suggested that youth with pan-ethnic identity approach society from a disadvantaged minority viewpoint). Few significant contrasts emerged for the pan-ethnic group, and there is nothing in the present results to suggest that it is inferior to hyphenated identity.

In an attempt to rank order the identity labels, I looked at how many significant contrasts emerged, and in which direction. It seems that students holding a stable country-origin identity experience the least positive educational outcomes (i.e. it never had an advantage over another identity). The next identity group appears to be the pan-ethnic identity because it "has one advantage" over country-origin identity (higher study hours for girls) and one advantage over hyphenated identity (higher self-esteem for Cuban boys). A stable hyphenated identity is associated with most significant differences to the other identity pathways.

Finally, Cuban girls in the stable American identity reported the highest importance attached to education. The theories differ in that segmented assimilation by Portes and colleagues predicted positive outcomes for the youth who assimilate fully to the host society, but other theories reviewed here view the loss of ethnic identity as detrimental. Unfortunately the American identity was so unpopular (perhaps unattainable for students living in Latin ethnic enclaves?) in these data that few conclusions about its relative position to the other identities can be made. Thus, pitting the assumption put forth by Segmented Assimilation theory ("thinning" of ethnic identity is associated with positive outcomes) against the assumptions maintained by Berry's acculturation model and RES (loss of ethnic identity is associated with negative outcomes) is not feasible with these data.

The present results suggest, however, that looking at the plain American identity as a highest level of acculturation for second generation immigrant youth may be meaningless, and that perhaps the hyphenated identity should be seen as the highest level of acculturation. It would be interesting to examine ethnic identity in later generation immigrants to see whether the plain American identity becomes attainable to them, or whether it remains inaccessible to non-white immigrant youth, and as well as then examine the outcome associated with it.

Change in identity. I looked at change in several different ways. First I compared all those who changed identity label to those who maintained any of the labels over time. The only advantage changers had in the Cuban sample is that boys who changed identity between ages 14 and 17 had a higher GPA than those who maintained a country-origin identity. All the other differences were in favor of maintaining the same identity. Thus, while identity change could indicate entering the period of identity moratorium, which some have associated with positive youth outcomes (Berzonsky & Kuk, 2000), that was not the case here.

Interestingly, when the Cuban sample was split by gender different patterns emerged: For boys the most salient differences were between stable country-origin identified and changers, and between stable pan-ethnic and changers (for the benefit of the stable pathways). For the girls the differences emerged between changers and stable hyphenated and stable American groups, but again for the benefit of the stable pathways. These results were not replicated in the Mexican group, however, where the only differences emerged between changers and those with stable hyphenated identity. This issue could be related to sample size, however, since the Cuban sample was larger than the Mexican sample, and the plain American sample was very small within the Cuban group.

Next, I looked at change by comparing those who started out in one category and moved to another category (or stayed the same) by age 17. Again, the results here corroborate the earlier findings regarding the benefits of a bi-cultural identity: moving to either hyphenated or pan-ethnic identity from country-origin identity was associated with positive outcomes; and maintaining a hyphenated identity was better than moving away from it.

Finally, I compared whether having a longitudinal identity was more "powerful" than cross-sectional identity, and whether arriving to hyphenated identity after a presumed identity moratorium was beneficial over a presumed identity foreclosure at age 24 (on hyphenated identity). The first set of t-tests here resulted in very few significant results, suggesting that longitudinal identity does not carry more "weight" on youth outcomes than the present, cross-sectional identity. The few significant results suggested that while maintaining a stable hyphenated or pan-ethnic identity might be associated with more positive educational outcomes than the same cross-sectional identity, they might also be associated with more negative psychological outcomes (here depressive symptoms).

The finding that longitudinal identity offers little to no benefit of knowing only the previous identity status of the individual agrees with the mathematical model of the "Markov chain" (Kaplan, 2008), although this method was not used here. The Markov model states that the current state of the individual depends only on the data from the latest available measuring time. In other words, if we would have data on five different data points and want to see what predicts behavior at the last data collection point, we can rely on data from time four exclusively (and safely ignore data collected at times 1-3). While this finding is a little disappointing for the present study, it suggests that overall using cross-sectional data is not problematic when connecting ethnic identity development to youth outcomes.

Finally, the "foreclosed" hyphenated identity was a better predictor of educational attainment at age 24 among Cuban youth than arriving to hyphenated identity after a presumed identity moratorium. No differences were found for the Mexican group (likely in part due to small sample sizes). In addition, sample sizes were very unbalanced for the Cuban group where 154 participants reported a stable identity over the three data collection waves, and only 42 participants moved from originally identifying with Cuba to a hyphenated identity at age 24. Some have also argued that in Cuban Miami hyphenated identity may be the "default" identity which does not require much conscious identity exploration (Pérez Firmat, 1994). This would be comparable to non-immigrant youth identifying with "American", more as a factual issue than as a result of conscious identity exploration.

Importance of identity and perceived discrimination. Finally, I looked at the influence of importance of identity and perceived discrimination on ideal educational aspirations. The chosen identity label remained a significant predictor in the model when comparing country-origin identity to either hyphenated or pan-ethnic identity. Neither importance of identity nor perceived discrimination predicted ideal educational attainment at age 17. Finally, none of the interaction terms were significant.

The findings that importance of identity did not predict educational aspirations contradicts Fuligni et al.'s (2005) study, as well as research conducted by Sellers and colleagues (Caldwell et al., 2004; Rowley et al., 1998). The fact that the main effect of importance of identity was not significant is perhaps not surprising considering that the contrasts in chapter 2 showed that youth identifying with country-origin attached the highest importance to their

identity, and the present analysis showed that this identity was associated with least positive educational outcomes.

The main effect of perceived discrimination or interaction with identity label did not significantly predict educational attainment, and the graphs did not reveal a trend in the direction either. While these results contradict the results of Eccles et al. (2006) and Eccelston and Major (2010) who found that perceived discrimination had a negative association with educational outcomes, I suspect that this may partly be due to the way the discrimination variable was coded in the present study. The variable here inquired about whether the student had ever encountered discrimination, whereas the Eccles at al. study used daily experiences of discrimination as the predictor. In addition, no data was available on the subjective experience of being a victim of discrimination. Finally, as mentioned before, the Cuban participants mainly reside in ethnic enclaves and are likely to encounter mainly co-ethnic individuals in their daily lives. Thus, while the present results do not warrant the conclusion that either importance of identity or perceived discrimination influence desired educational attainment in Cuban and Mexican youth, I do not think that they convincingly contradict the literature regarding these variables among black youth.

Limitations

In addition to the limitations discussed above, these data have a few other serious drawbacks. First of all, most measured were self-reported. While in many instances (e.g. importance of identity) this is the only appropriate way, in others (e.g. number of study hours) it may not result in most valid measurements.

Looking at the influence of the longitudinal identity formation process was major goal of the present study, but these data do not warrant conclusions on Erikson's theory. Since few (if any) indicators of conscious identity formation process were included in the data, it is likely that mere change in label does not adequately capture the identity exploration process. For example, students who reported a hyphenated identity from one wave to the next may in fact not have been foreclosed throughout the study. They may were been foreclosed at age 14, but then gone through the identity formation process before age 17, and at that point their hyphenated identity may have in fact reflected their achieved identity. More frequent data collection waves and more

explicit questions pertaining to the identity formation process could have shed light into this issue.

Another major limitation of these data is that while the original sample size includes well over one thousand students, the sample sizes get smaller fast when the sample is divided by country of origin, gender, and identity label. The sample sizes become even smaller when looking at the longitudinal data. This may have been one of the major reasons why more significant results emerged in the Cuban group compared to the Mexican group, and I do not think that the present data warrant the conclusion that ethnic identity label is more meaningful or carries more weight to immigrant youth of Cuban origin.

Finally, in order to be able to pit the acculturation theories against each other in the case of the "thinning of ethnic identity" (i.e. movement towards American identity), the sample sizes for youth identifying as American should have been much greater. One conclusion from these data (and from the analysis in chapter 2) is that looking at the absence of ethnic identity in second generation youth (and the influence of "full assimilation" to the host culture) may not be a worthwhile pursuit.

Conclusions

The present results support the hypothesis that ethnic identity profiles are connected to youth outcomes in non-trivial ways. They also support the hypothesis put forth by the acculturation theories that hyphenated identity is the most adaptive identity for immigrant youth. As predicted by these theories, a hyphenated identity was associated with the most positive educational outcomes, and country-origin identity was associated with the least adaptive outcomes.

The results also suggested that looking at longitudinal identity data over cross-sectional data does not add much to the present findings. That is, the positive effect of a hyphenated identity does not appear to be amplified by a longitudinal, stable identity pathway. On the other hand this could also mean that there is no "expiration date" to arriving to hyphenated identity, and that it is associated with positive outcomes regardless of when immigrant youth make a move towards that identity. This is good news for second generation immigrants considering that the movement patterns in chapter 2 suggest that hyphenated label received the most movement

towards it at each wave, and that it was the most popular identity category by age 24 for both Cuban and Mexican youth.

The assumption I made in the present study is that following Eccles and colleagues Expectancy Value Theory, the reason different identity labels are associated with different educational outcomes is because they are associated with different identity schemata. The schemata in turn guide decisions and actions regarding academic endeavors. Chapter 2 indicated that the five identity groups indeed differed in language preference and proficiency as well as in values, and that the biggest differences seemed to appear between youth who identified with a country-origin or a hyphenated identity.

A qualitative study looking into portraits of academically successful and less successful Latino students found that a striking difference between those who "make it" and those who do not is the quantity and quality of social support in their lives (Flores-Gonzáles, 2002). In the next chapter, I will then explore whether parental and peer group values regarding education might be a mediating factor between identity labels and youth outcomes.

Appendix A

Table 1. Bivariate correlations between outcome variables at wave 2 (age 17)

		Grade point average/1995	Respondent hours studying	Education respondent wants	Respondent attainable education level	Good grades important to me	Good education importance	Self-esteem 1995-96	Depression 1995-96	Respondent discriminated against	People still discriminate regardless education	Ethnic self-identity importance	Dropped out by 1995
Grade point average/1995	Pearson Correlation	1	.283**	.246**	.313**	.215**	.176**	.143**	-.066*	-.020	-.030	-.011	-.119**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.010	.423	.242	.677	.000
	N	1930	1531	1536	1534	1527	1536	1533	1527	1532	1531	1526	1755
Respondent hours studying	Pearson Correlation	.283**	1	.211**	.254**	.227**	.168**	.118**	-.015	.030	.020	.035	-.032
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.565	.241	.439	.165	.236
	N	1531	1554	1549	1547	1544	1550	1548	1542	1546	1547	1539	1392
Education respondent wants	Pearson Correlation	.246**	.211**	1	.713**	.204**	.261**	.203**	-.012	-.008	-.062*	.001	-.113**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000		.000	.000	.000	.000	.626	.747	.014	.973	.000
	N	1536	1549	1561	1558	1547	1556	1553	1547	1552	1551	1547	1396
Respondent attainable education level	Pearson Correlation	.313**	.254**	.713**	1	.206**	.270**	.281**	-.111**	-.068**	-.120**	-.001	-.113**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000		.000	.000	.000	.000	.007	.000	.977	.000
	N	1534	1547	1558	1559	1545	1554	1551	1545	1550	1549	1544	1394
Good grades important to me	Pearson Correlation	.215**	.227**	.204**	.206**	1	.332**	.208**	-.163**	-.028	-.095**	.090**	.002
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000		.000	.000	.000	.273	.000	.000	.935
	N	1527	1544	1547	1545	1552	1551	1552	1547	1544	1552	1537	1390
Good education importance	Pearson Correlation	.176**	.168**	.261**	.270**	.332**	1	.167**	-.097**	.034	-.072**	.109**	-.002
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000		.000	.000	.181	.005	.000	.943
	N	1536	1550	1556	1554	1551	1561	1556	1551	1552	1555	1546	1396
Self-esteem 1995-96	Pearson Correlation	.143**	.118**	.203**	.281**	.208**	.167**	1	-.460**	-.064*	-.178**	.055*	-.052
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000		.000	.011	.000	.032	.050
	N	1533	1548	1553	1551	1552	1556	1558	1552	1550	1556	1543	1395
Depression 1995-96	Pearson Correlation	-.066*	-.015	-.012	-.111**	-.163**	-.097**	-.460**	1	.116**	.164**	-.014	.024
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.010	.565	.626	.000	.000	.000	.000		.000	.000	.588	.366
	N	1527	1542	1547	1545	1547	1551	1552	1552	1544	1551	1537	1390
Respondent discriminated against	Pearson Correlation	-.020	.030	-.008	-.068**	-.028	.034	-.064*	.116**	1	.366**	.138**	-.011
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.423	.241	.747	.007	.273	.181	.011	.000		.000	.000	.686
	N	1532	1546	1552	1550	1544	1552	1550	1544	1557	1548	1542	1393
People still discriminate regardless education	Pearson Correlation	-.030	.020	-.062*	-.120**	-.095**	-.072**	-.178**	.164**	.366**	1	.074**	.005
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.242	.439	.014	.000	.000	.005	.000	.000	.000		.004	.856
	N	1531	1547	1551	1549	1552	1555	1556	1551	1548	1556	1541	1393
Ethnic self-	Pearson Correlation	-.011	.035	.001	-.001	.090**	.109**	.055*	-.014	.138**	.074**	1	-.072**

identity importance	Sig. (2-tailed)	.677	.165	.973	.977	.000	.000	.032	.588	.000	.004		.007
	N	1526	1539	1547	1544	1537	1546	1543	1537	1542	1541	1551	1388
Dropped out by 1995	Pearson Correlation	-.119**	-.032	-.113**	-.113**	.002	-.002	-.052	.024	-.011	.005	-.072**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.236	.000	.000	.935	.943	.050	.366	.686	.856	.007	
	N	1755	1392	1396	1394	1390	1396	1395	1390	1393	1393	1388	1765

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 2. Bivariate correlations between outcome variables at wave 3 (age 24)

		Respondent/graduated from college	In school currently	Bachelor's degree	High school diploma	Highest school grade/year completed	Total family income/recode
Respondent/graduated from college	Pearson Correlation	1	-.004	.677**	-.018	.576**	.157**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.904	.000	.609	.000	.000
	N	1193	1160	788	787	1193	1092
In school currently	Pearson Correlation	-.004	1	-.111**	.062	.215**	.023
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.904		.002	.083	.000	.439
	N	1160	1191	795	795	1191	1089
Bachelor's degree	Pearson Correlation	.677**	-.111**	1	.074*	.667**	.115**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.002		.034	.000	.001
	N	788	795	813	812	813	766
High school diploma	Pearson Correlation	-.018	.062	.074*	1	.048	.022
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.609	.083	.034		.168	.551
	N	787	795	812	813	813	766
Highest school grade/year completed	Pearson Correlation	.576**	.215**	.667**	.048	1	.156**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.168		.000
	N	1193	1191	813	813	1981	1121
Total family income/recode	Pearson Correlation	.157**	.023	.115**	.022	.156**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.439	.001	.551	.000	
	N	1092	1089	766	766	1121	1121

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Appendix B

The influence of going to private school for Cuban youth.

Table 1. Identity path by type of school attended (combined Cuban sample)

		Identity_path12				
		Co-co	Hyphen-hyphen	Am-Am	Pan-pan	Total
Private school 1995-1996	No	61	231	31	35	358
	Yes	1	56	1	3	61
Total		62	287	32	38	419

a. CubanMexW2 = Cuban

Table 2. Mean GPAs by identity path and type of school attended

CubanMexW2	Private school 1995-1996	Identity_path12	Grade point average/1995
Cuban	No	Co-co	2.0483
		Hyphen-hyphen	2.2717
		Am-Am	2.2307
		Pan-pan	2.4206
		Total	2.2452
	Yes	Co-co	4.0000
		Hyphen-hyphen	2.8652
		Am-Am	3.3300
		Pan-pan	2.6267
		Total	2.8802

Table 3. Identity path by type of school attended separated by gender

Cuban males public school

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Co-co	25	6.7	17.9	17.9
	Hyphen-hyphen	83	22.2	59.3	77.1
	Am-Am	16	4.3	11.4	88.6
	Pan-pan	16	4.3	11.4	100.0
	Total	140	37.4	100.0	
Missing	System	234	62.6		
Total		374	100.0		

a. CubanMexW2 = Cuban, Gender = Male, Private school 1995-1996 = No

Cuban females public school

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Co-co	36	8.0	16.5	16.5
	Hyphen-hyphen	148	32.7	67.9	84.4
	Am-Am	15	3.3	6.9	91.3
	Pan-pan	19	4.2	8.7	100.0
	Total	218	48.2	100.0	
Missing	System	234	51.8		
Total		452	100.0		

a. CubanMexW2 = Cuban, Gender = Female, Private school 1995-1996 = No

Cuban males private school

Cuban females private school

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Co-co	1	.8	2.0	2.0
	Hyphen-hyphen	47	39.8	94.0	96.0
	Pan-pan	2	1.7	4.0	100.0
	Total	50	42.4	100.0	
Missing	System	68	57.6		
Total		118	100.0		

a. CubanMexW2 = Cuban, Gender = Male, Private school 1995-1996 = Yes

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Hyphen-hyphen	9	52.9	81.8	81.8
	Am-Am	1	5.9	9.1	90.9
	Pan-pan	1	5.9	9.1	100.0
	Total	11	64.7	100.0	
Missing	System	6	35.3		
Total		17	100.0		

a. CubanMexW2 = Cuban, Gender = Female, Private school 1995-1996 = Yes

For Cuban girls the contrasts did not change after removing the privately schooled youth.

Table 4: Wave 2 as outcomes for Cuban boys excluding privately schooled youth.
Contrasts that were not significant when privately and publicly schooled boys were combined are highlighted in yellow.

	Co-co N=25	Hyphen-hyphen N=75	Amer-Amer N=16	Pan-pan N=16
Co-co				
Hyphen-hyphen	Hyphen higher GPA* CO higher self-esteem*			
Amer-amer				
Pan-pan	Pan more study hours*	Pan more study hours*		

Appendix C

Cross-sectional vs longitudinal identity as predictor (t-tests)

T-test results comparing cross-sectional and longitudinal identities. Yellow highlight indicates that the differences is significant at p<.010. Blue highlight indicates that the differences is significant at p<.050.

Results with W2 outcomes

Country-origin comparisons

Table 1. Cuban boys

	Id_comparison_co_coco	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Grade point average/1995	Co-co	26	1.6738	.91925	.18028
	Co W2	45	1.9304	.92447	.13781
Respondent hours studying	Co-co	26	1.92	1.354	.266
	Co W2	45	2.04	1.127	.168
Respondent attainable education level	Co-co	26	4.04	.916	.180
	Co W2	46	4.04	1.010	.149
Education respondent wants	Co-co	26	4.23	.992	.195
	Co W2	46	4.33	.920	.136
Good grades important to me	Co-co	26	3.19	.895	.176
	Co W2	44	3.34	.776	.117
Good education importance	Co-co	26	2.73	.533	.105
	Co W2	44	2.80	.462	.070
People still discriminate regardless education	Co-co	26	2.04	1.038	.204
	Co W2	44	2.02	1.089	.164
Respondent discriminated against	Co-co	26	.50	.510	.100
	Co W2	47	.53	.504	.074
Self-esteem 1995-96	Co-co	26	3.7077	.30321	.05947
	Co W2	45	3.5500	.40325	.06011
Depression 1995-96	Co-co	26	1.5192	.63215	.12398
	Co W2	43	1.4709	.56223	.08574

a. CubanMexW2 = Cuban, Gender = Male

Table 2. Cuban girls

	Id_comparison_co_coco	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Grade point average/1995	Co-co	34	2.3921	.80455	.13798
	Co W2	30	2.2260	.78538	.14339
Respondent hours studying	Co-co	36	2.61	1.609	.268
	Co W2	30	2.77	1.478	.270
Respondent attainable education level	Co-co	36	4.33	.717	.120
	Co W2	30	4.33	.884	.161
Education respondent wants	Co-co	36	4.72	.454	.076
	Co W2	30	4.70	.651	.119
Good grades important to me	Co-co	36	3.64	.487	.081
	Co W2	30	3.57	.626	.114
Good education importance	Co-co	36	2.92	.280	.047
	Co W2	30	2.93	.254	.046
People still discriminate regardless education	Co-co	36	1.72	.944	.157
	Co W2	30	1.67	.802	.146

Respondent discriminated against	Co-co	36	.50	.507	.085
	Co W2	30	.60	.498	.091
Self-esteem 1995-96	Co-co	36	3.5667	.51214	.08536
	Co W2	30	3.4933	.48061	.08775
Depression 1995-96	Co-co	35	1.6286	.63121	.10669
	Co W2	30	1.6000	.60387	.11025

a. CubanMexW2 = Cuban, Gender = Female

Table 3. Mexican boys

	Id_comparison_co_coco	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Grade point average/1995	Co-co	49	2.2245	.93209	.13316
	Co W2	76	2.2729	.84581	.09702
Respondent hours studying	Co-co	49	1.98	.901	.129
	Co W2	75	2.32	1.286	.148
Respondent attainable education level	Co-co	49	3.27	1.076	.154
	Co W2	75	3.31	1.102	.127
Education respondent wants	Co-co	49	3.90	1.065	.152
	Co W2	76	3.76	1.130	.130
Good grades important to me	Co-co	48	3.48	.772	.111
	Co W2	74	3.41	.757	.088
Good education importance	Co-co	49	2.84	.426	.061
	Co W2	76	2.79	.471	.054
People still discriminate regardless education	Co-co	48	2.15	1.052	.152
	Co W2	75	2.15	1.087	.125
Respondent discriminated against	Co-co	49	.65	.481	.069
	Co W2	76	.68	.468	.054
Self-esteem 1995-96	Co-co	48	3.2667	.52525	.07581
	Co W2	76	3.3975	.43899	.05036
Depression 1995-96	Co-co	48	1.5573	.66292	.09568
	Co W2	75	1.4433	.56289	.06500

a. CubanMexW2 = Mexican, Gender = Male

Table 4. Mexican girls

	Id_comparison_co_coco	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Grade point average/1995	Co-co	47	2.3806	.62956	.09183
	Co W2	71	2.4311	.82270	.09764
Respondent hours studying	Co-co	47	2.32	1.163	.170
	Co W2	71	2.66	1.206	.143
Respondent attainable education level	Co-co	47	3.77	.914	.133
	Co W2	71	3.87	.999	.119
Education respondent wants	Co-co	47	4.32	.837	.122
	Co W2	71	4.30	.932	.111
Good grades important to me	Co-co	47	3.49	.856	.125
	Co W2	71	3.68	.555	.066
Good education importance	Co-co	47	2.91	.351	.051
	Co W2	71	2.96	.203	.024
People still discriminate regardless education	Co-co	47	1.98	.967	.141
	Co W2	71	2.06	.984	.117
Respondent discriminated against	Co-co	47	.66	.479	.070
	Co W2	70	.64	.483	.058
Self-esteem 1995-96	Co-co	47	3.3879	.51177	.07465
	Co W2	71	3.3463	.50238	.05962
Depression 1995-96	Co-co	47	1.6809	.52828	.07706
	Co W2	71	1.8275	.72036	.08549

a. CubanMexW2 = Mexican, Gender = Female

Hyphenated:

Table 5. Cuban boys

	Id_comparison_hyphen_hyphyp	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Grade point average/1995	Hyphen-hyphen	125	2.3236	.92079	.08236
	Hyphen W2	90	2.5284	1.01679	.10718
Respondent hours studying	Hyphen-hyphen	132	2.22	1.274	.111
	Hyphen W2	91	2.35	1.479	.155
Respondent attainable education level	Hyphen-hyphen	129	4.42	.778	.068
	Hyphen W2	92	4.46	.776	.081
Education respondent wants	Hyphen-hyphen	131	4.59	.753	.066
	Hyphen W2	91	4.65	.689	.072
Good grades important to me	Hyphen-hyphen	131	3.38	.789	.069
	Hyphen W2	93	3.48	.761	.079
Good education importance	Hyphen-hyphen	132	2.86	.373	.033
	Hyphen W2	93	2.84	.398	.041
People still discriminate regardless education	Hyphen-hyphen	132	1.88	.925	.081
	Hyphen W2	93	1.71	.854	.089
Respondent discriminated against	Hyphen-hyphen	131	.54	.500	.044
	Hyphen W2	92	.50	.503	.052
Self-esteem 1995-96	Hyphen-hyphen	132	3.6118	.40628	.03536
	Hyphen W2	93	3.6244	.45408	.04709
Depression 1995-96	Hyphen-hyphen	132	1.4678	.52368	.04558
	Hyphen W2	92	1.4076	.51317	.05350

a. CubanMexW2 = Cuban, Gender = Male

Table 6. Cuban girls

	Id_comparison_hyphen_hyphyp	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Grade point average/1995	Hyphen-hyphen	155	2.4168	.80743	.06485
	Hyphen W2	58	2.3043	.89425	.11742
Respondent hours studying	Hyphen-hyphen	157	2.55	1.430	.114
	Hyphen W2	58	2.38	1.449	.190
Respondent attainable education level	Hyphen-hyphen	158	4.49	.720	.057
	Hyphen W2	58	4.40	.748	.098
Education respondent wants	Hyphen-hyphen	158	4.80	.489	.039
	Hyphen W2	58	4.59	.795	.104
Good grades important to me	Hyphen-hyphen	156	3.71	.570	.046
	Hyphen W2	58	3.60	.674	.088
Good education importance	Hyphen-hyphen	158	2.95	.220	.017
	Hyphen W2	58	2.88	.329	.043

People still discriminate regardless education	_	Hyphen-hyphen	156	1.71	.787	.063
		Hyphen W2	58	1.66	.828	.109
Respondent discriminated against	_	Hyphen-hyphen	158	.48	.501	.040
		Hyphen W2	58	.47	.503	.066
Self-esteem 1995-96	_	Hyphen-hyphen	156	3.5485	.44025	.03525
		Hyphen W2	58	3.5552	.45041	.05914
Depression 1995-96	_	Hyphen-hyphen	156	1.6603	.60638	.04855
		Hyphen W2	57	1.8070	.69760	.09240

a. CubanMexW2 = Cuban, Gender = Female

Table 7. Mexican boys

	Id_comparison_hyphen_hyphyp		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Grade point average/1995	_	Hyphen-hyphen	41	2.2166	.96068	.15003
		Hyphen W2	48	1.9931	.85888	.12397
Respondent hours studying	_	Hyphen-hyphen	41	2.54	1.227	.192
		Hyphen W2	49	2.14	.935	.134
Respondent attainable education level	_	Hyphen-hyphen	41	3.83	.803	.125
		Hyphen W2	49	3.80	.957	.137
Education respondent wants	_	Hyphen-hyphen	41	4.37	.767	.120
		Hyphen W2	49	4.08	.909	.130
Good grades important to me	_	Hyphen-hyphen	41	3.76	.489	.076
		Hyphen W2	49	3.51	.794	.113
Good education importance	_	Hyphen-hyphen	41	2.88	.331	.052
		Hyphen W2	49	2.76	.480	.069
People still discriminate regardless education	_	Hyphen-hyphen	41	2.46	1.051	.164
		Hyphen W2	49	2.20	1.060	.151
Respondent discriminated against	_	Hyphen-hyphen	41	.71	.461	.072
		Hyphen W2	49	.73	.446	.064
Self-esteem 1995-96	_	Hyphen-hyphen	41	3.4366	.42471	.06633
		Hyphen W2	49	3.3959	.47476	.06782
Depression 1995-96	_	Hyphen-hyphen	41	1.5793	.53162	.08303
		Hyphen W2	49	1.4592	.64012	.09145

a. CubanMexW2 = Mexican, Gender = Male

Table 8. Mexican girls

	Id_comparison_hyphen_hyphyp		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Grade point average/1995	_	Hyphen-hyphen	34	2.8753	.75735	.12988
		Hyphen W2	46	2.3048	.90860	.13397
Respondent hours studying	_	Hyphen-hyphen	34	2.82	1.314	.225
		Hyphen W2	46	2.67	1.415	.209
Respondent attainable education level	_	Hyphen-hyphen	34	4.00	.953	.164
		Hyphen W2	46	4.02	.931	.137
Education respondent wants	_	Hyphen-hyphen	34	4.47	.748	.128
		Hyphen W2	46	4.39	.856	.126
Good grades important to me	_	Hyphen-hyphen	34	3.62	.551	.095
		Hyphen W2	46	3.74	.535	.079
Good education importance	_	Hyphen-hyphen	34	2.91	.379	.065
		Hyphen W2	46	2.96	.206	.030
People still discriminate regardless education	_	Hyphen-hyphen	34	2.24	.987	.169
		Hyphen W2	46	2.26	1.021	.150
Respondent discriminated against	_	Hyphen-hyphen	34	.56	.504	.086
		Hyphen W2	46	.63	.488	.072

Self-esteem 1995-96	_	Hyphen-hyphen	34	3.3706	.51729	.08872
		Hyphen W2	46	3.4972	.56013	.08259
Depression 1995-96	_	Hyphen-hyphen	34	1.9412	.66589	.11420
		Hyphen W2	46	1.4728	.49785	.07340

a. CubanMexW2 = Mexican, Gender = Female

American (not separated by gender due to low N)

Table 9. Cuban

	Id_comparison_Amer_AmerAmer		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Grade point average/1995	_	Amer-Amer	31	2.2661	.75423	.13546
		American W2	20	2.3310	.99393	.22225
Respondent hours studying	_	Amer-Amer	31	2.55	1.729	.311
		American W2	21	2.24	1.375	.300
Respondent attainable education level	_	Amer-Amer	32	4.31	.931	.165
		American W2	21	4.19	.814	.178
Education respondent wants	_	Amer-Amer	32	4.59	.712	.126
		American W2	21	4.52	.680	.148
Good grades important to me	_	Amer-Amer	32	3.47	.761	.135
		American W2	21	3.52	.873	.190
Good education importance	_	Amer-Amer	32	2.94	.246	.043
		American W2	21	2.76	.625	.136
People still discriminate regardless education	_	Amer-Amer	32	1.81	.998	.176
		American W2	21	1.71	1.007	.220
Respondent discriminated against	_	Amer-Amer	32	.56	.504	.089
		American W2	21	.38	.498	.109
Self-esteem 1995-96	_	Amer-Amer	32	3.5500	.51806	.09158
		American W2	21	3.3857	.53878	.11757
Depression 1995-96	_	Amer-Amer	32	1.6328	.58193	.10287
		American W2	21	1.6190	.82013	.17897

a. CubanMexW2 = Cuban

Mexican

- N's too low

Pan-ethnic (not separated by gender due to low N)

Table 10. Cuban pan-ethnic

	Id_comparison_pan_pan pan		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Grade point average/1995	_	pan-pan	39	2.3892	1.03668	.16600
		pan W2	239	2.1851	.85311	.05518
Respondent hours studying	_	pan-pan	39	2.74	1.499	.240
		pan W2	239	2.27	1.410	.091
Respondent attainable education level	_	pan-pan	39	4.38	.747	.120
		pan W2	241	4.29	.821	.053
Education respondent wants	_	pan-pan	39	4.69	.569	.091
		pan W2	241	4.60	.730	.047
Good grades important to me	_	pan-pan	38	3.53	.762	.124
		pan W2	239	3.43	.774	.050
Good education importance	_	pan-pan	39	2.95	.223	.036
		pan W2	240	2.84	.419	.027

People still discriminate regardless education	_	pan-pan	38	1.76	.913	.148
		pan W2	240	1.83	.974	.063
Respondent discriminated against	_	pan-pan	38	.45	.504	.082
		pan W2	239	.44	.497	.032
Self-esteem 1995-96	_	pan-pan	38	3.5337	.49362	.08008
		pan W2	240	3.4192	.59077	.03813
Depression 1995-96	_	pan-pan	38	1.5724	.48249	.07827
		pan W2	240	1.6503	.64940	.04192

a. CubanMexW2 = Cuban

Table 11. Mexican pan-ethnic

	Id_comparison_pan_pan pan		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Grade point average/1995	_	pan-pan	49	2.3220	.79975	.11425
		pan W2	64	2.5070	.68081	.08510
Respondent hours studying	_	pan-pan	49	2.76	1.451	.207
		pan W2	63	2.56	.980	.123
Respondent attainable education level	_	pan-pan	49	3.82	.950	.136
		pan W2	64	3.83	1.092	.136
Education respondent wants	_	pan-pan	49	4.27	.861	.123
		pan W2	64	4.27	1.027	.128
Good grades important to me	_	pan-pan	48	3.65	.812	.117
		pan W2	64	3.58	.851	.106
Good education importance	_	pan-pan	49	2.96	.200	.029
		pan W2	64	2.91	.294	.037
People still discriminate regardless education	_	pan-pan	49	2.08	.932	.133
		pan W2	64	1.84	.996	.124
Respondent discriminated against	_	pan-pan	49	.67	.474	.068
		pan W2	63	.59	.496	.063
Self-esteem 1995-96	_	pan-pan	49	3.3057	.59599	.08514
		pan W2	64	3.3661	.50680	.06335
Depression 1995-96	_	pan-pan	49	1.8163	.78524	.11218
		pan W2	64	1.5039	.51657	.06457

a. CubanMexW2 = Mexican

Wave 3 variables as the outcome.

County-origin (All NS)

Hyphenated (All NS)

American (NS for Cuban, N too low for Mexican)

Pan ethnic (All NS)

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Chapter 4

Parental and peer socialization as a mediator between identity label and youth outcomes

Abstract

The present study investigated whether different ethnic identity profiles in immigrant youth are associated with different parental and peer messages about education. In addition, the potential mediating effect of parental and peer values between ethnic identity label and educational aspirations. The sample included Cuban and Mexican second generation youth from the Children of Immigrant Longitudinal Survey. The results showed that youth with a country-origin identity (e.g., Cuban) had the least academically oriented parents and peers while youth with a hyphenated identity (e.g., Cuban-American) had the most academically oriented parents and peers. Parental educational expectations and number of friends aspiring to go to college mediated the relationship between identity label and aspirations. This is in line both with the immigrant acculturation theories and with the Expectancy Value Theory.

Immigrant students elicit a range of reactions from teachers, some describing them as motivated and intelligent, and others viewing them as lazy and prone to trouble-making (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2002). One reason for this might be that the first group has adopted a "school kid" identity and make academic success a key focus on their lives, while the latter group has adopted a "street kid" identity and generally consider that education has little to offer to them, acting accordingly at school (Flores-Gonzáles, 2002).

Identities such as these are importantly influenced by the messages youth hear from their social environments, including their peer groups (Eccles & Barber, 1999; Flores-González, 2002). Another example of socializers' influence on academic achievement comes from Eccles and colleagues who have discussed how parents socialize daughters and sons differently (e.g. boys are often encouraged to compete for success, while girls are often encouraged to be more agreeable and nurturing).

In this study I explore factors that may help explain the different outcomes of immigrant youth adhering to different ethnic identity labels. In particular, I focus on the socializing role of parents and peer groups.

Influence of social support on acculturation

According to Berry (1997), social support is an important determinant in the immigrant acculturation process. While support coming from either co-ethnics or majority members is helpful, he argues that when it is available from both groups acculturation stress is minimized and the outcomes are successful. He argues that this is one reason why the integration profile is the most advantageous for immigrants.

Segmented assimilation theory also emphasizes the social context of immigration, arguing that upward assimilation is likely to happen in receiving contexts that are welcoming, while downward assimilation (i.e. assimilation into an underclass) is likely to take place in inhospitable contexts (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Portez & Zhou, 1993). Although evidence for both upward and downward mobility has been found within the same immigrant population, social context variables (e.g. family characteristics, living in poverty, delinquent peer groups) importantly influenced outcomes in early adulthood (Portes, Fernández-Kelly, & Haller,

2005).The role of the social environment and socializers on motivation and achievement-related choices is central to the Expectancy Value Theory.

Expectancy value theory – focus on the socializers

As discussed in earlier chapters of this dissertation, Expectancy Value Theory predicts that achievement-related choices and performance are most directly influenced by *expectancy* for the outcome, and the subjective *value* we attach to the choice (Wigfield & Eccles, 2000). Task values and expectations for success are influenced by self-schemata, which in turn are affected by how the child perceives gender and activity stereotypes as well as their socializers' (parents, teachers) beliefs, expectations, and attitudes (Eccles, 1983).

Eccles (1983) has argued that children's perceptions of the task and the self do not stem from reality, but rather from their interpretation of reality, and as such they are influenced by prevailing cultural stereotypes. According to Eccles and colleagues, children perceive messages from the larger society where racial stereotypes can portray minorities negatively. For example, the message from the larger society might be that children from certain cultural backgrounds are not likely to do well in school, and will have limited job opportunities in the future. These messages influence the children's perceptions of gender roles and activity stereotypes, which in turn influence their perceptions of their own abilities as well as the types of goals they set for themselves (Wigfield & Eccles, 2000).

Parents play a major role in shaping this interpretative process. They, for example, congratulate the child when they succeed in a task and provide access to tasks (e.g. by enrolling the child in activities they value). In support of this argument, Frome and Eccles (1998) found that parents' perceptions of their child's abilities were more strongly correlated with the child's grades than the child's past grades. In addition, their results showed that parent's perceptions partially mediated the relationship between child's grades and their task- and self perceptions. Parents' values and beliefs have been found to predict occupational aspirations in adolescents, both directly and indirectly. The indirect link worked via maternal expectations which influenced adolescents' own expectations and aspirations, which were then linked to career choices (Jodl, Michael, Malanchuk, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2001).

Gender of the child has been found to influence parenting techniques as well as parents' perceptions of the child's abilities. For example, Frome and Eccles (1998) found that mothers thought that girls need more help and encouragement to excel in math than boys, although actual differences in performance do not warrant such conclusions (in fact, girls received higher math grades than boys). In this study, fathers did not think that boys were more apt to succeed in math, but they also did not think girls were better (a conclusion which would have been warranted by the actual performance of the children). Both mothers and fathers rated girls higher in English performance, which was both in line with the typical gender stereotypes and with the children's actual performance.

In qualitative interviews Eccles and colleagues inquired about the reasons behind different expectations, and found that parents attribute their evaluations to perceptions of the child's interest and competence. Specifically, parents tended to think that boys were more competent and interested in math, and that girls were more competent and interested in reading. The authors concluded that parents held gendered beliefs about "natural talent", and these beliefs influenced perceptions of their child's ability (Eccles, Freedman-Doan, Frome, Jacobs, & Suk-Yoon, 2000).

Examining racial differences in parental expectations, Galper, Wigfield, & Seefeldt (1997) studied a racially diverse group of Head Start families. They found that white and black parents were significantly more confident that their children would get a good education than Latino parents. Jodl et al. (2001), however, found that the influence of parental expectations on child's occupational choices did not differ by gender or ethnicity (black/white). In the next section I will discuss differences in parental expectations between immigrant and non-immigrant families, as well gendered expectations in immigrant families.

Parental influence in immigrant research. Research suggests that several differences exist in the academic values held and socialization practices between native-born and immigrant families. Immigrant youth have, for example, reported that their parents placed higher importance on academic success, had greater expectations for them, and held higher hopes for their educational attainment (Fuligni, 1997). These effects are even stronger in first-generation immigrant parents than in second generation parents (Kao & Tienda, 1995).

In accordance with these perceptions, students from immigrant families also had higher expectations for themselves, placed higher value on educational success, and received more peer support than their native-born peers. This was manifested in the amount of time they spent studying for tests and doing homework (Fuligni, 1997). Fuligni speculated that parental values may be channeled through these more proximal influences on achievement, but parental pressure to succeed has also been suggested to cause lower self-esteem in immigrant youth (Bankston & Zhou, 2002).

Kao and Tienda (1995) found that immigrant parents talked less about current educational experiences or future plans with their 8th graders than non-immigrant parents, and that parents of first generation-children talked about school even less than parents of second-generation children. This suggests that talking about school may be an American custom that is done increasingly as the family assimilates more. In this study immigrant parents were, however, more likely to attend parent-teacher conferences, even though they did not participate in other school-based activities as much as native-born parents. They also allocated more time to homework. These findings led Kao and Tienda to conclude that it is the values the parents transmit (largely influenced by their generational status) that influence the scholastic outcomes for immigrant youth.

Gender differences in parenting in immigrant families. Immigrant daughters from nearly all ethnic backgrounds have been noted to receive less encouragement to further their education, and they are expected to help around the house more and adhere to stricter behavioral and dating rules than their brothers (Mahalingam & Haritatos, 2006; Suarez-Orozco & Qin, 2006). Mahalingam and Haritatos (2006) have suggested that while parents of second generation immigrant daughters and sons might have similar educational expectations, they often think that their daughters require less external motivation than their sons.

Although Pedraza (1991) has noted that immigrant women typically enjoy more equal gender norms in the U.S. than in their country of origin, others have noted that immigrant women are still likely to minimize their economic contribution to the family finances, and see upholding traditional family (and gender) values as a way of cultural maintenance in the face of Americanization (Pessar, 1999). It is likely that these values are also transmitted to girls growing up in immigrant families.

Peers as socializers

Peers are an important social influence in adolescents' lives. In fact, teenagers typically spend more time with their peers than their parents, and can also feel pressured to conform to peer group norms. This pressure can be so powerful that some adolescents are even willing to forgo parents' rules, school work, and their own talents to be popular among peers (Fuligni, Eccles, Barber, & Clements, 2001)

Ryan (2001) used the Expectancy Value Theory to investigate how peer groups influenced academic motivation in adolescents. She argued that youth exchange information related to their academic pursuits and successes, and this influences their motivation and engagement. Her results showed that 6th and 7th graders belong to peer groups of similar ability, and that even after controlling for self-selection, the peer group's influence accounted for change in students' achievement over time. Ryan also found that youth who spent time with peers who liked school came to like school more, and the inverse was also true. She concluded that peer values influence the intrinsic value of school.

Although Ryan (2001) found that peer group did not influence the utility value of school (i.e. the perceived usefulness of getting a good education) or expectancies for success, Schunk and Miller (2002) have reported that adolescents' self-efficacy was vicariously affected by the performance of their peers. If the adolescent's friends were high achievers, they too were likely to believe that they could be high-achievers. The inverse was also true in that if their peers were failing in school, they also were likely to report lower levels of self-efficacy.

Research also suggests that peer groups differ in their academic characteristics, and that these characteristics are stable to the group. Studying the peer groups of 4th graders and 6th graders Kindermann (1993; 2007) found that in the beginning of the year self-reported academic motivation was similar within the peer groups. Although about half of the students changed peer groups during the study, the groups maintained their motivational characteristics when controlling for intraindividual change. This suggests that children select peer groups in part based on similarities regarding academic attitudes, and that the groups maintain their attributes regardless of member turnover. Longitudinal changes were noted in that 6th graders who initially

were involved in engaged groups showed increases in motivation, while students who were involved with less engaged groups showed declines over time (Kindermann, 2007).

Social identity labels have also been linked to peer groups. In the "Breakfast Club" study by Barber, Eccles and colleagues described in chapter 3 an important difference between the youth identifying with the various labels was their peer groups. In addition to asking the students about the identity label (i.e. Princess, Jock, Criminal, Brain, or Basket case) Eccles and Barber (1999) asked about their academic success, college plans, and substance abuse among their friends. The results indicated that the peer groups of students identifying with different labels differed in the types of school activities they participated in; their attitudes about school; and their risky behaviors. Perhaps not surprisingly, self-identified Criminals had the fewest friends who were doing well academically and who were planning to go to college while Brains had the highest proportion of academically oriented and risk-averse friends.

Peer influence in immigrant research. A recent study compared immigrant and white youth on peer influence on high school dropout, and found that negative peer influence affected both ethnic groups similarly. Mexican and white youth who associated with non-academically oriented friends were at higher risk for dropping out, and having academically oriented friends was similarly reflected in these students' own values (Ream & Rumberger, 2008). While no group differences were found in peer influence, the authors noted that Mexican immigrant students were disadvantaged in the sense that they were less likely to be engaged in school-based extracurricular activities, perhaps reflecting the so-called opportunity gap.

Wong, Eccles, and Sameroff (2003) reported that connection to one's ethnic group might moderate negative peer influences. Specifically, they found that the link between perceived discrimination and having friends with a less positive attitude about school was moderated by connection to one's ethnic group. When adolescents had a strong connection to their ethnic group perceived discrimination was not associated with friends' negative attitudes about school, but when the connection to the ethnic group was weak, discrimination was associated with friends' negative attitudes. This supports the idea that connection to one's ethnic group serves as a protective factor which attenuates the negative effect of perceived discrimination. It also suggests that when the connection to the ethnic group is weak and adolescents face

discrimination, they may start to associate with peers who have less positive academic attitudes and values.

Flores-Gonzáles (2002) concluded from qualitative interviews that social environment influenced academic identities in Latino youth. She argued that youth in her study could be categorized as having either a ”school kid” or “street kid” identity, and that these identities importantly shaped the way youth maneuvered through their high school lives. Adolescents with the “school kid” identity socialized with other academically oriented youth, and had friends who were high achievers, even if they had only average grades. “School kids” also typically had support for this identity from teachers, parents, and peer groups who encouraged them to succeed academically. “Street kids”, on the other hand, were often involved with gangs, and associated with youth who did not see school as a way to success. Cutting class was habitual for them, and if they were in school they were more often involved in fights.

Flores-Gonzáles (2002) notes that a “street kid” identity may be more accessible to minority youth from inner city schools than a “school kid” identity. She argued that, for example, school kids from inner city schools had come to terms with the fact their school was a low prestige school with few resources that helped them succeed. The lack of resources (e.g. fewer extra-curricular activities) reduced the time they can spend at school and increased the time they spent with street-oriented peers. They were also more likely to face more stressors in their lives (e.g. poverty, unsafe neighborhoods) than their (white) peers from more affluent areas. This argument is also in line with Ogbu and Simons (1998) claim that involuntary minorities living in disadvantaged surroundings are likely to make a negative comparison between their current situations and that of the white majority.

Finally, Phinney, Berry, Vedder and Liebkind (2006) have noted a connection specifically between immigrant acculturation paths and peer relations. In their study, youth with the ethnic (identity) profile (i.e. youth who were oriented towards ethnic culture only) had the most co-ethnic peers. Adolescents with an integrated profile (oriented towards both ethnic and majority culture) had peers from both the host culture and their ethnic group. Those who fit the nation profile (here, American) had the most peers from the host culture. Finally, those who fit the diffuse profile had relative fewer host culture peers and more ethnic peers.

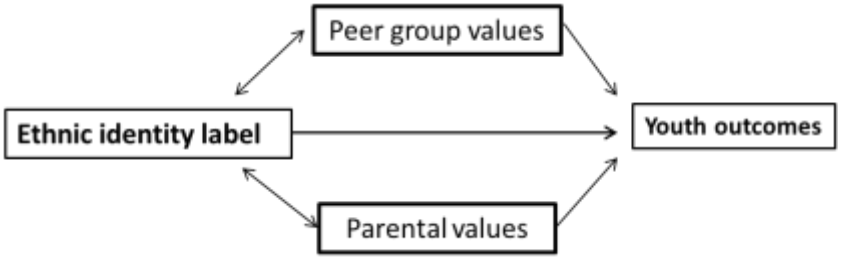
Gender differences in peer research among immigrant youth. Research from both immigrant and non-immigrant populations suggests that gender affects peer relations. For example, Kinderman (2007) found that girls were more engaged (and showed increases in engagement over time) when they were involved with an engaged group of peers (Kinderman, 2007). Similarly Qin-Hilliard (2003) found that Asian and Central American boys reported experiencing negative academic influences and pressure from their peers (such as ridiculing good grades and encouragement to cut class) more often than girls. Immigrant girls have also been noted to receive more support from their peers to succeed in school (Stanton-Salazar, 2001).

Gender can also influence ethnic identity formation via peer relations during the acculturation process. Smith, Steward and Winter (2004) reported that Latvian female immigrants were more likely to endorse an integrated identity in high school (incorporating aspects of both the Latvian and the US culture in their lives), whereas males were more likely to be less integrated. Based on qualitative interviews the authors suggested that this may be due boys' social inclusion in high school being linked to participation in competitive sports and to having the economic means to, for example, pay for dating expenses. The men in their study recalled how, for example, parental restrictions about competing in the school team or their families not owning a car stigmatized them among American-born peers.

Present study

In summary, self-identities affect expectancy for success and task values. Identity schemata in youth are influenced by parental and peer socialization. In addition, gender and ethnicity are likely to influence the way youth are socialized by parents and peers.
In the present study I am interested in exploring whether youth adhering to different ethnic identity labels differ in the academic values held by their parents and peers. In addition, I am interested in exploring whether parental and peer values might moderate the connection between ethnic identity label and academic outcomes. Figure 4.1 below describes the model I am testing in the present study.

Figure 4.1 Parental and peer values as mediators between identity labels and youth outcomes



Hypotheses. The present study seeks to answer three questions. First, I predict that both parental and peer values differ by nationality and gender. Ogbu and Simons (1989) have argued that parents of voluntary immigrants view the education of their children more positively than the parents of involuntary immigrants, and thus I expect the difference here to favor Cuban-origin immigrant youth. The research regarding gender differences and immigration suggests that immigrant parents may encourage their sons more explicitly than their daughters, but that immigrant girls nevertheless typically outperform immigrant boys. Thus, I expect parents to be more explicitly involved in the schooling of boys, although this is unlikely to result in higher academic outcomes for boys.

Second, I predict that youth adhering to different ethnic identity labels differ in their parental and peer values. In particular, I compare the value profiles between youth who adhere to labels that reveal connection to their heritage culture only (e.g. Cuban), majority culture only (e.g. American), both (e.g. Cuban-American),or who hold a pan-ethnic identity (e.g. Latino). Research by Phinney et al. (2006) suggests that youth with different acculturation profiles indeed are distinguishable in their "peer profiles" as well.

Finally, I test whether parental and peer values moderate the connection between identity labels and academic outcomes. In chapter 3, I found that the ethnic identity labels described above are differently related to outcomes in immigrant youth. The results suggested that Country-origin label (e.g. Cuban) was associated with the least adaptive youth outcomes while the hyphenated label (e.g. Cuban American) was associated with the most positive outcomes. In the present study I examine whether this connection might be in part explained by different parental and peer socialization.

Methods

Description of the data

The data was derived from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) (Portes & Rumbaut, see, e.g. Rumbaut, 1994 for full description). These data were collected in three waves over a ten year period. The first data collection wave took place in 1992 when the participants were on average 14 years old. Follow-up surveys were conducted 3 three year and 10 years after the first data collection wave. The present analyses use data from the second wave as well as from the parental interview conducted at that same time.

The first follow-up was conducted when participants were on average 17 years old, and about to complete high school. The focus of the second survey was on youth adaptive outcomes, including language skills, ethnic identity, self-esteem and academic attainment. Portes and Rumbaut reported that 81.5% of the original sample was retained, and that the follow-up was not biased.

At the same time a random sample of 46% of the parents were interviewed (the authors aimed for 50%). Unlike the student surveys which were questionnaires filled at school, the parental survey was conducted through face-to-face interviews at home. The purpose of the parental survey was to collect data on the characteristics of immigrant families and their hopes for the future, including educational plans for their child.

Variables included in the present study

Due to the volume of the available variables a pre-selection of the most suitable variables was made before running analyses. Because the purpose of the present study was to investigate whether these variables mediate the relationship between the identity labels and outcomes, I first looked at the significant correlations as a criterion on whether the variable should be included (if a given parental/peer variable is weakly or not at all associated with the outcome variables, it cannot act as a mediator).

Gender was included in all sets of analyses. *Gender* was coded 1=male and 2=female.

Parental variables. Correlations between parental variables and youth outcome measures can be found in Tables 1 and 2 in Appendix A. Bivariate correlations indicated that the largest association was between parental educational expectations and youth outcomes. Other potential mediator variables include parent(s) volunteering at the school, talking about school with the child, being satisfied with their child's education, worrying about their child's friends being a negative influence, and feeling that their child's friends have views that differ from their own views regarding success in life. Thus, these variables are included in the creation of parental profiles for identity label categories.

Parental educational expectation was inquired about with an item asking "How far in school do your expect your child to go?". Answers were coded on an 11-point scale where 1="eight grade or less", 6="two years and more of vocational training", 7="less than two years of college", and 11=" Ph.D. MD or other advanced degree". This item was dichotomized for the analysis of variance so that 1="less than college degree" and 2="college degree and more".

Parent/spouse-school volunteering was inquired about with the question "Do you and your spouse/partner do any of the following at your child's school?" "Act as a volunteer in the school" Answer choices were 1=Yes 2=No. This item for reverse-coded for the present analysis for easier interpretation.

Talking about school with the child was measured with an items asking " How often do your or your spouse/partner talk with your child about his or her experiences in school". The answer choices ranged from 1= "not at all" to 4= "regularly".

Parental satisfaction with child's education was measured with the item "How satisfied are you with the education that your child has received up to now?". Answer choices were recorded from 1= "very satisfied" to 3="not satisfied at all". This item for reverse-coded for the present analysis for easier interpretation.

Parental worry about child's close friends being a negative influence was measured with the question "How worried about are you about negative influence from (child's name) from her/his own close friends". Answers were recorded on a 4 point scale from 1="not at all" to 4="veryÉ.

Finally, *whether parent and child's friends have differing views about success* was measured with the question "How different are the messages she/he is getting from you and from his/her

friends about becoming a successful person?". Answer choices again ranged from 1="not at all" to 4="very".

Peer variables. Peer variables were self-reported by the youth, and similar procedure was followed to establish what peer variables were included in the present study. Tables 1-3 in Appendix B have the bivariate correlations for peer variables and youth outcomes. Number of friends who planned to attend a 4-year college had the most (and largest) positive correlations with the outcome variables. The variable that had the most negative correlations was the number of friends with no college plans. Other variables which seem promising candidates for the mediation included the number of friends who planned to get a job right out of high school and the number of friends who dropped out of high school.

The prompt for these items in the questionnaire read "How many of your friends have:" a) *Dropped out of school without graduating?,* b) *No plans to go to college?,* c) *Plans to get a full-time job after high school*? and e) *Plan to attend a 4-year college or university*?" the answer option ranged from 1="none" to 3="many or most".

Ryan (2001) defined "peer group" as the small, relatively intimate groups of friends (sometimes referred to as "clique") in her study, and noted that many peer studies have either focused on best friend dyads or at large crowds of peers (e.g. the larger, less intimate groups like "brains" and "jocks"). Although the CILS questionnaire did not specify who participants should think about when answering these questions, the he wording in the items ("friends") is likely to refer to a similar group as in Ryan's study.

Outcome variable for mediation analysis. Due the nature of analysis of variance it was not feasible to include all the outcome variables used in chapter 3 in the present study. Occupational aspirations are assumed to be influenced by expectancies and values (Eccles, 1983), and have been previously used to examine parents' role in shaping aspirations in adolescents (e.g. Jold et al., 2001). Educational aspirations (e.g. Bachelor's degree) was chosen as the outcome here rather than specific occupational goal (e.g. doctor) since it is more easily rank-ordered, and because 17-year-olds are likely to be aware of educational requirements for their future careers as they are about to finish high school. Finally, realistic educational aspirations looked like the

best outcome variable candidate based on the correlational matrices, and it also revealed the most significant difference between identity label groups in chapter 3.

Realistic educational attainment was assessed with the question "And realistically, what is the highest level of education that you think you will get?" The answer choices were the same as above. The answer choices ranged from 1 "Less than high school" to 3 "Finish some college" and to 5 "Finish a graduate degree (masters, doctor etc.)"

Control variables. I included family socio-economic status (SES) as a control variable in the model because higher socio-economic status has been associated with greater educational attainment (see, e.g. summary by Parker, Schoon, Tsai, Nag, Trautwein & Eccles, 2012). The *family SES* variable in CILS is a unit-weighed standardized scale score composed of mother's and father's education, their occupational socioeconomic index score, and home owner status.

Results

Comparing Cuban and Mexican youth. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 below list the means and standard deviations for the parental and peer variables comparing Cuban and Mexican youth. P-values yielded by t-tests are reported in the last column.

Table 4.1 T-tests between Cuban and Mexican youth on parental variables

	Cuban N=396	Mexican N=332	P-value
Parental educational expectation	9.09 (1.805)	7.93 (2.393)	.000
Parent satisfied with child's education	2.39 (.682)	2.44 (.624)	.231
Parent volunteers at school	1.64 (.48)	1.37 (.48)	.000
Parent talk about school with child	3.91 (.338)	3.71 (.600)	.000
Parent worries child's friends are negative influence	2.12 (1.22)	2.51 (1.22)	.000
Parent considers that child's friends have differing views	2.53 (1.037)	2.61 (1.080)	.334
Parent and child's friends give different messages to child	2.35 (1.078)	2.57 (1.133)	.011

Table 4.2 T-tests between Cuban and Mexican youth on peer variables

	Cuban N=961	Mexican N=591	P-value
Number of friends planning to attend 4 year college	2.40 (.6140	2.10 (.657)	.000
Number of friends with no college plans	1.63 (.622)	1.81 (.624)	.000
Number of friends who plan to find a job right out of high school	2.02 (.696)	2.20 (.637)	.000
Number of friends who have dropped out	1.53 (.564)	1.60 (.632)	.032

Summary. As expected, parents of Cuban youth had higher educational expectations and current satisfaction, and also participated more actively in their child's education (i.e. volunteered more at school and talked about school more often with the child) than parents of Mexican youth. Parents of Cuban youth were also less concerned that their child's peer group is a negative influence. Cuban youth reported having more friends how plan to attend a 4-year college, and fever friends who had no college plans; who planned to get a job straight out of high school; or who had dropped out.

Comparing genders within national origin

Tables 4.3-4.6 below display the means and standard deviations for the parental and peer variables for girls and boys with both national groups. P-values are reported in the last column.

Table 4.3 T-tests between genders in Cuban youth on parental variables

	Cuban boys N=248	Cuban girls N=149	P-value
Parental educational expectation	8.99 (1.95)	9.25 (1.55)	.142
Parent satisfied with child's education	2.41 (.686)	2.35 (.677)	.397
Parent volunteers at school	1.66 (.475)	1.60 (.491)	.267
Parent talk about school with child	3.90 (.381)	3.93 (.252)	.354
Parent worries child's friends are negative influence	2.20 (1.238)	2.00 (1.178)	.112
Parent considers that child's friends have differing views	2.57 (1.023)	2.46 (1.060)	.320
Parent and child's friends give different messages to child	2.44 (1.062)	2.20 (1.091)	.043

Table 4.4 T-tests between genders in Cuban youth on peer variables

	Cuban boys N=493	Cuban girls N=463	P-value
Number of friends planning to attend 4 year college	2.39 (.632)	2.41 (.595)	.496
Number of friends with no college plans	1.67 (.650)	1.60 (.589)	.105
Number of friends who plan to find a job right out of high school	2.02 (.697)	2.02 (.694)	.872
Number of friends who have dropped out	1.50 (.562)	1.57 (.565)	.054

Table 4.5 T-tests between genders in Mexican youth on parental variables

	Mexican boys N=166	Mexican girls N= 172	P-value
Parental educational expectation	7.45 (2.060)	8.40 (2.074)	.000
Parent satisfied with child's education	2.39 (.648)	2.49 (.597)	.135
Parent volunteers at school	1.37 (.596)	1.38 (.487)	.801
Parent talk about school with child	3.70 (.596)	3.72 (.605)	.727
Parent worries child's friends are negative influence	2.47 (1.25)	2.55 (1.193)	.531
Parent considers that child's friends have differing views	2.70 (1.138)	2.52 (1.014)	.174
Parent and child's friends give different messages to child	2.61 (1.174)	2.54 (1.096)	.617

Table 4.6 T-tests between genders in Mexican youth on peer variables

	Mexican boys N=299	Mexican girls N=290	P-value
Number of friends planning to attend 4 year college	2.08 (.668)	2.13 (.646)	.434
Number of friends with no college plans	1.80 (.641)	1.82 (.606)	.695
Number of friends who plan to find a job right out of high school	2.19 (.645)	2.21 (.629)	.697
Number of friends who have dropped out	1.58 (.646)	1.61 (.617)	.560

Summary. Very few gender differences emerged in either group. In the Cuban group parents of boys were slightly more concerned that their child's friends have messages that differ from parental messages, and in the Mexican group parents of girls had slightly higher educational expectations. Due to the lack of gender differences and in the interest of increasing sample size, the samples with not be split by gender for the parental and peer profiles.

Parental and peer profiles.

I used planned contrasts to compare the parental and peer profiles between the identity labels. I used cross-sectional identity label as the grouping variables, and created the profiles separately for Cuban and Mexican youth. The graphs represent the group means, and help visualize the differences between the identity labels. Because parental educational expectation was measured in a much larger scale (1-11) than the other variables I made it into a separate graph rather than included it with the other variables.

Parental profiles

Figure 4.2 Parental profiles for Cuban youth

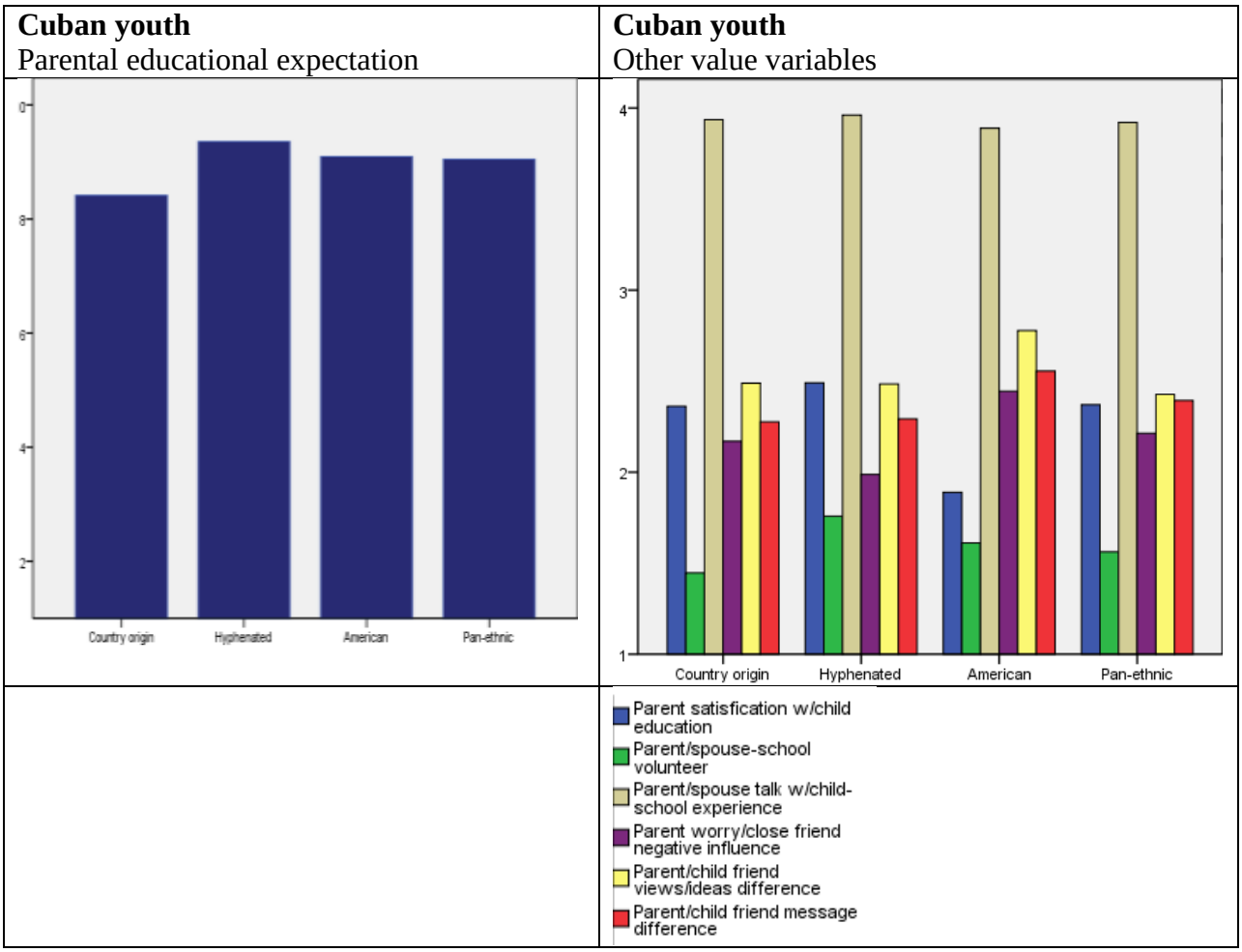


Table 4.7 Cuban youth (combined sample)

	Country-origin N=53	Hyphenated N=178	American N=21	Pan-ethnic N=98
Country-origin		Parent of hyphenated youth had higher educational expectation of their child than parents of CO youth (**). More satisfied with their child's education than parents of CO youth (**) Parents of hyphenated students volunteered at the school more often than parents of co youth (**). Parents of CO youth worry more about negative peers influences at school than parents of hyphenated youth (*)		
Hyphenated				
American				
Pan-ethnic		Parents of hyphenated students volunteered at the school more often than parents of pan-ethnic youth (**).		

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

The clearest differences in the parental values among Cuban youth emerged between youth identifying as country-origin or hyphenated. Parents of hyphenated youth had higher educational expectations, were more satisfied with their child's education, volunteered more often at their child's school, and were less concerned about a negative peer influence. Finally, parents of hyphenated youth volunteered at school more often than parents of pan-ethnic youth.

Figure 4.3 Parental profiles for Mexican youth

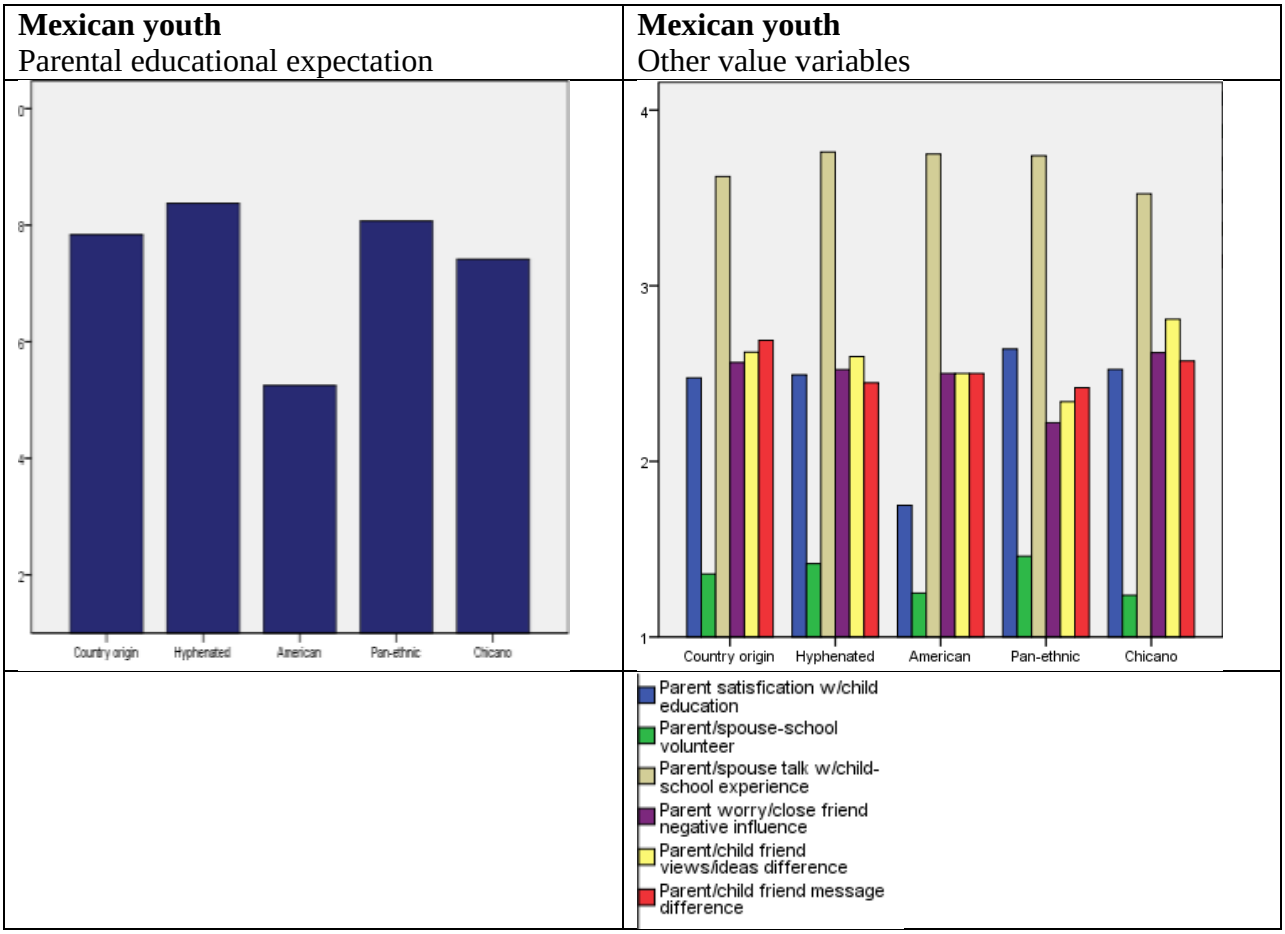


Table 4.8 Mexican youth (combined sample)

	Country-origin N=128	Hyphenated N=88	American N=4	Pan-ethnic N=69	Chicano N=24
Country-origin				Parents of pan-ethnic youth worry less about negative friend influences at school than parents of CO youth (*). Parents of pan-ethnic youth speak more about school with their child than parents of CO youth (*).	
Hyphenated					
American					
Pan-ethnic					
Chicano		Parents of hyphenated youth volunteer at school more than parents of Chicano youth (*).		Parents of pan-ethnic youth volunteer at school more than parents of Chicano youth (*).	

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

Fewer significant results emerged in the Mexican sample. It looks like parents of pan-ethnic youth speak more often about school with their child and worry less about negative peer influence than parents of country-origin identified youth. Additionally, parents of pan-ethnic and hyphenated youth volunteer at school more often than parents of Chicano identified youth. The two variables pertaining to differing ideas and messages from the parent and the child's friends did not yield any significant contrasts between the identity label groups.

Peer profiles

Figure 4.4 Peer profiles for Cuban youth

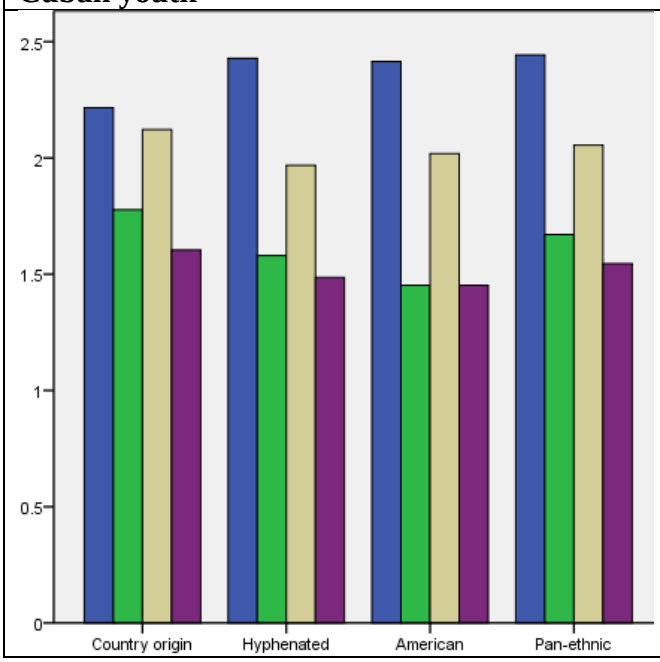
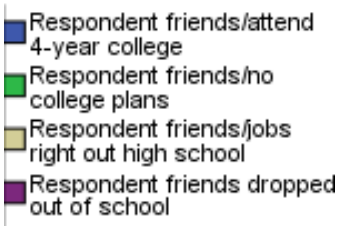
Cuban youth	Variables included
	

Table 4.9 Cuban youth: combined sample

	Country-origin N=139	Hyphenated N=438	American N=53	Pan-ethnic N=278
Country-origin		Hyphenated had more friends who planned to attend a 4y college than CO youth (**). Hyphenated youth had fewer friends who had dropped out than CO youth (*). Hyphenated youth had fewer friends with no college plans than CO youth (**)	American youth had more friends who planned to attend a 4y college than CO youth (*). American youth had fewer friends with no college plans than CO (**).	Pan-ethnic youth had more friends who planned to attend a 4y college than CO youth (**).
Hyphenated	CO had more friends who wanted a job straight out of high school than hyphenated (*).			
American				
Pan-ethnic				

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

For Cuban youth planned contrasts indicated the biggest differences in the peer profiles are between youth who identify as country-origin vs. hyphenated at age 17. However, looking at the graph it looks like all three identities have a benefit over country-origin identity, and no significant differences exist between the three other identity categories (hyphenated, pan-ethnic, and American).

Figure 4.5 Peer profiles for Mexican youth

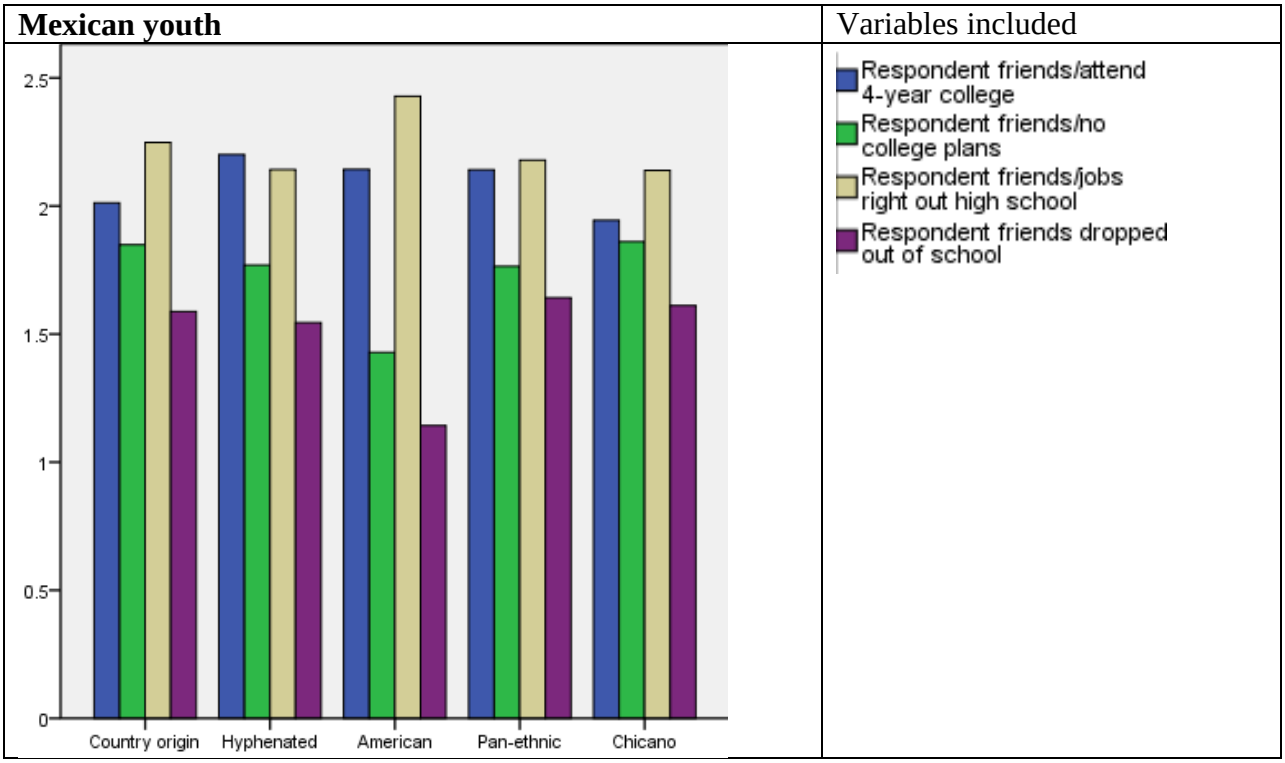


Table 4.10 Mexican youth: combined sample

	Country-origin N=241	Hyphenated N=170	American N=7	Pan-ethnic N=110	Chicano N=26
Country-origin		Hyphenated youth had more friends who planned to attend 4y college than CO youth (**).			
Hyphenated					
American					
Pan-ethnic					
Chicano		Hyphenated youth had more friends who planned to attend 4y college than Chicano youth (**).			

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

Again, fewer significant contrasts emerged for the Mexican group. Similarly to the Cuban group, Mexican-American youth had more friends who wanted to go to 4-year college compared to country-origin identified youth. The same difference emerged between hyphenated and Chicano youth.

Analysis of variance

In the final part of the present study, I used analysis of variance (anova) to test whether parental and/or peer values mediate the relationship between identity labels and youth outcomes. Based on the strength of correlation with educational aspirations and analyses in part 2 above parental educational expectations and number of friends planning to go to a 4-year college were chosen as predictors variables. Realistic educational attainment was chosen as the outcome variable because aspirations are prompted by expectancies and values (Eccles, 1983) and influenced by parental values (Jold et al., 2001).

Table 4.11 below describes the models tested. The purpose of model 1 was to show that identity label is a significant predictor of realistic educational aspirations. Models 2 and 3 test separately weather parental and peer values mediate the relationship between identity label and educational aspirations. Model 4 included both mediating variables simultaneously, and finally model 5 also included SES and gender as control variables. P-values are in parenthesis following the F-statistic.

Table 4.11 Outcome: realistic educational aspirations at age 17

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Cuban/Mexican	35.65 (.000)	5.79 (.016)	24.93 (.000)	3.87 (.050)	2.43 (.119)
Identity label	6.40 (.000)	1.09 (.362)	3.31 (.010)	.898 (.465)	1.519 (.195)
Parental ed expectation		131.93 (.000)		112.67 (.000)	92.07 (.000)
Friends with 4y college plans			195.26 (.000)	66.03 (.000)	61.88 (.000)
Gender					9.83 (.002)
SES index (control)					13.01 (.000)
R^2	.123	.266	.226	.336	.358
Adjusted R^2	.118	.256	.222	.326	.346

Model 1 shows that identity label chosen by immigrant youth is a significant predictor for educational aspirations. Country-origin (Cuban vs. Mexico) also had a significant main effect, in agreement with the difference seen in Chapter 3 favoring Cuban youth. The interaction of identity label and country-origin was not significant, and is thus omitted from the present table.

Model 2 shows that parental educational expectation fully mediates the identity label effect. In fact, when parental expectations are included the there is a 6-fold decrease in the F-value of identity label. Model 3 shows that while effect is less strong, peer variables also partially mediate the relationship between identity label and educational aspirations.

Model 4 shows that when both parental and peer values are included country-origin is no longer a significant predictor of educational aspirations. After family SES and gender are included in Model 5 as control variables, the main effects of both parental and peer values remain significant. This final model explains 35% of variance in educational aspirations.

Discussion

Expectancy Value Theory by Eccles and colleagues holds that academic motivation is affected by our identity schema (e.g. whether we associate academic success with our self-identity). The way in which the child is socialized by parents, peers, and other close ones importantly shapes these identity schemata. The purpose of this study was to examine the differences in parental and peer values in second generation immigrant youth who adhere to different ethnic identity labels, and to examine whether parental and peer values mediated the association between identity label and youth outcomes.

Country-origin and gender differences. The literature on immigrant youth suggests that process and outcomes of parental and peer socialization might depend on country of origin (Ogbu & Simons, 1989) as well as gender (e.g. Suarez-Orozco & Qin, 2006). To examine this in the present sample, I first compared Cuban and Mexican students to each other, followed by comparing boys and girls within each sample. The results show that on average, Cuban parents had higher expectations, participated more actively in their child's education, and worried less about negative peer influences than Mexican parents. Similarly with the peer values, Cuban youth had more friends who planned to go to college, fewer friends with no college plans, fewer friends who planned to get a job, or who had dropped out, than Mexican youth. These findings are in accord with what Pérez (2001) and López and Stanton-Salazar (2001) found about the socio-economic situations of Cuban and Mexican students, and also agree with Ogbu and Simon's (1998) comments about Cuban immigrants being advantaged compared to Mexican immigrants (who tend to assimilate to the existing involuntary minority population).

Very few gender differences emerged in the present study. Parents of Cuban boys were slightly more concerned that their child's friends convey messages about success that conflict with parents' messages, and parents of Mexican boys had lower educational expectations than parents of girls. While both of these findings are in the expected direction, the scarcity of significant gender differences is surprising. For example, Mahalingam and Haritatos (2006) argue that immigrant parents typically think their daughters require less encouragement to further their education than their sons.

A partial explanation for the Cuban youth may lie in the fact that more boys than girls in this sample attended private schools. When Cuban students were separated by type of school, two additional gender differences emerged for publically schooled youth: parents of boys were more concerned about negative peer influence and about child's friend having different ideas about what it means to be successful. This does, not however, explain the lack of gender differences in the Mexican sample as very few Mexican youth attended private schools in this sample.

One possible explanation for the scarcity of gender differences is that the questions were framed in a way that did not elicit gendered answers. Eccles and colleagues found that differences in parents' ability beliefs emerged with traditionally gender stereotyped domains (math and English), whereas here the questions here were not domain-specific. In addition, Okagaki and Frensch (1998) included gender only as a control variable in their study of ethnic differences in parenting and academic achievement, and their results similarly suggested only few, and fairly weak, gender effects. Finally, is possible that the gender climate is changing as more women can be seen both at the work place and at positions of power, perhaps changing attitudes both in parents and youth.

Similarly few gender differences emerged in the peer variables, despite previous research suggesting that immigrant boys experience more peer pressure to underperform at school (Qin-Hilliard, 2003), and that immigrant girls receive more support from their peers to succeed in schools (Stanton-Salazar, 2001). Flores-Gonzáles (2002), on the other hand, did not report gender differences in "school kid/street kid" identities, and actually noted that in some instances female gender can actually predispose immigrant adolescents to the "street kid" identity as they are likely to drop out of high school if they become pregnant. Some "street kid" girls in her study also used the "studious immigrant girl" stereotype to their advantage, and for

example, told parents they were participating in after-school activities when they needed an excuse for staying out after school.

Parental and peer profiles. Since few gender differences emerged in the t-tests I did not separate the sample by gender when looking at the parental and peer profiles by identity label. In the Cuban sample the clearest differences in parental values emerged between youth adhering to country-origin and hyphenated labels; with parents of hyphenated youth having higher expectations of them and being more involved in their child's education. For the Mexican sample the clearest differences seemed to emerge between parents of country-origin and pan-ethnic youth, with parents of pan-ethnic youth being more invested in their child's education.

One explanation for these differences might come from the segmented assimilation theory by Portes and colleagues, who argue that immigrants who experience thickening of ethnic identity will assimilate to the underclass and experience negative outcomes, while those who are in the bicultural assimilation pathway learn how to maneuver successfully in the majority culture without losing their ethnic identity. Thus higher parental involvement and participation in schools may be a reflection of higher acculturation.

The difference between country-origin identified and hyphenated Cuban youth also emerged with the peer variables, with youth identifying with the hyphenated label having more academically oriented friends. Although there were few significant contrasts in the peer profiles of Mexican youth, the clearest difference here also was between country-origin identified and hyphenated youth (as well as between Chicano and hyphenated youth).

Oyserman and colleagues (2003) have argued that the reason why minority youth identifying only with their ethnic in-group experience negative academic outcomes is because they think that academic achievement will be viewed as "acting white" by their in-group, and thus choose to excel in other areas which better fit their ethnic self-identity (e.g. sports, music). Other researchers, however, have not found support for the "acting white" hypothesis (e.g. Eccles et al, 2006; Harris, 2006).

The literature on peer influence suggests a somewhat different link between identity and academic disengagement. In the "Breakfast Club study" Eccles and Barber (1999) found that interestingly, self-identified "Criminals" and "Jocks" had similar GPAs and reported high alcohol use, but "Jocks" had better long-term outcomes than "Criminals". The authors suggest

that this may be because they differ in the fact that at 12th grade, "Jocks" had a school-based activity their identity was tied to (sports), while "Criminals" did not. Although almost half of the "Criminals" were also doing sports in 10th grade, 70% of them had dropped this activity by 12th grade. The authors argue that this decrease in school-based activity is associated with "Criminals'" disconnection from school. A reflection of this might be that youth identifying as hyphenated can feel connected to American schools via the second part of their hyphenated label (i.e. have a school-based identity).

Based on her qualitative analyses Flores-Gonzáles (2002) concluded that kids who identified as "school kids" had support and encouragement from their parents and peers for this identity, while those identifying as "street kids" had less support for an academic identity from their social support network. The present results suggest that youth identifying with a hyphenated identity (e.g. Cuban-American) have more social support for an academic identity, and may have more of a "school kid" identity than youth identifying with a country-origin identity (e.g. Cuban).

Flores-Gonzáles (2002) noted that while movement from one identity to another was possible, it was not easy. If former "street kids" wanted to change to the "school kid" identity they were likely to face confrontation from both their "street kid" peers and the "school kid" peers. I wanted to additionally test whether there was evidence for identity change being associated with change in parental/peer values. To do this, I ran an additional a t-test comparing youth who started out as country-origin identified at age 14 and who reported either country-origin identity or hyphenated identity at age 17 (presumably comparing stable street kid identity to change from street kid identity to school kid identity). While none of the effects were significant in the combined sample, the mean differences were in the expected direction: youth who moved from country-origin identity to hyphenated identity had parents who had higher expectations of them and worried less about negative peer influence. They also had more peers who planned on applying to a 4-year college and fewer friends who had no college plans or planned to start working after high school than their counterparts who remained country-origin identified.

Mediation between identity labels and educational aspirations. Finally, the last part of the present analysis tested whether parental and peer values mediated the connection between

identity label and educational aspirations. The first partial model confirmed that as suggested by the analysis in Chapter 3, both identity label and country-origin had a main effect on educational aspirations in the partial model. When parental educational expectation was added to the model the main effect of identity label was no longer significant. Adding peer values to the model (without parental expectations) also reduced the effect of identity label. This suggests that peer values partially mediated the effect of identity label on educational aspirations, and that parental expectation fully mediated that relationship.

It is noteworthy that parental expectations mediated the relationship fully while peer values only did so partially, and when entered in the model at the same time, the influence of parental expectations was larger than the influence of peer values. Thus, while adolescents may spend more time with their peers than parents at adolescence (Fuligni et al., 2001), the present results suggest that parental expectations still influence their academic motivation more than their peer's values.

Ryan (2001) suggests that the amount of time spent with peers increases the strength of the peer influence. If this argument is extended to the comparison of parental and peer values, it makes sense that parents have a stronger influence. Although adolescents might spend more time with peers than parents, the accumulated time spent with parents is typically far greater than the time spent with any group of friends.

I included gender as a control variable despite the fact that the t-tests suggested few gender differences. Female gender positively predicted educational aspirations, agreeing with findings reported by Qin-Hilliard (2003). Since boys and girls did not significantly differ in most parental and friend variables here, the "immigrant girl advantage" is likely due to other factors. Some have suggested that immigrant girls are viewed more positively by teachers, which is something that was not assessed in the current study, and which may positively influence their academic achievement and aspirations.

Finally, family SES has been associated with educational aspirations and college entry (Parker et al., 2012), and the present results suggest that it indeed is positively associated with aspirations. However, parental expectations and peer values remain significant predictors of educational aspirations even after controlling for family SES and gender.

Limitations

An important limitation of the present study is that peer measures were self-reported. Ryan (2001) has noted that youth may project their own values onto their perceived peer values, and it is thus possible that reports of number of peer applying to 4-year college may in part be a reflection of the adolescent's own aspirations. Since these data did not reveal who the participants were referring to when answering the questions, it was not possible to examine or control for factors such as GPA of the peer group.

While a strength of the parental data are that they were not self-reported by the adolescents, a drawback of these data is that parents of only 50% of the student participants were contacted. This reduces the available sample size importantly, particularly when separating the sample by gender and ethnic identity label.

The data used for these analyses were also cross-sectional, and conclusions about causality are not warranted. While the data are longitudinal, only wave 2 had substantial peer and parental data. The third and final data collection wave was collected seven years after wave 2, and connecting peer data at age 17 to outcomes at age 24 did not seem optimal. While peer relationships might be particularly intense at age 17, by age 24 many participants had gone to (or graduated from) college, married, or even had children. Thus, looking at whether change in ethnic identity label is related to change in peer group was not feasible.

Conclusions

The present study sheds light into different educational outcomes among immigrant youth adhering to different ethnic identity labels. In particular, the results suggest that part of the answer is in the social support since parental and peer values fully mediated the effect of identity label on educational aspirations. The effect of parental aspirations was considerably larger than the effect of peer variables, suggesting that parents are a more potent socializer than peers for immigrant youth. These results support the Expectancy Value model in showing that youth adhering to different ethnic identity labels are exposed to different academic socializing, and that the different socializing messages mediate the link between identity label and educational aspirations. While immigrant youth holding a hyphenated identity are likely to benefit from

being bilingual and bicultural (allowing them to also look at things from more than one perspective), the present results suggest that an additional reason for their comparative academic success lies in the academic support available for these youth via their parents and peers.

Appendix A
Correlations between parental variables and youth outcomes

Table 1. Correlations with parental variables and youth outcomes measured at age 17

		GPA/1995	hours studying	Education respondent wants	Respondent attainable education level	Good grades important to me	Good education importance	Self-esteem 1995-96	Depression 1995-96	Respondent discriminated against	Still discrim. regardless education	Ethnic self-identity importance
Parent/spouse-attend parent/teacher meetings	Pearson R	.098**	.036	.137**	.172**	.095*	.024	.045	-.057	-.028	-.030	-.062
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.009	.342	.000	.000	.012	.535	.241	.135	.461	.435	.103
	N	719	690	695	694	690	694	693	691	691	693	688
Parent/spouse-school volunteer	Pearson R	.133**	.081*	.143**	.197**	-.035	.000	.115**	-.076*	-.044	-.030	-.010
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.034	.000	.000	.360	.998	.002	.046	.252	.434	.795
	N	717	688	693	692	688	692	691	689	689	691	686
Parent know child friend name/nickname	Pearson R	.073*	.037	.158**	.150**	.054	.058	.105**	-.064	.027	-.060	-.059
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.050	.337	.000	.000	.155	.126	.006	.095	.480	.117	.124
	N	719	690	695	694	690	694	693	691	691	693	688
Number child friend name/nickname	Pearson R	.037	-.070	.090*	.124**	.022	.004	.057	-.034	-.046	-.014	-.036
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.347	.085	.025	.002	.593	.912	.156	.406	.258	.728	.379
	N	634	611	615	615	610	614	613	611	611	613	608
Know child friend parents	Pearson R	.061	.005	.163**	.133**	.008	.058	.088*	-.053	.021	-.080*	-.052
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.104	.904	.000	.000	.836	.130	.021	.168	.589	.036	.177
	N	712	683	688	687	683	687	686	684	684	686	681
Number child friend parents known	Pearson R	.057	.002	.103*	.135**	-.015	.059	.096*	-.060	-.033	-.078	-.033
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.157	.966	.012	.001	.724	.151	.020	.147	.423	.057	.427
	N	607	585	589	589	584	588	587	585	585	587	582
Parent/spouse talk w/child-school experience	Pearson R	.043	.010	.200**	.193**	.048	.110**	.084*	-.074	.020	-.115**	-.013
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.252	.800	.000	.000	.205	.004	.027	.052	.600	.002	.739
	N	717	688	693	692	688	692	691	689	689	691	686
Parent/spouse talk w/child-education plans	Pearson R	.047	-.007	.179**	.202**	.047	.041	.070	.037	-.018	-.056	-.082*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.212	.864	.000	.000	.216	.286	.067	.326	.644	.144	.031
	N	718	689	694	693	689	693	692	690	690	692	687
Parent/spouse help child w/homework	Pearson R	.056	-.018	.058	.102**	.025	.013	.048	-.068	-.078*	-.078*	-.105**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.136	.630	.127	.007	.518	.736	.207	.075	.040	.039	.006
	N	717	688	693	692	688	692	691	689	689	691	686
Parent satisfication w/child education	Pearson R	-.285**	-.140**	-.126**	-.150**	-.039	-.111**	-.071	.016	-.003	-.023	-.081*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.001	.000	.309	.004	.060	.677	.941	.551	.034
	N	718	689	693	692	688	692	691	689	689	691	686
Parent education	Pearson R	.374**	.175**	.440**	.472**	.124**	.125**	.078*	-.014	.005	.001	-.016

expectation for child	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.001	.001	.040	.724	.892	.984	.669
	N	713	684	689	688	684	688	687	685	685	687	682
Parent/spouse save money child education	Pearson R	-.099**	-.039	-.157**	-.185**	-.016	.012	-.024	.023	.064	.059	.071
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.008	.310	.000	.000	.677	.747	.531	.552	.095	.121	.065
	N	708	679	684	683	679	683	682	680	680	682	677
Amount saved/child education	Pearson R	-.036	.013	.159*	.187**	-.050	-.002	.158*	-.081	-.102	-.162*	-.152*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.592	.849	.019	.006	.464	.972	.021	.235	.136	.017	.026
	N	222	214	216	215	215	216	215	215	214	215	213
Parent worry/student negative influence	Pearson R	-.109**	-.174**	-.067	-.087*	-.058	-.045	-.114**	.006	.010	.001	-.009
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.004	.000	.078	.023	.130	.234	.003	.873	.788	.982	.819
	N	707	682	687	686	682	686	685	683	683	685	680
Parent worry/close friend negative influence	Pearson R	-.178**	-.162**	-.192**	-.221**	-.074	-.051	-.149**	.039	.056	.039	.007
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.055	.183	.000	.310	.147	.313	.852
	N	707	681	686	685	681	685	684	682	682	684	679
Parent/child friend views/ideas difference	Pearson R	-.101**	-.109**	-.128**	-.163**	-.049	-.033	-.112**	.089*	.023	-.039	-.044
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.010	.006	.001	.000	.226	.409	.005	.026	.565	.325	.272
	N	650	623	628	628	623	627	626	624	624	626	622
Parent/child friend message difference	Pearson R	-.138**	-.099*	-.172**	-.205**	-.075	-.052	-.129**	.095*	.022	-.031	.023
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.015	.000	.000	.064	.203	.001	.019	.582	.445	.580
	N	629	603	608	608	603	607	606	605	604	606	601
Child raising customs	Pearson Correlation	.018	-.075	.038	.022	.004	-.055	-.034	-.056	-.083*	.000	-.067
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.627	.052	.332	.577	.921	.151	.378	.146	.033	.994	.087
	N	696	668	672	671	667	671	670	668	668	.670	665

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

Table 2. Correlations with parental variables and youth outcomes measured at age 24

		graduated from college	In school currently	Highest school grade/year completed	Total family income/recode
Parent/spouse-attend parent/teacher meetings	Pearson Correlation	.094*	.041	.041	.008
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.034	.351	.262	.847
	N	511	508	738	647
Parent/spouse-school volunteer	Pearson Correlation	.170**	.050	.006	-.043
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.257	.876	.275

	N	510	508	736	645
Parent know child friend name/nickname	Pearson Correlation	.124**	.030	.020	-.092*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.005	.495	.586	.019
	N	511	508	738	647
Number child friend name/nickname	Pearson Correlation	.107*	.071	.030	-.074
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.023	.132	.452	.076
	N	454	453	652	581
Know child friend parents	Pearson Correlation	.025	.057	.003	-.103**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.574	.204	.945	.009
	N	507	504	731	642
Number child friend parents known	Pearson Correlation	.021	.104*	.008	-.089*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.659	.030	.845	.034
	N	436	434	625	565
Parent/spouse talk w/child-school experience	Pearson Correlation	.134**	.042	.052	-.015
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.348	.158	.706
	N	510	507	736	645
Parent/spouse talk w/child-education plans	Pearson Correlation	.098*	.039	.048	-.036
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.027	.383	.196	.364
	N	511	508	737	646
Parent/spouse help child w/homework	Pearson Correlation	.136**	.051	-.017	-.042
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.248	.648	.289
	N	510	508	736	645
Parent satisfication w/child education	Pearson Correlation	-.110*	-.009	-.034	.185**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.013	.846	.359	.000
	N	510	507	736	645
Parent education expectation for child	Pearson Correlation	.265**	.138**	.023	-.141**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.002	.526	.000
	N	507	504	732	642
Parent/spouse save money child education	Pearson Correlation	-.114*	-.052	-.045	.088*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.010	.248	.229	.027
	N	501	498	727	639
Amount saved/child education	Pearson Correlation	.102	.081	.026	-.012
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.190	.304	.694	.861
	N	167	163	229	199
Parent worry/student negative influence	Pearson Correlation	-.029	-.005	.003	.346**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.516	.905	.939	.000
	N	503	500	726	639

Parent worry/close friend negative influence	Pearson Correlation	-.130**	-.067	.025	.382**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.003	.134	.510	.000
	N	504	500	726	641
Parent/child friend views/ideas difference	Pearson Correlation	-.108*	-.033	-.052	.651**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.020	.481	.175	.000
	N	466	463	669	628
Parent/child friend message difference	Pearson Correlation	-.091	-.026	.002	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.055	.584	.962	
	N	448	445	647	647
Child raising customs	Pearson Correlation	.136**	.067	-.013	-.022
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.139	.726	.591
	N	494	492	715	627

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

Summary and comments:
Parental educational expectation had largest correlations with the most outcome variables, and looks like the single best predictor for youth outcomes both at age 17 and 24.

The following variables also were significantly correlated to a total of five or more outcome variables at p<.010.
Parent/spouse-school volunteer
Parent talks about school with the child
Parent satisfaction w/child education
Parent worry/close friend negative influence
Parent and child's friends have differing views

Appendix B

Correlations between peer variables and youth outcomes

Table 1. Correlations with peer variables from wave 1 (age 14) and youth outcomes measured at age 17

		Number respondent close friends	Number close friends from abroad	Use language other than English w/friend
Grade point average/1995	Pearson Correlation	-.035	.061**	.017
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.131	.008	.448
	N	1904	1882	1901
Respondent hours studying	Pearson Correlation	-.014	.021	-.016
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.571	.416	.544
	N	1531	1512	1529
Education respondent wants	Pearson Correlation	-.101**	.162**	.010
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.693
	N	1538	1520	1535
Respondent attainable education level	Pearson Correlation	-.037	.139**	.042
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.148	.000	.101
	N	1536	1518	1533
Good grades important to me	Pearson Correlation	.048	.038	-.055*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.059	.136	.033
	N	1529	1511	1526
Good education importance	Pearson Correlation	.011	.050*	-.106**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.678	.049	.000
	N	1538	1520	1535
Self-esteem 1995-96	Pearson Correlation	-.019	.089**	-.029
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.450	.001	.258
	N	1535	1517	1532
Depression 1995-96	Pearson Correlation	-.043	-.016	.033
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.091	.543	.199
	N	1529	1511	1526
Respondent discriminated against	Pearson Correlation	.017	-.051*	-.045
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.503	.046	.077
	N	1534	1515	1532
People still discriminate regardless education	Pearson Correlation	.008	-.113**	-.025
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.743	.000	.334
	N	1533	1515	1530
Ethnic self-identity importance	Pearson Correlation	.019	.003	-.113**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.456	.916	.000
	N	1528	1510	1525

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

Table 2. Correlations with peer variables from wave 2 (age 17) and youth outcomes measured at age 17

		Respondent close school friends number	Close friends/parents foreign born	Respondent friends dropped out of school	Respondent friends/no college plans	Respondent friends/jobs right out high school	Respondent friends/attend 2-year college	Respondent friends/attend 4-year college	Respondent 2nd language w/friends	2nd L use freq w/friends
Grade point average/1995	Pearson R	-.037	.044	-.234**	-.189**	-.224**	-.145**	.192**	-.024	-.043
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.157	.092	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.340	.127
	N	1468	1455	1530	1527	1524	1524	1530	1537	1234
Respondent hours studying	Pearson R	-.017	-.035	-.144**	-.124**	-.119**	-.064*	.149**	-.040	-.009
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.505	.184	.000	.000	.000	.012	.000	.112	.761
	N	1483	1471	1543	1541	1538	1537	1543	1550	1249
Education respondent wants	Pearson R	-.088**	.177**	-.153**	-.204**	-.192**	.033	.324**	.028	-.107**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.000	.000	.000	.000	.195	.000	.276	.000
	N	1485	1476	1550	1547	1544	1543	1549	1557	1252
Respondent attainable education level	Pearson R	-.044	.148**	-.213**	-.255**	-.255**	-.006	.386**	.051*	-.148**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.093	.000	.000	.000	.000	.814	.000	.042	.000
	N	1484	1473	1548	1545	1542	1541	1547	1555	1250
Good grades important to me	Pearson R	-.028	-.052*	-.076**	-.084**	-.041	-.025	.088**	-.030	.049
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.282	.048	.003	.001	.109	.321	.001	.242	.081
	N	1477	1467	1541	1538	1535	1534	1540	1548	1243
Good education importance	Pearson R	-.068**	.018	-.049	-.093**	-.022	.016	.094**	-.070**	.016
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.009	.483	.053	.000	.377	.536	.000	.006	.578
	N	1486	1475	1550	1547	1544	1543	1549	1557	1251
Self-esteem 1995-96	Pearson R	-.023	.049	-.144**	-.164**	-.067**	-.001	.148**	.006	-.041
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.369	.061	.000	.000	.009	.959	.000	.799	.151
	N	1482	1473	1547	1544	1541	1540	1546	1554	1248
Depression 1995-96	Pearson R	-.043	.029	.150**	.146**	.061*	.028	-.055*	-.020	.014
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.095	.275	.000	.000	.016	.272	.032	.432	.632
	N	1476	1468	1541	1538	1535	1534	1540	1548	1242
Respondent discriminated against	Pearson R	.044	-.006	.124**	.129**	.061*	.027	-.061*	-.054*	.053
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.090	.831	.000	.000	.017	.295	.017	.034	.062
	N	1482	1472	1546	1544	1540	1539	1545	1553	1248
People still discriminate regardless education	Pearson R	.035	-.039	.091**	.122**	.052*	.009	-.050*	-.015	.064*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.184	.138	.000	.000	.040	.716	.049	.566	.023
	N	1480	1471	1545	1542	1539	1538	1544	1552	1246
Ethnic self-identity importance	Pearson R	.038	.056*	.018	.046	.083**	-.003	-.027	-.157**	.139**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.141	.033	.471	.071	.001	.895	.287	.000	.000
	N	1478	1469	1541	1538	1535	1534	1540	1549	1250

** p<.010.

* p<.050.

Table 3. Correlations with peer variables from wave 2 (age 17) and youth outcomes measured at age 24

		Respondent close school friends number	Respondent close friends/parents foreign born	Respondent friends dropped out of school	Respondent friends/no college plans	Respondent friends/jobs right out high school	Respondent friends/attend 2-year college	Respondent friends/attend 4-year college	Respondent 2nd language w/friends	Respondent 2nd language use frequency w/friends
Respondent/graduated from college	Pearson R	-.070*	.126**	-.223**	-.226**	-.233**	-.076*	.212**	.031	-.147**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.026	.000	.000	.000	.000	.014	.000	.308	.000
	N	1028	1018	1063	1061	1058	1058	1061	1066	860
In school currently	Pearson R	-.025	.067*	-.045	-.039	-.030	.034	.067*	-.031	-.102**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.425	.033	.141	.204	.328	.269	.031	.311	.003
	N	1021	1014	1058	1056	1053	1053	1056	1061	858
Highest school grade/year completed	Pearson R	.004	.014	-.082**	-.069**	-.018	-.029	.015	.029	-.032
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.881	.600	.001	.006	.490	.249	.559	.256	.257
	N	1490	1480	1555	1552	1549	1548	1554	1562	1256
Total family income/recode	Pearson R	.000	.053	-.101**	-.085**	-.097**	.005	.104**	.039	-.153**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.995	.101	.001	.007	.002	.864	.001	.220	.000
	N	963	956	998	996	993	995	996	1000	804
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.142	.746	.000	.000	.000	.235	.000	.000	
	N	1202	1192	1249	1246	1244	1244	1248	1255	1256

** p<.010.
* p<.050.

Summary and comments:

The peer variable that had the most (and largest) positive correlations with the outcome variables was the number of friends the students had who planned to attend a 4-year college. The variable that had the most negative correlations was the number of friends with no college plans. The following variables also had more than six correlations that were significant at p<.010:

Number of friends who dropped out of high school

Number of friends who plan to get a job right out of high schoo

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Chapter 5

Conclusions

The present dissertation included a theoretical chapter and three empirical studies that explored ethnic identity and academic adjustment in immigrant youth. Data for these analyses came from the Cuban and Mexican samples in the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study.

The theoretical chapter explored different immigrant acculturation models. Contemporary research agrees that bicultural acculturation (where strong ties to the heritage culture are maintained while acquiring the necessary skills to function and success in the host society) is associated with most positive youth adjustment (Berry, 1997; Lafromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Portes & Zhou, 1993). Immigrant adolescents have to engage in the ethnic identity formation while also grappling with ego identity development (i.e. trying to find who they are and what they want to do with their lives) (Erikson, 1994). A limitation of the literature connecting ethnic identity development and bicultural identity to youth outcomes is that most of it is cross-sectional in nature. Both identity formation and acculturation are longitudinal processes, however, and the goal of the present dissertation was to look at how change in identity over time is connected to youth outcomes.

The main purpose of Chapter 2 was to explore change in ethnic identity over time. Prior to doing that, I examined whether self-assigned ethnic identity labels were distinguishable from each other. The results suggested that youth identifying with the country of origin only (e.g. "Cuban") were the most Spanish-proficient and most skeptical of the pro-U.S. value statements, while American-identified youth were the most English proficient and most pro-U.S. Youth who identified with hyphenated (e.g., Cuban-American) or pan-ethnic (e.g., Hispanic or Latino) identities were between these two extremes.

Analyses regarding change in identity revealed considerable continuity over time. When youth changed identities over time however, the patterns were not random. For Cuban youth, hyphenated (Cuban-American) and pan-ethnic (Latino/a or Hispanic) identities formed close

cluster, and movement from one of these identities to the other was frequent. For Mexican youth this cluster included hyphenated, pan-ethnic and the plain Mexican identity. Length of stay in the U.S. was the best predictor of identity label choice (with shorter stay associated with country-origin labels and longer stay with hyphenated and American labels), suggesting that immigrant acculturation and ethnic identity are interconnected.

Portes and Zhou (1993) have argued that immigrant assimilation is a linear process that ends in a plain American identity, but the present results do not support that hypothesis. Rather, they suggest that overtime the "American' identity actually decreases in popularity, and by age 24 it is so rare in both Cuban and Mexican youth that this group could not be meaningfully included in the present analyses. Instead, the most popular identity at age 24 for both groups was the hyphenated identity (i.e., Cuban-American or Mexican-American). Thus, contrary to the expectation of Segmented Assimilation Theory (Portes & Zhou, 1993), the plain "American" identity does not appear to be a realistic end state for the acculturation path of second generation Latin youth. This is despite the fact that the youth in the present survey came to increasingly use and prefer English over Spanish during the course of the study. Because the plain American identity was so rare in both groups, it was not feasible to use these data to test Portes and colleagues' assumption about this fully assimilated, American identity being associated with positive adaptation measures for immigrant youth.

One future direction that might shed more light on the attainability of the plain American identity might be to look at later generations, for example the "grandchildren of immigrants" instead of children of immigrants. Although third generation immigrants are typically exclusively English monolinguals (Portes & Hao, 2002) it is possible that the unhyphenated American identity remains unattainable for immigrant youth of color. Waters & Jiménez (2005) have, however, argued that the separation of generations is not always clear for immigrants populations which continuously receive new members (such as Mexican immigrants to California), and result in "mixed generation families" of the same ethnicity where one parent is a newly arrived immigrant and the other is a third or fourth generation immigrant.

The goal of chapter 3 was to examine the youth outcomes associated with different identity pathways. Immigrant acculturation theories associate a hyphenated identity (e.g., Mexican-American) with the most positive youth outcomes, and the results here supported this hypothesis. Also in agreement with the theories, country-origin identity was associated with the

least adaptive outcomes. The present results suggest that the advantage of the hyphenated identity applies to both Cuban and Mexican youth. The number of significant differences between hyphenated and other identity groups was larger in the Cuban sample, perhaps reflecting the larger sample size. Results in chapter 2, however, showed that the plain Mexican identity was close to Mexican-American and pan-ethnic identities. The psychological closeness of the Mexican identity to the Mexican-American identity is likely to reduce the number and magnitude of the differences we saw in the Mexican group compared to the differences that emerged between Cuban and Cuban-American identity groups.

The results of the present dissertation support Berry's (1997) acculturation theory in that the youth in the hyphenated identity (or, what Berry would call bicultural or integrated profile) are the best adjusted as measured by different educational variables (e.g., GPA, study hours, aspirations). Also in agreement with Berry and colleagues work, the language profiles of the hyphenated youth here reveal proficiency in both Spanish and English, and their value profiles suggest that they are connected to both their heritage culture and to the U.S. culture.

Looking at the outcomes associated with longitudinal identity formation process was a main goal of the present study, but the results suggest that this may not be a worthwhile pursuit. The positive outcomes associated with a hyphenated identity were not amplified by a stable hyphenated identity, nor were the negative outcomes associated with the country-origin identity amplified by a stable identity. This is a little disappointing for the present study, but it is likely good news to immigrant youth. That is, the results in chapter 3 suggest that a hyphenated identity (e.g. Cuban-American) is associated with the most positive educational outcomes (e.g. higher aspirations) regardless of whether it is a longstanding or a newly adopted identity. In addition, results in chapter 2 suggest that a hyphenated identity is the most common identity by age 24 both for Cuban and Mexican immigrant youth, suggesting together that over time the majority of immigrant youth become increasingly well acculturated and adjusted, without giving up their heritage culture.

I would be interested in exploring in more detail the difference between hyphenated and pan-ethnic identities. Youth in this study commonly moved between these two identity labels over time, and no significant differences emerged between them in the analyses regarding academic or social outcomes. Oyserman, Kemmelmeier, Fryberg, Brosh and Hart-Johnson (2003) have argued that pan-ethnic identity (Latino, Hispanic) views the majority culture from a

disadvantaged minority point-of-view. This is in contrast with the hyphenate identity which, according to Oyserman et al, emphasizes a positive connection to both groups.

Since the present results do not suggest significant differences between hyphenated and pan-ethnic identity, it is possible that pan-ethnic identity is an example of what Gibson (1988) called selective assimilation (i.e., learning how to succeed in the host society while maintaining a healthy disrespect towards the host society). Her argument of maintaining a healthy disrespect (as well as Oyserman's argument of being aware of one's minority status) is perhaps reflected in the present results in that pan-ethnic youth perceived more racial discrimination in economic opportunity than the hyphenated youth. Both Gibson and Oyserman and colleagues argue that the pan-ethnic identity should be associated with positive adaptation in immigrants. More sophisticated measures on identity could have helped to tease out the differences (if any) between the hyphenated and pan-ethnic identities, but as mentioned in the limitations, these data were not primarily collected with the goal studying of ethnic identity formation in immigrant youth.

Finally, in chapter 4, I examined a possible causal explanation between identity label and educational outcomes in Cuban and Mexican second generation youth. Following the Expectancy Value Theory by Eccles and colleagues, I tested whether different parental and peer socialization mediates the association between identity label and educational aspiration. The parental and peer value profiles suggested that youth who identified with country of origin only (here, the plain Cuban or Mexican identities) had the least academically supportive parents and peers, while youth with a hyphenated identity (i.e., Cuban-American or Mexican-American) enjoyed the most academic support from parents and peers. Indeed, the link between identity label and youth outcomes was fully mediated by parental educational expectations and number of peers aspiring to go to college. These results of this dissertation, then, support Eccles' and colleagues Expectancy Value model in that they suggest that, in part, ethnic identity labels chosen by children of immigrants differ in schema content, and are associated with different levels of educational aspirations. The results from chapter 4 suggest that one such schema difference is the different amount and type of academic support these youth received from their parents and peer (both identified by Eccles as important socializers with the Expectancy Value model).

Some of the immigrant literature suggests notable gender differences, but the present analyses revealed few gender differences with respect to the identity formation process. Gender differences favoring females were found in the initial comparison of academic outcomes, but after including the identity variables it became clear that hyphenated identity was associated with the most beneficial outcomes for both boys and girls. Additionally, the results in chapter 4 suggest that parental and peer socialization mediated the association between identity labels and educational aspirations for both girls and boys.

Taken together, the present results confirm the argument made by several contemporary immigrant acculturation theories on the benefits of holding a bicultural identity. They also suggest that bicultural, or hyphenated, identity becomes comes increasingly popular among second generation Cuban and Mexican youth as they age. Finally, the available academic support seems to explain at least part of the advantage of the hyphenated-identified group over the Latin American immigrant youth who identify only with the country of origin.

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