ABSTRACT

Title of Document: IMMIGRANT ASSIMILATION, FAMILY FUNCTIONING AND DELINQUENCY: A TEST OF MEDIATING AND MODERATING INFLUENCES

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Since the earliest writings on immigrant adaptation scholars have speculated that assimilation may relate to delinquency through its effects on the family. Despite this longstanding line of inquiry, empirical research on family processes across immigrant generations has yielded equivocal findings, with some studies offering support for the mediating influence of the family on the assimilation-crime link, while others finding little variation across immigrant generations with respect to family functioning or its implications for offending behavior. Further, while research on immigrant adaptation has proliferated in recent years, consideration of how immigration relates to crime at the individual level has all but ignored the salient role of gender. The purpose of this research is to contribute to the growing literature on the individual level mechanisms linking immigrant status to offending behaviors in two important ways: First, using a

diverse sample of youth from the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods, I test the mediating role of five interstitial family processes—monitoring, attachment, support, harsh discipline and conflict—to determine whether generational differences in maladaptive behaviors are indeed attributable to differences in family characteristics. Second, I address a glaring gap in the immigrant-crime literature by examining the moderating influence of gender on the linkages among generational status, family processes and delinquency. Results of OLS and negative binomial regression analyses offer, at best, limited support for the hypothesized mediating role of family processes in the assimilation-crime link. For only one family process—family conflict—is generational status a significant correlate, net of controls. Sobel tests indicate that family conflict—which is higher among more assimilated youth—partially mediates the relationship between generational status and violence, but not substance use. Notably, however, I find important gender differences in the influence of assimilatory status on both family functioning and problem behaviors. Collectively, girls appear to be better "protected" by their immigrant status than boys. I discuss the implications of these findings and my proposed directions for future research.

IMMIGRANT ASSIMILATION, FAMILY FUNCTIONING AND DELINQUENCY: A TEST OF MEDIATING AND MODERATING INFLUENCES

By

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Dedication

For Frank sempre e per sempre

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Introduction

As the influx of immigrants to the U.S. continues to flow unabated, a fuller understanding of the relationship between immigrant adaptation and delinquency is of pressing concern. The post-1965 wave of new immigrants from Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia and the Middle East has transformed the youth population in America (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996). Children from immigrant families now compose the fastest growing segment of the child population, with nearly 10.8 million school-age children having at least one immigrant parent in 2007 (Camarota, 2007). Given the tremendous growth in the number of immigrants and their children in the past decade alone, it is evident that a large segment of the foreign born population is still in a period of adjustment. More than fodder for scholarly research, the fate of this population is one of the most critical social issues in contemporary American society (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996).

It is important to note early on that a generalized understanding of the consequences of immigrant assimilation is precluded by the tremendous variation across immigrant groups. Immigration experiences differ along myriad dimensions, from the initial motive for migration to the context of reception in which immigrant families settle and the level of social capital brought with them from their native country (Espiritu, 2001; Rumbaut and Portes, 2001; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Given the vast socioeconomic and cultural dissimilarities among immigrant groups, it is

problematic to assume that the experiences of Chinese immigrants are directly comparable to those of immigrants from Mexico or Morocco.[1] Indeed, indicators of assimilatory progress have been found to vary considerably across ethnicity, with some Asian groups (e.g. Filipinos) generally experiencing the most significant gains in upward mobility, and certain Latin American groups (e.g. Mexicans) generally gaining the least (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Zhou, 2001), prompting Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (2001:56) to note that today's immigrants "are at once the best-educated and skilled and the least educated and skilled people in the United States." Further, as recent examinations of the immigrant-crime link have demonstrated, considerable variation also exists *within* immigrant groups, depending upon where individuals and families are located. The contextual determinants of immigrant adaptation have been articulated most recently in the segmented assimilation (Portes and Zhou, 1996) and immigrant revitalization (Martinez and Lee, 2000) theses, and mark another dimension of complexity in the study of immigrant criminality.

With these important caveats in mind, however, contemporary research on the social and emotional well-being of immigrant adolescents has uncovered a major paradox that appears, to some degree, to transcend ethnic and cultural boundaries: Although certain immigrant groups who have migrated to the U.S. in the past several decades—particularly those from Latin American and Caribbean countries—rank among the lowest in terms of educational attainment and annual income (Camarota, 2007; Jensen, 2001; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001), and often settle in communities that are both unstable and

[1] Kim and Goto (2000) differentiate between underlying universal (etic) processes and culture specific processes (emic). Although the study of the latter enables a more nuanced understanding of the diversity among minority groups, the search for underlying commonalities in the assimilation process may better inform policy aimed at helping immigrant youth and their families adjust.

resource poor (Jensen, 2001; Fuligni, 1998; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Sampson and Bean, 2006) a burgeoning research finds that they are actually less likely than native born to engage in crime, delinquency and similarly deleterious behaviors (Butcher and Piehl, 1998, 2006; Grogger, 1998; Hagan and Palloni, 1999; Harker, 2001; Harris, 1998; Lee, Martinez and Rodriguez, 2000; Martinez and Lee, 2000; Rumbaut, 2005; Sampson, Morenoff and Raudenbush, 2005; Vega, 2001). For certain outcomes and racial groups this relationship appears to be linear, such that the first generation fares better than the second, which in turn, fares better than the third (Harris, Harker, and Guo, 2009). This "immigrant paradox" (Berry et al., 2006) has been observed among both Asian and Latin American ethnic groups who have migrated to the United States in the past half century (Espiritu, 2001; Morenoff and Astor, 2006; Zhou and Bankston, 2006), casting considerable doubt on the "straight line" view of assimilatory progress advanced by classic immigration scholars (Gordon, 1964; Park, 1950; Park and Burgess, 1924; Warner and Srole, 1945) and refuting a longstanding knowledge about the correlates of offending.

The counterintuitive nature of the immigrant paradox begs the question of what it is that insulates immigrant youth—particularly those born outside the U.S. (e.g. the first generation)—from deleterious behaviors, and why this protective influence diminishes with each successive generation and with increased assimilation. In an effort to unpack the reasons for the waning immigrant advantage observed among immigrants in the U.S., contemporary scholars have invoked several different causal mechanisms, including peer processes (Myers et al., 2009; Wall, Power, and Arbona, 1993) community organization (Martinez and Lee, 2000; Ousey and Kubrin, 2009; Portes and Zhou, 1996), and the

family (Bui, 2009; Le and Stockdale, 2008; Portes and Rumbaut, 1996; Samaniego and Gonzales, 1999; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 2001). At the core of the last line of inquiry is the question of whether differences in behavior across immigrant generations are attributable to differences in family functioning (e.g. the level of support and supervision exerted over youth) or whether dimensions of family functioning are unaffected by the immigration process.

Far from being novel, scholarly interest in the relationships among immigrant adaptation, family functioning and delinquency can be traced to some of the earliest studies of immigration (Shaw, 1938; Shaw and McKay, 1942; Thomas and Znaniecki, 1918-1920; Thrasher, 1927). Theorists writing at the turn of the century, for example, often pointed to the breakdown in family cohesion and the conflict between immigrant parents and their children as critical antecedents to delinquency (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1918; Shaw, 1938). In their highly influential treatise, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, Thomas and Znaniecki (1918-1920) wrote extensively about the detrimental effects of youths' assimilation to American culture on the relationship between parents and children. Similarly, Shaw's (1938) *Brothers in Crime*, a life history of the five Martin brothers living inside Chicago's slums, is rife with examples of how the divide between immigrant parents and their children generated conflict that effectively undermined parental control over youth. A common theme running through both of these works is the notion that as youth become more inured to American culture their ties with the family begin to break down, and the informal social controls that serve to inhibit deviant behavior are weakened.

Consistent with this early research, contemporary scholarship has frequently invoked differential parenting practices and socialization efforts across immigrant generations in their explanations of the immigrant paradox (Bui, 2009; Le and Stockdale, 2008; Vaszionyi et al., 2006). Although this literature draws from divergent theoretical perspectives, the proposed causal pathways linking assimilation, family functioning, and deviant behavior are generally congruent with the tenets of social control theory (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990; Hirschi, 1969; Sampson and Laub, 1993). In its most eloquent form, social control theory asserts that "the family acts as a buffer against deviant influences by providing a source of basic ties and commitments to the conventional order" (Rankin and Kern, 1994:495). Of central importance to the establishment and maintenance of social control is an individual's feeling of connectedness to others, or what Durkeim referred to at the macro-level as a "collective consciousness." Along this vein, some immigration scholars have focused on the difference between collectivistic and individualistic orientations, arguing that certain immigrant groups, particularly those from Latin America and Asia are inherently more family oriented and pro-nuptial than Americans (Berry et al., 2006; Oropesa, Lichter and Anderson, 1994; Portes and Zhou, 1993; Vega, 1990; Wildsmith, 2004; Zhou, 1997). Presumably, as youth become increasingly embedded in the majority culture, their connections to old world traditions, such as famillism, are loosened and they shift toward a more individualistic identity. For first generation youth, who may be more immediately connected to the normative value systems of their parents (which may include an emphasis on family cohesion and respect for elders), informal social controls may be stronger than for successive generations who, through the assimilation process, may have

drifted farther from the norms and values of their parents (Bui, 2009; Le and Stockdale, 2008; Berry, 1980; Berry et al., 2006).

A closely related explanation focuses not on the breakdown of social controls within immigrant families, but on the conflict and disharmony that arises from the generational divide between immigrant parents and their children. The potentially negative consequences of cultural assimilation on parent-child relationships have perhaps been best articulated by Portes and Rumbaut (1996), who coined the term "dissonant acculturation" to describe the cleft between immigrant youth and their parents that results when immigrant youth follow divergent assimilatory pathways. Most often, this divide is manifest in differential language preferences between parents and children and the variable entrenchment of youth and parents into ethnic communities. The consequences of acculturative dissonance for immigrant youth and their families are grave and include the rupture of family ties, youths' abandonment of ethnic communities, the loss of parental authority, role reversal and intergenerational conflict, among others (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001:52). Notably, however, this explanation is more relevant to explanations of differential behaviors between first and second generation youth, and does less to inform our understanding of the differences between immigrants (e.g. first and second) and natives (e.g. third generation and beyond).

Despite a longstanding interest in the role of the family in explanations of adaptation outcomes across immigrant generations, definitive conclusions about whether and how immigration influences the family, and in turn, deviant behavior, are precluded by notable gaps in the extant literature. First is the relative dearth of empirical evidence from which to draw conclusions about the linkages among immigrant status, family

processes and behavior. The protective nature of immigrant families and the diminishing effects of assimilation on family cohesion are often *invoked* in explanations of crime across immigrant generations but empirical examinations of these interstitial processes are surprisingly rare.

Second, the sparse body of empirical literature on immigrant family functioning and deviant behavior has yielded equivocal findings. Whereas some studies confirm the salience of the family in the immigrant-crime nexus, at both the aggregate (Martinez, 2000; Ousey and Kubrin, 2009; Reid et al., 2005) and individual level (Bui, 2009; Desmond and Kubrin, 2009; Le and Stockdale, 2008; Sampson et al., 2005; Samaniego and Gonzales, 1999), others find that family processes—and the implications of these processes for behavioral outcomes—do not differ across immigrant generations (Vazsonyi, Trejos-Castillo, and Huang, 2006). The inconclusive nature of these findings leaves open the possibility that few differences exist between immigrant and non-immigrant groups with respect to family processes that inhibit deviant behavior in youth, and that the observed immigrant paradox may be attributable to factors exogenous to family functioning.

Third, a corollary concern in the study of family processes and behavioral outcomes across immigrant generations is the likelihood that individual characteristics will moderate various links in this causal chain. In particular, although a large, but disparate, body of literature on the relationship between family processes and deviant behavioral outcomes has noted distinct differences between males and females with respect to family processes (e.g. levels of monitoring and support) as well as the influence of these processes on behavior (Cernkovich and Giordano, 1987; Barnes and

Farrell, 1992), empirical examinations of family functioning across immigrant generations have been conspicuously gender-blind (Bui, 2009; Le and Stockdale, 2008; Samaniego and Gonzales, 1999). As Qin (2009:38) notes, gender "offers an important conceptual lens for examining the continuities and discontinuities of cultural norms and values…for immigrant adolescents." Subsequently, it marks a critical axis along which the relationships among immigrant status, family functioning and delinquency must be understood (Espiritu, 2001).

Research Goals and Questions

Given the inconclusiveness of the extant literature on family functioning and behavior across immigrant generations and the dearth of gender-specific examinations, it is clear that more empirical research in this area is warranted. My primary research goals are twofold: First, drawing from the classic scholarship on the immigration-crime link (Shaw, 1938; Shaw and McKay, 1942; Thomas and Znaniecki, 1920; Thrasher, 1927; Wirth, 1931) as well as the more recently articulated acculturative dissonance thesis (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Portes and Rumbaut, 1996, 2001), I address a substantive empirical gap in the literature by examining prospectively the mediating influences of five interstitial family processes linking assimilation and delinquency: family attachment, parental support, harsh discipline, parent-child conflict, and supervision/monitoring. Despite a well-established literature that finds the family to be among the most critical determinants of deviant behavior (Amato and Fowler, 2002; Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990; Gove and Crutchfield, 1982; Hirschi, 1969; Sampson and Laub, 1993), and a growing literature that finds generational status to be positively associated with delinquency (Bankston and Zhou, 2006; Morenoff and Astor, 2006; Sampson et al.,

2005), research linking generational status, as well as other measures of assimilation, to family processes and deviant behavior has been inconclusive. In this work I hypothesize that the paradox of waning immigrant advantage observed in recent studies of Latin American and Asian émigrés might be explained by their differential protective family characteristics. Specifically, I propose that first generation immigrants are buffered from the risks of delinquency because they experience higher levels of control/monitoring, support and attachment and lower levels of intergenerational conflict and harsh parenting relative to subsequent generations. The counterargument to this hypothesis is, of course, that little variation exists across immigrant generations with respect to family functioning, and that universal patterns of parent-child socialization may transcend the boundaries between immigrant and non-immigrant youth.

Second, I attempt to promote a more nuanced understanding of the immigrant paradox by examining the gender-specific pathways linking generational status, family processes and delinquency. In brief, I anticipate that the association between generational status and delinquency will be mediated by family processes, but that gender may condition this relationship in important ways. Scholars have documented that immigrant females differ from males with respect to their level of familial attachment and the degree to which their behavior is monitored (Espiritu, 2001; Espiritu and Wolf, 2001; Qin, 2009) as well as their expected roles within the household (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Waters, 1996; Olsen, 1997; Valenzuela, 1999; Espiritu, 2001; Lee, 2001; Suárez-Orozco and Qin-Hillard, 2004). In light of their unique position within the family, females may be differentially susceptible to the influence of generational change. On one hand, their relative level of closeness to the family may buffer them from the deleterious influences

of assimilation on family social controls. On the other, the process of assimilation may trigger an upset to traditional gender roles, which may make females more vulnerable to family disruption. Given the paucity of empirical research on the gender-specific links among immigrant generation, family functioning and behavior, these possibilities should be explored.

Contribution to Extant Literature

This study will improve upon the extant literature in several important ways. First, with few exceptions (see Bui, 2009), studies of family mediators have been largely atheoretical, offering little more than a "laundry list" of interstitial mechanisms without a unifying theoretical framework with which to understand them (Le and Stockdale, 2008; Samaniego and Gonzales, 1999). This study draws from social control theory and the acculturative dissonance perspective to shed light on the specific pathways of influence that underlie the relationship between immigrant assimilation and delinquency.

Second, no research of which I am aware has undertaken a gender-specific examination of the causal pathways linking generational status, family processes and delinquency. This study will be the first to examine whether the proposed interstitial processes operate similarly for males and females.

Third, much of the prior research on immigrant adaptation and delinquency has relied on homogenous samples (Buriel, Calzada, and Vasquez, 1982; Sommers, Fagin and Baskin, 1993; Le and Stockdale, 2008; Samaniego and Gonzales, 1999) that can be generalized only to very specific populations (e.g. Mexican American males). Although data limitations preclude the comparison of immigrants across racial-ethnic groups, this

study uses a racially and ethnically diverse sample of Chicago youth, which allows for greater generalizability of the findings.

Fourth, with few exceptions (Bui, 2009; Morenoff and Astor, 2006; Sampson et al., 2005) previous studies have failed to distinguish between immigrant generations, opting instead to code them as a simple dichotomy (e.g. immigrant versus non-immigrant), which may mask important variation between generations (Alaniz, Cartmill, and Parker, 1998; Lee, 1998). Further, among those studies that do differentiate, most fail to distinguish between first generation immigrants who arrived at a very young age (e.g. before age 6) and those who arrived later in their lives. The present study examines variation in offending and family relationships across four distinct groups: the first generation, the "1.5" generation (e.g. those who migrated at a young age), the second generation and the third generation.

Fifth, whereas a substantial number of studies have examined the relationship between immigrant status and crime in adult populations, studies of juvenile delinquency have been rarer. This study will be among the few to examine the association between assimilation and delinquency.

Finally, recent studies on crime/delinquency among immigrants have focused on one type of behavior, such as violence (e.g. Sampson et al., 2005; Martinez and Lee, 2000; Morenoff and Astor, 2006; Vega, 2001) or substance use (Myers et al., 2009). This study will examine three types of deviant behavior—violence, minor delinquency, and substance use—in order to inform our understanding of whether the linkages among immigrant generation, family functioning and behavior are conditional on the type of behavior examined.

Organization of Subsequent Chapters

The following chapters are organized as follows: Chapter 2 reviews briefly the immigrant paradox and the classic and contemporary perspectives that have been used to explain the immigrant-crime link. To ground my expectations that generational differences are associated with family processes and deviant behavior, I focus on the concepts of assimilation and acculturation. Chapter 3 develops the theoretical and empirical framework that will be used to guide expectations about the relationship between generational status and family processes. I discuss social control theory and the acculturative dissonance perspective within the context of immigrant adaptation and review the extant empirical literature examining the associations among immigrant generation, the family and deviant behavior. Chapter 4 establishes the need for a gender-specific examination of the linkages among assimilation, family processes and delinquency. Chapter 5 outlines the key research hypotheses for my study and details the data and analytical plan used in my analysis. Chapter 6 details the results of bivariate and multivariate analyses of the mediating effects of family processes in the assimilation-behavior link. Chapter 7 details the results of multivariate analyses of the moderating effects of gender on these linkages. Chapter 8 concludes with a discussion of my research findings, the limitations of my study and the proposed directions for future research.

Chapter 2: Classic and Contemporary Perspectives on the Immigrant-Crime Link

Immigration: From Past to Present

For more than a century, the study of immigration has ebbed and flowed as periods of rapid growth have given way to long stretches of stagnation (Stowell, 2007). At the turn of the century, the U.S. experienced a massive influx of predominantly European immigrants, which effectively transformed the social, economic and cultural milieu of U.S. cities and prompted the first key trends in scholarly research. The early rhetoric surrounding the immigration movement generally wavered between ambivalence and rancor. Although, on one hand, immigrants provided a much needed source of inexpensive labor, allegations of biological inferiority and moral depravity coupled with charges that foreign countries were actively encouraging convicted criminals to migrate to the U.S. prompted widespread apprehension over how foreigners would thrive in their new environment (Martinez and Lee, 2000; Moehling and Piel, 2007). Central to the debate was the issue of criminality. Despite dubious evidence of the link between immigration and crime, the prevailing sentiment of the time was that immigrants were to blame for the elevated crime rate that characterized the turn of the 20th century.

Since the passing of the 1965 Immigration Act—which effectively abolished the national-origins quotas and allowed immigrants to enter the country on the basis of occupation or family reunification (Espiritu and Wolf, 2001)—the U.S. has witnessed unprecedented growth in the foreign born population. The new immigrant wave,

however, bears little resemblance to the one that peaked at the turn of the century. Not only are today's immigrant groups far more likely to come from Asia and Latin America compared with Europe, they are also characterized by more variable socioeconomic backgrounds, settle in more socioeconomically diverse neighborhoods, and face the added challenge of highly visible ethnic minority status, a disadvantage that alluded fair skinned Europeans at the turn of the century (Alba and Nee, 2003; Jensen, 2001; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Further, unlike the European immigrants who arrived at the U.S. at an opportunistic time, when chances for upward mobility were far more plentiful, today's immigrants face an "hourglass economy," which "bifurcates opportunities for employment between menial low-wage jobs at the bottom and high-skilled professional and technical jobs at the top" and seriously limits opportunities for socioeconomic ascension without "substantial investments in human capital and acquisition of requisite social networks" (Morenoff and Astor, 2006:38).

Despite tremendous shifts in the socioeconomic composition of the immigrant population, classic and contemporary perspectives on the immigrant-crime link have largely drawn from the same theoretical well. That is, although the proposed direction of influence has changed over time, explanations of immigrant criminality have hinged on the concepts of assimilation and acculturation. Early scholars, such as Gordon (1964) and Warner and Srole (1945) pointed to the benefits of assimilatory change; conversely, contemporary theorists have recast the classic view of assimilation to consider how, why, and under what circumstances it might serve as a catalyst for deleterious behaviors (Portes and Zhou, 1996; Rumbaut and Portes, 2001).

Cultural Assimilation Defined

Scholars have been debating both the meaning and consequences of cultural assimilation for more than a century (Industrial Commission, 1901; Park and Miller, 1921; Taft, 1933, Thomas and Znaniecki, 1920; United States Immigration Commission, 1907-1910; von Hentig, 1945). Some argue that assimilation is an individual process, whereby an immigrant substitutes (in his consciousness) American cultural values for the values of his or her native country (Park and Burgess, 1924; Warner and Srole, 1945). Others suggest that it is an expressly group phenomenon; a process by which immigrants achieve some semblance of organization through the collective adaptation to their new surroundings (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1918-1920). Although a renewed interest in cultural assimilation in recent years has resulted in its re-conceptualization its precise meaning is still a matter of debate. In the broadest sense, cultural assimilation refers to "the process through which ethnic minorities become incorporated into mainstream culture" (Morenoff and Astor, 2006:39). The term has been used interchangeably with acculturation, which is defined similarly as "the process of change that occurs when culturally distinct groups and individuals come into contact with another culture" (Samaniego and Gonzales, 1999: 190).[2]

At the individual level, cultural assimilation has been measured in myriad ways, ranging from generational status and residential tenure (Berry et al., 2006; Morenoff and Astor, 2006; Valentine and Mosley, 2000) to ethnic group identification, cultural

[2] Some argue that acculturation is distinct from assimilation in that the latter "captures unidirectional adaptations made by minority individuals to fit into the host society," while acculturation "denotes the bidirectional process of cultural change" (Smokowski, David-Ferdon, and Stroupe, 2009). The present research makes no distinction regarding the direction of change, but rather, views both assimilation and acculturation as markers of immigrants' progressive enmeshment into the culture and society and the host country.

attitudes, (Berry et al., 2006; Le and Stockdale, 2008; Sommers et al., 1993) and language use (Dinh et al., 2002; Marin and Gamba, 1996; Rogler, Cortes and Malgady, 1991). Generational status and language use have traditionally been considered the most robust indicators of assimilatory progress, accounting for the lion's share of the variance in most assimilation constructs (Dinh et al., 2002; Marin and Gamba, 1996; Rogler et al., 1991). Regardless of how it is measured, assimilation has traditionally been assumed to follow a linear progression, whereby the degree (low to high) varies as a function of one's degree of immersion in the host society.

The conceptualization of assimilation as a process can be traced to the Chicago School and, most notably, the work of Robert Park and colleagues (Park, 1950; Park and Burgess, 1924; Park and Miller, 1921; Park, Burgess, and McKenzie, 1925) who defined the process as an "interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life" (Park and Burgess, 1924:735). Implicit in the work of the Chicago School theorists was the notion that assimilation is both an inevitable and desirable outcome, (Bursik, 2006), a "final perfect product" of increased social interaction between previously separated groups (Park and Burgess, 1924:736). Drawing from ecological theory, they likened the progressive assimilation sequence to a "race-relations cycle," whereby "contact, competition, and accommodation" would lead to the gradual, even unconscious, enmeshment of immigrants into mainstream normative value systems (Park, 1950:138) and the eventual social and economic convergence of immigrant and native groups.

The notion of "straight line" assimilation was further developed by Warner and

Srole (1945), who argued that social and economic ascension was dependent upon immigrants' willingness to acculturate and seek acceptance among their native born compatriots. The speed with which assimilation occurred was contingent on the strength of immigrants' ethnic organization and the degree of social distance between them and the mainstream culture of the host society. Following this logic, Milton Gordon (1964) specified seven stages of the assimilation process, beginning with acculturation, which he defined as a change in the cultural patterns (e.g. language, modes of expression and personal values) of immigrant groups to those of the host society, and culminating with civic assimilation, defined as the absence of value and power conflict between ethnic minorities and native born. Gordon (1964) believed that the process of acculturation was a necessary antecedent to all subsequent dimensions of the assimilation process, representing its own unique adaptive phase. Further, like Warner and Srole (1945) he presumed that generational change would be a key indicator of assimilatory progress.

The model of intergenerational assimilation continues to be used to explain changes in the cultural orientations and social outcomes of immigrant groups (Alba and Nee, 2003; Edmonston and Passel, 1994; Zhou, 2001). Presumably, because foreign-born (e.g. first generation) immigrants face substantial barriers, including racial discrimination and language and cultural differences, they are less likely to achieve social and economic parity with native born Americans (Harker, 2001). Conversely, the second generation (e.g. those born in the U.S. to foreign born parents) and the lesser studied 1.5 generation (Rumbaut, 1996; Zhou, 2001) (e.g. immigrants who migrated to the U.S. at a very young age) are expected to narrow the social and economic gaps with the native born population. Finally, the third generation (e.g. native born individuals with native born

parents) is not expected to differ from succeeding generations with respect to social or economic outcomes. By this point, all indicators of culture and ethnicity have presumably been erased.

Early Theorizing on the Immigrant-Crime Link

The classic perspectives advanced by early immigration scholars offer no explicit theoretical framework for understanding the relationship between assimilation and crime at the individual level, or the particular mechanisms through which assimilation occurs (Morenoff and Astor, 2006). However, as Harker (2001:971) notes, "the process of immigration has [traditionally] been viewed as a trauma." That is, early theorists regarded immigrant status as an Achilles' heel that would impede social and economic advancement; in order for immigrants to rise up from their marginal positions, it was necessary for them to shed their distinctive ethnic characteristics and to adhere to the norms of American culture (Gordon, 1964; Park and Burgess, 1924). Presumably, the more ingrained immigrants became to the customs and values of the host country, the more likely they would be to blend into the "melting pot" of American society and to ascend its socioeconomic strata (Child, 1943; Gordon, 1964; Park and Burgess, 1924; Park and Miller, 1921; Park et al., 1925; Warner and Srole, 1945). Implicit in this early work was the notion that crime would be a problem for the *unassimilated*, a function of fledgling immigrants' failure to adapt to their new surroundings.

Not surprisingly, some of the earliest explanations of immigrant criminality reflect the notion that criminal behavior was a function of immigrants' failure to adapt to the structural, economic and cultural conditions of their new environment (Miller, 1958; Sellin, 1938; Wirth, 1931). Conflict theorists, for example, argued that immigrants—by

virtue of their unique cultural orientations—are predisposed to certain types of behaviors that may be deemed criminal or taboo in the U.S. but viewed as normative in their country of origin. The clashing of divergent cultures creates tension between groups, as each attempt to assert their own hegemonic control. Along this vein, the gradual, even unconscious, enmeshment of immigrants into the normative value systems of Americans should lead to the dissolution of conflict and the subsequent absence of crime.

Along a different vein, opportunity theories stress the goal blockage experienced by new immigrants, and their limited opportunities for upward mobility as critical antecedents of criminal behavior. Classic strain theorists (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Cohen, 1955; Merton, 1968), for example, argued that immigrants' relative socioeconomic disadvantage forced them to settle in resource poor communities, where the confluence of poverty, high crime and substandard housing creates pressure to "level the playing field" through illegitimate means.

One of the few perspectives to take a different stance on the immigration-crime nexus was the self-selection model, which suggested that "First generation immigrants were…conformists who behaved themselves because they were economically self-selected, hard working, and ready to defer gratification in the interest of long-term advancement" (Bui, 2009:413). Accordingly, first generation immigrants were less criminal than both native born and successive generations because they had chosen to emigrate for the laudable goal of improved life chances (Tonry, 1997).

Social disorganization theory has been perhaps the most influential in shaping contemporary theorizing on the immigration-crime link. Although most often attributed to the work of Shaw and McKay and the Chicago School of Human Ecology, social

disorganization theory can be traced to work of Thomas and Znaniecki's (1920) *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America,* which marked one of the earliest efforts to study the shifting social organization and cultural orientation of immigrants. At the heart of Thomas and Znaniecki' (1920) argument was the idea that the process of immigration uprooted individuals from simple, homogenous communities characterized by a high degree of social cohesion, and thrust them into unfamiliar territory where they were beset by new systems of values and rules for normative behavior that conflicted with their traditional "Old world" ways. In their extensive study of Polish immigrants in the U.S. they found that this disorganization manifested in two ways. First was the breakdown in social solidarity within families and the larger community. The tension between older generations struggling to maintain ties to their native countries and the younger generation attempting to break free of their parents' traditions creates a feeling of discord, which in turn, weakens ties and gives way to individualism and the breakdown in moral boundaries. Second was the "passive demoralization" that resulted from vague and conflicting interpretations of once commonly held values. Adrift in an environment where ties to members of their own ethnic group were increasingly tenuous, individuals were faced with the question of whether the normative behavioral rules of their host country were still applicable in the new world.

The influence of Thomas and Znaniecki's (1920) writings is evident in the work of Shaw and McKay and the Chicago School theorists. At the core of Shaw and McKay's theory of social disorganization was the notion that it is not the quality of individuals that drives criminality, but the qualities of neighborhoods that foster the breakdown of informal social control. Poverty, residential instability and high concentrations of

immigrants were believed to impede the formation of informal social control, which in turn increased the likelihood of delinquent behavior. Important to note, however, is Shaw and McKay's belief that any observed *direct* relationship between immigrant status and crime was spurious. Because economic restraints forced immigrants to settle in communities characterized by social disorganization, it was inevitable that youth growing up in these environments would be more prone to delinquency.

Early Empirical Examinations of the Immigrant-Crime Link

Although most of the early theorizing on the immigrant-crime link cast a favorable light on the assimilation process, there was little empirical evidence to support this contention. Rather, some of the earliest assessments of the nature and consequences of the 20th century immigration movement suggested that immigrant assimilation had injurious, rather than salutary, effects on their social well-being,[3] and that communities marked by high concentrations of immigrants might actually bolster, as oppose to diminish, levels of social control (Taft, 1933). A study conducted by the Industrial Commission in 1901, for example, found that whereas foreign-born whites had lower levels of crime than native-born, a substantial proportion of prisoners were the children of immigrants (Industrial Commission, 1901). A subsequent study conducted by the Dillingham Commission in 1907 similarly concluded that there was no evidence to support allegations of higher levels of criminal involvement among immigrants, stating,

[3] Not all studies on immigrant criminality concluded that assimilation had a negative influence on behavior. Bowler (1931) found that immigrants from Mexico had higher arrest rates than native born whites for certain violent offenses. Two examinations of Japanese immigrants found that delinquency rates among youth were consistently low despite high levels of socioeconomic disadvantage (Hayner, 1933; Lind, 1930).

"It is impossible from existing data to determine whether the immigrant population in this country is relatively more or less criminal than the native-born population" (U.S. Immigration Commission, 1907-1910:33). Interestingly, though, the Commission observed that the apparent protective effects of immigrant status did not extend to the second generation. In brief, they observed that the children of first generation immigrants (e.g. the second generation), appeared to have higher crime rates than the children of the native born. Commenting on the offending patterns of the second generation, they note,

> it appears that a clear tendency exists on the part of the second generation to differ from the first or immigrant generation in the character of its criminality… this difference is much more frequently in the direction of the criminality of the American-born of nonimmigrant parentage than it is in the opposite direction… the movement of second generation crime is away from the crimes peculiar to immigrants and toward those of the American of native parentage (U.S. Immigration Commission, 1907-1910:13).

Explicit in the Commission's findings was the notion that the increasing entrenchment of immigrants into the social and economic fabric of the United States heightened, rather than reduced, their risk for offending. More than 20 years after the Dillingham Report was released, the National Commission on Law and Enforcement, known alternately as the Wickersham Commission, published a volume length examination of the immigration-crime nexus covering seven decades of immigration research. Consistent with the findings of the Dillingham report, the Commission concluded that foreign born individuals committed significantly fewer crimes than native born. Once again, however, the protective influence of immigrant status was found to diminish across generations, with second and third generation immigrants exhibiting higher rates of crime and arrest than their parents.

Contemporary Theorizing on the Immigrant-Crime Link

With no sign that the second great wave of U.S. immigration is abating, the question of whether immigration—at both the individual and community level—is linked to crime has once again reached the forefront of scholarly attention. However, broad transformations in the social and ethnic composition of today's immigrant population have prompted contemporary scholars to question whether the theoretical perspectives advanced more than 70 years ago—which were based on the experiences of predominantly white European immigrants at the turn of the century—are still applicable to the study of immigration and crime today (Greenman and Xie, 2008). Paradoxical trends in the social and behavioral outcomes among some immigrant groups suggest that, while the classic "straight line" view of assimilation "may still represent the master process in the study of today's immigrants, it is a process subject to too many contingencies and affected by too many variables to render the image of a relatively uniform and straightforward path convincing" (Rumbaut and Portes note, 2001:5). In response to the perceived inadequacies of the classic assimilation model, two emergent theoretical perspectives have been developed to explain the link between immigration and crime: Portes and Zhou's (1993) segmented assimilation thesis and Lee and Martinez's (2002) immigrant revitalization thesis.

Segmented Assimilation

Portes and Zhou's (1993; see also Portes 1995; Zhou 1997; Portes and Rumbaut 2001) theory of "segmented assimilation" essentially reframes the "question of *whether* the second generation will assimilate as a question of *to what segment* of society it will

assimilate" (Morenoff and Astor, 2006: 40, italics in original). Given the inherent system of social stratification in place in the U.S. it is not feasible for all immigrants to ascend the socioeconomic hierarchy and achieve middle class status. Rather, while most of the immigrant second generation is expected to achieve parity with native born Americans on markers such as socioeconomic status, residential location, marital patterns and academic achievement., Portes and Zhou (1993) depart from the classic thesis by suggesting two alternative pathways.

First, some immigrants are expected to follow a path of *downward* assimilation toward the marginalized segments of society. This pathway is comparable to upward assimilation, in that the enmeshment of ethnic minorities into the host society is expected to diminish their distinctive ethnic and cultural characteristics over time. However, by virtue of their settlement in disorganized communities, in which strong networks of support are lacking, social capital is limited, and opportunities for social mobility are scarce, ethnic minorities will assimilate not toward the normative value systems of the "middle class" but toward those of the most vulnerable segments of society: the urban underclass or "truly disadvantaged" (see Wilson, 1987). The second alternative is that the deliberate maintenance of immigrant culture (e.g. the refusal to assimilate to the normative values of the host society) will lead to socioeconomic advancement and general prosperity among immigrant groups. This pathway of purposeful resistance is most likely to occur in co-ethnic communities marked by a high degree of social cohesion and in which immigrants are best able to generate their own forms of social and economic capital (Portes and Zhou, 1993).

Empirical tests of the segmented assimilation thesis generally support Portes and Zhou's (1993) claim that immigrants' assimilatory pathways are contingent on a complex intersection of variables, including the neighborhood "context of reception" in which immigrant families settle, families' level of social capital, the degree of discrimination experienced, as well as local government policies toward immigrants (Lee and Martinez, 2006). This confluence of factors results in tremendous within-group variation in adaptation outcomes. Depending upon the social organization of their communities, Asian immigrants, for example, have simultaneously been cast as both "model minorities" and singularly crime prone (Lee and Martinez, 2006). The contextual determinants of immigrant adaptation extend to other arenas as well. For example, in their study of Cuban immigrants in Miami, Pérez (2001) found that educational outcomes, such as school drop-out and achievement were largely contingent on the racial-ethnic make-up of the school immigrant youth attended, with youth in predominately black schools fairing worst of all. Similarly, a recent study of Haitian immigrants showed that levels of victimization varied tremendously depending upon the racial-ethnic composition of the neighborhood being examined (Nielsen and Martinez, 2006).

Immigrant Revitalization Thesis

A second perspective that has gained popularity in recent years is Lee and Martinez's (2002) "immigrant revitalization thesis" which echoes observations made by Taft (1933) more than 70 years ago about the salutary influences of immigrant "ghettos." The crux of Lee and Martinez's (2002) thesis is that, rather than increase social

disorganization in urban communities, ethnic enclaves may play a pivotal role in crime prevention, predominately because they "may encourage cultural preservation, promote or maintain family ties and social networks, provide employment and entrepreneurial opportunities, and bolster informal social control, all of which help curb crime" (Ousey and Kubrin, 2009:452).

A growing body of research generally supports the immigrant revitalization thesis. Contrasting the politically fueled rhetoric that has dominated much of the immigration-crime debate in recent years, empirical studies by Martinez and colleagues, for example, have found that, net of factors such as disadvantage and residential instability, the percentage of recent immigrants (measured at the census tract) is *negatively* correlated with general homicide rates (Martinez et al., 2008) as well as rates of drug related homicide (Martinez et al., 2004), black homicide (Lee and Martinez, 2002) and motive disaggregated violent crime (Stowell and Martinez, 2007). In their recent examination of the intervening mechanisms linking immigration and violent crime across U.S. cities, Ousey and Kubrin (2009) found that this observed negative association could be attributed in part to the lower levels of divorce and single-parent households that characterize immigrant communities.

Although both the segmented assimilation and immigrant revitalization theses have advanced our understanding of the macro-level influences linking immigration and crime, critics of the former theory warn against "a simplistic and perhaps unrealistic understanding of cultural transmission in inner-city neighborhoods" (Morenoff and Astor, 2006:56). That is, even favorable contexts may not be sufficient in and of themselves to explain the social and behavioral outcomes of immigrant youth. For instance, using data

from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), Perez (2001) documented an "achievement paradox" among Cuban youth; despite highly favorable migration and reception contexts, the second generation under examination reported the lowest average GPA and the highest dropout rate in the sample.

Perhaps, as Morenoff and Astor (2006:56) argue, a more informed perspective on the immigration-crime nexus might posit that "assimilation can lead to crime when it reduces one's commitment to any value system and weakens familial bonds that diminish parents' capacity to supervise or in other ways influence the behavior of their children." Indeed, as Ousey and Kubrin's (2009) work demonstrates, a salient mediating factor in the macro-level immigration-crime link may be the protective influence of intact families, which proliferate in immigrant communities. Their research suggests that family functioning may operate in a similar fashion at the individual level. It is these micro-level intervening mechanisms linking immigrant status and behavior that I turn to now.

Chapter 3: Immigrant Adaptation and the Family—Micro-level Processes Linking Immigrant Status and Delinquency

The Paradox of Assimilation

As evidence of the negative association between immigration and crime continues to build at the macro-level (Martinez and Lee, 2000; Ousey and Kubrin, 2010; Stowell et al., 2009), a concurrent literature finds that immigrant status and crime are also linked at the individual level. Contemporary research finds evidence of what has been termed the "Latino paradox" or "immigrant paradox." That is, despite the comparatively low socioeconomic status and concentration in disadvantaged communities that characterizes certain immigrant groups,[4] research has shown that immigrant youth perform as well or better than their native-born counterparts on indicators ranging from health (Cagney, Browning and Wallace, 2007; Harris, 1998) and academic achievement (Fuligni, 1997; Kao and Tienda, 1995) to violence (Sampson et al., 2005; Morenoff and Astor, 2006), delinquency (Harris, 1998), and substance abuse (Blake et al., 2001; Vega et al., 1993).

Equally paradoxical, however, has been the finding that the protective influence of immigrant status wanes with each successive generation, and with other indicators of assimilatory progress (e.g. language acquisition). Indeed, a burgeoning literature has developed in recent years to explain the phenomenon of "second generation decline"

[4] Once again, the tremendous variation across immigrant groups with respect to socioeconomic status and social capital cannot be overstated. For example, citing a comparative analysis of immigrant nationalities and their modes of incorporation, Rumbaut and Portes (2001:50) observe that levels of poverty ranged from a high of 40 percent for Laotian immigrants to a low of 6 percent for Filipinos in 1990. The percentage of college graduates was similarly variable, with nearly 63 percent of Taiwanese immigrants having a college degree compared with only 3.5 percent of Mexicans.

(Gans, 1992) or what Rumbaut (1997) coined "the paradox of assimilation." Contrary to the expectations of classic immigration scholars—whose positive spin on the assimilation process implied a *diminished* risk of crime over generations—contemporary scholarship finds that the risk of deleterious outcomes increases as immigrants grow increasingly assimilated (Bankston, 1998; Bankston and Zhou, 1997; Bui, 2009; Bui and Thongniramol, 2005; Buriel et al., 1982; Morenoff and Astor, 2006; Samaniego and Gonzales, 1999; Sampson et al., 2005; Walters, 1999).

This basic pattern of decline has been observed across studies using variable measures of assimilation and diverse sample populations (Smokowski, David-Ferdon, Stroups, 2009). Regardless of whether simple proxy measures of assimilatory status (e.g. immigrant generation, language use and residential tenure), or more complex indices of acculturation are examined, scholars find repeatedly that increased assimilation heightens the risk for a wide range of deleterious outcomes, including risky sexual behavior (Driscoll et al., 2001; Harris, 1998; Kaplan, Erickson and Juarez-Reyes, 2002) substance use (Gonzales et al, 2002; Rogler et al., 1991; Myers et al., 2009) delinquency (Bankston, 1998; Bankston and Zhou, 1997; Bui, 2009; Buriel et al.,1982; Cuadrado and Lieberman, 1998; Fridrich and Flannery, 1995; Harris, 1998; Vega et al., 1995; Zhou and Bankston, 1998), and violence (Bui, 2009; Bui and Thongniramol, 2005; Morenoff and Astor, 2006; Sampson, Morenoff and Raudenbush, 2005; Sommers et al., 1993). This association between assimilation and maladaptive outcomes has been observed across diverse samples of youth from Cuba (Vega et al., 1995), Nicaragua (Fernandez-Kelly and Curran, 2001) Mexico (Buriel et al., 1982), and Vietnam (Zhou and Bankston, 2006) as well as in general population samples drawn from the city of Chicago (Sampson et al., 2005;

Morenoff and Astor, 2006) and from the U.S. (Bui, 2009; Bui and Thongniramol, 2005; Harker, 2001).

Several competing hypotheses have been offered to explain the observed link between assimilation and delinquency. Proponents of the acculturative stress perspective, for example, suggest that individuals experience a number of stressors during the assimilation process as a consequence of the conflicts that arise between the individual's ethnic culture and the dominant culture. This stress, in turn, may heighten their risk of deleterious behaviors (Berry, 1980; Cervantes, Padilla, & Salgado de Snyder, 1990; Padilla, Cervantes, Maldonado, and Garcia, 1988; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Vega et al., 1993, 1995). Alternately, a small body of research suggests that assimilation may relate to delinquency through its influence on peer interaction; more assimilated youth may be more likely to be involved in social systems outside the family, such as peer groups and school activities, which may render them more susceptible to negative peer influences (Myers, et al., 2009; Reuschenberg and Buriel, 1989; Wall, Power, and Arbona, 1993). Among both classic and contemporary scholars, however, no construct has been given greater attention in the study of immigrant criminality than the family.

Family Processes in the Context of Immigrant Adaptation

Since the earliest writings on immigrant adaptation, scholars have argued that a critical protective factor for immigrant youth—particularly for the first generation—is the presence of a strong, cohesive family (Shaw, 1938; Thomas and Znaniecki, 1920; Wirth, 1931). Underlying this line of theoretical development is the assumption that certain

immigrant cultures (e.g. Asian and Latino) are inherently more collectivistic than others (Chilman, 1993; Marin and Marin, 1991; Oropesa 1996; Oropesa, Lichter and Anderson 1994; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 1995, 2001). Presumably, as immigrant youth and their families become absorbed by the host country, this emphasis on familial ties grows increasingly tenuous, eventually supplanted by the uniquely American emphasis on independence and autonomy (Driscoll et al., 2008).

The idea that the process of assimilation is disruptive to family cohesion was articulated by Wirth (1931) nearly 80 years ago when he argued that, "In the immigrant family nothing is more startling than the gulf that separates the older generation from the younger." Indeed, theorists writing at the turn of the century often invoked the breakdown in family cohesion and the tension between immigrant parents and their children as critical antecedents to delinquency (Shaw, 1938; Thomas and Znaniecki, 1920). In their highly influential treatise, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, Thomas and Znaniecki (1920) for example, opined that the process of immigration had a definite, and arguably detrimental, effect on family organization, which was evident in the letters exchanged between Polish émigrés and the relatives they left behind. They (1920:51) note, "emigration….by isolating the individual from the family and from the community, provokes individualization and weakens the control of the primary group…" Thomas and Znaniecki believed that the transition from relatively homogenous communities in Poland to the disorganized communities of the west threatened the ideals of collectivism and social solidarity that served to link individuals to their families and the larger community and subsequently insulate them from errant behavior.

Much like *The Polish Peasant*, Shaw's (1938) *Brothers in Crime* is rife with examples of how the generational divide between immigrant parents and their children weakened familial ties and generated conflict which, in turn, rendered traditional mechanisms of informal social control abortive. Commenting on the delinquency of the five brothers, Shaw (1938:139) observed, "it seems clear from the foregoing material that the parents and the brothers belonged to diverse social worlds….because of the differences in their group experiences, the family lacked the unity which is usually regarded as being essential to normal family life." A pervasive theme in Shaw's case study is the tension between old world values and the new way of life in America, a tension that was particularly detrimental to parent-child relationships. According to Shaw, the discord generated by the "diversity of practices and standards" in the new world hindered the transmission of customs and values to the younger generation, and rendered efforts to exert parental control ineffectual.

From the early writings of Shaw (1938) and Thomas and Znaniecki (1920) two prominent themes are particularly salient to the contemporary "paradox of assimilation" (Rumbaut, 1997). The first is the breakdown in social control that occurred as parents struggled to maintain family cohesion in the face of sweeping changes to their normative value systems. The second was the heightened sense of conflict between parents and children that stemmed primarily from dissonant cultural orientations. Because these two theoretical perspectives provide the theoretical bases for my research hypotheses, I consider each in greater detail.

Social Control Theory

The salience of social control to reducing crime can be traced to the writings of Emile Durkheim (1897), whose concepts of anomie and collective consciousness provided the theoretical foundation for contemporary social control perspectives. Durkheim adhered to the Hobbesian belief that individuals are inherently hedonistic. Possessed of limitless appetites they require an external source of restraint and regulation, which Durkheim believed is located in individuals' relations to others. In healthy societies, characterized by a strong collective consciousness, or shared set of moral sentiments, individuals are bound to one another by a sense of mutual obligation and the belief in a collective moral order. Conversely, in unhealthy or anomic societies, the moral glue necessary to hold people together is lacking; adrift without a solid footing in a collective consciousness, individuals in anomic societies are free to deviate.

Drawing from the work of Durkheim, contemporary control theorists (Hirschi, 1969; Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990; Sampson and Laub, 1993) focus on sources of social control believed to constrain rather than incite delinquent impulses. Paramount among these is the institution of the family. Early control theorists writing in the 1950s and 1960s argued that the family served as the single most important locus of informal social control for youth (Matza, 1964; Nye, 1958; Reckless, 1967; Reiss, 1951; Toby, 1957). Reiss (1951:196), for example, proposed that delinquency was "behavior consequent to the failure of personal and social controls," the primary cause of which was the family's failure to provide economic and emotional support to their children, and to instill in them the virtues of conformity. To the extent that familial cohesion breaks down, parents' ability to inhibit deviance becomes increasingly tenuous. Like Reiss,

(1951) Nye (1958) proposed that poor social controls and subsequent delinquency stemmed primarily from privation within the family. When adolescents' needs are not met by their parents, they are more likely to seek ways to meet those needs outside the family; deviant behavior offers but one gratifying solution.

Expounding on the work of early control theorists (Matza, 1964; Nye, 1958; Reckless, 1967; Reiss, 1951; Toby, 1957), Hirschi developed his landmark social bond theory in 1969. The crux of Hirschi's (1969) theory is that delinquency is the product of a weak or broken bond to society. Control is indirect, in that it is not exerted solely through behavioral monitoring and supervision, but through one's attachments and affection for others, most notably the family. Hirschi identified four key elements of the social bond—attachment, involvement, commitment and belief. Collectively, these four elements were expected to curb adolescents' natural tendency toward deviance because they effectively raised the stakes of errant behavior. Of the four elements, attachment—which refers to the sense of affection for and sensitivity to the wishes of others—is presumably the strongest. Absent the reciprocal bond of affection between parents and children, the other elements hold little ground.

Acculturative Dissonance Thesis

The concept of acculturative dissonance is not unique to the contemporary immigration debate, but rather, figures prominently in the work of scholars writing at the turn of the century (Shaw, 1938; Thomas and Znaniecki, 1920; Wirth, 1931). To illustrate, Shaw (1938:135) observed in his case study of the Martin brothers that efforts on the part of Mrs. Martin to inculcate her religious beliefs in her sons were thwarted by

the "counteracting influences to which they were exposed outside of the home." As the children of immigrants grew increasingly assimilated to the "New World," they "developed attitudes of superiority toward the foreign-born adults of the community" (1938:135). In turn, they became less accepting of their parents' normative rules, which to them seemed grounded in a way of life that was no longer applicable in their new surroundings. Traditional means of control, including corporal punishment were rendered ineffective, "particularly in view of the fact that it was inflicted to impose standards of conduct which were in opposition to those which prevailed in their gang, tended to further alienate them from the parents" (1938:13). Rumbaut and Portes (2001) have recently coined the term "dissonant acculturation" to characterize the generational cleft that occurs between immigrant parents and their children. They theorize that this cleft is most likely to occur when the assimilation process unfolds at an uneven pace. In other words, contingent on a range of factors, including parents' and children's variable levels of entrenchment into the local ethnic community and their learning of American customs, parents and their children may find themselves disconnected from one another, particularly if the latter are fully removed from the normative values and culture of their parents' native country. One of the most salient indicators of acculturative dissonance is the differential level of English proficiency achieved by immigrant parents and their children. As Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (2001) argue, first generation immigrants may forever be stuck at a rudimentary level of English proficiency, while it is highly unlikely that the children and grandchildren of immigrants will not reach a level of proficiency. Moreover, "though the child may continue to speak the home language, the level of fluency is likely to atrophy over time" (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco,

2001:74).

Beyond the issue of communication, linguistic dissonance between parents and children can create a fissure within immigrant families that spills over into other realms of family functioning. Conflict and tension becomes more likely, as "children may have feelings ranging from vague to intense embarrassment in regard to aspects of their parents' 'old country' and 'old fashioned' ways" (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 2001:74). When parents are unable to communicate effectively with their children, family ties begin to rupture, intergenerational conflict increases, and parental authority is compromised (Fernandez-Kelly and Curran, 2001; Rumbaut and Portes, 2001; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Perhaps the most detrimental consequence of dissonant acculturation is what Rumbaut and Portes (2001:53) refer to as "role reversal," which "occurs when children's acculturation has moved so far ahead of their parents' that key family decisions become dependent on children's knowledge." Although role reversal may serve a functional purpose (e.g. youth may be able to translate for their parents and navigate social and legal matters on their behalf) it is also pernicious in that it may result in parent's inability to control youth. As Rumbaut and Portes (2001:53) note, "Because they speak the language and know the culture better, second-generation youths are often able to define the situation for themselves, prematurely freeing themselves from parental control." In some instances, children may deliberately "wield that language to separate from their parents and oust them from their lives" (Fernandez-Kelly and Curran, 2001:147).

Adolescence in the Context of Immigrant Families

To more fully understand how assimilation might weaken social controls within the family and heighten generational conflict, one must first consider the unique stresses of adolescence. For most youth, adolescence marks a critical period of adjustment, when youth's allegiance shifts from the family to peer groups and traditional mechanisms of familial social control begin to break down (Warr, 1998, 2002). It is "typically a time of identity confusion along the dimensions of ethnicity, gender and social status" (Lopez and Stanton-Salazar, 2001:68), when "the parent-child relationship experiences a significant reorganization in order to respond to the changing needs and challenges presented to the transitioning child" (Trejos-Castillo and Vazonyi, 2008:720). This reorganization may manifest in increased parent-child conflict, diminished attachment, or an increased desire for youth to assert their independence and test the boundaries of parental authority.

For the children and grandchildren of immigrants, adolescence may be an especially tumultuous time. In particular, when immigrant families are characterized by generational gaps, adolescents and their parents are likely to be influenced conflicting normative belief systems: those of the host country and those of the "old world" (Kwak, 2003; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). Speaking to the impact of this cultural divide on immigrant youth, Fernandez-Kelly and Curran (2001:147) observed:

> [The child's] experience was typical of a new generation, characterized by temporal and physical distance from the values and standards that had led their seniors to migrate yet unable to gain a foothold on the new social terrain.

Youth from immigrant families, in other words, face the unique dilemma of having to traverse different cultural worlds; this impasse has been aptly referred to by Zavala-Martinez (1994) as "entremundos" ("between-worlds"). Adolescents may feel pressure to conform to the standards of American peer culture, while simultaneously being pulled toward the culture of their parents or grandparents (Qin, 2009; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Negotiating the conflicting expectations of these different cultural systems presents them with a distinct challenge, as the original heritage culture may prohibit adolescents from pursuing the behavioral patterns observed among their non-immigrant peers (Kwak, 2003). As Qin (2009:40) argues, "the messages children received in school that include the importance of personal freedom and independence are likely to conflict with the hierarchical relations that often characterize parent-child relations in many immigrant families."

This unique problem of adjustment experienced by the children and grandchildren of immigrants may be the key to explaining variation in family functioning, and subsequently, variation in behavioral problems across immigrant generations. Whereas first generation youth likely experience a higher level of congruence in their developmental contexts (e.g. language consistency and shared cultural orientations), subsequent generations are more likely to experience linguistic dissonance (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996) and conflicting normative rules for behavior, which may generate conflict and diminish affectional ties between parents and children.

Family Processes and Adolescent Adjustment across Immigrant Generations

Steinberg and Silk (2002) recently articulated three key domains of family functioning believed to influence adolescent adjustment: harmony (e.g., closeness, communication, support), conflict (e.g., hostility, harsh discipline) and autonomy (e.g., monitoring, supervision). Each of these domains aligns closely with the concepts of social control and acculturative dissonance, and thus, will be used to guide the choice of family processes examined in this study. The following section discusses each of these domains in turn, paying particular attention to how they fit within the larger framework immigrant family functioning and the assimilation paradox.

Harmony

Steinberg and Silk's (2002) concept of "harmony" is congruent with Hirschi's (1969) conceptualization of the social bond, and more specifically, with his notion of "attachment." As Vazsonyi et al. (2006:800) note, "the harmony domain…embodies the strength of the emotional bond or connectedness between parents or caregivers and their offspring." To date, a sizeable body of research confirms that children who are reciprocally attached to their parents are at a lower risk for a range of antisocial behaviors (Cernkovich and Giordano, 1987; Dishion and Kavanaugh, 2003; Gorman-Smith, Tolan, and Henry, 2000; Rankin and Kern, 1994; Sampson and Laub, 1993). The relationship between immigrant assimilation and harmony is complex, but some scholars argue that the process of assimilation threatens the collectivistic nature of immigrant families and weakens familial bonds (Driscoll et al., 2008). As youth become inured to the normative influences of American culture, which espouse individualism and autonomy, the strength

of familial attachments may be compromised. Research on Latino populations, for example, finds that the salutary effects of famillism diminish as families grow increasingly assimilated (Smokowski and Bacallao, 2006).

To date, few studies have examined the mediating role of attachment in the assimilation-crime nexus. Assumptions about the nature of the relationship between assimilation and familial attachment are grounded primarily within the ethnographic literature (Martinez, 2006). However, empirical research that examines processes congruent with parental attachment (e.g. famillism and parental involvement) offers equivocal findings. Using data from 330 Latino children and adolescents, Dinh, Roosa, Tein and Lopez (2002) for example, found that the relationship between acculturation and problem behaviors in Hispanic youth was mediated in part by the level of parental involvement, which was lower among more acculturated youth. Smokowski and Bacallao (2006) found that an index measure of famillism—which included items related to mutual respect, shared belief systems and freedom to express feelings—mediated the association between parent culture-of-origin involvement and adolescent aggression among Latino youth. Conversely, a handful of studies that have examined levels of family cohesion and support among Latinos have found no appreciable differences across successive generations (Rueschenberg and Buriel, 1989; Sabogal, et al., 1987; Samaniego and Gonzales, 1999).

Family Conflict

Scholars working across a broad range of theoretical perspectives (e.g. general strain, social learning) have long contended that youth do not thrive in households

characterized by a high degree of family conflict (Agnew, 1992, 2001, 2006; Akers, 1998; Bandura and Walters, 1963). The particular manifestations of this conflict vary, but may include excessively harsh, erratic, and/or punitive disciplinary techniques (e.g., nagging, yelling, threats, insults, and/or hitting), chronic fighting among family members, and domestic abuse. Parent-child conflict is likely to undermine the familial bonds of attachment necessary to dissuade errant behavior and to exacerbate tension in the household. Further, absent the motivation to conform—which stems from parent-child attachment and reciprocal affection—coercive parenting styles and a high degree of conflict are ineffective means of encouraging children's compliance (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990; Hirschi, 1969; 1995; Sampson and Laub, 1993).

Echoing Rumbaut and Portes's (1996; 2001) dissonant acculturation thesis, ethnographic literature finds that relational distance and family conflict stem largely from the struggle over Americanization (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Stepick et al., 2001), and the "constant negotiation...between the forces of youth identity formation and the nostalgic recreations of immigrant adults" (Lopez and Stanton-Salazar, 2001:67). When "parent and youth cultural systems clash as a result of the differential acculturation experienced by parents and youth" (Le and Stockdale, 2008:1), family conflict becomes a dividing force between them. However, "for recent immigrant families, which particularly emphasize family cohesion, family members may be more adept at avoiding conflict, and further, may have learned to decrease the psychological impact of family problems" (Kwak, 2003:131).

A handful of empirical studies suggest that family conflict influences delinquency and other adverse behavioral outcomes across immigrant generations (Bui, 2009;

Gonzales et al., 2006; Le and Stockdale, 2008; Samaniego and Gonzales, 1999; Smokowski and Baccallao, 2006, 2007; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 1995). Samaniego and Gonzales (1999) found that the influence of acculturation on delinquency was mediated by family conflict and inconsistent discipline, such that more acculturated youth experienced greater degrees of both, which increased their likelihood of delinquency. Gonzales et al. (2006) similarly found that family conflict was an important link in the causal chain between acculturation and youths' externalizing behaviors. While they reported no direct relationship between family acculturation and conduct disorders, linguistic acculturation was found to increase family conflict, which in turn heightened the risk of conduct problems. Using an ethnically diverse sample of Asian youth, Le and Stockdale (2008) found that a composite measure of acculturative dissonance, which included several dimensions of family discord, was a significant determinant of violence, with full mediation through association with delinquent peers. Most recently, Bui (2009) found, using data from the Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, that differences in self-reported substance abuse, property delinquency and violence across immigrant generations were due in part to greater parent-child conflict among later generations.

Monitoring and Supervision

Active monitoring and supervision of children's behavior is considered a fundamental parenting skill. More than just surveillance, knowledge of children's whereabouts and investment in their activities (e.g. homework) fosters more open lines of parent-child communication and subsequently reduces the risk of antisocial behavior (Hirschi, 1969; McCord, 1979; Patterson and Stouthamer-Loeber, 1984; Reid and Patterson, 1989; Weintraub and Gold, 1991; West and Farrington, 1977). Assimilation-

related changes in parenting styles may account for some of the variation in offending across immigrant generations. Some scholars have suggested that as families become more "Americanized" they abandon authoritarian parenting styles more common to their native countries (Vega, 1990; Zapata and Jaramillo, 1980). Zapata and Jaramillo (1980), for example, argue that traditional Mexican families are less permissive of child autonomy and rely more heavily on strict discipline relative to the dominant U.S. culture. Subsequently more assimilated youth (e.g. 2nd and 3rd generation) may experience less supervision because they assume a higher degree of independence than their less assimilated counterparts. Once again this corollary of assimilation was noted by Rumbaut and Portes (2001) in their discussion of the reversal of authoritative roles between immigrant parents and their children. Most often, this role reversal stems from the differential pace with which parents and children assimilate and the "cultural discontinuities of social knowledge" that result (Kwak, 2003:120). If immigrant parents find themselves in a position of dependency on their children because the latter are more proficient with the English language, they may be less able to effectively control their behavior.

Although, thus far, few studies have examined the influence of assimilation on parental supervision, preliminary empirical evidence suggests that measures of assimilation are associated with diminished parental control, particularly when parents and children experience dissonant acculturation. Rumbaut and Portes (2002) for example found that a high level of acculturative dissonance weakened parental controls among Mexican-American youth. Similarly, Wong (1991) found that differences in native language proficiency between parents and children were associated with ineffective

parental monitoring. Samaniego and Gonzales (1999) found that more acculturated youth experienced lower maternal monitoring, which subsequently increased their likelihood of delinquency.

Summary

In sum, the extant literature on immigrant family functioning and adolescent behavior suggests that the link between assimilatory status and delinquency may be explained by differences in family processes. Collectively, though, this body of work suffers some notable shortcomings, which precludes definitive conclusions about how, why, and under what circumstances family processes may mediate the links in this causal chain. For example, with few exceptions (see Bui, 2009), the aforementioned studies of family mediators have been largely atheoretical, offering little more than a "laundry list" of interstitial mechanisms without a unifying theoretical framework with which to understand them. Also, none of these studies have considered how individual characteristics (e.g., race, ethnicity, gender) might influence the relationships among assimilation, family functioning and delinquency. The objective of this research is to build on the existing literature by drawing from social control theory and the acculturative dissonance perspective to examine the relationships among assimilatory status, family functioning and behavior. I examine three unique domains of family functioning to determine the relative utility of each family process to the explanation of the assimilation paradox. Further, as discussed in the following chapter, I address a glaring gap in the research literature by examining how gender conditions these

relationships. I turn next to a discussion of the need to foreground the role of gender in the study of delinquency across immigrant generations.

Chapter 4: Immigrant Assimilation, Family Processes and Delinquency: The Moderating Role of Gender

Why Study Gender in the Context of Immigration and Crime?

Despite burgeoning interest in the links among immigrant assimilation, family processes and delinquency, gender remains a traditionally overlooked dimension in the study of immigrant adaptation. Given that gender is a defining individual characteristic that has been found to shape familial interaction and parenting behaviors as well as patterns of anti-social behavior (Cernkovich and Giordano, 1987; Heimer and DeCoster, 1999; Huebner and Betts, 2002; Kempf-Leonard, Chesney-Lind, and Hawkins, 2001; Kruttschnitt and Giordano, 2009; McClusky and Tovar, 2003), this marks a critical omission in the existing literature. Not only does the neglect of gender limit our capacity to understand the full scope of the immigrant adaptation experience, it hinders our ability to formulate policy aimed at preventing the deleterious consequences of assimilation. In this chapter I discuss the moderating role of gender in the associations among immigrant assimilation, family processes and delinquency. In doing so, I lay the empirical and theoretical framework for anticipating that the strength and significance of the associations among assimilation, family processes and behavior will differ between boys and girls.

Gender and Family Dynamics

As noted in chapter 3, generational gaps between parents and children present a unique problem of adjustment for immigrant families. Forced to balance conflicting cultural orientations and normative beliefs, immigrant youth and their parents may

experience increased relational strain, conflict, and diminished bonds of attachment (Bui, 2009; Portes and Rumbaut, 1996, 2001; Rumbaut and Portes, 2001). Gender adds an additional level of complexity to this process, and subsequently marks a critical axis along which the influence of assimilation on family processes should be examined (Espiritu, 2001). To understand how and why the effects of assimilation on both family processes and delinquency may differ for boys and girls, it helps to first consider the broader theoretical literature on gender, the family, and delinquency.

In the study of the "gender gap" in offending, few domains have been given greater attention than the family. Feminist criminologists have long contended that gender is a defining structural characteristic that is shaped, maintained and differentially experienced within families (Chapple, McQuillan and Berdahl, 2004; Hagan, Simpson and Gillis, 1987; Heimer and DeCoster, 1999; Kruttschnitt and Giordano, 2009). Related to this line of theoretical development is the assumption that "the family is functionally and normatively more important to girls than to boys" (Nye, 1958:49). That is, scholars have argued that girls are socialized to be more relational and more focused on other people's feelings than boys (Gilligan, 1982; Leonard, 1982). Subsequently, they "attach greater importance to establishing and maintaining close relationships with others" (Agnew, 2009:15). Closer family bonds may be a double edged sword, however. On one hand, girls' stronger relational orientation may buffer them from the risks associated with delinquency. On the other, females may be especially vulnerable to family deficits and disruptions (Kruttschnitt and Giordano, 2009).

Developmental psychologists argue that "adolescence is a period of increased gender role differentiation triggered by changes in physical appearance and role

expectations" (Qin, 2009:39). Whereas girls are assumed to develop stronger emotional attachments, particularly to same-sex others, boys are assumed to cultivate a greater sense of autonomy and independence as they approach adulthood (Gilligan, 1982; Miller, 1991). For both adolescents and their parents, this time period marks the beginning of important shifts in family dynamics, when expectations for girls' and boys' behavior are particularly manifest in parenting practices and socialization efforts. Heimer and DeCoster (1999: 284) differentiate between two types of familial controls believed to vary across gender lines: direct parental controls, (e.g. supervision and coercive discipline), and indirect controls (e.g. emotional bonding or attachment). Thus far, empirical research generally supports the notion that females are more closely monitored than boys and tend to have stronger emotional bonds to families (Hagan et al., 1985; Jensen and Eve, 1976). These differential controls, in turn, are expected to shape behavioral outcomes, such as violence and delinquency, because they are associated with the learning of criminal definitions (Heimer and DeCoster, 1999).

Hagan (1990) developed his power-control theory to systematically explain gender-specific rearing practices within the family. The crux of Hagan's (1990) thesis is that patterns of delinquency are inexorably linked to the structure of power within the household, and in particular, to parents' occupational roles. Girls who grow up in households that are characterized by a more egalitarian power balance are expected to exhibit relatively higher levels of delinquency than those who grow up in more traditional patriarchal households, presumably because the former develop attitudes that are more conducive to delinquency and other risk-taking behaviors.

The theoretical perspectives advanced by Hagan (1990) and others (Hagan et al., 1985; Heimer and DeCoster, 1999) offer some insight into why gender may moderate the links among assimilation, family functioning and behavior. If the process of assimilation (as measured by generational change and other indicators) alters family dynamics (e.g. parent-child hierarchies), it is reasonable to assume that the particular manifestation of this change will vary along gender lines. In other words, as Bui and Thongniramol (2005:77) argue, gender may influence "the assimilation process because of different patterns of socialization experienced by girls and boys that affect their exposure to American culture and social life."

Gender and Family Dynamics in the Context of Immigration

Although, thus far, empirical research on the gender-specific experiences of immigrant youth has been sparse, an emergent literature suggests that the influence of assimilation on family processes may be conditioned by gender (Espiritu, 2001; Espiritu and Wolf, 2001; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Qin, 2009; Suárez-Orozco and Qin-Hillard, 2004). Whether or not females will be more or less susceptible to the influences of assimilation on family processes and delinquency, however, is uncertain. On one hand, because assimilation may pose a threat to traditional gender roles within immigrant families, females may be particularly vulnerable to destabilization and family disruption. Put differently, generational gaps and higher levels of household linguistic acculturation may be more inflammatory for females who may balk at the "traditional" expectations and normative rules for behavior espoused by their parents. Greater household demands on females may increase family tension and diminish cohesion among more assimilated

girls as they attempt to forge new American identities that diverge from the traditional expectations of their families (Dion and Dion, 2001; Qin, 2009). By this logic, it is possible that girls will be more likely than boys to experience heightened conflict and diminished attachment to parents as they grow increasingly assimilated.

Alternatively, because immigrant females report relatively higher levels of attachment and family obligation relative to their male counterparts (Espiritu, 2001; Qin, 2009; Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco, 2001), it is possible that they will be buffered from the potentially deleterious consequences of assimilation. That is, compared with males, females' relative closeness with their families and their obligations to the home may slow the potentially disruptive forces of assimilatory change. By this token, one would expect the deleterious influence of assimilatory status (e.g. immigrant generation and household linguistic acculturation) on family processes, such as attachment and conflict, to be more powerful for males.

The relationship between assimilation and parental supervision may also differ between males and females, but once again, the nature of this relationship is uncertain. On one hand, higher levels of assimilation may be associated with an increased level of monitoring and supervision among females. Scholars have documented that some immigrant parents consider assimilation to be a threat to the virtues of chastity and decorum extolled in their native countries (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco, 2001; Valenzuala, 1999). In an effort to protect their daughters from the perceived dangers of becoming too "Americanized," parents may be especially rigid in their controls over their behaviors, and unwilling to lessen these controls even as families grow increasingly assimilated. On the other hand, as parents grow increasingly distanced from the cultural

orientations of their native countries they may subscribe to more permissive parenting styles. Along this vein, assimilation may trigger a decrease in monitoring for girls.

For boys, assimilation may have an entirely different impact on parental supervision and control. As Rumbaut and Portes (2001:64) note:

> As a general rule, females tend to be more under the influence of their parents because of the less autonomous and more protective character of their upbringing. In traditional immigrant families, boys are encouraged to excel in various outside pursuits, while girls are reared to be mothers and homemakers.

By virtue of their greater autonomy, boys may be especially likely to drift from the family as they traverse the competing cultural orientations of their parents and peer groups. Assimilation may therefore be associated with a more potent decline in parental supervision and monitoring for boys. As indicated earlier, one corollary of acculturative dissonance is parent's diminished supervisory capabilities (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). The sort of authoritative "role reversal" observed by Portes and Rumbaut (2001) may be unique to males, however, as the traditionally stricter supervision of girls may transcend assimilatory change. Consequently, compared with girls, boys may experience precipitous declines in levels of supervision as parents relinquish more of their authoritative control.

Although these hypotheses are speculative, they are bolstered by a growing literature that finds females embracing distinctly different roles within immigrant families (Espiritu, 2001; Espiritu and Wolf, 2001; Lee, 2001; Olsen, 1997; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Qin, 2009; Suárez-Orozco and Qin-Hillard, 2004; Valenzuela, 1999; Waters, 1996). Cross national research documents that females are more strongly tied to the household in terms of familial obligations and responsibilities than males (Espiritu, 2001;

Lee, 2001; Olsen, 1997; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco and Qin-Hillard, 2004; Valenzuela, 1999; Waters, 1996). In a recent study by Suárez-Orozco and Qin-Hillard, (2004) the authors found that females were more likely than males to report being held responsible for household chores such as cooking and childcare. Other responsibilities, including translation and surrogate parenting also tend to fall on the shoulders of females. Valenzuela (1999), for example, observed that compared with boys, girls were more often expected to serve as translators and advocates in legal and financial matters that require greater English proficiency than possessed by their parents.

Research also finds that immigrant girls are indeed subject to higher levels of monitoring and supervision compared with boys (Espiritu, 2001; Espiritu and Wolf, 2001; Qin, 2009). A recurring theme across the literature is the perceived double standard in parental monitoring documented within immigrant families (Espiritu, 2001; Qin, 2009; Suárez-Orozco and Qin, 2006). Compared with boys, immigrant females experience far more stringent control over their personal choices, particularly in the area of dating (Walki et al., 1981; Ghosh, 1984; Espiritu, 2001). Strict parental control of females transcends ethnic and cultural boundaries as well as historical periods: this double standard has been documented in studies of Chinese immigrants in the 1920s (Yung, 1995), Italian immigrants in the 1930s (Orsi, 1985) as well as in studies of the post 1965 generation of Hindu, Muslim, and Mexican immigrants (Olsen, 1997), among others. More recently, in qualitative study of first and second generation Chinese youth, Qin (2009) documented boys' and girls' perceptions of their normative behavioral roles within the family. The author found that females were more likely to report feeling pressured to spend time at home compared to males; this expectation was often enforced

through the use of "stricter" more "traditional Chinese parenting" practices. Girls who spent too much time outside the home were derided by parents as acting too "Americanized." Conversely, boys were supervised far more leniently, experiencing greater freedom in their daily activities compared with girls. Collectively, this vast literature suggests that immigrant parents are far less inclined to let their daughters engage in unstructured socializing with friends or activities outside the household (Espiritu and Wolf, 2001; Sung, 1987; Olsen, 1997) because they "have higher expectations for their daughters to embody traditional ideas than for their sons" (Suárez-Orozco and Qin, 2006: 171.)

Lastly, levels of parental attachment have also been found to vary between male and female immigrants. Qin (2009) observed that the Chinese girls in her sample were more likely to internalize parental values and parents' native culture than boys, a finding she attributed to males' increased time spent in the company of peers, whose influence was deemed more important. In addition to expressing greater difficulty communicating with their parents than girls, boys also reported that parental influence and behavioral expectations were a less salient force in their lives. In contrast, Espiritu and Wolf (2001) found in their study of Filipino immigrants in San Diego, that second generation females experienced greater levels of familial conflict than males as well as more emotional distance and less desire to spend time together with family members.

Gender and Delinquency in the Context of Immigrant Adaptation

The expectation that gender will condition the relationship between assimilation and delinquency is based largely on the same literature that informs my expectations

about its role in the assimilation-family process link. Once again, it is assumed that the etiological chain linking assimilation and behavior will vary due to the unique position occupied by girls and boys. Heimer and DeCoster (1999: 283) argue that expressions of female delinquency may be a function of girls' acceptance of traditional gender roles, such that "girls who accept traditional gender definitions should be relatively unlikely to engage in physical aggression and violence." For more traditionally-minded girls, they argue, delinquency and violence may be construed as "doubly deviant"; an affront to the law as well as their own "beliefs about femininity." Alternately, girls who resist traditional gender definitions may be more inclined to participate in behaviors that might be seen as typically more masculine (e.g. violence and delinquency).

It is possible that measures of generational status and linguistic acculturation may be more potent correlates of deviant behavior for girls because the assimilation process upsets the traditional expectations and normative beliefs about girls' role in the family and in the larger social world. This expectation, which resonates with Hagan's (1990) power control theory, is based on the idea that the shift from patriarchal ideals, which characterize certain immigrant populations, to more egalitarian orientations of U.S. culture may exert a stronger influence over females' behavior because boys, by comparison, are more autonomous to begin with.

Thus far, scant empirical studies have examined the gender-specific influences of assimilation on delinquency or other maladaptive behaviors. However, the few studies that have suggest that gender-specific processes may be at work. In a recent study of the correlates of sexual activity, King and Harris (2007) found that first generation girls engaged in significantly lower levels of sexual activity than second and third generation

girls, but no significant differences existed for boys. In one of the few studies to examine the intersection of race-ethnicity, gender and immigrant generation, Bui and Thongniramol (2005) found some notable differences across gender with respect to the link between generational status and delinquency. Among males, generational status was a significant correlate of substance use, property crime, and violence such that later generations were more likely to engage in all three behaviors. Among females, however, no appreciable influences of generational status on violence were observed. Also noteworthy was the finding that generational status was a far more potent correlate of substance use for females than males. Although Bui and Thongniramol's (2005) study offers some preliminary evidence for the gender-specific association between assimilation and maladaptive behavior, importantly their study offers no insight into the interstitial mechanisms linking these constructs.

Summary

In brief, the variable levels of attachment, obligation and supervision documented among immigrant males and females may condition the way in which assimilation influences family processes, and in turn, delinquency across immigrant generations. However, whether and how gender will modify the links in this causal chain is unclear. Given their unique relational roles within the family girls may be more susceptible than boys to the detrimental influences of immigrant assimilation. By this logic, the relationship between assimilatory status (e.g., generation, linguistic acculturation) and family processes may be stronger for girls than boys. Alternately, females' closer bonds to the family and greater obligations to the household may shield them from the potentially negative consequences of assimilatory change. Along this vein, boys may be

more strongly affected by indicators of assimilation. Absent a body of empirical work upon which to base my expectations it is difficult to say whether males and females will differ at all with respect to the influence of assimilatory status on family processes and behavior. Thus, the examination of gender as a moderator is largely exploratory.

Chapter 5: Research Design and Methodology

Chapter Outline

Chapter 5 begins with a brief discussion of mediating and moderating effects—both of which will be examined in this study—and follows with my key research hypotheses. Subsequently, the chapter details the sampling design of the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN), the sample population used for this study, and the measures used in the analyses. Following is an outline of my analytic strategy. I begin by discussing the need for modeling techniques that account for the nested nature of the data and the unusual distribution of the dependent variables, and conclude with a brief outline of the methodology used to test my research hypotheses.

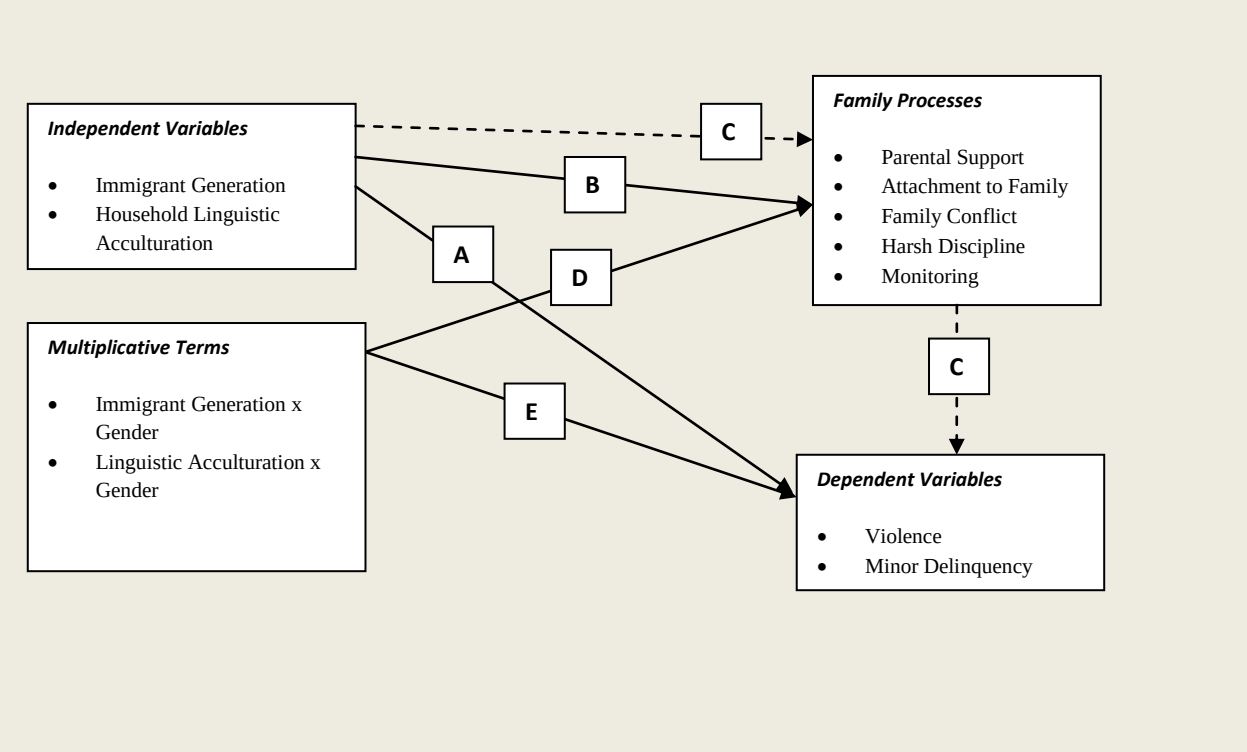
Mediating and Moderating Effects

The overarching goal of this study is to shed light on the individual and family characteristics involved in the relationship between immigrant assimilation and delinquency. First, I examine the relative utility of three unique dimensions of family functioning—harmony (e.g., attachment and support), conflict (e.g., family discord and harsh discipline), and autonomy (e.g., supervision and monitoring)—in the explanation of delinquency across immigrant generations. Second, I address a substantial gap in the research literature by examining the moderating influence of gender on the linkages in this causal chain.

Because this study will examine both mediating and moderating influences, it is useful to clarify the important distinctions between the two. First, mediating variables are

those that represent the intervening causal mechanism through which a focal independent variable (e.g. generational status and linguistic acculturation) influences the dependent variable of interest (Baron and Kenny, 1986). In this study, I test the basic hypothesis that assimilation influences delinquency through its effects on family processes. As an example, less assimilated youth (e.g., the first generation and those from less acculturated households) are expected to experience lower levels of family conflict than more assimilated youth. This conflict, in turn, is expected to influence their involvement in delinquency and substance use. Alternately, moderating variables are those that partition the focal independent variable into subgroups (e.g. male v. female) so that the unique influence of the independent variable for each group can be assessed (Baron and Kenny, 1986). The second part of my analysis concerns the moderating influence of gender on

Figure 1: Proposed Causal Pathways Linking Immigrant Assimilation, Gender, Family Processes and Deviant Behavior



the relationships among assimilation, family processes and delinquency. For this part of the analysis, I examine the intersection of gender with generational status and linguistic acculturation to determine whether the relationship between assimilation and the outcomes of interest (family processes and delinquency) varies between males and females. My research hypotheses, illustrated in figure 1, are summarized here:

Research Hypotheses

Set 1: Direct association between assimilatory status and problem behavior (Path A)

Hypothesis 1: Assimilatory status will be associated with higher levels of violence, minor delinquency and substance use, such that the level of reported involvement will *increase* with each successive generation and with greater levels of household linguistic acculturation.

Set 2: Direct association between assimilatory status and family processes (Path B)

Hypothesis 2: Assimilatory status will be negatively associated with the level of parental support reported by the subject, such that the level of support will *decrease* with each successive generation and with higher levels of household linguistic acculturation.

Hypothesis 3: Assimilatory status will be negatively associated with the level of family attachment reported by the subject, such that the level of attachment will *decrease* with each successive generation and with higher levels of household linguistic acculturation.

Hypothesis 4: Assimilatory status will be positively associated with the level of family conflict reported by the subject, such that the level of conflict will *increase* with each successive generation and with higher levels of household linguistic acculturation.

Hypothesis 5: Assimilatory status will be positively associated with the level of harsh discipline reported by the subject's caregiver, such that the level of harsh discipline will

increase with each successive generation and with higher levels of household linguistic acculturation.

Hypothesis 6: Assimilatory status will be negatively associated with the level of parental monitoring and supervision reported by the subject's caregiver, such that the level of supervision will *decrease* with each successive generation and with higher levels of household linguistic acculturation.

Set 3: Mediating effects of family processes on the assimilation status-deviant behavior link (Path C)

Hypothesis 7: The relationship between assimilatory status and deviant behavior will be *mediated* by parental support, family attachment, family conflict, harsh discipline, and parental monitoring such that the direct influence of generational status and linguistic acculturation on deviant behavior will be *diminished* (e.g. partial mediation) or *eradicated* (e.g. full mediation) in the full explanatory model.

Set 4: Moderating influences of gender on the relationships among assimilation, family processes and behavior

Hypothesis 8: Gender will moderate the association of assimilatory status with family processes, such that the strength and significance of these associations will *differ* between males and females (path D).

Hypothesis 9: Gender will moderate the association of assimilatory status with delinquency, such that strength and significance of this association will *differ* between males and females (path E).

Data and Sample

Data

This study uses data from the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods: Longitudinal Cohort Study (PHDCN-LCS), a large-scale interdisciplinary study initiated for the purpose of gathering high quality data on the neighborhood, family and individual factors that influence human development (Earls et al., 1994; Earls et al., 2002). The PHDCN data are an advantageous choice for this research for several reasons. First, the city of Chicago has been a rich locale for the study of immigration for more than a century. Between 1880 and 1960, the city experienced unprecedented growth in the number of foreign born individuals (Bursik, 2006), making it second only to New York City with respect to the size of the immigrant population (Paral and Norkewicz, 2003). In the last several decades Chicago has once again been a fertile ground for immigration, with the influx of foreign born individuals (predominately from Asia and Latin America) accounting for nearly 75 percent of all population growth in the 1990s (Paral and Norkewicz, 2003).

Second, a burgeoning literature using the PHDCN has already established an association among key measures of interest in this study: generational status, linguistic acculturation and problem behavior (Morenoff and Astor, 2006; Sampson et al., 2005). Sampson and colleagues (2005) recently found that immigrant status was a particularly potent correlate of violence, net of factors such as race-ethnicity and neighborhood immigrant concentration. Specifically, they observed that first generation immigrants' odds of perpetrating violence were approximately half those of third generation immigrants; the odds for second generation immigrants were roughly two-thirds those of

the third generation. In a subsequent study, Morenoff and Astor (2006) found that the deleterious influences of assimilation on violence extended to other dimensions of assimilatory status, including residential tenure and household linguistic acculturation. Once again, more assimilated youth reported higher levels of violence.

Although these studies provide the foundation for anticipating significant associations among generational status, linguistic acculturation and maladaptive behavioral outcomes, notably they stop short of explicating the interstitial mechanisms linking these constructs or considering how gender might condition these effects. The objective of this research is to build on this body of work by examining the underlying causal processes driving the assimilation-behavior link and to determine whether gender moderates the links in this causal chain.

Third, the PHDCN gathered extensive information from both subjects and their primary caregivers on immigrant generational status, language use, family processes and self report offending behaviors, all of which are integral to this research. An additional benefit of the PHDCN is its hierarchical design, which allows for the consideration of how individual characteristics and processes relate to behavior across different social contexts. Although a hierarchical analysis, which examines the intersection of individual and contextual factors, is not the focus of this research, the ability to isolate the influence of individual and family factors from neighborhood contextual factors improves upon prior research that has neglected to disentangle these distinct levels of influence (Bui, 2009; Bui and Thongniramol, 2005; Le and Stockdale, 2008; Samaniego and Gonzales, 1999).

Sampling Design

Although the PHDCN consists of several components, including the Longitudinal Cohort Study (LCS), the Community Survey (CS) and the Systematic Social Observation (SSO), only the details of the LCS, which is used in this study, will be discussed in detail here.[5] The LCS is a series of coordinated longitudinal studies that followed over 6,000 randomly selected children, adolescents, and young adults over three waves of data collection to examine their development and the factors that might influence their involvement in a variety of antisocial behaviors.

To obtain the final probability sample, the PHDCN employed a three stage sampling design. First, 343 neighborhood clusters (NCs) were formed from Chicago's 847 census tracts based on 1) spatial congruity according to geographically meaningful boundaries and 2) internal homogeneity on census indicators such as race-ethnicity, socioeconomic status and family structure (Sampson et al., 1997). Second, all 343 NCs were assigned to 21 strata based on socioeconomic status (3 levels) and racial/ethnic composition (7 levels); a random sample of 80 NCs was selected within the strata. Third, block groups were randomly selected from each of the 80 NCs; within these blocks all households were listed. Age-eligible participants (household members within 6 months of birth (0) and ages 3, 6, 9, 12, 15, or 18) were sampled from randomly selected households.

Respondents and their caregivers were interviewed up to three times between 1994 and 2002. The initial wave of data collection was conducted between 1994 and

[5] A detailed discussion of the technicalities of the PHDCN sampling design can be found in numerous studies (e.g. Bingenheimer, Brennan and Earls, 2005; Browning, 2002; Raudenbush, Johnson and Sampson, 2003; Sampson, Morenoff and Raudenbush, 2005).

1997. In total, just over 6,000 subjects were interviewed (*n*=6,228) at wave 1. The second wave of data collection was conducted between 1997 and 1999. 86 percent of the wave 1 sample (*n*=5,338) was interviewed in this period. Finally, the third wave of data collection was conducted between 1999 and 2002; about 91 percent of the wave 2 sample (*n*=4,850) was interviewed at this time.

Study Sample

Given my substantive interest in adolescent problem behaviors, this study limits the sample to include only members of the 9-, 12-, and 15-year old cohorts and their caregivers interviewed at waves 1 and 2. Given the 2 to 3 year lag between interviews, respondents in these cohorts ranged in age from 11 years to 18 years during the second wave of data collection.

As is the case with many longitudinal surveys, the PHDCN-LCS has a nontrivial number of missing values due to respondent attrition and item missingness. Approximately 18.5 percent (*n*=434) of the original sample did not complete the self report offending survey at wave 2. These cases were subsequently omitted from the analyses. I compared the characteristics of the respondents lost to sample attrition with those who participated in both waves of data collection. Descriptive statistics comparing the attrition sample with the study sample, presented in appendix table B, indicate that the two groups do vary significantly from one another on several characteristics. The proportion of second and third generation subjects differs between samples, with fewer second generation youth and more third generation youth in the attrition sample. The average racial-ethnic composition of the two groups is slightly different, with more African Americans and fewer whites and Mexicans in the attrition sample. The attrition

sample has significantly fewer two-parent households relative to the study sample and a lower average SES score, suggesting a greater level of disadvantage. Residential tenure is also significantly lower for the attrition sample, as is the proportion of respondents who lived in a predominately white neighborhood during the wave 1 interview.

Of the remaining survey respondents, a total of 59 (3.1 percent) were missing data on immigrant status or one or more of the family process variables and were subsequently excluded from the final analyses. Mean comparisons of this sample with the final study sample did not yield any significant differences. Thus, the final sample used for the analyses consists of 1,851 respondents from cohorts 9 (n=662) 12, (n=657) and 15 (n=532). Table 1 presents means, standard deviations and ranges for all study variables.

Measures

Dependent Variables

I examine three self-reported behavioral outcomes in this study: violence, minor delinquency, and substance use. It should be noted that the methodological adequacy of self-report offending data has been criticized on several grounds, including the following: 1) the full range of delinquent/criminal activities in which youth might engage is rarely covered by the survey instruments; 2) the overlapping nature of included items (e.g. thefts over $5 and between $5-$50) may result in inaccurate frequency estimates; and 3) the use of subjective response categories (e.g. sometimes, often) may obscure counts of reported acts (Elliott and Ageton, 1980). The PHDCN data are not exempt from these critiques, and as such, the potential limitations of self-report data should be recognized. Given that this study examines offending behaviors across immigrant generation, the

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for Study Variables, PHDCN Data, *N* =1,851

	N	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max
Dependent Variables (Wave 2)					
Violence	1851	.56	1.14	.00	8.00
Minor Delinquency	1851	1.06	1.60	.00	10.00
Substance Use	1847	1.48	3.19	.00	15.00
Assimilation Measures (Wave 1)					
1st Generation	1851	.05	--	.00	1.00
"1.5" Generation	1851	.07	--	.00	1.00
2nd Generation	1851	.31	--	.00	1.00
3rd Generation	1851	.56	--	.00	1.00
Household Linguistic Acculturation	1851	.74	.32	.20	1.00
Family Processes (Wave 1)					
Family Support/Attachment	1851	.93	.10	.33	1.00
Parental Closeness/Communication	1851	.81	.16	.25	1.00
Family Conflict	1851	.25	.30	.00	1.00
Harsh Discipline	1851	.19	.18	.00	1.00
Monitoring and Supervision	1851	.91	.12	.08	1.00
Background Characteristics (Wave 1)					
Female Subject	1851	.50	--	.00	1.00
African American	1851	.34	--	.00	1.00
White	1851	.15	--	.00	1.00
Other (e.g. Native American, Asian, Pacific Island)	1851	.03	--	.00	1.00
Mexican	1851	.31	--	.00	1.00
Puerto Rican	1851	.09	--	.00	1.00
Other Ethnicity Latino	1851	.07	--	.00	1.00
Age	1851	11.94	2.42	7.77	16.38
Impulsivity	1848	2.68	.59	1.20	4.85
Wave 1 Delinquency (ln)	1827	.43	.57	.00	2.20
Family Size	1851	5.35	2.01	2.00	14.00
Two Parent Household	1851	.69	--	.00	1.00
Single Headed Household	1851	.31	--	.00	1.00
SES	1851	-.09	1.43	-2.99	3.52
Years at Address	1836	6.63	7.10	.08	59.00
Neighborhood Characteristics					
High Concentrated Disadvantage	79	.34	--	.00	1.00
Hispanic Neighborhood (70%+)	79	.10	--	.00	1.00
White Neighborhood (70%+)	79	.15	--	.00	1.00
Black (70%+)	79	.20	--	.00	1.00
Mixed Neighborhood	79	.54	--	.00	1.00

possibility that first generation youth are more likely to underreport their delinquency for fear of legal action must also be acknowledged. Although these limitations are unavoidable, prior research on U.S. immigrant populations using alternate data sources (Bui, 2009; Zhou and Bankston, 2006) has found comparably low levels of offending among first generation youth.

Violence

The violence measure was drawn from the Self-Report of Offending (SRO) questionnaire adapted for the PHDCN from Huizinga, Esbensen, and Weihar (1991). Each subject was asked if he or she had engaged in the following behaviors over the course of the previous year: 1) hit someone you did not live with, with the idea of hurting them; 2) thrown objects like rocks or bottles at people; 3) carried a hidden weapon; 4) attacked someone with a weapon; 5) been in a gang fight in which someone was hurt or threatened with harm; 6) chased someone to scare or hurt them; 7) shot at someone; or 8) threatened to physically hurt someone? Subjects' responses (yes=1; no=0) to each item were summed to create a count measure. [6] The distribution of violence counts, which is shown in appendix figure A, is highly skewed, as most respondents (71.5 percent) reported no acts of violent delinquency in the year prior to the survey.

Minor Delinquency

The measure of minor delinquency was drawn from the Self-Report of Offending (SRO) questionnaire adapted for the PHDCN from Huizinga, Esbensen, and Weihar (1991). Each subject was asked if he or she had engaged in the following behaviors over the course of the previous year: 1) Been absent from school without an excuse?; 2) Run away from home and stayed away overnight?; 3) Purposely damaged or destroyed property that did not belong to you? (for example, breaking, cutting or marking up

[6] Although the use of summary scales for the dependent variables is the most common method for combining multiple dichotomous items (Osgood, McMorris and Potenza, 2002) and has been used extensively in prior research, there are notable limitations to this approach that should be acknowledged. First, as Zimmerman (2009:55) notes, "combining item responses additively presupposes a given dimensionality of crime; that is, it assumes that a number of types of crime is known *a priori.*" Second, additive scales assume equal intervals of measurement (e.g. equal severity) across items in the scale. The assumption of equality is problematic given the subjective differences in severity between behaviors (e.g. attacking someone with a weapon versus threatening to hurt someone).

something); 4) Stolen something from a store?; 5) Taken something that did not belong to you from a car?; 6) Knowingly bought or sold stolen goods?; 7) Sold marijuana or pot?; 8) Caused trouble in public?; 9) Driven a motor vehicle when you did not have a driver's license or after your driver's license had been suspended?; or 10) Stolen from someone in the household? Subjects' responses to each item (1=yes; 0=no) were summed to create a count measure. The distribution of minor delinquency counts, shown in appendix figure B, indicates that the measure is slightly less skewed than the violence measure, as 43.4 percent of respondents reported at least one act of minor delinquency in the previous year.

Substance Use

The measure of substance use was drawn from Substance Use questionnaire, adapted for the PHDCN from Robins et al. (1995) and the World Health Organization, [WHO] (1990). Each subject was asked on how many occasions he or she had engaged in the following behaviors over the course of the previous year: 1) Smoked cigarettes?; 2) Had a drink of beer, wine, wine cooler or hard liquor (not including sips or tastes)?; 3) Used marijuana or hashish? The items were re-coded as follows: 0=never, 1=one or two times, 2= 3 to 5 times; 3=6-11 times, 4=12 to 24 times and 5=more than 25 times. Responses were summed to create a count measure of the frequency of substance use. The frequency distribution of the measure, shown in appendix figure C, indicates that most subjects (69.4 percent) reported that they did not use any substances in the previous year.

Independent Variables

Immigrant Assimilation

Two variables, *immigrant generational status* and *household linguistic acculturation* are used to examine the relationships among immigrant assimilation, family processes and delinquency. Generational status and language use have traditionally been considered the most robust indicators of assimilatory progress, accounting for the lion's share of the variance in most assimilation constructs (Dinh et al., 2002; Marin and Gamba, 1996; Rogler et al., 1991). However, scholars disagree on the relative merits of each of these measures. Although Warner and Srole (1945) argued that the assimilation process would be driven ultimately by generational change, others assert that language use provides a more proximate measure of one's assimilatory progress, as tremendous within-generation variation in assimilation likely exists (Berry et al., 2006). Given the substantive differences in these two measures of assimilatory status, I opt to examine them separately in all multivariate analyses in lieu of combining them into a single index measure. For simplicity, I present findings for most models with immigrant generational status as the key independent variable, but note any observed differences between models.

Immigrant Generational Status

Consistent with prior research on immigration (Bui, 2009; Rumbaut, 1999; Portes, 1996) and specifically with research using the PHDCN (Morenoff and Astor, 2006; Sampson et al., 2005; Sharkey, 2006) I define *first generation* immigrants as individuals who were born outside the U.S.; *second generation* as those who were born in the U.S. but have at least one parent who was born outside the U.S.; and *third+ generation* as

those who were born in the U.S. and whose parents were also born in the U.S. 12.4 percent (n=230) of adolescents were coded as first-generation; 31.4 percent (n=581) were coded as second-generation; and, 56.2 percent (n=1,040) were coded as third+ generation.

Contemporary immigration scholars underscore the need to differentiate between first generation immigrants who arrived in their host country at a very young age (e.g. between ages 0-6), and those that immigrated later in their lives because the former "share many linguistic, cultural, and developmental experiences similar to those of immigrant offspring" (Zhou, 1997:65). The former, oftentimes referred to as the "1.5" generation are expected to differ from latter in "their physical and psychological developmental stages, in their socialization processes in the family, the school, and the society at large, as well as in their orientation toward their homeland" (Zhou, 1997:65). Age at arrival, in other words, is a potent factor shaping the assimilation and adaption experiences of immigrant youth (Zhou and Bankston, 1998). In order to tease out any potential differences between these substantively unique groups, all multivariate analyses are conducted with the first generation divided into two distinct groups: first generation immigrants who immigrated at age 6 or later (e.g. the "true" first generation) and those who migrated before the age of 6 (e.g. the "1.5" generation). Approximately 7 percent of the study sample (58 percent of first generation immigrants) migrated to the U.S. before the age of 6.

Household Linguistic Acculturation

Following Morenoff and Astor's (2006) coding schema, the household linguistic acculturation mean scale is based on the primary caregiver's responses to the following

six questions:[7] 1) What language do you speak with your children?; 2) What language do you speak with your friends?; 3) What language do you speak with your partner?; 4) In what language are the television programs you watch?; 5) In what language are the radio stations you listen to?; and 6) How good do you consider your English to be? Responses to the first 5 items were as follows: (1= only other language; 2= mostly other language; 3= equally English and other language; 4= mostly English; and 5= English only). Responses to the last item were (1= not good at all), (2= fair), (3= pretty good), and (4= very good). The scale has a reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of $\propto$ =.91 and the mean is .74.[8] Raw scores for each item were summed and divided by the total possible value of the scale items (to avoid losing a large number of cases due to missing data, respondents were included in the scale if they endorsed at least 5 of the 6 items). The scale ranged from .20 to 1.00, with higher scores indicating a greater level of household linguistic acculturation.

Family Attachment

Following Maimon and Browning (2010) the *family attachment* scale is composed of 5 items drawn from the PHDCN Provision of Social Relations instrument, indicating the extent to which respondents feel they are emotionally supported by their families. Subjects were asked to gauge their level of agreement (1=not true, 2=somewhat true,

[7] Primary caregivers were first asked the following questions: What was your first learned language? What is your primary language? If the answer to these questions was "English" interviewers were directed to skip the next set of questions regarding interviewees' language preference in various situations. To correct for the large amount of missing data created by this skip pattern, cases with missing data for the language proficiency scale items were assigned a value of 5 ("exclusively English") if they responded that their primary language was "English" on the previous item.

[8] Principle components factor analysis indicated that the items load on a single factor (eigenvalue=4.3), which explains 70 percent of the variance in the linguistic acculturation measures. Individual item loadings range from .801 to .880.

3=very true) with the following statements: "I know my family will always be there for me," "my family tells me they think I am valuable," "my family has confidence in me," "my family helps me find solutions to problems," and "I know my family will always stand by me." Responses were summed and divided by the total possible value of the scale items such that higher scores on the scale indicate a greater level of attachment. The scale has a reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of $\propto$ =.69 and a mean of .93, indicating, on average, a high level of perceived family attachment reported by the subjects.[9]

Parental Support

The *Parental Support* scale is composed of 6 items from the Things I Can Do If I Try questionnaire. Subjects were asked to indicate whether the following statements were (1=very untrue, 2=untrue, 3=true, or 4=very true) *for them personally*: 1) Some kids feel like no matter what they do, they cannot get their parents to listen to them; 2) Some kids feel like they can get their parents to do things with them that they like to do; 3) Some kids feel that they can get help from their parents if they want it; 4) Some kids feel they can talk with their parents when they want to about things that make them feel bad; 5) Some kids can be themselves with their parents when they want to; 6) Some kids feel they can make things better at home with their parents if they try. Responses were summed and divided by the total possible value of the scale items such that higher scores on the scale indicate a greater level of parental support. The scale has a reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of $\propto$ =.74 and a mean of .81, indicating, on average, a high level of

[9] Principle components factor analysis indicated that the scale items load on a single factor (eigenavalue=2.24), which explains 44.9 percent of the variance in the family support measures. Individual item loadings range from .568 to .728.

perceived parental support reported by the subjects.[10]

Family Conflict and Harsh Discipline

Two measures, *family conflict* and *harsh discipline,* are included in this study. [11] The first measure, *family conflict* is a 4-item scale measuring the general level of household conflict between family members *as reported by the subject*. The following items are included in the scale: 1) We fight a lot in our family; 2) Family members sometimes get so angry they throw things; 3) Family members often criticize each other; and 4) Family members sometimes hit each other. Responses to the items were "true" or "false." Responses were summed and divided by the total number of items in the scale, such that higher scores on the scale indicate a greater level of family conflict. The scale has a reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of $\propto$ =.66 and a mean of .25, indicating, on average a low level of perceived family conflict as reported by the subjects.[12]

The second measure, *harsh discipline* is an 8-item mean scale measuring the primary caregiver's use of physical and verbal aggression against the subject (*as reported*

[10] Principle components factor analysis indicated that the items load on a single factor (eigenvalue=2.70), which explains 44.9 percent of the variance in the support measures. Individual factor loadings range from .544 to .749.

[11] Although more specific measures of acculturative dissonance (e.g parent-child conflict over culturally extolled norms and values) used in previous studies (Le and Stockdale, 2008; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001) would be informative, these measures are unavailable in the PHDCN. In their absence, family conflict and harsh discipline are included as rough proxies for generational and family discord. Both measures are admittedly limited, however, as family conflict taps into a general level of family discord, which may include conflict among siblings and extended relatives (as opposed to parent-child conflict exclusively) and the measure of harsh disciplinary practices is derived from the primary caregiver, and hence, does not capture the subject's perception of his/her relationship with his/her parent. Despite these limitations, the association between measures assimilation and family conflict has been established in prior research (Bui, 2009; Choi et al., 2009). Furthermore, a high level of family conflict is antithetical to family cohesion, and thus, is important in the study of immigrant family functioning.

[12] Principle components factor analysis indicated that the items load on a single factor (eigenvalue=1.99), which explains 49.7 percent of the variance in the conflict measures. Individual factor loadings range from .688 to .735.

by the primary caregiver). The scale is composed of the following items: When you had a problem with [subject] in the past year, how many times did you: 1) throw, smash, hit, or kick something?; 2) throw something at him/her?; 3) push, grab or shove him/her? 4) try to hit him/her with something?; 5) slap or spank him/her with an open palm?; 6) do or say something to spite him/her?; 7) threaten to hit or throw something at him/her?; 8) insult or swear at him/her? Response categories for each item were condensed from 7 categories ranging from 0=never to 7=more than 20 times to three response categories: 0=never, 1= once or twice, and 2=3 or more times. Responses were summed and divided by the total possible value of the scale items. The scale has a reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of $\propto$ = .80 and a mean of .19, indicating, on average, a low level of harsh parenting practices as reported by the subjects' primary caregiver.[13]

Monitoring and Supervision

Parental Control and Monitoring is a 13-item mean scale indicating the extent to which adolescents are supervised by their parents. Subjects' primary caregivers were asked to answer questions such as the following: "is [subject] allowed to be in public places without adult supervision?," "have you set up rules for [subject] to check in with you when you are not at home?," and "do you require (subject) to sleep at home on school nights?"[14] Response categories were dichotomous: 1=yes; 0=no. Responses were summed and divided by the total number of items in the scale. The scale has a reliability

[13]Principle components factor analysis indicated that the items load on a single factor (eigenvalue=3.39), which explains 42.4 percent of the variance in the harsh discipline measures. Individual factor loadings range from .529 to .732.

[14] For a complete list of items included in this scale, see appendix x.

(Cronbach's alpha) of $\propto$ = .62 and a mean of .91, indicating, on average, a high level of parental monitoring and supervision as reported by the subject's primary caregiver.[15]

Demographic Traits

A substantial body of research suggests that individual characteristics such as gender, age, and race-ethnicity are associated with delinquency (Canter, 1982; Cernkovich and Giordano, 1987; Matsueda and Heimer, 1987), as well as family processes (Cernkovich and Giordano, 1987; Krohn et al., 1992; Simpson and Elis, 1995; Simpson and Gibbs, 2006; Smith and Krohn, 1995; Vazsonyi and Flannery, 1997). Thus, all multivariate analyses control for the following demographic characteristics: *Gender* is a dichotomous measure: 1=female; 0=male. The sample is split evenly between males and females. A series of dummy variables indicating the subject's race-ethnicity were created using data from the primary caregiver's interview; subjects were coded as non-Latino black, Mexican, Puerto Rican, "other" Latino, and non-Latino "other" race (e.g. Asian, Native American, Pacific Islander and other combined), with non-Latino white the referent.[16] African Americans make up the largest proportion of the sample (34 percent) followed by Mexicans (31 percent), non-Latino whites (15 percent), Puerto Ricans (9 percent) "other" Latinos (7 percent) and non-Latino "others" (e.g. Asian, Native

[15] Principle components factor analysis did not support a one factor solution. Consequently, the use of two separate scales tapping different dimensions of parental control and supervision were considered but aborted because of unacceptably low alpha reliability coefficients (<.40). Although some of the individual item loadings fall below the conservative threshold of .40, the omission of these items reduced the scale's alpha level to an unacceptably low level. Thus, following Maimon and Browning (2010) I opted to use a single monitoring/supervision scale.

[16] Following Morenoff and Astor (2006) and Sharkey (2006) Latino subjects were divided into three groups: Mexican Latino, Puerto Rican Latino, and other Latino. Due to the small sample sizes within some groups, it was not possible to differentiate between all racial-ethnic categories, but given the large number of Mexican and Puerto Ricans in the sample, and their unique socioeconomic profile relative to each other and to other immigrant groups (Jensen, 2001; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001), this distinction is worth making.

American) (3 percent). *Age* is a continuous measure of the subject's age. The mean age of respondents across cohorts was approximately 12 years at the time of the wave 1 interview.

Family Structure

Family structure has long been considered a salient factor in the development of adolescent behavioral problems (Pittman and Boswell, 2008; Sampson and Laub, 1993). More specifically, the presence of two-parent households has been identified as a protective influence in immigrant families (Ousey and Kubrin, 2009; Sampson et al., 2005). To disentangle the influence of family structural characteristics and family processes, two measures of family structure are included in all multivariate analyses. *Family Size* is a continuous measure of the total number of individuals living in the household at wave 1. The mean number of family members for the sample is approximately 5.4. *Marital status* is measured with a dummy variable indicating whether the household is a single headed (=1) or two-parent (=0) household. Approximately 31 percent of caregivers reported living in a single headed household at the time of the wave 1 interview.

Family Socioeconomic Status

A composite measure of SES is included in all multivariate analyses. The *SES* index is comprised of three measures of family socioeconomic status*:* household income, primary caregiver's education status, and the primary caregiver's occupational prestige score, which is based on the socioeconomic index (SEI) (Nakao and Treas, 1994). [17] The average SES score for the sample is -.09, indicating that the typical subject is

[17] If the primary caregiver is not employed but has a partner, the partner's SEI score is used. If both are employed, the maximum score is used.

characterized by a low level of socioeconomic status.

Residential Stability

Longer tenure has been found to be associated with greater social capital and a stronger connection to the local ethnic community (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001), and thus, may be salient to the adaptation of immigrant youth. *Years at address* is a continuous measure of the number of years in which a primary caregiver and his/her family has resided in their most recent residence. The mean number of years at a residence is 6.6 years.

Impulsivity and Prior Delinquency

In the absence of a direct measure of criminal propensity, two measures are included to control for underlying differences between subjects that may be associated with both family processes (e.g. impulsive children may illicit a harsher parenting style) and offending behaviors. The first, *impulsivity*, is constructed from questions adapted from the Achenbach Child-Behavior Checklist (Achenbach, 1993; Earls et al., 2002). Subjects were asked to indicate on a 3-point scale from "not true" to "very true" how accurately the following 10 items described the respondent: 1) has trouble concentrating or paying attention; 2) cannot get mind off certain thoughts; 3) has trouble sitting still, restless, or hyperactive; 4) feels confused or in a fog; 5) demands a lot of attention; 6) accidentally gets hurt a lot or accident-prone; 7) acts without stopping to think; 8) is nervous, high-strung, or tense; 9) has nervous movements or body twitches; 10) and repeats certain actions over and over. The impulsivity scale has a reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of $\propto = .80$, and a mean of 2.68.[18]

[18] Cronbachs's alpha for this scale was gleaned from Zimmerman (2009).

The second measure, *prior delinquency*, was drawn from the wave 1 Self-Report of Offending (SRO) questionnaire adapted for the PHDCN from Huizinga, Esbensen, and Weihar (1991). Wave 1 delinquency is included to ensure a more conservative estimate of the influence of family processes on wave 2 delinquency. Each respondent was asked if he or she had engaged in the following behaviors over the course of the previous year: 1) Purposely damaged or destroyed property that did not belong to you? (for example, breaking, cutting or marking up something); 2) Stolen something from a store?; 3) Taken something that did not belong to you from a car?; 4) Knowingly bought or sold stolen goods?; 5) Caused trouble in public?; 6) Driven a motor vehicle when you did not have a driver's license or after your driver's license had been suspended?; 7) Stolen from someone in the household? Or 8) Carried a hidden weapon? Subjects' responses (yes=1; no=0) to each item were summed. Because the scale is highly skewed, the natural log of the scale was used in the analyses. The logged delinquency measure has a reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of $\propto$ =.70 and a mean of .43.[19]

Neighborhood-level Controls

Portes and Zhou (1993) argue that the particular assimilatory path followed by immigrants is inexorably linked to the social "context of reception" in which immigrant families are embedded. In light of the vast theoretical and empirical literature substantiating the importance of neighborhood mechanisms of social control and disadvantage in the study of immigrant criminality (Desmond and Kubrin, 2009;

[19] Although the wave 1 delinquency measure is included in the analyses to ensure a more conservative estimate of the effect of family processes on problem behaviors at wave 2, it is possible that generational status influences delinquency at wave 1. Thus, controlling for this measure may mask the influence of generational status on wave 2 delinquency. To account for this possibility, I compared statistical models with and without the measure of wave 1 delinquency. The basic findings did not differ appreciably between models, justifying the more conservative approach.

Martinez, 2000; Morenoff and Astor, 2006; Sampson et al., 2005; Zhou and Bankston, 2006) it is important to control for the possible influence of exogenous neighborhood conditions associated with delinquency. I control for two characteristics of the neighborhood environment: racial-ethnic composition and neighborhood concentrated disadvantage. The person level scale scores are the adjusted mean scale scores (mean over the scale items and adjusted for missing data) at the person level. These person level scores were then aggregated to the neighborhood cluster level using a community identifier linking variable.

Concentrated Disadvantage

A measure of *concentrated disadvantage* was derived from 1990 decennial census data by the architects of the PHDCN. It is based on a six-item scale that sums standardized neighborhood-level measures of median income, percentage college educated, percentage with household income over $50,000, percentage of families below the poverty line (reverse coded), percentage on public assistance (reverse coded), and percentage with household income less than $50,000 (reverse coded).[20] Notably, the restricted version of the PHDCN data employed in the current analysis does *not* provide a continuous index measure of neighborhood socioeconomic disadvantage; rather, three categories of neighborhood socioeconomic status are included in the available data set: low SES, medium SES and high SES. Subsequently, *concentrated disadvantage* is a dichotomous variable indicating whether an individual resides in a neighborhood characterized as falling within the lowest third of the socioeconomic scale. Approximately 34 percent of the sample lives in such a neighborhood.

[20] Because the SES scale was created with restricted data by the PHDCN's scientific directors, information on the alpha reliability for the scale and individual item loadings is not available.

Neighborhood Racial-Ethnic Composition

Neighborhood ethnic composition is derived from the 1990 Census. Four dichotomous variables are coded as follows: *African-American NC* (neighborhood cluster) refers to neighborhood clusters with 70 percent or higher African American population. *White NC* refers to neighborhood clusters with 70 percent or higher Caucasian population. *Hispanic NC* refers to neighborhood clusters with 70 percent or higher Hispanic population. Finally, *Mixed NC, the referent,* refers to neighborhood clusters with less than 70 percent of one single ethnic group.[21] The largest proportion of the study sample, 54 percent, reside in mixed race-ethnicity neighborhoods, followed by predominately black neighborhoods (20 percent), predominately white neighborhoods (15 percent) and predominately Hispanic neighborhoods (10 percent).

Analytic Strategy

Methodological Considerations

The complex sampling design of the PHDCN and the unusual distribution of the dependent variables require some specific methodological strategies. The first issue concerns the nested nature of the data. Because a central goal of the PHDCN study was to examine individual development within a larger social context the data are, by design, nested such that individuals are clustered within unique neighborhood environments. Failure to account for this clustering results in a number of methodological problems, including the violation of independent error terms across neighborhood levels

[21] For the present study, a more salient measure of neighborhood context might be immigrant concentration. This measure, unfortunately, is not available in the restricted PHDCN data used in the present study.

(Raudenbush and Bryk, 2002). That is, traditional single level models rely on the untenable assumption that individuals situated within shared social contexts differ at random, such that the variance between individuals is constant. The use of single level modeling techniques with clustered data results in misestimated standard errors, and subsequently increases the likelihood of erroneous conclusions (Raudenbush and Bryk, 2002).

Although the focus of this dissertation is on the micro-level processes involved in explaining the link between immigrant generation and crime, the nested nature of the data may result in the misestimation of standard errors. Given my substantive interest in the *micro-level* processes linking immigrant assimilation, family processes, and behavior, the use of multilevel modeling techniques is not imperative for this study. However, to ensure that this clustered sampling design does not result in underestimated standard errors (and subsequently, type I errors), I compare my substantive findings with those obtained from multi-level models, and note any differences. As an additional cautionary measure, all significance tests are based on robust standard errors.

The second data issue concerns the unusual distribution of the dependent variables. Most youth reported zero acts of delinquency and substance use within the past year, and only a small minority reported involvement in a large number of acts. Given the abnormal distribution of the delinquency indices, the normality assumption of OLS regression is reasonably assumed to be violated, and subsequently cannot be approximated, even with a mathematical transformation (e.g. natural log) (Agresti and Finlay, 1997). Negative binomial regression, which is explicitly designed to handle continuous variables with large positive skews and a disproportionate number of zeros,

offers a suitable alternative for two reasons. First, it adjusts for the heteroscedasticity of the variance and the nonnormality in the distributions of the delinquency and substance use counts. Second, for each measure of delinquency and substance use the variance of the distribution is substantially greater than its respective mean (violence: x = .56, σ^2 =1.30; minor delinquency: x = 1.06, σ^2 =2.57; substance use: x =1.48, σ^2 =10.18). This overdispersion in the distributions of the outcomes makes the use of negative binomial regression preferable to Poisson regression because the former adds a residual variance parameter that captures overdispersion in the dependent variable (Osgood, 2000; Raudenbush and Bryk, 2002).[22]

Analyses

Chapters 6 and 7 detail the results of the bivariate and multivariate analyses used to test my key research hypotheses. A necessary prerequisite in any study of mediating effects is an examination of the relationships among the key independent variables, proposed interstitial processes and dependent variables. I begin chapter 6 by examining the relationships among assimilatory status, family processes and problem behavior at the bivariate level. First, I perform a series of one-way ANOVAs with post hoc Games-Howell contrasts comparing levels of violence, minor delinquency and substance use (measured at wave 2) and each family process (measured at wave 1) across immigrant generation. Next, I examine bivariate correlations among all study variables.

[22] Notably, the HLM6 Hierarchical Linear and Nonlinear Modeling Program used for these analyses (version 6.04 for Windows; Raudenbush, Bryk, and Congon, 2004) does not allow for negative binomial modeling. Thus, for my comparative analyses, I opted to use an overdispersed Poisson regression including error terms, which is comparable to a negative binomial model. Although the underlying assumptions of Poisson and negative binomial models are somewhat different (and tend to be more restrictive for Poisson regression), the negative binomial model is essentially a Poisson-based regression model that allows for over dispersion in the dependent variable. HLM is able to approximate a negative binomial regression model by incorporating a scale parameter to adjust the standard errors (Raudenbush et al., 2004).

The next step in my analyses is to determine whether bivariate relationships among the assimilation measures, family processes and delinquency outcomes hold net of demographic and neighborhood characteristics. To test my second set of hypotheses, which propose direct relationships between assimilation and family processes, I perform a series of OLS regressions, in which each family process is regressed on immigrant generation and control variables. The formula for the OLS model is summarized here:

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_{1i} + ...\beta_k X_{ki} + r_i \quad (1)$$

where Y_i is the average score for each family process variables, X_{1i} through X_{ki} are the assimilatory status and control variables, β_0 is the intercept; β_1 through β_k are slope coefficients relating the independent variables to the family process outcomes; and r_i is an error term and is assumed to be distributed normally with mean zero and variance σ^2.

To test my third set of hypotheses regarding the mediating effects of the family process variables, I conduct a series of hierarchical regressions of behavioral outcomes on immigrant generational status, family process variables and controls, in which family processes are added incrementally to assess any mediating effects. The formula for the negative binomial model is summarized here:

$$P(Y_i = y_i) = \frac{\Gamma(y_i+\phi)}{y_i!\Gamma(\phi)} \frac{\phi^{\phi}\lambda_i^{yi}}{(\phi+\lambda_i)^{\phi-yt}} \quad (2)$$

where Γ is the gamma function (e.g. the continuous version of the factorial function) and φ is the reciprocal of the residual variance of underlying mean counts, α (Osgood, 2000:29). I conduct Sobel tests (Preacher and Hayes, 2008), to assess mediation effects.

Finally, to examine my fourth set of hypotheses, which make predictions about the moderating influence of gender on the relationships among immigrant assimilation, family processes and delinquency, I examine the interaction of gender with both measures of assimilation—generational status and household linguistic acculturation—to determine whether gender moderates the associations between assimilation and delinquency, and between assimilation and family processes. Although the presence or absence of significant interactions will be used as the criteria for establishing moderating effects, I also compare hierarchical regression models by gender, to determine what, if any, differences exist between males and females with respect to the mediating effects of family processes in the assimilation-delinquency link. Results of these analyses, which are also based on a series of OLS and negative binomial regression models, are detailed in chapter 7.

Chapter 6: The Mediating Role of Family Processes in the Assimilation-crime Link

The hypotheses examined in this study are based on more than a century of research and theorizing about the link between immigrant assimilation and crime. Since the earliest writings on immigration, scholars have focused on the protective characteristics of immigrant families and the deleterious implications of assimilation for family cohesion (Shaw, 1938; Shaw and McKay, 1942; Thomas and Znaniecki, 1920; Thrasher, 1927; Wirth, 1931). Although a substantial body of ethnographic literature leads us to expect that the assimilation paradox—or the waning benefit of immigrant status—is due, at least in part, to generational differences in levels of family attachment, parental support, conflict, and control, thus far empirical research has "lagged behind the need to develop a greater understanding of whether and how immigration affects family functioning and whether this, in turn, may or may not differentially impact adolescent development and adjustment" (Vazsonyi, Trejos-Castillo, and Huang, 2006:800). This study improves upon prior research by drawing from two theoretical perspectives—social control and acculturative dissonance—to examine prospectively the influence of two unique indicators of assimilatory status on family processes and offending behaviors.

Bivariate Analyses

Background Characteristics

Table 2 shows the means and standard deviations for all demographic variables, family background and neighborhood characteristics by immigrant generation. Chi-square tests indicate that the groups differ significantly on several characteristics. First, not surprisingly the first and 1.5 generations report the lowest averages on the household linguistic acculturation scale (.35 and .37 compared with .47 and .98, respectively, for the second and third generation). It is interesting to note that the level of household linguistic acculturation is relatively high for the second generation, suggesting that in immigrant households with native born (e.g. second generation) youth, biculturalism—with respect to language use—is the norm rather than the exception.

Second, compared with the first, 1.5 and second generations, the third generation is characterized by a significantly larger proportion of African Americans and a lower proportion of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. This heavy clustering of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in the first generation resonates with the "well-known shift in the country-of-origin composition of immigrants" (Jensen, 2001:32), which has been defined by a growing Latin American and Asian immigrant population in the U.S. in recent years.[23]

Turning next to the measures of impulsivity and prior delinquency, it seems that the first and 1.5 generations are characterized by significantly lower average impulsivity scores relative to the second and third generations. Although this finding does not lend

[23] The small number of first and second generation African Americans in the sample precludes an examination of the intersection of race and immigrant-generational status. Given the tremendous cultural and socioeconomic variation across immigrant groups and the significance of race as a correlate of adaptation outcomes in immigrant youth (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Stepick et al., 2001) this marks an important area for further research.

itself to an obvious explanation it is possible that differences exist across generations with respect to the sort of behaviors that are considered atypical or problematic by parents. That is, the items included in the impulsivity scale may be culturally extolled or value-laden in such a way that less assimilated parents may are likely to endorse them. Next, consistent with prior research on less serious forms of delinquency among immigrant and non-immigrant youth (Bui, 2009; Bui and Thongniramol, 2005) and with the expectations of this study, average rates of delinquency are higher among later generations, with third generation youth reporting the highest average score on the wave 1 delinquency scale.

Generational differences exist with respect to family size and structure as well. First, 1.5, and second generation youth have larger families on average and are more likely to come from two-parent households relative to third generation youth; more than 80 percent of first, 1.5, and second generation youth come from a two parent household compared with only 56 percent of third generation youth. This finding accords with the popular notion that recent immigrants are more pro-nuptial and family-oriented than later generations (Berry et al., 2006; Martinez et al., 2004; Oroposa and Landale, 2004; Vega, 1990; Zhou, 1997). Research documents, for example, that later generation Mexican Americans have lower rates of marriage than more recent generations (Oropesa and Landale, 2004).

Next, because first generation immigrants are likely to be characterized by shorter periods of residential tenure by default, it is not surprising to find that they report a significantly lower average number of years at their address compared with later generations. The salience of this finding should not be overlooked, however, as scholars

note that residential stability is a decisive factor in the adaptation outcomes of immigrant groups and that longer tenure is associated with greater social capital and a stronger connection to the local ethnic community (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Portes and Zhou, 1996).

Also noteworthy is the average level of SES across generations, which is lowest among the first generation and increases markedly with each successive generation. The finding that first generation immigrants are at a greater socioeconomic disadvantage relative to later generations is not paradoxical in itself, particularly when one considers the overwhelming educational and economic deficits that characterize many immigrant groups and the relative dearth of social capital with which they arrive (Jensen, 2001; Sampson and Bean, 2006). Rather, the paradoxical nature of this finding comes into focus when one considers that many immigrant groups fare better than nationals on a range of social and educational outcomes *despite* their relative economic disadvantage; hence, "the immigrant paradox."

Finally, the neighborhood characteristics of the subjects also differ across immigrant generation, with first, 1.5, and second generation youth being significantly more likely than third generation youth to live in predominately Hispanic or mixed ethnicity neighborhoods, and far less likely to live in predominately African American neighborhoods. Absent a direct measure of immigrant concentration, it is difficult to say whether this is indicative of foreign born individuals being more likely to be entrenched in immigrant enclaves, but prior research using the PHDCN (Sampson et al., 2005; Morenoff and Astor, 2006), suggests that this is the case.

Family Processes and Problem Behaviors

My first and second sets of research hypotheses make assertions about differences in the overall levels of violence, minor delinquency, substance use and family processes across immigrant generation. To examine these differences, I performed a series of one-way ANOVAs with post hoc Games-Howell contrasts comparing average levels of each family process and behavioral outcome across immigrant generation. To avoid spurious positives that may result when multiple statistical tests are performed simultaneously (Miller, 1991), I used a Bonferroni correction (.05/4=.0125). Table 3 shows the results of these analyses.

Consistent with prior research on violence using the PHDCN data (Sampson et al., 2005; Morenoff and Astor, 2006), the average level of reported violence is lowest among the first generation and increases with each successive generation. Compared with third generation youth, who reported an average of .71 acts of violence in the previous year, first, 1.5, and second generation youth reported an average of .25, .37 and .39 violent acts, respectively. [24] Differences between the first and third generation, the 1.5 and third generation, and the second and third generation are significant (p <.001). Only one significant group difference was observed for minor delinquency. Compared to the third generation, who reported an average of 1.16 acts of minor delinquency in the previous year, second generation youth reported a lower average of .94 acts; the difference between groups is significant (p <.013).

[24] As shown in appendices X through X, the distribution of each behavioral outcome is highly skewed, as most respondents report no acts of violence, drug use, or delinquency in the previous year. Thus, a more informative statistic is the percentage of youth reporting at least one act of violence, which is 10.3 percent, 17.3 percent, 20.5 percent, and 36.1 percent, respectively for the first, 1.5, second and third generations.

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics for Demographic Variables by Immigrant Generation

	1st Generation (*n* =97)		1.5 Generation (*n*= 133)		2nd Generation (*n*= 581)		3rd Generation+ (*n*= 1,040)		χ^2
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	
Assimilation Measures									
Linguistic Acculturation	.35	.17	.37	.23	.47	.24	.98	.09	1357.70 ***
Demographic Characteristics									
Female Subject	.51	--	.42	--	.51	--	.50	--	
African American	.01	--	.05	--	.02	--	.58	--	630.899 ***
White	.19	--	.05	--	.06	--	.21	--	80.943 ***
Other (e.g. Native American, Asian, Pacific Island)	.05	--	.02	--	.04	--	.03	--	
Mexican	.54	--	.72	--	.64	--	.06	--	704.515 ***
Puerto Rican	.07	--	.11	--	.14	--	.06	--	32.860 ***
Other Ethnicity Latino	.14	--	.04	--	.10	--	.05	--	27.260 ***
Age	13.23	2.05	11.51	2.35	11.76	2.43	11.97	2.42	32.508 ***
Impulsivity	-.40	.94	-.23	1.07	2.51	.58	2.81	.56	123.475 ***
Wave 1 Delinquency (ln)	.32	.49	.32	.53	.36	.55	.48	.59	27.141 ***
Family Size	5.91	2.18	5.74	2.00	5.60	1.68	5.11	2.13	66.586 ***
Two Parent Household	.81	--	.84	--	.87	--	.56	--	198.012 ***
Single Headed Household	.19	--	.16	--	.13	--	.44	--	198.012 ***
SES	-.59	.84	-.56	.82	-.49	1.28	.31	1.41	219.753 ***
Years at Address	2.37	2.13	3.17	2.50	5.87	5.05	7.89	8.32	104.895 ***
Neighborhood Characteristics									
High Concentrated Disadvantage	.40	--	.38	--	.39	--	.35	--	
Hispanic Neighborhood (70%+)	.18	--	.17	--	.22	--	.04	--	134.40 ***
White Neighborhood (70%+)	.22	--	.11	--	.11	--	.15	--	10.414 *
Black (70%+)	.00	--	.03	--	.01	--	.36	--	336.937 ***
Mixed Neighborhood	.61	--	.68	--	.66	--	.46	--	78.711 ***

*p <.05; **p <.01; ***p <.001

NOTES: Kruskal Wallis Test, Chi Square indicates significant differences across groups.

Finally, I found no significant generational differences in the level of substance use reported by the subjects.

The finding that first, 1.5, and second generation youth report less violence, and that second generation youth report less minor delinquency, compared to the third generation despite relatively lower levels of socioeconomic status is congruent with previous research on behavioral outcomes across immigrant generations (Bui, 2009; Bui and Thongniramol, 2005; Sampson et al., 2005; Morenoff and Astor, 2006; Samaniego and Gonzales, 1999) and with the thrust of the "immigrant paradox." Somewhat surprising is the lack of significant differences in substance use patterns across immigrant generations. Although prior research has generally been equivocal, some studies have found generational status to correlate with substance use (Bui, 2009; Myers et al., 2009). Even more surprising, however, is that no significant differences were observed in average levels of violence, minor delinquency, or substance use between the first and second generation or between the first and 1.5 generation. One would expect, given the unique social and demographic profiles of first and second generation youth (Portes ad Rumbaut, 1996, 2001), that some notable differences in their proclivity toward maladaptive behavior would be evident.

Turning to the family process measures, there are surprisingly few mean differences across groups. Significant differences were observed for only two of the five

Table 3: Mean Comparison of Family Processes and Deviant Behavior by Immigrant Generation

	1st Generation Immigrant (*n* =97)		1.5 Generation Immigrant (*n* =133)		2nd Generation Immigrant (*n*= 581)		3rd Generation+ Immigrant (*n*= 1,040)		Posthoc Contrasts					
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	1 v 1.5	1 v 2	1 v 3	1.5 v 2	1.5 v 3	2 v 3
Dependent Variables (Wave 2)														
Violence	.25	.96	.37	1.03	.39	.94	.71	1.25			-.46 **		-.34 **	-.32 **
Minor Delinquency	1.09	1.49	.85	1.54	.94	1.51	1.16	1.66						-.22 *
Substance Use	1.68	3.04	1.17	2.80	1.39	2.98	1.56	3.36						
Family Processes (Wave 1)														
Family Support/Attachment	.94	.09	.94	.09	.93	.10	.93	.10						
Parental Support	.81	.15	.82	.13	.80	.16	.82	.15						
Family Conflict	.16	.22	.21	.28	.20	.27	.29	.31			-.14 **		-.08 **	-.09 **
Harsh Discipline	.17	.18	.17	.17	.16	.17	.22	.19						-.06 **
Monitoring and Supervision	.89	.12	.92	.13	.92	.11	.90	.12						

*p <.013; **p <.001

NOTES: One way ANOVA with post hoc Games-Howell contrast (equal variances not assumed)

family processes: family conflict and harsh discipline. Compared with the third generation, who had an average score of .29 on the family conflict scale, first, 1.5, and second generation youth had lower average scores of .16, .21 and .20, respectively. Differences between first and third, 1.5 and third, and second and third generations are significant (p <.001). Third generation youth also experience higher average levels of harsh discipline, with an average score of .22 compared with average scores of .17 and .16 for the first, 1.5, and second generation, respectively. Only the difference between the second and third generation is statistically significant (p<.001), however.

The failure to find generational differences in average levels of family attachment, parental support or supervision runs contrary to the expectations of this study, and to the broader literature on the assimilation paradox (Martinez and Lee, 2000; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Rumbaut, 1997). For as long as the paradox of waning immigrant advantage has been observed, scholars have honed in on the protective family characteristics associated with being an immigrant and the deleterious consequences of assimilation on immigrant family functioning (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996, 2001; Shaw, 1938; Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco, 2001; Thomas and Znaniecki, 1918-1920; Wirth, 1931). Particularly surprising is the finding that no group differences exist in the level of parental supervision and monitoring. Once again, this contrasts the expectations of scholars who have argued that assimilation and acculturation, particularly among non-English speaking groups, can alter family dynamics and even lead to role reversal between parents and children (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

Bivariate Correlations

Correlations for the full sample, presented in table 4, show the bivariate associations among the two measures of assimilation, demographic characteristics, family processes and behavioral measures. As noted previously, to establish mediation effects, it is first necessary to determine whether significant relationships exist among key independent variables (e.g. assimilation), the proposed mediators (e.g. family processes) and the outcomes of interest (e.g. delinquency) (Baron and Kenny, 1986). The bivariate correlations reported in table 4 offer some preliminary support for the potential mediating role of family processes in the assimilation-delinquency link.

First, immigrant generational status and household linguistic acculturation are significantly associated with two of the three delinquency measures. Both violence (r =.192, p<.01) and minor delinquency (r =.074, p<.01) are associated with this measure. Further, results indicate that youth from more linguistically acculturated households report more violence (r =.130, p<.01) and minor delinquency (r =.063, p<.01). That is, consistent with my expectations, higher levels of assimilation are associated with an increased number of problem behaviors. No associations at the bivariate level were found for substance use.

The two measures of assimilation are also correlated with at least three of the family process measures. Immigrant generational status is associated with family conflict (r =.157, p<.01), harsh discipline (r =.140, p<.01) and monitoring (r =-.056, p<.05). Given the strong correlation between immigrant generation and household linguistic acculturation (r =.846, p<.01), it is not surprising that the latter measure is also associated positively with family conflict (r =.136, p<.01) and harsh discipline (r=.129,

$p<.01$), such that youth from more linguistically acculturated households report higher average levels of both. Again, the finding that more assimilated youth experience greater family conflict and harsher parental discipline accords with the notion that family cohesion erodes with increased assimilation (Shaw, 1938; Thomas and Znaniecki, 1918-1920; Wirth, 1931). No significant relationship was observed for monitoring, which, again, is unexpected in light of contemporary ethnographic literature that has noted differences in the level of control exerted over immigrant and native born youth (Espiritu, 2001; Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco, 2001). Finally, although no significant association was found between generational status and parental support, linguistic acculturation is significantly associated with this measure ($r=.061$, $p<.01$). The direction of influence, however, suggests that youth in more linguistically acculturated households experience greater levels of parental support, which may be a function of greater congruence in language capabilities between parents and children.

Turning to the bivariate relationships among family processes and delinquency, a number of significant associations are worth noting. First, although the sizes of the correlations are modest, each of the five family processes is related to violence in the anticipated direction. Parental support ($r=-.188$, $p<.01$), attachment to family ($r=-.112$, $p<.01$) and monitoring ($r=-.168$, $p<.01$) are associated with less violence, while family conflict ($r=.105$, $p<.01$) and harsh discipline ($r=.100$, $p<.01$) are associated with more violence. Similar patterns of association are observed for minor delinquency, although for two variables, parental support ($r=-.282$, $p<.01$) and monitoring ($r=-.264$, $p<.01$), the correlations are slightly stronger. Finally, four of the five family processes are correlated (in the same causal directions) with substance abuse: parental support ($r=-.203$, $p<.01$);

Table 4: Bivariate Correlations among Assimilation Measures, Demographic Variables, Family Processes, Delinquency

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Immigrant Generation	1											
2. HH Linguistic Acculturation	.846**	1										
3. Female	.010	.001	1									
4. Age	-.008	.011	.028	1								
5. African American	.525**	.577**	.030	.010	1							
6. White	.158**	.235**	-.008	.016	-.303**	1						
7. Other (e.g. NA, Asian, PI)	-.013	.083**	-.017	-.014	-.135**	-.080**	1					
8. Mexican	-.558**	-.735**	.016	-.043	-.485**	-.287**	-.128**	1				
9. Puerto Rican	-.088**	-.061**	-.030	.026	-.227**	-.134**	-.060**	-.215**	1			
10. Other Ethnicity Latino	-.077**	-.057*	-.024	.018	-.193**	-.114**	-.051*	-.183**	-.086**	1		
11. Impulsivity	.249**	.270**	-.111**	-.035	.154**	.090**	.013	-.243**	.020	-.007	1	
12. Wave 1 Delinquency	.121**	.136**	-.076**	.443**	.065**	.026	.005	-.112**	.019	.024	.146**	1
13. Family Size	-.185**	-.187**	-.013	-.084**	-.054*	-.138**	-.045	.217**	-.055*	-.008	-.032	-.059*
14. Single-Headed HH	.264**	.221**	.023	.039	.330**	-.077**	-.018	-.239**	-.013	-.046*	.039	.058*
15. SES	.345**	.458**	-.040	-.006	.102**	.322**	.090**	-.368**	-.031	.001	.108**	.062**
16. Years at Address	.184**	.205**	-.014	.078**	.102**	.103**	-.001	-.123**	-.094**	-.003	.023	.045
17. Parental Support	.036	.061**	.054*	-.187**	.030	.040	-.003	-.042	-.018	-.014	-.085**	-.166**
18. Attachment to Family	-.032	-.005	-.031	-.113**	-.023	.035	-.049*	.013	.001	.002	-.153**	-.186**
19. Family Conflict	.157**	.136**	.001	.040	.077**	.023	.004	-.088**	.019	-.040	.278**	.087**
20. Harsh Discipline	.140**	.129**	-.050*	-.048*	.145**	-.023	-.012	-.107**	-.041	.013	.360**	.104**
21. Monitoring	-.056*	-.018	.039	-.281**	.012	-.052*	.011	.017	.004	.020	-.174**	-.226**
22. Violence	.192**	.130**	-.150**	.224**	.155**	-.051*	-.030	-.124**	.011	.020	.129**	.399**
23. Minor Delinquency	.074**	.063**	-.053*	.426**	.052*	.011	-.024	-.082**	.016	.039	.153**	.492**
24. Substance Use	.005	.014	-.012	.484**	-.069**	.111**	.000	-.052*	.000	.069**	.104**	.500**

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

Notes: Pearson Correlations; 2-tailed tests of significance.

Table 4: Bivariate Correlations among Assimilation Measures, Demographic Variables, Family Processes, Delinquency (cont.)

	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
13. Family Size	1										
14. Single-Headed HH	-.185**	1									
15. SES	-.223**	-.154**	1								
16. Years at Address	-.034	.012	.194**	1							
17. Parental Support	.006	.034	.034	.007	1						
18. Attachment to Family	-.027	-.051*	.100**	.006	.240**	1					
19. Family Conflict	.102**	.071**	-.070**	-.060*	-.090**	-.150**	1				
20. Harsh Discipline	.033	.078**	.003	-.075**	-.076**	-.081**	.345**	1			
21. Monitoring	.048*	-.066**	.029	-.024	.121**	.101**	-.156**	-.063**	1		
22. Violence	-.006	.078**	-.015	-.018	-.188**	-.112**	.105**	.100**	-.168**	1	
23. Minor Delinquency	-.041	.031	.016	.002	-.282**	-.179**	.120**	.097**	-.264**	.644**	1
24. Substance Use	-.113**	.019	.055*	.033	-.203**	-.163**	.081**	.031	-.296**	.448**	.657**

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

Notes: Pearson Correlations; 2-tailed tests of significance.

family attachment (r=-.163, p<.01); family conflict (r=.081, p<.01); and monitoring (r=-.296, p<.01). No significant correlation is evident between substance use and harsh discipline.

In addition to the significant correlations among the key study variables, there are notable associations among the assimilation measures, family structure variables and demographic characteristics. First, both immigrant generation and linguistic acculturation associated with all four measures of family structure: family size, marital status, SES, and residential tenure. Second, significant associations are observed among the measures of family structure and some or all of the family process variables. Third, each of the three demographic characteristics, sex, age, and the measures of race-ethnicity are also correlated with one or more family processes. Somewhat surprisingly, sex is only significantly associated with two of the family process measures: specifically, girls experience lower levels of harsh parenting (r=-.050, p<.05) and higher levels of parental support (r=.054, p<.05). Lastly, the measures of impulsivity and prior delinquency, which were included to control for any underlying propensity toward errant behavior (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990), are correlated with each of the family process variables as well as with each measure of delinquency. Given the significant associations among the background characteristics, family process measures, outcomes, and assimilation measures, all variables examined in the bivariate analyses will be included in the multivariate analyses.[25]

[25] Given the very high correlation between household linguistic acculturation and immigrant generation (r=.846, p<.01), including both measures in the multivariate analyses would create a problem of multicollinearity. Alternately, because of the substantive difference between these measures, combining them into a single index may mask important variation in the influence of these unique dimensions of assimilation; thus, all multivariate analyses will examine each measure separately. Any substantive

Multivariate Analyses

In the next set of analyses, I examine whether the bivariate relationships among immigrant generational status, household linguistic acculturation, family processes and behavioral outcomes hold, net of background and neighborhood characteristics. All multivariate analyses are estimated using SPSS (v. 17.0). To allow for comparisons among coefficients, all continuous and ordinal variables were standardized prior to analyses (mean=0, sd=1).[26]

Correlates of Family Processes

My second set of research hypotheses makes assertions about the influence of immigrant assimilation on family processes. Drawing from a long line of theoretical inquiry as well as a burgeoning research literature on the association between assimilation and family functioning (Bui, 2009; Espiritu, 2001; Le and Stockdale, 2008; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 2001) I proposed that more assimilated youth (e.g. later generations and youth from more linguistically acculturated households) experience lower levels of family attachment, parental support, and supervision and higher levels of family conflict and harsh discipline. To test these assumptions, I conducted a series of ordinary least squares (OLS) regression models, in which I regressed each family process on immigrant generation, linguistic acculturation

differences between models will be noted, although, for simplicity, only those models using immigrant generation as the primary independent variable will be shown.

[26] Mean replacement was used to handle missing values for wave 1 delinquency, impulsivity and years at address.

and controls. Table 5 presents the results of these analyses.[27]

The results shown in table 5 offer little support for the proposed influence of either measure of assimilation on the family process measures. Net of demographic and neighborhood characteristics, neither generational status nor household linguistic acculturation significantly predicts parental support, family attachment, harsh discipline or supervision. In fact, for only one family process variable—family conflict—is either measure a significant correlate. Results shown in model 5 (table 5) indicate that, relative to the third+ generation, the first generation, 1.5 generation, and second generation experience significantly lower levels of family conflict, on average. Youth who migrated to the U.S. at age 6 or older are the most protected, as their first generation status is associated with a 15 percent decrease in the level of family conflict, net of background and neighborhood characteristics (.15=1-(exp(-.16))). Although the size of the effect is not as large, both the 1.5 and second generations also enjoy relatively lower levels of conflict as well; relative to the third generation, their status is associated with an 8 percent decrease in family conflict.[28]

Results shown in model 6 (table 5) suggest that the level of household acculturation is also a significant correlate of family conflict. Net of controls, a standard deviation increase in household linguistic acculturation translates to a 5.6 percent

[27] As a sensitivity test, each OLS regression model was estimated using HLM (v. 6.0) to assess whether any differences emerged between models. The results of the two models were substantively the same, thus only the models in which OLS regressions were estimated using SPSS are presented.

[28] Alternate regression models, in which the second rather than third generation was omitted, were examined to determine if the first and 1.5 generations differed significantly from the second generation with respect to each family process. Once again, generational status was only a significant correlate of family conflict. Compared with the second generation, being a "true" first generation immigrant translates into a 7.5 percent (.075=1-(exp(-.078))) decrease in the level of family conflict ($p<.05$). Notably, no significant differences were observed between the 1.5 and second generation for this measure.

increase in the level of conflict (.056=1-(exp(.05))). The finding that linguistic acculturation is related to greater family conflict, net of controls, is consistent with prior research that has found linguistic acculturation to be associated with greater levels of family discord (Le and Stockdale, 2008; Samaneigo and Gonzales, 1999).

Collectively, the results of these analyses offer very limited support for my second set of hypotheses, as neither immigrant generation nor household linguistic acculturation is a significant predictor of parental support, family attachment, parental supervision or harsh disciplinary style. Further, the low amount of variance explained, as measured by R^2, ranges from a modest .06 to .16, suggesting that the variables that explain family processes are not well captured by my models. Although one of my primary research objectives is to test the mediating role of family processes in the link between immigrant assimilation and deviant behavior, the first criteria for establishing a mediating effect, which is the significant influence of the independent variable on the proposed mediator (Preacher and Hayes, 2008), is only met with one family process measure: family conflict.

Correlates of Problem Behaviors

I turn next to the multivariate analyses of the correlates of violence, minor delinquency and substance use. My first set of research hypotheses makes assertions about the direct influence of generational status and linguistic acculturation on problem behaviors; my third set of hypotheses anticipates that this relationship will be mediated by family processes. To estimate these relationships, I conducted a series of hierarchical negative binomial regression models, in which each dependent variable is regressed on

Table 5: OLS Regression of Family Processes on Household Linguistic Acculturation, Generational Status and Controls (*N* =1,851)

	Parental Support				Attachment to Family				Family Conflict				Harsh Discipline				Monitoring			
	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)		(5)		(6)		(7)		(8)		(9)		(10)	
	b	*SE*	*b*	*SE*	*b*	*SE*	*b*	*SE*	*b*	*SE*	*b*	*SE*	*b*	*SE*	*b*	*SE*	*b*	*SE*	*b*	*SE*
1st Generation	.02	.02	--		.01	.01	--		-.16	.03 ***	--		.00	.02	--		.00	.01	--	
1.5 Generation	.01	.02	--		.01	.01	--		-.08	.03 **	--		-.01	.02	--		.00	.01	--	
2nd Generation	-.01	.01	--		-.01	.01	--		-.08	.02 ***	--		-.01	.01	--		.01	.01	--	
HH Linguistic Acculturationˆ	--		.01	.01	--		.00	.00	--		.05	.01 ***	--		.00	.01	--		.00	.00
Female Subject	.00	.01			-.01	.00 *			.02	.01			-.01	.01			.00	.01		
Ageˆ	-.02	.00 ***			.00	.00			.02	.01 *			-.01	.00 *			-.03	.00 ***		
African American	-.02	.01			.00	.01			-.06	.03 *			.04	.02 *			.03	.01 *		
Other (e.g. NA, Asian, Pacific Island)	-.03	.02			-.03	.01 *			-.01	.04			.01	.02			.02	.02		
Mexican	-.03	.02 *			.00	.01			-.03	.03			.02	.02			.00	.01		
Puerto Rican	-.03	.02			.00	.01			-.02	.03			-.01	.02			.02	.01		
Other Ethnicity Latino	-.03	.02			.00	.01			-.05	.03			.04	.02			.02	.01		
Impulsivityˆ	-.01	.00 ***			-.01	.00 ***			.08	.01 ***			.06	.00 ***			-.02	.00 ***		
Wave 1 Delinquencyˆ	-.02	.00 ***			-.02	.00 ***			.00	.01			.01	.00			-.01	.00 ***		
Family Sizeˆ	.00	.00			.00	.00			.04	.01 ***			.01	.00 *			.00	.00		
Single Headed HH	.01	.01			-.01	.01			.04	.02 *			.03	.01 **			-.01	.01 *		
SESˆ	.00	.00			.01	.00 ***			-.02	.01 **			.00	.01			.01	.00		
Years at Addressˆ	.00	.00			.00	.00			-.03	.01 ***			-.02	.00 ***			.00	.00		
High Concentrated Disadvantage	-.01	.01			.00	.01			.03	.02 *			.00	.01			.00	.01		
Hispanic Neighborhood (70%+)	.01	.02			.01	.01			.03	.03			-.01	.02			-.01	.01		
Black Neighborhood (70%+)	.03	.02 *			.00	.01			.03	.03			-.01	.02			.00	.01		
Mixed Ethnicity Neighborhood	.02	.01			.01	.01			.03	.02			-.01	.01			.00	.01		
Intercept	.82	.01 ***			.93	.01 ***			.27	.02 ***			.18	.01 ***			.89	.01 ***		
R^2	.06		.06		.08		.08		.13		.13		.16		.16		.14		.14	

NOTES: All models control for demographic, family structure and neighborhood characteristics; full regression results are only shown for odd numbered models. Referents (3rd Generation, Male, White, Two Parent Household; White Neighborhood (70%+).

*p <.05; **p <.01; ***p <.001 (two tailed tests); ˆVariable standardized with a mean = 0 and SD = 1.

immigrant generational status, linguistic acculturation and the control variables. Despite the limited evidence for a direct influence of assimilation on family processes, the inclusion of these measures in the models may nevertheless impact the relationship between immigrant assimilation and delinquency. Thus, I add each family process variable separately to these models to assess their unique contribution to generational differences in behavior (Jang, 2002).

Given my substantive focus on the association between assimilatory status and problem behavior in this study, the reference category for these analyses is particularly salient. In the models shown, third generation is omitted so that the contrasts between the first and third, 1.5 and third, and second and third generations can be observed. Alternately, I examine these models with the second generation omitted as the referent. Because the second generation is assumed to occupy a sort of middle ground between the relatively unassimilated first generation and the fully assimilated third (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001), the contrast between first and second generation youth is of theoretical and empirical interest. The findings of these analyses will be footnoted.

Violence

Table 6 reports the results of negative binomial regression of violence on immigrant generation, family processes and controls. Consistent with prior research using PHDCN data (Morenoff and Astor, 2006; Sampson et al. 2005; Sharkey, 2006), and in line with this study's expectations, generational status is a significant predictor of violent behavior, net of demographic and neighborhood characteristics. As indicated in model 1, the difference in the logs of expected violence counts is expected to be lowest for the "true" first generation (b=-.94, p<.05). That is, first generation status is associated with a 61 percent decrease in the logs of expected violence counts reported by the subject (.61=1-(exp(-.94))). The 1.5 (b=-.52, p<.05)

and second generation (b=-.39, p<.01) also report significantly less violence than the third generation, net of background characteristics, with a 41 percent and 33 percent decrease in the logs of expected violence counts associated with their generational status, respectively.

Models 2 through 6 introduce each parental process individually so that their unique effect on the relationship between generational status and violent behavior can be assessed. As indicated in model 2, parental support is a strong and significant correlate of violence; a standard deviation increase in support translates to a 20 percent decrease in the logs of expected violence counts (b=-.22, p<.001). Interestingly, while no direct influence of generational status on parental support was observed in the OLS analyses, adding parental support to the model effectively changes the relationship between generational status and violence. Specifically, the influence of 1.5 generational status is reduced to nonsignificance in this model. Although it seems that the inclusion of parental support attenuates the impact of generational status on violent behavior, notably, with the absence of a significant direct association between generational status and parental support, the criteria for mediation are not; thus, this parental support cannot be argued to mediate the relationship between generational status and violence. (Baron and Kenny, 1986).

The introduction of family attachment in model 3 does little to explain variation in violence, as it neither predicts violence nor influences the relationship between generational status and violence. The introduction of family conflict in model 4, however, does appear to mediate the relationship between generational status and violence. Specifically, the protective influence of being a first generation immigrant is diminished by about 3 percent with the introduction of family conflict. Because the three basic criteria for mediation are met with this

model (Baron and Kenny, 1986), I conducted a Sobel test (Preacher and Hayes, 2008) to formally test whether this qualifies as a true mediating relationship. The equation for the Sobel test is as follows:

$$z\text{-value} = a*b/\text{SQRT}(b^2*s_a^2 + a^2*s_b^2) \quad (3)$$

where z-value is the critical ratio indicating whether the indirect effect of generational status on violence via family conflict is significantly different from zero; a = unstandardized regression coefficient for the association between generational status and family conflict; s_a = standard error of a; b = unstandardized coefficient for the association between family conflict and violence (when generational status is also a predictor of violence) and s_b = standard error of b. The resulting z-value meets the criteria for statistical significance (z=1.94, p=.052), suggesting that family conflict mediates this association. Put differently, consistent with recent studies by Bui (2009) and Le and Stockdale (2008), generational differences in violent behavior are explained, in part, by differences in the level of reported family conflict, which is higher among later generations. Finally, the introduction of harsh discipline, which is not a significant correlate of violence, in model 5 does little to alter the strength or significance of the effect of immigrant generation. And, save for a very slight increase in the protective influence of being a first and a 1.5 generation immigrant, the introduction of parental supervision in model 6 is similarly impotent.[29]

[29] Alternate models substituting household linguistic acculturation for immigrant generation were also examined. In these models, household linguistic acculturation was not found to be a significant predictor of violence, net of controls. The introduction of family process variables does not change the non-significant effect of household acculturation on violence in any of the models.

Table 6: Negative Binomial Regression of Violent Delinquency on Immigrant Generational Status, Family Processes and Controls (*N* =1,851)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
	Coeff	**S.E.**	**Coeff**	**S.E.**	**Coeff**	**S.E.**	**Coeff**	**S.E.**	**Coeff**	**S.E.**	**Coeff**	**S.E.**
1st Generation	-.94	.41 *	-.91	.41 *	-.93	.41 *	-.88	.41 *	-.93	.42 *	-.97	.42 *
1.5 Generation	-.52	.25 *	-.47	.25	-.52	.25 *	-.49	.25 *	-.51	.25 *	-.54	.25 *
2nd Generation	-.39	.15 **	-.41	.15 **	-.40	.15 **	-.36	.15 *	-.39	.15 **	-.39	.15 **
Parental Supportˆ			-.22	.04 ***								
Attachment to Familyˆ					-.06	.04						
Family Conflictˆ							.09	.04 *				
Harsh Disciplineˆ									.05	.04		
Monitoringˆ											-.09	.04 *
Female Subject	-.50	.09 ***	-.51	.09 ***	-.51	.09 ***	-.51	.09 ***	-.50	.09 ***	-.50	.09 ***
Ageˆ	.25	.05 ***	.22	.05 ***	.25	.05 ***	.25	.05 ***	.25	.05 ***	.23	.05 ***
African American	.62	.19 ***	.60	.19 ***	.62	.19 ***	.64	.19 ***	.62	.19 ***	.64	.20 ***
Pacific Island)	-.08	.24	-.13	.25	-.11	.24	-.08	.23	-.08	.24	-.04	.24
Mexican	.24	.23	.19	.22	.24	.23	.24	.23	.23	.23	.23	.23
Puerto Rican	.46	.25	.42	.23	.46	.25	.46	.25	.46	.25	.47	.25
Other Ethnicity Latino	.58	.23 *	.52	.23 *	.57	.23 *	.60	.23 **	.57	.23 *	.60	.23 **
Impulsivityˆ	.10	.04 *	.08	.04	.09	.05	.07	.05	.08	.05	.07	.05
Wave 1 Delinquencyˆ	.43	.04 ***	.42	.04 ***	.43	.04 ***	.43	.04 ***	.43	.04 ***	.42	.04 ***
Family Sizeˆ	.05	.05	.05	.04	.05	.05	.04	.05	.04	.05	.05	.05
Single Headed HH	-.04	.11	-.03	.11	-.04	.11	-.06	.11	-.05	.11	-.06	.11
SESˆ	-.12	.06 *	-.13	.06 **	-.11	.06 *	-.11	.06	-.12	.06 *	-.12	.06 *
Years at Addressˆ	-.13	.05 **	-.12	.04 **	-.13	.05 **	-.12	.05 **	-.12	.05 **	-.13	.05 **
High Concentrated Disadvantage	.18	.10	.14	.10	.17	.10	.17	.10	.18	.10	.18	.10
Hispanic Neighborhood (70%+)	-.51	.24 *	-.47	.24	-.51	.24 *	-.52	.24 *	-.51	.24 *	-.53	.24 *
Black Neighborhood (70%+)	-.21	.21	-.14	.20	-.21	.20	-.21	.21	-.21	.21	-.21	.20
Neighborhood	-.16	.18	-.11	.17	-.16	.18	-.16	.18	-.16	.18	-.15	.18
Intercept	-.69	.19 ***	-.72	.18 ***	-.68	.19 ***	-.70	.18 ***	-.68	.19 ***	-.70	.19 ***
Chi Square	240.52		276.84		247.10		247.50		246.607		246.23	

*p <.05; **p <.01; ***p <.001 (two-tailed tests); ˆVariable standardized with a mean = 0 and SD = 1.

Notes: Robust Standard Errors Presented; Referents (3rd Generation, Male, White, Two-Parent Household; White Neighborhood (70%+).

Minor Delinquency

I turn next to the results of the negative binomial regressions of minor delinquency on immigrant generation, family processes and controls. Table 7 shows the results of these analyses. As indicated in model 1, absent the influence of any other factors, generational status is a significant correlate of minor delinquency. Specifically, relative to the third generation, second generation immigrant status is associated with a 19 percent decrease in the logs of expected minor delinquency counts. However, the initial influence of generational status is reduced to non-significance with the inclusion the demographic characteristics and prior delinquency (model 2).[30] Males, older youth, and those with higher levels of impulsivity and prior delinquency (measured at wave 1) engage in more minor delinquency at wave 2 than females, younger adolescents, and those with lower levels of impulsivity and prior delinquency. Collectively, these factors explain away the initial effects of generational status on behavior. Models substituting linguistic acculturation for generational status (not shown) reveal the same pattern. In the absence of the control measures, household linguistic acculturation is positively associated with minor delinquency, but again, this effect is reduced to non-significance with the inclusion of demographic characteristics. Based on the results shown in table 7, it seems that the influence of assimilatory status on violence observed in the previous analyses does not extend to minor forms of delinquency.

[30] As a sensitivity test, model 2 was run without the measure of wave 1 delinquency to ensure that that its inclusion in the model was not suppressing any possible effect of generational status on minor delinquency at wave 2. This alternate model was substantively the same as the one presented in table 7. Net of controls, the influence of generational status on minor delinquency is non-significant.

Table 7: Negative Binomial Regression of Minor Delinquency on Immigrant Generational Status, Family Processes and Controls

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Coeff	**S.E.**	**Coeff**	**S.E.**	**Coeff**	**S.E.**	**Coeff**	**S.E.**
1st Generation	-.06	.15	.02	.13	-.06	.14	-.01	.13
1.5 Generation	-.31	.16	-.03	.14	-.06	.15	-.03	.15
2nd Generation	-.21	.08 **	.02	.09	-.01	.09	.00	.09
Parental Supportˆ	--	--	--	--	--	--	-.20	.03 ***
Attachment to Familyˆ	--	--	--	--	--	--	-.01	.03
Family Conflictˆ	--	--	--	--	--	--	.06	.03 *
Harsh Disciplineˆ	--	--	--	--	--	--	.02	.03
Monitoringˆ	--	--	--	--	--	--	-.06	.03 *
Female Subject	--	--	-.12	.06 *	-.12	.06	-.14	.06 *
Ageˆ	--	--	.48	.04 ***	.49	.04 ***	.44	.04 ***
African American	--	--	.10	.09	.03	.12	.03	.11
Pacific Island)	--	--	-.24	.20	-.27	.20	-.31	.20
Mexican	--	--	.00	.11	-.09	.12	-.13	.12
Puerto Rican	--	--	.07	.13	-.05	.14	-.07	.13
Other Ethnicity Latino	--	--	.15	.13	.10	.13	.05	.13
Impulsivityˆ	--	--	.12	.03 ***	.12	.03 ***	.07	.03
Wave 1 Delinquencyˆ	--	--	.34	.02 ***	.34	.02 ***	.31	.02 ***
Family Sizeˆ	--	--	--	--	.02	.03	.02	.03
Single Headed HH	--	--	--	--	.00	.08	-.01	.08
SESˆ	--	--	--	--	-.01	.04	-.01	.04
Years at Addressˆ	--	--	--	--	-.07	.03	-.05	.03
High Concentrated Disadvantage	--	--	--	--	.09	.07	.06	.07
Hispanic Neighborhood (70%+)	--	--	--	--	.02	.14	.02	.14
Black Neighborhood (70%+)	--	--	--	--	.04	.14	.09	.13
Neighborhood	--	--	--	--	.13	.11	.17	.10
Intercept	.15	.04 ***	-.21	.08 *	-.24	.11 *	-.27	.10
Chi Square	9.17*		489.20***		494.99***		598.25***	

*p <.05; **p <.01; ***p <.001 (two-tailed tests); ˆVariable standardized with a mean = 0 and SD = 1.

Notes: Robust Standard Errors Presented; Referents (3rd Generation, Male, White, Two-Parent Household; White Neighborhood (70%+).

Although the finding that neither measure of assimilation is significantly associated with minor delinquency net of controls, is unexpected, it is consistent with a recent study by Bui (2009), in which the author found that generational differences in property delinquency could be explained by demographic differences across groups.

Substance Use

I turn now to the final set of negative binomial regression results, shown in table 8, which examine the correlates of substance use. Beginning with model 1, it is interesting to note that while no significant correlation between assimilation and substance use was observed in the bivariate analyses, the difference in the logs of expected substance use counts is lower for the "true" first generation (b=-.47, p<.05) than the third generation, net of background characteristics. Compared with the third generation, first generation immigrant status is associated with a 38 percent decrease in the logs of expected substance use counts. No significant effect of being either a 1.5 generation or a second generation immigrant is evident.[31]

With the introduction of parental support in model 2, the initial influence of being a first generation immigrant is fully attenuated. Similar to the findings from the violence models, a standard deviation increase in parental support effectively decreases the amount of reported substance use by 20 percent. The inclusion of this measure renders the initially significant influence of generational status on substance use nonsignificant. However, as indicated earlier, without a significant correlation between generational status and parental support, the criteria for mediation are not met (Baron and Kenny, 1986; Preacher and Hayes, 2008).

[31] Alternate models in which the second generation was omitted indicate that, relative to the second generation, first generation youth reported significantly (p<.001) lower levels of substance use. Specifically, being a true first generation immigrant is associated with a 39 percent decrease in the logs of expected substance use counts (.39=1-(exp(-.49))).

Table 8: Negative Binomial Regression of Substance Use on Immigrant Generational Status, Family Processes and Controls

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
	Coeff	**S.E.**	**Coeff**	**S.E.**	**Coeff**	**S.E.**	**Coeff**	**S.E.**	**Coeff**	**S.E.**	**Coeff**	**S.E.**
1st Generation	-.47	.22 *	-.42	.22	-.47	.21 *	-.37	.22	-.47	.22 *	-.47	.22 *
1.5 Generation	-.29	.24	-.25	.24	-.29	.24	-.21	.24	-.27	.24	-.31	.24
2nd Generation	.02	.19	-.01	.19	.01	.19	.11	.18	.03	.19	.01	.19
Parental Support^			-.22	.05 ***								
Attachment to Family^					-.07	.05						
Family Conflict^							.18	.05 ***				
Harsh Discipline^									.05	.05		
Monitoring^											-.07	.04
Female Subject	-.03	.10	-.03	.10	-.04	.11	-.04	.10	-.03	.10	-.03	.10
Age^	1.35	.06 ***	1.34	.06 ***	1.36	.06 ***	1.36	.06 ***	1.36	.06 ***	1.33	.06 ***
African American	-.79	.19 ***	-.78	.19 ***	-.79	.19 ***	-.74	.19 ***	-.80	.19 ***	-.80	.19 ***
Island)	-.78	.33 *	-.77	.33 *	-.80	.34 *	-.80	.33 *	-.79	.34 *	-.79	.33 *
Mexican	-.01	.24	-.02	.24	-.01	.24	-.01	.24	-.01	.24	-.02	.24
Puerto Rican	-.52	.23 *	-.51	.22 *	-.52	.22 *	-.57	.22 **	-.52	.23 *	-.52	.23 *
Other Ethnicity Latino	.03	.21	.08	.21	.03	.21	.05	.21	.02	.21	.04	.21
Impulsivity^	.14	.05 **	.12	.05 *	.13	.05 *	.09	.06	.12	.06 *	.13	.05 *
Wave 1 Delinquency^	.48	.05 ***	.46	.05 ***	.46	.05 ***	.48	.05 ***	.48	.05 ***	.47	.05 ***
Family Size^	-.14	.06 *	-.14	.06 *	-.14	.06 *	-.17	.06 **	-.14	.06 *	-.14	.06 *
Single Headed HH	.02	.14	.05	.14	.03	.14	.00	.14	.01	.14	.01	.14
SES^	-.05	.06	-.03	.06	-.03	.06	-.02	.06	-.04	.06	-.05	.06
Years at Address^	-.05	.05	-.05	.05	-.06	.05	-.04	.05	-.05	.05	-.05	.05
High Concentrated Disadvantage	-.07	.13	-.04	.12	-.07	.13	-.06	.12	-.07	.13	-.07	.13
Hispanic Neighborhood (70%+)	-.49	.23 *	-.44	.23	-.48	.23 *	-.51	.23 *	-.49	.23 *	-.50	.23 *
Black Neighborhood (70%+)	-.30	.23	-.31	.22	-.29	.23	-.34	.23	-.30	.23	-.29	.23
Mixed Ethnicity Neighborhood	-.34	.16 *	-.31	.15 *	-.33	.16 *	-.37	.15 *	-.34	.16 *	-.34	.16 *
Intercept	.01	.17	-.05	.16	.01	.17	-.03	.17	.01	.17	.03	.17

*p <.05; **p <.01; ***p <.001 (two-tailed tests); ^Variable standardized with a mean = 0 and SD = 1.

Notes: Robust Standard Errors Presented; Referents (3rd Generation, Male, White, Two-Parent Household; White Neighborhood (70%+).

For only one other family process measure—family conflict—is the influence of generational status on substance use affected. As indicated in model 4, a standard deviation increase in family conflict is associated with a 20 percent increase in the level of substance use. Echoing the results from earlier models examining the correlates of violence, the introduction of this measure effectively reduces the influence of being a first generation immigrant to nonsignificance. To determine whether this apparent mediation effect is significant, I conducted a Sobel test (Preacher and Hayes, 2008). Results of the Sobel test suggest that the indirect path from generational status substance via family conflict is not significant (z=1.58, *p*=ns), however. Thus, I cannot conclude with certainty that this qualifies as a mediating effect.

Summary

Collectively, the results of the multivariate analyses do little to support my third set of research hypotheses, which makes assertions about the mediating role of family processes in the assimilation delinquency-link. Based on these results, it seems that the family processes examined here do a poor job of explaining the relationship between assimilation—as measured by generational status and linguistic acculturation—and deviant behavior. Notably, these findings stand in stark contrast to body of empirical and ethnographic literature that has found generational status and linguistic acculturation to be significant determinants of both family functioning and problem behavior (Bui, 2000; Samaniego and Gonzales, 1999; Le and Stockdale, 2008).

What to make of these findings? First, with respect to the finding that only family conflict is significantly predicted by assimilatory status, net of controls, it helps to consider the immigrant paradox from two different angles. On one hand, the finding that

family conflict increases with each successive generation may suggest that conflict stems from generational dissonance, which may or may not be due to conflicting cultural norms or language differences, as Portes and Rumbaut (1996) suggest in their acculturative dissonance thesis. On the other hand, increased family conflict may actually indicate a decline in family cohesion over successive generations. Put differently, family discord may increase with each successive generation because of conflicting cultural orientations *or* pro-family orientations may decrease simply because the glue that binds immigrant families together becomes weak. Absent specific measures tapping the source of family conflict (e.g. whether it is specific to conflicting cultural orientations or not), it is impossible to say which of these causal mechanisms is at work. However, given that the second generation should presumably be most likely to experience acculturative dissonance—which is not the case here—the findings of these analyses appear to be more congruent with the latter explanation. That is, more consistent with the classic work of Thomas and Znaniecki (1920), it seems that family cohesion appears to break down as families become increasingly unmoored from their host countries, and one consequence is greater conflict.

Next, based on the criteria for mediation established by Baron and Kenny (1986) and Preacher and Hayes (2008), only one family process variable was found to mediate the association between assimilatory status and behavior. Specifically, in the models predicting violence, family conflict was found to attenuate the relationship between generational status and violence, such that the initial effect was diminished when conflict was introduced to the model. The finding that none of the other family process measures mediate the association between generational status and behavior is indeed surprising,

and stands in stark contrast to much of the speculation around the assimilation-paradox. Before discussing this finding in greater detail, I turn first to the final set of analyses, which examine the moderating effects of gender in these linkages.

Chapter 7: Gender Specific Links among Assimilation, Family Processes and Behavior

Despite mounting interest in the individual-level mechanisms linking immigration, family functioning and behavior in recent years, surprisingly little attention has been given to understanding the unique adaptation experiences of females coming of age in immigrant families. In this chapter, I examine my fourth and final set of research hypotheses, which make predictions about the conditioning influence of gender on the associations among assimilatory status, family processes and problem behaviors.

Gender, Assimilation and Family Processes

Writing about the gender-specific experiences of immigrant youth, Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (2001:77) note that "immigration sets in motion certain forces that draw women away from the inner world of the family." Although cultures differ markedly with respect to normative values and norms (e.g. women's expected obligations to the household), contemporary research finds that among certain Latin American and Asian cultures—which predominate in today's immigrant population—women tend to be more closely bound than men by "traditional" gender roles within the family (Espiritu, 2001; Qin, 2009). That is, responsibilities such childcare and the maintenance of the home tend to fall on the shoulders of women. Moreover, the burden of preserving these roles also tends to fall on women; that is, "in the upheaval of immigration, women typically emerge as the keepers of the culture and family traditions" (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 2001:78). Particularly corrosive to these traditional gender roles is the threat of increasing "Americanization" (Espiritu, 2001; Qin and Hillard, 2009; Suárez-

Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 2001). As women find themselves increasingly exposed to different gender dynamics, tensions may occur, and the mechanisms of family control and cohesion that serve to inhibit deviant behavior may become weak.

Although a growing ethnographic literature leads us to expect that the etiological chain linking assimilation, family functioning and delinquency will be conditioned by gender (Espiritu, 2001; Qin, 2009; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 2001), absent a body of empirical literature examining gender-specific immigration experiences is it difficult to say how exactly these linkages will be affected. On one hand, if girls are held more closely to the traditions of their parents' native country, they could be relatively impervious to the deleterious influences of assimilation on family processes (e.g. diminished control or weakened attachment) and behavior. On the other, the same culturally proscribed expectations of girls might make the assimilation process particularly inflammatory for them. That is, more acculturated adolescent girls may balk at the expectations of their less acculturated parents, which may be a source of contention in the household. Thus, the assertions I make in my fourth set of hypotheses are simply that gender will moderate the association of assimilatory status with family processes and delinquency, such that the strength and significance of these associations will *differ* between males and females.

To test hypothesis 8, which anticipates a moderating influence of gender on the assimilation—family process link, I conducted OLS regressions of each family process on multiplicative terms representing the statistical interaction between gender and the two

Table 9a: OLS Regression of Family Process Variables on Immigrant Generational Status, Household Linguistic Acculturation, Controls and Gender Interactions

	Parental Support				Attachment to Family				Family Conflict				Harsh Discipline				Monitoring			
	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)		(5)		(6)		(7)		(8)		(9)		(10)	
	Coeff	**S.E.**	**Coeff**	**S.E.**	**Coeff**	**S.E.**	**Coeff**	**S.E.**	**Coeff**	**S.E.**	**Coeff**	**S.E.**	**Coeff**	**S.E.**	**Coeff**	**S.E.**	**Coeff**	**S.E.**	**Coeff**	**S.E.**
1st Generation	.01	.02	--	--	.01	.01	--	--	-.11	.03 ***	--	--	-.01	.02	--	--	.00	.01	--	--
2nd Generation	.00	.01	--	--	-.02	.01	--	--	-.06	.03 *	--	--	-.01	.02	--	--	.01	.01	--	--
Female Subject	.01	.01	.00	.01	-.02	.01 **	-.01	.00 *	.04	.02 *	.02	.01	.00	.01	.00	.01	.00	.01	.00	.01
1st x Female	.01	.02	--	--	.00	.01	--	--	-.01	.04	--	--	.00	.02	--	--	-.01	.02	--	--
2nd x Female	-.01	.02	--	--	.02	.01 *	--	--	-.06	.03 +	--	--	.00	.02	--	--	.00	.01	--	--
Linguistic Acculturation (LA)ˆ	--	--	.01	.01	--	--	.00	.00	--	--	.05	.01	--	--	.00	.01	--	--	.00	.01
LA x Female	--	--	.01	.01	--	--	.00	.00	--	--	.02	.01	--	--	.01	.01	--	--	.01	.01
Intercept	.814	.013 ***	.93	.03 ***	.94	.01 ***	.97	.02 ***	1.05	.10 ***	.07	.05 ***	.18	.01 ***	.22	.03 ***	.89	.01 ***	1.03	.02 ***

*+p<.10; *p* <.05; ***p* <.01; ****p* <.001 (two-tailed tests); ˆVariable standardized with a mean = 0 and SD = 1.

Notes: Robust Standard Errors Presented; Regressions include all control variables.

measures of assimilation.[32] Results of these analyses, which are shown in table 9a, offer mixed support my hypothesis. As indicated in models 1 and 2, neither generational status nor linguistic acculturation interacts significantly with gender to produce a gender-specific influence of assimilation on the level of perceived parental support. Further, as indicated in models 7 through 10, neither the level of harsh parenting nor the level of parental supervision is significantly predicted by the intersection of gender with either assimilation measure. Rather, for only two family process variables, family attachment and family conflict, are any of the interaction terms significant.

Beginning with model 3—which specifies the interactive effects of generational status and gender on family attachment—the influence of second generation status is significantly larger for females than males (b=.02, p<.05), suggesting that immigration status exerts a more powerful protective influence for girls than boys. Notably, this same protective influence was not observed in the comparison between the first and third generation, nor was it observed (in separate analyses not shown) between the first and second generation.

Turning to model 5—which specifies the interactive effects of generational status and gender on family conflict—the influence of second generation status is once again more potent for females than males. In this instance, the coefficient for second generation status is significantly lower for girls than boys (b=-.06, p<.10), suggesting that females are *less* susceptible to the deleterious influences of assimilation. Generally, this finding resonates with the notion that fully assimilated families (e.g. both native born parents and

[32] Because of the small cell sizes that would result if gender was interacted with four generational categories (1st, 1.5, 2nd, and 3rd) I opted to limit these analyses to comparisons of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd generations only.

children) are less cohesive and more prone to familial discord than those families which are—at least in terms of generational status—more closely tied to their native countries. However, compared with boys, girls appear to be more protected from these influences.

Although the significant interaction terms offer support for the moderating influence of gender on the links between generational status and family conflict/attachment, I disaggregated the sample to examine this relationship further. Tables 9b and 9c show the results of these analyses. Models 5 and 6 (tables 9b and 9c) indicate that the greatest differences between males and females is in the influence of assimilatory status on family conflict. Looking first at the results for males (table 9b), first generation males report significantly lower average levels of family conflict than third generation males (b=-.10, p<.01). Notably, in these models, linguistic acculturation is also a significant correlate of family conflict. With a standard deviation increase in linguistic acculturation, the level of conflict is expected to increase by .04 (p<.05).

Turning next to the results for females (table 9c), the size and significance of the effects of assimilatory status on family conflict are more potent for girls. Compared with the third+ generation, both first generation and second generation girls experience significantly less family conflict (b=-.15, p<.001 and b=-.14, p<.001, respectively), net of other factors. Consistent with the interaction effects in the previous models, the strength and significance of these effects are stronger than those observed for males. Also stronger is the influence of linguistic acculturation on family conflict (b=.07, p<.01). To formally test whether the influence of generational status and linguistic acculturation on family

conflict does in fact differ by gender, I conducted an equality of regression coefficients test recommended by Paternoster et al., (1998). The formula for this test is as follows: [33]

$$Z = \frac{b_1 - b_2}{\sqrt{SEb_1^2 + SEb_2^2}} \qquad (4)$$

For only one comparison is the difference in coefficients between boys and girls significant. Specifically, the protective influence of being a second generation immigrant is more potent for girls than boys, with respect to the level of family conflict (z=.2.15).That is, being a second generation immigrant (as opposed to a third+ generation immigrant) is associated with a significantly greater reduction in family conflict for girls than boys. Alternately, the effect of first generation status and linguistic acculturation on family conflict appears to operate similarly for males and females.

On one hand, while these results imply a greater protective influence of second generational status for females, it may be the case that assimilation is more detrimental to girls than boys with respect to its influence on family conflict. That is, relative to the second generation, third+ generation girls are likely to experience greater conflict than third+ generation boys. It may be the case that cultural assimilation poses a greater threat to traditional gender roles. As girls grow increasingly accustomed to greater autonomy and the egalitarian customs of the U.S. (Driscoll et al., 2008) they may find themselves at odds with the more conservative expectations of their parents, which leads to greater conflict. Again, absent a specific measure of the type of conflict experienced, or an

[33] The z scores comparing coefficients for males and females are as follows: 1st generation $z = \frac{-.10--.15}{\sqrt{.035^2+.039^2}}$= .89. ; 2nd generation $z = \frac{-.05--.14}{\sqrt{.029^2+.032^2}}$=2.15; linguistic acculturation= $z = \frac{-.10--.15}{\sqrt{.035^2+.039^2}}$=1.45.

Table 9b: OLS Regression of Family Processes on Immigrant Generational Status, Linguistic Acculturation and Controls: MALES (*n* =930)

	Parental Support		Attachment to Family		Family Conflict		Harsh Discipline		Monitoring	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	Coeff	**Coeff**	**Coeff**	**Coeff**	**Coeff**	**Coeff**	**Coeff**	**Coeff**	**Coeff**	**Coeff**
1st Generation	.01	--	.01	--	-.10 **	--	-.02	--	.01	--
2nd Generation	.00	--	-.02	--	-.05	--	-.02	--	.01	--
Linguistic Acculturationˆ		.00		.00		.04 *		.00		.00
Intercept	.83 **	.84 ***	.94 ***	.94 ***	.26 ***	.26 ***	.19 ***	.18 ***	.89 ***	.89 ***
R^2	.05	.05	.06	.05	.12	.12	.16	.16	.14	.14

*p <.05; **p <.01; ***p <.001 (two tailed test); ˆVariable standardized with a mean = 0 and SD = 1.

Notes: Regressions include all control variables.

Table 9c: OLS Regression of Family Processes on Immigrant Generational Status, Linguistic Acculturation and Controls: FEMALES (*n* =921)

	Parental Support		Attachment to Family		Family Conflict		Harsh Discipline		Monitoring	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	Coeff	**Coeff**	**Coeff**	**Coeff**	**Coeff**	**Coeff**	**Coeff**	**Coeff**	**Coeff**	**Coeff**
1st Generation	.02	--	.01	--	-.15 ***	--	.01	--	-.01	--
2nd Generation	-.02	--	.01	--	-.14 ***	--	.00	--	.01	--
Linguistic Acculturationˆ		.02		.00		.07 ***		.00		.00
Intercept	.80 ***	.80 ***	.92 ***	.92 ***	.31 ***	.09 ***	.23 ***	.17 ***	.90 ***	.90 ***
R^2	.08	.08	.14	.14	.16	.16	.17	.17	.14	.14

*p <.05; **p <.01; ***p <.001 (two tailed test); ˆVariable standardized with a mean = 0 and SD = 1.

Notes: Regressions include all control variables.

explicit measure of parent-child conflict, this explanation is highly speculative.

Gender, Assimilation, Family Processes and Problem Behavior

The final set of analyses shown here relate to my ninth hypothesis, which makes assertions about the moderating influence of gender on the association between assimilatory status and delinquency. Again, absent a body of empirical literature upon which to base my expectations, I assert only that the strength and significance of this association will *differ* between males and females. Tables 10 and 11 present the results of negative binomial regressions of violence and substance use on generational status, family processes and controls.[34] The first set of models (1 and 2) in each table includes multiplicative terms (gender x immigrant generation) so that any conditioning influence of gender on the relationship between generational status and behavior can be assessed. To examine these relationships further, I disaggregate the models by sex, so that potential gender differences in the mediating role of family processes in the assimilation-behavior link might be observed.[35]Table 10 examines the correlates of violence, first for the total sample, and then separately by sex. Beginning with model 2, in which violence is regressed on the multiplicative terms, there is no evidence that gender moderates the relationship between generational status and violence. Rather, the absence of significant interactions implies that males' and females' proclivities toward violence are similarly affected by generational status. Although, the lack of significant interactions refutes the

[34] Preliminary analyses (table 7) indicated that generational status was not associated with minor delinquency, net of controls. Subsequently, gender-specific analyses are limited to the examination of violence and substance use.

[35] Separate analyses substituting linguistic acculturation for generational status are also examined, but these models produced no significant findings.

hypothesized moderating role of gender, in order to assess whether the etiological pathways linking generational status and violence operate similarly for males and females, I opted to examine disaggregated models as well.

The patterns that emerge from the disaggregated models do not support a gender-specific relationship between generational status and violence. Although, in looking at models 3 and 10 in table 10, it appears that the protective influence of being a first generation immigrant is comparatively stronger for girls, equality of regression coefficients tests Paternoster et al., (1998) reveal no statistically significant differences.[36]

Table 11 shows the results of negative binomial regression models of substance use on generational status, family processes and controls, first for the full sample and then disaggregated by gender. Some important differences between males and females are evident. Beginning with model 2, which includes multiplicative terms (generation x gender), the interaction between second generation status and female is significant (b=-.50; p<.05) and negative, suggesting that the influence of generational status on drug use is stronger for females than males. To examine this relationship further, I examine the disaggregated results in subsequent models. Models 3 and 10 (table 11) reveal important gender differences in the effect of assimilation of drug use. Although the equality of regression coefficients tests are not significant, the direction of influence is notably reversed for males and females. Specifically, compared with the third generation, second generation males are more likely to engage in substance use; however, this pattern is opposite for females. Based on the significant interaction term in model 2, one can

[36] The z scores comparing coefficients for males and females are as follows: 1st generation $z = \frac{-.63--1.06}{\sqrt{.31^2+.035^2}}$= .94. ; 2nd generation $z = \frac{-.39--.47}{\sqrt{.19^2+.28^2}}$=.25.

Table 10: Violent Delinquency Regressed on Family Processes for Total Sample and by Sex

	Total Sample (N=1,851)		Males (n=930)							Females (n=921)						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
Female	-.50***	-.44***	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
First Generation	-.69**	-.57*	-.63*	-.55	-.63*	-.60	-.63*	-.63*	-.54	-1.06**	-1.03**	-1.06**	-.95**	-1.04**	-1.10**	-.97**
Second Generation	-.40**	-.33*	-.39*	-.36	-.40*	-.38*	-.39*	-.38*	-.36	-.47	-.54*	-.48	-.37	-.47	-.46	-.45
First x Female	--	-.37														
Second x Female		-.18														
Parental Supportˆ	--	--	--	-.24***	--	--	--	--	-.24***	--	-.26***	--	--	--	--	-.25***
Attachment to Familyˆ	--	--	--	--	-.06	--	--	--	-.02	--	--	-.04	--	--	--	.02
Family Conflictˆ	--	--	--	--	--	.06*	--	--	.04	--	--	--	.14*	--	--	.10
Harsh Disciplineˆ	--	--	--	--	--	--	.00	--	-.04	--	--	--	--	.12	--	.09
Monitoringˆ	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	-.07	-.05	--	--	--	--	--	-.08	-.09

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001; ˆVariable standardized with a mean = 0 and SD = 1.

Notes: Regressions include all control variables.

Table 11: Substance Use Regressed on Family Processes for Total Sample and by Sex

	Total Sample (N=1,851)		Males (n=930)							Females (n=921)						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
Female	-.03	.16	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
First Generation	-.38*	-.26	-.21	-.17	-.22	-.12	-.20	-.21	-.13	-.53*	-.48	-.53*	-.45	-.52*	-.53*	-.40
Second Generation	.01	.26	.26	.24	.22	.31	.27	.26	.25	-.29	-.34	-.30	-.20	-.29	-.30	-.25
First x Female		-.22														
Second x Female		-.50*														
Parental Supportˆ	--	--	--	-.28***	--	--	--	--	-.22**	--	-.19**	--	--	--	--	-.21***
Attachment to Familyˆ	--	--	--	--	-.20*	--	--	--	-.11	--	--	.03	--	--	--	.10
Family Conflictˆ	--	--	--	--	--	.22**	--	--	.17*	--	--	--	.12*	--	--	.13
Harsh Disciplineˆ	--	--	--	--	--	--	.04	--	-.06	--	--	--	--	.04	--	.02
Monitoringˆ	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	-.11	-.06	--	--	--	--	--	-.04	-.05

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001; ˆVariable standardized with a mean = 0 and SD = 1.

Notes: Regressions include all control variables.

reasonably conclude that female immigrants are more protected than their male counterparts with respect to their vulnerability to substance use.

Summary

Collectively, while the evidence of a moderating influence of gender on the relationship between generational status and problem behavior is not overwhelming, there is some indication that gender does play a salient role in shaping the pathways linking assimilation, family functioning and behavior. For two family process measures, conflict and attachment, females appear to experience greater protective benefits from their immigrant status compared with males. Although no significant relationship was observed for the first generation, the second generation experiences lower average levels of family conflict and higher average levels of family attachment relative to the third+ generation. In both instances, the effect was more potent for girls.

Somewhat surprisingly, gender was not found to moderate the relationship between assimilatory status and the other family process measures. In light of the longstanding emphasis on the salutatory effects of immigrant families and the corrosive nature of assimilation on these processes, this is unexpected. Perhaps most surprising in these results is the finding that no gender differences exist in the influence of assimilation on the level of parental supervision or monitoring. Ethnographic research documents parent's fears about Americanization, particularly with respect to their daughter's interaction with peers (Espiritu, 2001). As Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (2001:79) note:

> Nowhere are the anxieties around Americanization more clearly articulate than in parental concerns about their daughters' exposure to the cultural repertoire of the American peer

> group….While boys may be encouraged to venture into the new world, girls and young women are more likely to be kept close to the family hearth.

Given the emphasis placed on protecting immigrant females from the perceived dangers of assimilation, it is surprising that no significant interaction between assimilatory status and gender was observed in the models predicting parental supervision.

The moderating role of gender in the assimilation—behavior link was only observed for substance use. Specifically, girls enjoy a relatively stronger protective benefit than boys of second generation status in the form of reduced frequency of substance use. No such moderating effect was observed for violence. The particular pattern that emerges from these findings is unclear, but collectively, it seems that the salutary effects of immigrant status on both family functioning and certain maladaptive behaviors (e.g. substance use) may be more beneficial to girls than boys. I discuss the implications of these findings in further detail in the following chapter.

Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusion

As the largest immigrant wave in history continues to flow unabated, the question of how this population of predominately non-European, non-English speaking people of color will shape the social, cultural and economic milieu of this country is one of the most pressing issues of the 21st century. By 2050, individuals of Asian and Hispanic origin alone are expected to reach an unprecedented 35 percent of the total U.S. population (U.S. Census, 2010). What remains to be seen is whether "the country [will] suffer or be better off because of this historic shift" (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 2001:154). The answer to this question will largely hinge on the social and economic adaptation of the children and grandchildren of immigrants, who will comprise as much as 50 percent of the population by mid-century (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 2001). In particular, how this population fares on outcomes such as crime and delinquency, will play a pivotal role in shaping the social and political landscape of the U.S.

For many immigrant groups, the long term transition to the U.S. is a positive one, marked by increased prosperity and opportunity. However, for others—particularly those with limited chances for upward mobility—the forecast is more ominous. Contemporary research documents with relative consistency the eroding benefits of immigrant status over time and with increased markers of acculturation. As ties to their native countries grow increasingly distant, the risk of deleterious outcomes, including crime and violence appears to grow for some immigrant groups (Butcher and Piehl, 1998, 2006; Grogger, 1998; Hagan and Palloni, 1999; Harker, 2001; Harris, 1998, 1999; Lee, Martinez and

Rodriguez, 2000; Martinez and Lee, 2000; Rumbaut, 2005; Sampson, Morenoff and Raudenbush, 2005; Vega, 2001). While the reasons for the "assimilation paradox" (Rumbaut, 1997) are still unclear, what is clear is that a fuller understanding of the reasons for this waning immigrant advantage is of great concern.

My primary goals in undertaking this research were twofold. First, I endeavored to shed light on the intervening causal mechanisms underlying the assimilation paradox by examining the mediating role of five unique dimensions of family functioning: parental support, family attachment, family conflict, harsh discipline and parental supervision. In doing so, I tested the longstanding assumption that the observed generational differences in problem behaviors could be attributed to variables levels of conflict and control stemming from the process of assimilation. Second, I addressed a significant gap in the research literature by examining the conditioning role of gender on the associations among immigrant generational status, family processes and adolescent problem behaviors. Although the adaptation of immigrant youth has been at the vanguard of scholarly research for the past several decades, thus far the unique adaptation experience of immigrant females has been given scant attention.

Research Findings

Although support for my research hypotheses is somewhat limited, the lack of significant findings may still inform our understanding of the assimilation paradox. Beginning with my first hypothesis, which proposed that the two measures of assimilatory status—generational status and household linguistic acculturation—would be significant determinants of problem behaviors, I found that the proposed deleterious

influence of assimilation on behavior was largely contingent on the behavior being examined. Consistent with previous literature that has shown the protective effects of first-and second-generation status on delinquency (Bui, 2009; Bui and Thongniramol, 2005; Butcher and Piehl, 1997; Grogger, 1998; Hagan and Palloni, 1998; Harris, 1998; Morenoff and Astor, 2006; Rumbaut, 2005, Sampson et al., 2005; Vega, 2001) generational status proved a significant correlate of violence, with later generations reporting higher average levels of engagement. This generational effect did not extend to the measure of minor delinquency, however. Further, it proved to be a less potent predictor of substance use than violence. That is, only the first generation (e.g., youth who migrated at age 6 or later) seemed to experience any protective benefits in the form of reduced substance use. No such benefit was observed for the 1.5 or second generations.

What to make of these findings? One possibility is that whatever protective benefits are associated with generational status—whether they are family-related or not—may only extend to serious problem behaviors. In other words, if first generation youth are less prone to violence because they come from more cohesive households, are more family-oriented, or exhibit higher levels of social control than subsequent generations, it may be the case that these protective characteristics are only inhibitive in the case of particularly egregious behaviors that would threaten youths' relationship with their families. Alternately, these characteristics may be ineffective deterrents in the case of minor offending behaviors, such as substance use and truancy, which may be perceived as carrying less serious consequences.

With respect to the finding that only the "true" first generation (e.g., immigrant who migrated at age 6 or later) reported less substance use relative to native born youth, net of other factors, it may be the case that the use of substances such as alcohol or marijuana necessitates opportunities that are not readily available to foreign born youth. That is, by virtue of their position as "newcomers" or "outsiders" immigrant youth may be less exposed to peers who use substances, and thus have less opportunity to experiment with them. Absent measures of peer processes (e.g. peer interaction, peer deviance), it is difficult to say with certainty if this is the case, but a recent study by DiPietro and McGloin (2010) found that first generation youth spend significantly less time in unstructured socializing than their native born counterparts, and tend to have fewer deviant friends. Thus, the opportunity to engage in delinquency and other problem behaviors may be an important avenue for future research on the correlates of behavior among immigrant and non-immigrant youth.

My second set of research hypotheses made assertions about the influence of assimilatory status on family processes. Drawing primarily from the writings of classic immigration scholars (Shaw, 1938; Thrasher, 1927; Thomas and Znaniecki, 1920; Wirth, 1931) as well as contemporary scholarship on the association between acculturation and family functioning (Berry et al., 2006; Bui, 2009; Le and Stockdale, 2008; Oropesa, Lichter and Anderson, 1994; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Portes and Zhou, 1993; Vega 1990; Wildsmith, 2004; Zhou, 1997), I tested the assumption that less assimilated youth experience greater family attachment, parental support and supervision, and less conflict and harsh discipline than more assimilated youth. A prominent theme running through both classic and contemporary literature on the immigrant-crime nexus is the notion that

assimilation creates generational fissures within immigrant families, and sets youth adrift from the moral anchors that serve to inhibit deviant behavior. This emphasis on differential family processes across immigrant generations has been frequently invoked in explanations of the "assimilation paradox" but has, thus far, not been given sufficient empirical attention.

Given the longstanding emphasis on family processes in explanations of the immigrant paradox my research findings are particularly surprising. For only one family process measure—family conflict—was either measure of assimilatory status a significant correlate, net of background and neighborhood characteristics. Compared to the third+ generation (e.g. the native born youth of native born parents), foreign born youth and those born in the U.S. to immigrant parents reported significantly lower levels of family conflict, net of controls. The level of household linguistic acculturation was similarly associated with family conflict, such that more acculturated households reported higher levels of family discord. No other differences in the level of parental support, family attachment, parental supervision or harsh discipline were observed.

Although the findings reported here stand in stark contrast to the body of theoretical and empirical literature that has focused on differences in family relations and parenting practices across immigrant generations, there are at least two possible explanations. First, it cannot be ruled out that the particular family mechanisms examined in this study do not adequately tap the dimensions of family functioning associated with the assimilation process. In other words, it may be the case that the absence of generational differences in four of the five family processes studied here is a function of the constructs being examined, not the universality of family functioning across

generations. Perhaps more specific measures of acculturative dissonance and parent-child relations used in previous studies (Le and Stockdale, 2008; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Stepick et al., 2001) would have yielded different results.

Alternately, and perhaps more interestingly, it may be the case that the longstanding emphasis on differential family functioning across generations has been overblown. That is, although much of the recent literature examining the link between immigrant status and crime has touted the protective benefits of immigrant families (Morenoff and Astor, 2006; Sampson et al., 2005; Martinez and Lee, 2000) the counterfactual scenario is that the domains of family functioning discussed above (e.g. attachment, support and supervision) may be universal characteristics of the parent-child dyad that transcend ethnic and cultural boundaries (Kwak, 2003). As Kwak (2003:122) notes, "Parents and adolescents share similar beliefs regarding family values, even when the related values endorsed by the larger society vary widely across cultures." Put differently, it is possible that few differences exist across immigrant generations with respect to basic patterns of interaction and socialization, or the impact of these processes on adolescent well-being (Vazsonyi, Trejos-Castillo and Huang, 2006; Kwak, 2003). Rather, as Vazsonyi, Trejos-Castillo and Huang (2006:801) recently noted,

> some of the recent focus on how and whether prototypic host-nation versus culture of origin values held by immigrant families impact adjustment and adolescent development as part of an assimilation process may be misguided, and perhaps even anthropocentric…in the sense that human beings are by design highly adaptive beings that may function quite similarly in any given developmental milieu.

Although the body of empirical evidence is small, contemporary studies substantiate the universality of family processes across immigrant cultures (Georgas et

al., 1996; Vazsonyi, Trejos-Castillo and Huang, 2006). Georgas and colleagues (1996) for example, found that, irrespective of whether a culture can be characterized as "individualistic" or "collectivistic" parents and children shared similar expectations and beliefs about the role of family members and placed equal emphasis on values such as family cohesion and piety. The universality of family processes is also substantiated by the broader body of literature on family functioning and adolescent well being across racial and ethnic groups, which suggests that parenting and family socialization may be better characterized as having universal and opposed to ethnically distinct features (Amato and Fowler, 2002; Demuth and Brown, 2004; Leiber et al., 2009; Mack et al., 2007; Rowe, Vazsonyi, and Flannery, 1994; Sokol-Katz, Dunham, and Zimmerman, 1997).

My third set of research hypotheses made assumptions about the explanatory role of family processes in the assimilation paradox. Again, drawing from a long line of theoretical and empirical inquiry, I anticipated that family processes would mediate the relationship between the assimilation measures and problem behaviors. Support for this hypothesis was also limited, as only one of the family process measures met the statistical criteria for mediation (Baron and Kenny, 1986; Preacher and Hayes, 2008). Specifically, I found evidence to conclude that generational differences in violence could be attributable in part to variable levels of family conflict, which tends to be higher in more assimilated households.

What to make of the salient influence of conflict on violence and its mediating role in the assimilation-behavior link? In his discussion of the "gulf that separates the older generation from the younger" in immigrant families, Wirth (1931:487) observed

> One of the most characteristic expressions of the awareness of this conflict…is the conviction that they belong to an out-cast group. This gnawing feeling of inferiority deprives the individual of the group sanction which is necessary to preserve personal morale.

To paraphrase Wirth (1931), it may be the case, that whatever generational gaps exist within immigrant families manifest most prominently in the breakdown of cohesion and subsequent increase in family discord. This discord, in turn, may render all other mechanisms of control abortive as individuals find themselves increasingly disconnected from the family. This explanation, which aligns closely with Durkheim's (1897) writings about the collective consciousness, fits well with these findings, as the measure of family conflict examined in this study is not specific to parent-child conflict, but rather to a general level of familial dissonance.

An unexpected finding in my mediation analyses, however, was the altering effect of parental support on the relationship between generational status and two of the behavioral outcomes: violence and substance use. Because the average level of parental support was not found to differ significantly across generations (table 3), its apparent mediation effect is not plausible. It may be the case, however, that perceived parental support is correlated with some other characteristic of family functioning that varies across immigrant generations, such as parent-child communication.

My fourth and final set of research hypotheses pertains to the moderating influence of gender on the linkages among assimilation, family functioning and deviant behavior. Given the dearth of empirical research examining the gender-specific adaptation experiences of immigrant youth, the examination of gender marks the most significant contribution of this study. Surprisingly, however, little support emerged for gendered influences of the assimilation measures on family processes or delinquency.

Beginning with my eighth hypothesis, which asserted that gender would modify the relationship between assimilation and family functioning, I found that gender interacted significantly with generational status to predict two family process measures: parental support and family conflict. In both instances, it appeared that girls experience greater benefits than boys from their immigrant status. Not only was being a second generation immigrant associated with less family conflict, it was also associated with greater perceived parental support. In both cases the strength of this association was more potent for girls.

The finding that generational status exerted a stronger protective influence for girls is not straightforward. However, as indicated earlier, one possibility is that female's differential roles within the family—which are likely linked to the native culture of their parents and grandparents—may effectively insulate them better than males from the negative consequences of acculturation. That is, given the emphasis placed on keeping girls "close to the hearth" (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 2001) it is possible that they are more immune to the discord that stems from generational gaps. Subsequently, being a relatively "new" immigrant (e.g. first or second generation) exerts a more powerful protective influence. The flip side of this coin, however, is that they may also be more vulnerable to assimilatory change. That is, even though second generation girls enjoyed relatively lower levels of family conflict than the third+ generation, over time, this waning advantage may be particularly detrimental for females.

Study Limitations

Before discussing the implications of my findings for future research, it is important to first consider the limitations of this study and how these limitations may have shaped my research findings. First, the salience of race-ethnicity and culture to the study of immigrant adaptation cannot be overstated. Immigrant groups differ across myriad dimensions, from factors ranging from their initial reason for migration and their level of social capital, to religiosity and beliefs about children's obligations to the family (Jensen, 2001; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Indeed, contemporary immigration scholars argue that nationality and ethnicity are strong and significant predictors of nearly every adaptation outcome (Rumbaut and Portes, 2001). In particular, a burgeoning literature focuses on the role of race in the adaptation process, and how experiences with and perceptions of discrimination may alter assimilatory outcomes (Portes and Zhou, 1996; Rumbaut and Portes, 2001). Subsequently, pan-ethnic analyses that fail to take these important differences into account risk blurring critical distinctions between unique cultural groups that likely bear on their successful integration into U.S. culture. Although small cell counts precluded an examination of the intersection of immigrant generational status and race-ethnicity in this study, future research would benefit greatly from such a distinction. Also important to consider is how perceptions of discrimination might moderate the relationship between indicators of assimilation and behavior.

Second, an emergent literature finds that the successful adaptation of immigrants is largely contingent on the characteristics of the geographic area in which they settle (Desmond and Kubrin, 2009; Martinez and Lee, 2002; Morenoff and Astor, 2006; Ousey and Kubrin, 2009; Portes and Zhou, 1993; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Sampson et al.,

2005; Stepick et al., 2001). Although the focus of this research was not on the social context of immigrant families, per se, this marks a critical area for future inquiry. The salience of social context to the study of immigrant adaptation resonates with Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological paradigm, which dictates that a comprehensive understanding of human behavior requires an examination of the interdependent influences that shape human development. These influences range from the micro-system, which refers to the relationship between the individual and his immediate environment (e.g. family and school) to the macro-system, which refers to the broader patterns of culture and custom that frame one's social environment. Indeed, at least two social contexts are of critical importance to the adaptation of immigrant youth.

The ethnic enclave has emerged in years as a critical area of study as, "internal characteristics interact in complex but patterned ways with external contexts of reception…to form the conditions within which immigrant children adapt, react, and assimilate into different segments of American society" (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001:7). Although this study controlled for two aspects of the neighborhood—concentrated disadvantage and racial-ethnic heterogeneity—future research would benefit from a multi-level methodological approach in which the independent and interdependent influences of neighborhood context and individual factors were examined in conjunction. Specifically, recent studies have found that immigrant concentration at the neighborhood level figures prominently in the social and behavioral outcomes of immigrant youth (Sampson et al., 2005; Ousey and Kubrin, 2009; Desmond and Kubrin, 2009; Martinez et al., 2005). As such, it marks an especially important neighborhood characteristic that should be examined in future research.

Third, although the measures of assimilation used in this study—generational status and linguistic acculturation—have been established in prior research as reliable indicators of assimilation (Bui, 2009; Harker, 2001; Harris, 1998; Morenoff and Astor, 2006; Sampson et al., 2005), they are admittedly rough proxies for a complex cultural process. In recent years, for example, scholars have focused increased attention on the formation of an ethnic identity as a critical factor in the adaptation of immigrant youth. Absent more direct measures of cultural orientation, ethnic identity, and normative beliefs, there is no way to surmise (with these data) how salient a role one's ethnic identity plays in their behavioral outcomes, and how factors such as culturally extolled beliefs might interact with household acculturation and generational status to impact adaptation outcomes.

Finally, it goes without saying that the choice of family processes examined in this study had a profound effect on the nature of the research findings. Although the particular choice of constructs—and the way in which I measured these constructs—was based on my expectation that assimilation would be correlated with levels of social control and dissonant acculturation, it is possible that the examination of more explicit measures of parent-child conflict, familism, or parent-child attachment may have yielded different results.

Conclusion and Directions for Future Research

Theorizing on the assimilation paradox has led most often to assumptions about the "nature" of immigrant families. Scholars frequently refer to the erosion of familism and pro-nuptial cultural elements as a likely catalyst for the maladaptive outcomes

observed among the second and third generation. With respect to supervision, for example, contemporary scholarship has rallied around the common perception that the structure of power, and the subsequent degree of control exerted over youth differs between immigrant and non-immigrant families, with immigrant youth generally being more "protected" than their native born counterparts (Espiritu, 2001; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Perhaps too often, however, scholars have taken notions such as these for granted, without putting these assumptions to empirical tests.

Based on the findings of this study, there is little support for the notion that generational differences in maladaptive behaviors are necessarily a function of differential control exerted over youth. Nor is there support for the longstanding claim that the process of assimilation necessarily disrupts family cohesion or weakens ties between parents and children (Shaw, 1938; Thrasher, 1927; Thomas and Znaniecki, 1920). Rather, I found little evidence that differences exist across generations or across levels of household acculturation in the degree of support felt by youth or the degree of attachment they feel toward their families. On the contrary, these processes emerged as universal. In fact, the only evidence of differential family functioning across generations was observed in the greater level of family conflict among more assimilated youth. Although this finding may seem to resonate with Portes and Rumbaut's (2001) notion of acculturative dissonance, it must be reiterated that no differences were observed between the first and second generation, who might be expected to experience the greatest level of dissonance.

What to make of these findings? If differential levels of supervision, attachment, support and harsh discipline are not to blame, what does explain the persistent link

between immigrant assimilation and deleterious behaviors? Although future research should continue to assess the relative importance of family processes, the findings of this study suggest that the intervening causal mechanisms linking assimilation and behavior may more likely be found in other domains. Two domains in particular warrant future consideration: First, is the domain of peer interaction. Although the role of peers in explaining the assimilation paradox has been relatively underdeveloped in the immigrant-crime literature, preliminary research suggests that peers may play a key explanatory role in the decline of second and third generation youth. King and Harris (2007:347) note, for example, that "the normal developmental process of adolescence in which family involvement diminished and the importance of peers increases may be particularly alien to the cultural practices and models of respect in immigrant families." Indeed, recent studies have found that immigrant youth's routine activities and structure of opportunity may place them at lesser risk of deviant peer exposure than their native born compatriots (DiPietro and McGloin, 2010; King and Harris, 2007; Myers et al., 2009). Thus, the salient question of whether changes in risk behavior over generations and with increased assimilation is a function of changes in the level of unstructured socializing or exposure to delinquent peers warrants future consideration.

The second domain that warrants future consideration is the nexus between individual and contextual determinants of behavior and family functioning across immigrant generations. That is, as mentioned above, future research should consider how and under what circumstances individual relationships among immigrant status, family processes and delinquency are conditioned by community context. Indeed, factors such as collective efficacy, neighborhood concentrated disadvantage, immigrant concentration

and social capital have proven to be powerful determinants of behavioral outcomes among both immigrant and non-immigrant youth (Desmond and Kubrin, 2009; Morenoff and Astor, 2006; Sampson et al., 2005; Stepick et al., 2001). Thus, the intersection of these variables should be considered in future research.

Finally, the unique adaptation experience of male and female immigrants marks the most critical area for future inquiry. Although the findings of this study offer some preliminary evidence of gender-specific pathways linking assimilation, family functioning and behavior, there remain substantial gaps in our understanding of how assimilation differentially impacts family functioning and delinquency. Are females indeed more protected by their immigrant status as this research suggests, and if so, why? On the flip side of this equation, does that mean that assimilatory change may be more detrimental to girls, who may find themselves further adrift from the anchors of social cohesion and collective family organization? Future research should not be dominated by the search for differences across gender, but rather should seek to understand the commonalities as well as the differences in the adaptation experience of male and female immigrants. A multi-method approach, which combines statistical analyses with ethnographic research, would serve to better tap into the complex and multiply determined gendered experiences of immigrant youth.

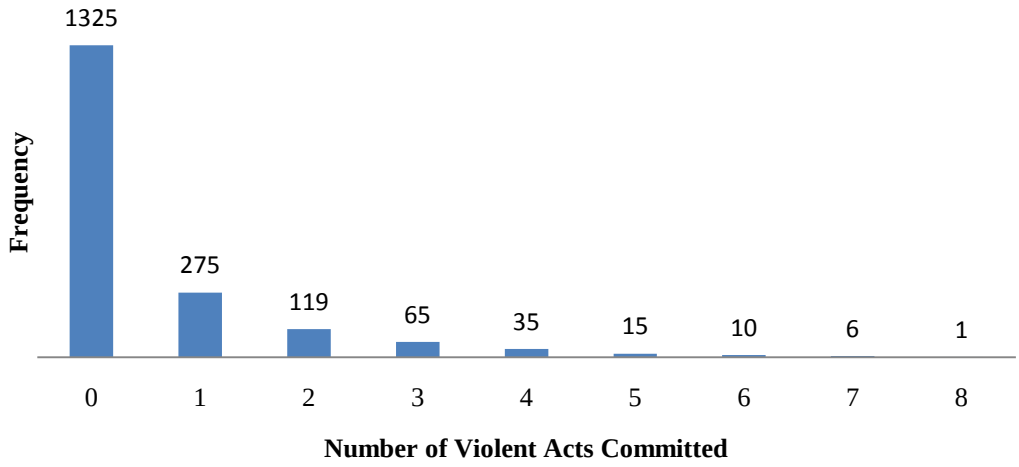
Handlin (1951) argued nearly 60 years ago that the history of the United States is fundamentally the history of immigration. Although immigrant criminality marks but one dimension of this history, it has become an important exhortation in the ongoing debate over immigration legislation, particularly in the wake of Draconian immigration laws, such as those passed recently in Arizona. Although the goal of this study was to shed

light on the intervening mechanisms linking immigrant assimilation and maladaptive behaviors in youth, it may have raised more questions than it answered.

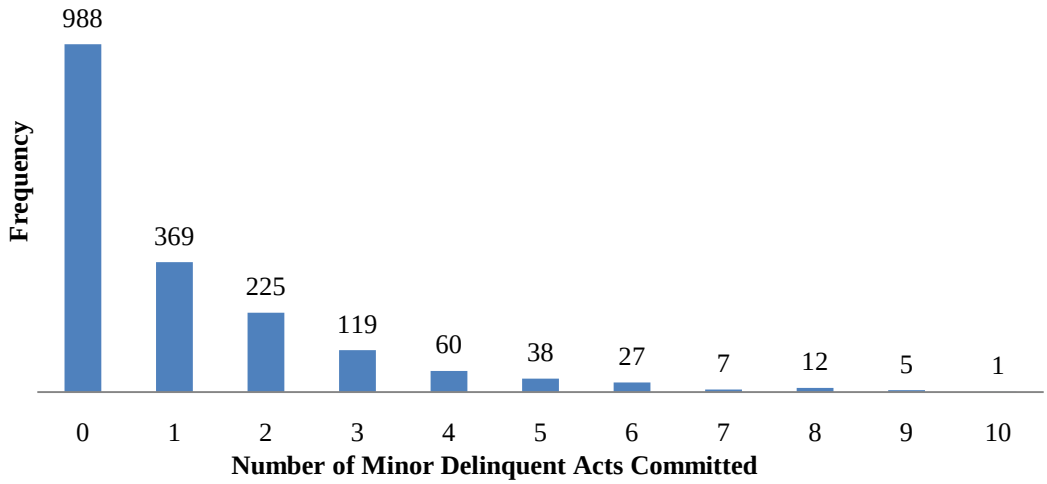
Our understanding of the implications of immigrant assimilation for crime and other maladaptive outcomes will improve to the extent that we can specify the precise conditions under which immigrant youth are more or less likely to engage in problem behaviors. This means that the broader contexts in which immigrant youth undergo the process of assimilation (e.g. the family, school, neighborhood) as well as the individual characteristics that condition these experiences (e.g. race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status) must be considered. As we move closer toward a nation in which immigrants and their progeny will make up the majority population, a better understanding of these conditions will mark an important area for scholarly research and public policy.

Appendices

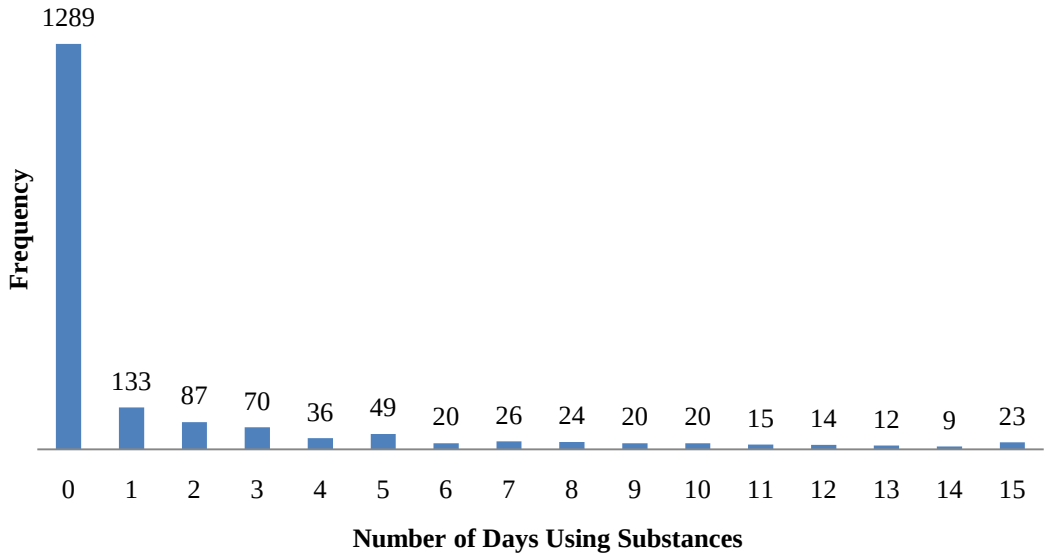
Appendix Figure A: Frequency Distribution of Violent Acts at Wave 2



Appendix Figure B: Frequency Distribution of Minor Acts of Delinquency at Wave 2



Appendix Figure C: Frequency Distribution of Days Using Substances at Wave 2



Appendix Table A: Summary of Dependent and Independent Variables, PHDCN Data

Variables	Coding Scheme	Description
Dependent Variables		
Violence	Count	8 item summary measure
Minor Delinquency	Count	10 item summary measure
Substance Use	Count	3 item summary measure
Independent Variables		
Immigrant Generation Status	3 Dummy Variables	Dummy Indicators for 1st Generation (Migrated before age 6), "1.5" Generation (migrated at or after age 6), and 2nd Generation with 3rd Generation or Higher the Omitted category
Household Linguistic Acculturation	Scale	6 item mean scale; alpha =.91
Family Process Variables		
Family Attachment	Scale	5 item mean scale; alpha=.69
Parental Support	Scale	6 item mean scale; alpha =.74
Family Conflict	Scale	4 item mean scale; alpha =.66
Harsh Discipline	Scale	8 item mean scale; alpha=.80
Monitoring and Supervision	Scale	13 item mean scale; alpha=.62
Controls		
Gender	1=Female	Dummy Variable for female subject
Race-Ethnicity	5 Dummy Variables	Dummy Indicators for non-Latino Black, Mexican, Puerto Rican, other Latino, and non-Latino "other" race with non-Latino white the Omitted Category
Age		
Family Size	Continuous	Number of family members in Household at Wave 1
Single Headed Household	1 Dummy Variable	Dummy Variable for Single Headed Household with Married or Cohabitating the Omitted Category
SES	Z-score	Composite measure of primary caregiver's occupational prestige score, household income, and education level
Years at Address	Continuous	Number of years living at current address
Impulsivity	Scale	4 item scale; alpha=.97
Prior Delinquency (ln)	Logged Scale	8 item scale; alpha=.70
Neighborhood Exogenous Controls		
High Concentrated Disadvantage	1=Yes	Dummy Variable Indicating whether Neighborhood is Characterized as Falling within the Lowest 1/3 of the SES Scale
Racial-Ethnic Composition	3 Dummy Variables	Dummy Variables for 70%+ AA, 70%+Hispanic, and Mixed Ethnicity with 70% White the Omitted Category

Appendix Table B: Comparison of Study Sample with Attrition Sample

	Study Sample[a] *N*= 1,910		Attrition Sample *N*= 434	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
1st Generation	.06	--	.08	--
"1.5" Generation (Migrated Before Age 6)	.06	--	.06	--
2nd Generation*	.31	--	.24	--
3rd Generation*	.57	--	.62	--
Household Linguistic Acculturation	.74	.32	.77	.31
Female Subject	.50	--	.49	--
African American*	.34	--	.42	--
White*	.15	--	.11	--
Other (e.g. Native American, Asian, Pacific Island)	.04	--	.05	--
Mexican*	.31	--	.25	--
Puerto Rican	.09	--	.09	--
Other Ethnicity Latino	.07	--	.07	--
Age	11.96	2.42	12.10	2.48
Impulsivity	.00	.99	.01	1.03
Prior Delinquency*	.43	.57	.49	.62
Family Size	5.35	2.00	5.41	1.92
Two Parent Household*	.68	--	.60	--
Single Headed Household*	.31	--	.38	--
SES*	.01	1.02	-.06	.92
Years at Address*	6.65	7.11	5.10	6.02
High Concentrated Disadvantage	.36	--	.40	--
Hispanic Neighborhood (70%+)	.11	--	.12	--
White Neighborhood (70%+)*	.14	--	.09	--
Black (70%+)	.21	--	.21	--
Mixed Neighborhood	.54	--	.58	--

*p<.05 (two-tailed tests)

[a]59 additional cases were dropped for missing data on one or more key study variables, making the final sample size used for the analyses 1,851.

Notes: Independence Samples T-tests assume unequal variance.

Appendix C: Item Content of Family Attachment Scale	Individual Item Factor Loadings
1. No matter what happens, I know that my family will always be there for me should I need them. (+)	.629
2. My family lets me know they think I'm a worthwhile (valuable) person. (+)	.568
3. My family has confidence in me (+)	.703
4. My family helps me find solutions to problems (+)	.708
5. I know my family will always stand by me (+)	.728

Responses were "Very true," "Somewhat true," and "Not true"

Source: ICPSR 13598 Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN): Provision of Social Relations (Subject)

Appendix D: Item Content of Parental Support Scale	Individal Item Factor Loadings
1. Some kids feel like no matter what they do, they cannot get their parents to listen to them. (-)	.544
2. Some kids feel like they can get their parents to do things with them that they like to do. (+)	.694
3. Some kids feel that they can get help from their parents if they want it. (+)	.694
4. Some kids feel they can talk with their parents when they want to about things that make them feel bad. (+)	.744
5. Some kids can be themselves with their parents when they want to. (+)	.568
6. Some kids feel they can make things better at home with their parents if they try. (+)	.749

Responses were "very untrue" "untrue" "true" or "very true" for them personally. Scoring direction is indicated in parentheses.

Source: Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN): Things I Can Do If I Try

Appendix E: Item Content of Family Conflict Scale	Individual Item Factor Loadings
1. Family members fight a lot	.690
2. Family members get so angry they throw things	.735
3. Family members often criticize each other	.688
4. Family members sometimes hit each other	.707

Responses were "true" or "false."

Source: Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN): Family Environment Scale, Wave 1, 1994-1995

Appendix F: Item Content of Harsh Parenting Scale	Individual Item Factor Loadings
1. Did you throw, smash, hit, or kick something?	.529
2. Did you throw something at him/her?	.606
3. Did you push, grab or shove him/her?	.766
4. Did you try to hit him/her with something?	.680
5. Did you slap or spank him/her with an open palm?	.626
6. Did you do or say something to spite him/her?	.553
. Did you threaten to hit or throw something at him/her?	.729
8. Did you insult or swear at him/her?	.684

Response categories for each item were condensed from 7 categories ranging from 0=never to 7=more than 20 times to three response categories: 0=never, 1= once or twice, and 2=3 or more times.

Source: Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN): ICPSR 13584 Conflict Tactics for Parent and Child, Wave 1, 1994-1997

Appendix G: Item Content of Parental Supervision Scale

	Individual Item Factor Loadings
1. PC denies subject access to alcohol (including beer and wine) in the home.	.332
2. Subject routinely obeys curfew on weekend	.590
3. PC has established rules about homework and checks to see if home	.445
4. PC requires subject to sleep at home on school nights.	.256
5. When PC is not available to subject at home, reasonable procedures have been established for him/her to check in with PC, or their designee, on weekends and after school.	.478
6. After school subject goes somewhere that adult supervision is provided.	.423
7. PC establishes rules for subject's behavior with peers and asks questions to determine whether they are being followed.	.391
8. Subject is not allowed to wander in public places without adult supervision for more than 1 hour.**	.388
9. Family has a fairly regular and predictable daily schedule for subject (meals, day care, bedtime, how much TV, homework)	.470
10. PC talks daily with subject about his/her day.	.447
11. PC sets limits for subject and generally enforces them. (curfew, homework before TV, cleaning up, other regulations)	.384
12. PC is generally consistent in establishing or applying family rules.	.336
13. Subject routinely obeys curfew on school nights.	.596

Responses to these items were "yes" or "no".

Source: PHDCN Measurement of Home Environment Survey (13594), Wave 1.

** For cohort 15, the survey item uses 3 hour time frame

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