

Theory of Multi-Tiered Membership

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Abstract

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This project examines the ways in which new members experience political socialization in a new nation, focusing primarily on the process experienced by adult Mexican immigrants. The theory of multi-tiered membership captures the complex development of informal and formal membership. Informal membership captures the attitudinal characteristics, including internal resource and knowledge building, and political identity and interest formation. Formal membership captures the structural status and contact experienced by new members. Both develop and create the dynamics of multi-tiered membership. This study explores the way in which an immigrant utilizes their available resources to acquire membership through political socialization in their new nation. I use qualitative and quantitative methods to examine three mechanisms of socialization for the immigrant: the skills and resources immigrants acquire prior to migration through their home nation socialization, their family in the new nation, and their access to and interactions with educational institutions in the new nation. Home country socialization and new country re-socialization interact to create a new way for membership to

develop. Adult immigrants revisit two mechanisms of political socialization—family and educational institutions—but within the new nation context. I argue that political socialization for adult Mexican immigrants, and their descendants, is distinct in the directionality and relationships between the immigrant and their family, and the immigrant and educational institutions. These relationships are altered to reflect the experience of migration. Family dynamics incorporate parallel socialization between immigrant parents and children and the traditional ‘top down’ parent to child socialization, as well as important spousal dynamics, expanding the boundaries of family within the political socialization framework. Moreover, educational institutions provide direct socialization for immigrants who engage them as students themselves, but also indirectly through the exposure they receive from engaging such institutions as parents of students. Meanwhile, the immigrant’s pre-migration experiences act as scaffolding for this new political socialization, providing the foundation upon which experiences through the family and educational institutions in the new nation are built. Together, these experiences come together to shape the immigrant’s informal and formal membership development in the multi-tiered membership process.

To my mama, for showing me how to lead.

To my papa, for showing me how to dream.

To my brother, for showing me how to roll with the punches.

To my husband, Alonso, for being my best friend, my co-pilot, and my partner on this journey.

And to my abuelos. . .who put this whole thing in motion so long ago.

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★ Chapter 1 ★

Introduction to the Theory of Multi-Tiered Membership

"The glue that binds strangers is citizenship in the political body. Citizenship is not only a legal status that accords rights and benefits, but it is also an invitation to participate in a system of mutual governance, and it can be an identity that provides a sense of belonging. When residents of a country do not acquire citizenship or fail to participate in the political system, not only is the sense of shared enterprise undermined, but so too, are the institutions of democratic government."

Irene Bloemraad in *Becoming a Citizen* (2006) on the role of citizenship in nation building.

*"I do it all for my kids. . . They're from here. This is their country."
"Todo lo hago por mis hijos. . . Ellos son de aquí. Este es su país."*
–María, Mexican migrant, on why she participates in her community group.

Central to the creation of a nation are its members, particularly its legal citizens. The ways a nation's members are constructed, formed, shaped, or oriented arise from any number of influences: family, wars, culture, legal structures and institutional mechanisms, to name a few. However, when a nation endeavors to open its borders to the world, the dynamics of member building are forever altered. The introduction of new experiences, political views, cultures, religions, and expectations simultaneously changes the immigrant, the host nation, and its

citizens. The quotes above illustrate both sides of this process: the function of membership in the broader building of a nation, and the personal connections of family that root new members into a national structure. Yet, in the United States, the path for immigrant integration into membership,¹ and citizenship specifically, is most often left up to the immigrants themselves. The burden of membership and its acquisition are placed upon immigrants and their children.

This study explores the way in which an immigrant utilizes their available resources to acquire membership through political socialization in their new nation. I examine three mechanisms of socialization for the immigrant: the skills and resources immigrants acquire prior to migration through their home nation socialization, their family in the new nation, and their access to and interactions with educational institutions in the new nation. The process of political socialization occurs in two distinct phases for adult immigrants—home country socialization and new country re-socialization. In shifting their political contexts, adult immigrants revisit two mechanisms of political socialization—family and educational institutions—but within the new nation context. I will argue that political socialization for adult Mexican immigrants,² and their descendants, is distinct in the directionality and relationships between the immigrant and their family, and the immigrant and educational institutions.

These relationships are altered to reflect the experience of migration; family dynamics incorporate parallel socialization between immigrant parents and children as well as the traditional ‘top down’ parent to child socialization. Further, spouses become increasingly

¹ I unpack more thoroughly the concept of membership later in this chapter, but do make the distinction that membership and citizenship are not inter-changeable within my theoretical framework. Citizenship, here, is narrowly defined as legal status/formal membership, while membership refers to a broader sense of belonging/being a part of the larger society and includes formal membership (citizenship) and informal (attitudinal) dimensions. Citizen-membership refers to both broad based membership in the larger society, and legal membership through citizenship, and will be used interchangeably with citizenship.

² My focus on adult Mexican immigrants and their families occurs for three reasons: 1) migration occurs most frequently in adulthood, 2) Mexicans account for the largest share of both the overall immigrant population, and the overall Latino population (about 60-65% in each), and 3) focusing on one immigrant group allows me to better control country of origin effects, which I argue are imperative to understanding membership development (ch 3).

important as well for adult immigrants, expanding the boundaries of family within the political socialization framework. Moreover, educational institutions provide direct socialization for immigrants who engage them when they are students themselves, but also indirectly through the exposure they receive from having children and engaging such institutions as parents.

Furthermore, the immigrant's pre-migration experiences act as scaffolding for this new political socialization, providing the foundation upon which experiences through the family and educational institutions in the new nation are built. While institutional contexts and host nation policies towards immigrants can have clear effects on the incentives and rewards of membership (Bloemraad 2006; Pedraza 2010), the development of immigrants as members can and does inevitably fall primarily upon the immigrant. Thus, focusing on the immigrant experience in membership acquisition, which occurs through political socialization, requires a focus on the two main mechanisms of socialization—the family and educational institutions,³ as well as the pre-migration experiences upon which political socialization builds.

Membership in a mixed status⁴ context

The process of political socialization in the United States is altered by the mixed status nature of many immigrant families, which necessitates a more nuanced interpretation of membership. How does a native born citizen, raised by foreign born parents, learn political lessons? What role does status play when adult immigrants attempt to gain membership in local or national communities? Membership is broad and complex, which results in variations in interpretations of its demands among both native and foreign born members. The immigrant

³ The focus on family and educational institutions stems from both the traditional framework of political socialization (Hyman 1959) and recognition of these mechanisms as central in the immigrant's daily life. Immigrants will rely heavily on resources available to them, mostly family and schools and their own lived experiences, to fill in informational gaps and engage with their communities in a new nation.

⁴ Mixed status refers to legal status; a mixed status family, thus, is a family with individuals that vary in legal status, including citizens, permanent residents, and undocumented. These variations in legal status have practical implications for the interactions each has with each other, government agencies and society at large, and can alter those interactions in distinct ways.

story is one of transformation; adult immigrants journey to a new nation, carrying culture, language, and history unique to each, and yet shared as a community, but adapt accordingly. The reasons behind migration can vary and are often more complex than a *telenovela*⁵ plot. Yet, membership in a new nation is expected to be clear cut, a simple notion or claim of belonging.

The experiences of immigrants and their families disclose no singular story or experience that is predictable or easily modeled. Rather, the development of membership amongst immigrants holds a shared ineffable quality: membership acquisition is unique, singular, and solitary, but made complete through the inclusion into a community, with a shared migration history, and the political socialization that community provides. These trajectories are shared not only by adult immigrants, who chose to migrate to a new nation, but also by their children, brought along at a young age or born in a new nation to which they had no prior generational claim. These three types of potential members interact with each other, creating dynamic and symbiotic relationships of co-dependent voyagers on the path towards citizen-membership. The narratives below illustrate briefly the interconnected nature of these stories through mixed status families, and moreover, the ways in which membership can be constructed in the American context.

As María, a young female immigrant describes, her decision to become involved in her community was not about her making a conscious choice to be American. She fell in love with a U.S. citizen, got married, and started a family. Choices she made led her to stay in the United States, to build a life that required she interact with people, places and institutions. As her daughter grew, María came to realize the precarious nature of her own status, and her need to become more than a passive resident, stating, “We live here. My daughter was born here. I have

⁵ A *telenovela* is a Spanish-language soap opera that usually run as a single season series.

to do it for her.” As a mother of a U.S. born child, and the spouse of an American, María considered her involvement in the community a necessary step to ensuring her daughter’s future. This was not a choice she had to make, but chose to make as she developed her own sense of membership. Her naturalization process, in turn, resulted in a family-wide effort—her husband helped her study for her citizenship exam (and simultaneously re-learned facts he had forgotten from his own civic education), while her child taught her the pledge of allegiance and the various symbols relevant to the American experience (the flag, songs, etc.). Through this process, María became a legal formal citizen, but more importantly, developed a shared sense of membership that came about specifically because of her family’s help in the process. Her marriage to a U.S. citizen, and her own eventual citizenship, made her membership development all the more significant because of the political socialization she received from her family and community.

Luis, a young male U.S. citizen and youngest son of immigrant parents, reveals the indirect effects of the political socialization process. Raised by parents who were not U.S. natives, he grew up understanding that his birth in the United States set him apart from his siblings, but without a clear vision of what that meant for his political membership. His parents and sister had gained legal permanent residency, while his eldest brother remained undocumented. Yet, Luis, had never known what politics was about in the United States, had never witnessed parents or siblings engaged in political actions or discussions that led to the exercising of membership. Luis’s vision of citizenship was stunted, shown only as a passive notion of birthright, one which he affirmed as his claim to ‘Americanness’ and superior to his parents long residency or sister’s military service. A citizen on paper and raised in the United States, Luis’s political socialization should have been the most complete, with the most access to

political practices and institutions, and yet he chose to not exercise his rights as a citizen. Luis did not vote, did not follow politics, and did not care. His status as an insider was moot, particularly when no one else in his family participated in politics. Even as his older sister became more politically informed and active, Luis's exposure to his mixed status family had only cemented his lack of interest in politics, where his parents and his older siblings had lived for decades in the United States without involvement. Politics was irrelevant to him, though his claim to membership was inescapable, even as he excluded his own family from similar membership. Yet, outside of this family, he himself might not be considered a member by other citizens, despite his birthright. His experience in this mixed status unit creates a clear distinction, for him and his family members, about the expectations of political membership in America.

Pedro migrated with his parents to the United States around his tenth birthday in the late 1980s, and illustrates the unique experience of immigrant children. Many immigrant children are often born outside the United States, but raised in American schools, where their childhood intersects American educational socialization with a Mexican family upbringing. Pedro's case, however, has a twist, as he was born in the United States before returning to Mexico for 10 years. His return to the U.S. was similar to that of other immigrant children, with language, culture and educational challenges. Yet, while most other immigrant children must first seek out formal membership through citizenship, Pedro's birth had privileged him and quickly incorporated him into the voting masses upon his eighteenth birthday. Pedro's role in his family as the oldest of three siblings made him the most responsible for negotiating, translating and aiding his parents and siblings in the transition into the United States. Nearly two decades removed from living with his parents, Pedro continues to fulfill that role. However, these

interactions have shifted as his parents have gotten older, their political membership has developed and both Pedro and his parents have become more involved and attuned to American politics. While language continues to be a barrier for Pedro's parents, he found that they paid close attention to American politics through Spanish language media, exposing Pedro to non-English media he was unaccustomed to, and requiring Pedro to engage more comprehensively with the questions his parent's posed to him as a result. Pedro's experience in both developing his own membership as an immigrant child, and helping his parents simultaneously develop their political membership is just one of the rather typical quotidian experiences within the immigrant family.

Rethinking membership and political socialization

My research examines the question of how Mexican immigrants and their families in the United State develop their political membership through the process of political socialization. I explore the role of political socialization in the immigrant experience, examining how their prior experiences situate immigrants in a new society, and how their families help connect these immigrants to educational institutions and broader membership in the United States. I utilize a framework of membership and engagement in the process of political socialization. Specifically, I argue that the individual characteristics of potential members (from pre-migration experiences to their interactions with family in the U.S.) help to frame their informal political membership in the United States. This informal political membership is rooted in interactions with their local resources and community, and helps develop their subsequent formal political development as they begin to exercise formal political engagement. Political socialization is the filtering mechanism through which potential members, and often citizen-members, like adult immigrants

or their children, engage in the “area of learning; more specifically to the socialization of the individual, his learning of social patterns corresponding to his societal positions as mediated through various agencies of society” (Hyman 1959, 18).

Political socialization is, thus, how different political experiences structure the boundaries of membership. It is the process of membership acquisition that accounts for both the formal and informal claims individuals can make. I develop a framework that addresses informal and formal membership development through political socialization for immigrants in the United States. I specifically extend the understanding of membership beyond legal citizenship and formal political engagement, and account for the effect of migration upon the political socialization of potential members (immigrants).⁶ This framework allows me to unpack the relationship between the individual and the new society, how they interact with communities to develop informal political membership, and how this translates into formal political engagement.

Membership in the American context

In the United States, membership is often treated as interchangeable with citizenship, and as such has intersected with race (Haney-Lopez 1997), class (Roediger 1991), political ideologies (Schildkraut 2005; Smith 1997), policy restrictions (Ngai 2004), and ideals of diversity (Fuchs 1995), for example. Yet, there is no clear or coherent ‘vision’ of membership in the United States, no single framework that categorizes people as members or non-members defined by their behavior or characteristics. Thus, in the richness of membership, there is room to explore the required socialization, political and otherwise, necessary to claim it, exploring specifically what the socialization patterns are that allow a prospective member to claim membership. I first delineate what membership in American society and politics manifests as

⁶ I will unpack this concept more thoroughly in the theoretical framework of chapter two. For now, formal political engagement refers to the activities most often captured in traditional political engagement—voting, registering to vote, contacting officials, signing petitions, etc.

key tenets or ideologies, examining the intersections mentioned above, and the implications for immigrants as members.

New nation, new members: tracing shifting concepts of legal citizenship in the U.S.

Membership in the United States became a way of exerting, and containing, control over the development of the state upon its founding,⁷ and is often bounded within particular historical moments. Thus, membership develops and evolves over time, and this is particularly true when looking at the origins of membership in the United States. Control of membership at the start of the United States was kept firmly in the hands of the elite citizen-class: white, land owning, males. The unique relationship of race, class and citizenship in American history further complicates notions of membership. Immigrants during America's early years contended with the growing pains of a novice nation, as well as economic competition from slaves, free blacks and indentured servants (Roediger 1991). Claims of whiteness and a subscription to racial discrimination were incentivized in order to separate these new immigrants from economically similar free blacks. Roediger's work shows how the ideologies that demarcated membership— independence and freedom as markers of American identity—were inherently characterized as 'white' traits, and became cues for newly arriving immigrants⁸ to claim 'whiteness' in order to claim membership and legal citizenship (1999). By explicitly linking race to legal citizenship and

⁷ While it is important to note the origins of contemporary membership in the works of Locke, Jefferson or Tocqueville, I concede that the democratic and republican roots of membership derived from the founding of the United States are themselves worthy of multiple dissertations worth of analysis. Thus, I skip ahead past the arguments set forth in establishing the nation, to focus rather on the unique development of membership as an intersection of race, class and citizenship predicted on the development of the United States as a nation free from royal rule, but still inherently entrenched in the desire to build a long lasting state.

⁸ Roediger's argument situates white immigrants as economically competitive with free blacks. As a result, distinctions between the poor/lower class workers (often free blacks and white immigrants) became racialized to create privilege for white immigrants over the freed blacks that shared their economic conditions. Thus, what could have been a shared interests based on class became a racialized dynamic between an already marginalized population—the economically disadvantaged.

more broadly, societal/political membership, race became a clear marker of one's membership in the United States.

American membership ideologies

Understanding the development of membership in the United States, however, requires a more nuanced examination of the ideologies sustaining the socializing lessons of today's citizens. Rogers Smith's work, *Civic Ideals* reconstructs what it means to be 'American', and thus a member of American society through citizenship laws (1997).⁹ He outlines competing theories of what 'American' means, and moreover, how these themes are in conflict with each other. Smith's argument is one of exclusion, wherein membership in America is predicated on the exclusion of one group or another. He traces the historical development of 1) liberal and 2) civic republican traditions of understanding membership, as well as the 3) ascriptive inegalitarianism that underscored both traditions. Smith thus paints a portrait of American citizenship laws that illustrates the way in which each ideology has created boundaries for membership by excluding particular segments of society.

Smith argues that the liberal notions of membership equated notions of freedom, equality, and opportunity as inalienable, but most often are only applicable to a 'deserving' few. Thus, being 'deserving' of membership could mean being a particular race (Haney-Lopez 1997), or willing to subscribe to notions of white supremacy (Roediger 1991), among other things. Being a 'deserving' member implied being both of the group in power, and willing to protect the benefits of membership into that group. Membership through American citizenship also involved the civic republican tradition, exercising deliberately demanding requirements of participation and dutiful citizenship attainable only by an elite few. The incremental inclusion of new groups often

⁹ He also refers to their 'hidden' meaning, indicating that there was an underlying assumption about the effect of these laws beyond the legal scope and definition of citizenship.

helped to reinforce patterns of privilege; new members were tasked with demonstrating one's worth as a member by protecting the privilege of membership from encroachment by the excluded.

Thus, underscoring both ideologies is the poorly hidden subscription to ascriptive inequality, or more simply, the subscription to an exclusionary understanding of who was, and who was *not*, American. Race, gender, and nativity were often the clearest indications of non-citizenship (legal) and membership: Blacks, Native Americans, women, and non-white immigrants were denied membership for much of American history. Smith concludes that "American citizenship, in short, has always been an intellectually puzzling, legally confused, and politically charged and contested status" (Smith 1997, 14). The implications of this statement are profound in how society formulates membership; its demands, characteristics and requirements are present in the political socialization of its citizens, but are couched in notions of who is and is not inherently 'American.'

The effects of ascriptive inequality on legal citizenship

Racial restrictions helped protect broader membership by restricting access to legal citizenship available to immigrants through naturalization. The work of Haney-Lopez provides evidence for this in the history of the legal definition of citizenship (1997). He argues that the early focus on 'whiteness' was the distal cause of understanding legal citizenship as an inherently 'white' trait, and made race central in the court's construction of a legally justified racial characterization of citizenship. His work shows that legal citizenship and access to it by immigrants had been limited in American history, linking the 1790 naturalization act restricting citizenship only to 'free white persons' and the shift towards a national legal citizenship claim in the wake of both the 14th amendment and the Civil War. The repercussions of these shifts for

broader membership are significant, as they created racial codes for immigrants who sought formal legal citizenship (formal membership). Haney Lopez's work illustrates the effect of this by citing that citizenship opened to "persons of African nativity, or African descent" after 1870, and yet only one immigrant applied for citizenship by claiming 'blackness' (quoted in Haney-Lopez 1997, 43-4). This signaled that if formal membership/citizenship was restricted by race, with a preference for 'white,' then racial categories matter in the scope of broader and informal membership.

While only white (or black) immigrants could naturalize, and become citizens, as Haney Lopez illustrates, this required legal maneuvering by the courts to maintain the 'purity' of this definition of legal citizenship. Relying first on 'scientific' classifications of race, the courts defined membership in the United States as a solely Caucasian enterprise in *In re Najour* case of 1909. There the judge articulated a scientific reasoning behind racial categorization as implied by "free white person" (1909). This sets the precedent of 'scientific' racial categorization, rather than skin color, as the 'scientific' basis for citizenship.

However, in *Ozawa v. United States* (1922), a Japanese immigrant challenges this framework. Ozawa makes the case for his naturalization on the premise that he is by all accounts a fully assimilated, longtime resident and well educated member of his community. Moreover, he articulates that he is in fact "white" in coloring, if not by race, seeking to challenge the physical taxonomies of race and the 'scientific classification' framework. The court, however, rejected this argument, stating that science classified him as distinctly not white, and thus ineligible for citizenship. The court doubled down on the scientific evidence framework, but also set the stage for *United States v. Thind* (1920) and the use of 'common knowledge' to assert whiteness, and eligibility for citizenship.

In this case, *Thind*, an Indian immigrant, charged that scientific classification deemed him 'Caucasian,' and thus eligible for American citizenship, in part, on the earlier precedent set in *Najour*, and reaffirmed in *Ozawa*. The Supreme Court in that case ruled against *Thind*, citing that despite racial categorization as 'Caucasian,' common knowledge¹⁰ interpretations of 'whiteness' did not, and this made him ineligible for citizenship. In these cases, whiteness (and thus eligibility for legal citizenship) had to be commonly accepted for a group/individual. These legal linkages of race to legal, formal citizenship had clear implications for broader membership, as those who "looked" un-American, even if born in the United States, could still be rejected as full members (despite legal claims to citizenship). These linkages thus shape membership to be exclusive of some racial groups, while always maintaining inclusion of whites.¹¹

The impact of these legal restrictions would resonate into modern American conceptions of identity (and citizenship), as King's (2002) work succinctly articulates. He argues that the significance of race in the historical political development of American politics was emblematic of the desire to preserve an idealized Anglo-Saxon image of American identity and citizenry. This led to explicit choices made on immigration policy that restricted access to legal citizenship to only a select few. King argues that these interactions between ideological perspectives of pro-Anglo identities and the institutional dynamics involved in 'making citizens' created problems for policy makers as ideologies about equality and citizenship became more inclusive and the legal definitions of citizenship increasingly crashed against broader definitions of American membership.

¹⁰ The judge's argument went along the lines of 'I know white when I see white,' launching the 'common knowledge' framework, and ruling against *Singh*.

¹¹ This is not to say that 'white' was not itself an exclusionary category. White has been expanded to include most European populations, but this was not always the case.

Demographic shifts that emerged with each successive immigration wave, for better or worse, altered the national political culture and subsequent socialization that it provided, as Fuchs' work argues (1995). The promises of democratic and inclusive government, he argues, rooted in the American Dream and immigrant experience emerges only with a multicultural nation built by immigrants. The arrival of new waves of potential members (immigrants) altered the American landscape, and continues to do so today, ingraining the lesson of 'inclusion' into the socialization of new members more firmly. As immigration waves challenge earlier notions of membership and restrictions on legal citizenship have fallen, the repercussions of the early linkages between race and citizenship dissipate, but leave a residual mark on the ideological underpinnings of American membership, and legal citizenship specifically.

Immigrants as members

These developments emerged as the United States went from a novice nation to a world power, and the ideological underpinnings of American membership became increasingly nuanced. Ngai's work examines naturalization laws as tools for constructing a citizen-body and their adherence to particular fundamental ideologies or characteristics of American identity, capturing the ways in which individuals are molded by policies into members. Ngai develops an understanding of membership as something impossible to achieve for immigrants because of racialized and ideological perspectives of legal citizenship. Ngai's work traces the development of these restrictions historically, illustrating how the shifts in various immigration policies has included or excluded various groups based on these racial, and sometimes morality based, requirements (Ngai 2004). Equating moral failure, or moral turpitude,¹² with particular immigrant groups became an effective substitute for the exclusion or prohibition of individuals

¹² The use of this restriction referred often to immigrants who were deemed 'unfit' for entry because of a moral failing. These failings ranged from homosexual activity, promiscuity, 'idiocy' or criminality. These were often subjective interpretations (Ngai 2004).

into the United States as immigrants, and potential legal citizens or broader members.¹³ The implications for broader membership were clear: immigrants who could claim whiteness were accepted, while everyone else was suspect.¹⁴ The ideologies of Smith's (1997) ascriptive inegalitarianism are clearly at work in the manifestation of policy preferences limiting and excluding immigrants in Ngai's work. Yet, Smith's earlier work addresses the emergence of these ideologies in the start of citizenship laws, and doesn't account for the major migratory waves of the late 19th and early 20th century that challenged citizenship law and membership in America.

Schildkraut's work extends Smith's earlier work into the 21st century, elaborating upon his original framework, as well as discussing emerging ideologies regarding the incorporation of immigrants into American membership. She extends these ideologies into the modern day, stating that they are not mutually exclusive, but are often overlapping understandings of ethnoculturalism,¹⁵ liberalism, civic republicanism, and in her theory, incorporationist perspectives. She extends Smith's framework past the early 1900's and integrates the effect of shifting demographic characteristics of the nation. She reframes Smith's ascriptive inegalitarianism into her notion of ethnocultural perspectives— notions about racial/cultural/ethnic images of Americanness, such as associating it with being white, Anglo-Saxon, and protestant (WASP). She adds a distinctly immigrant framework on American ideological identity, couched in the incorporationist perspective of the United States as a nation built on the strengths of immigrants. Schildkraut's work extends these ideologies to explore the individual-level interpretation of the concept of American identity, arguing that they factor into individual policy preferences. These

¹³ It is worth noting that currently, in 2013, in Congress, comprehensive immigration reform is being debated that continues to include the language of moral turpitude as prohibitive to one's eligibility for entry.

¹⁴ The attainment of citizenship has been expanded to include most eligible immigrants, and requirements are more administrative (length of residency, examination, language skills) than anything else (Homeland Security 2013).

¹⁵ This is derived from Smith's ascriptive inegalitarianism, but Schildkraut articulates it differently.

ideologies affect how people interpret English-Only laws and legislations, thus affecting their perceptions of ‘outsiders.’ More broadly, these ideologically rooted notions of what it means to be ‘American’ affect policy outcomes differently when policies are considered through each perspective. Membership becomes subjective as individuals respond to the boundaries of membership proposed by each ideological perspective.

American Membership: complex, confused and contradictory

The concepts of membership and citizenship defy broad categorization in the literature, as is evident from the works above. While most adhere to a legal definition, bounded by law, the allusion to broader implications for ‘citizenship’ at large get convoluted with the meaning of membership in a society. Furthermore, while each author has articulated the various ways in which ‘citizenship’ in the legal sense has evolved, the implications of the legal definitions on more informal attitudes and claims of membership are unclear. These conflicts can alter the meaning of American membership, and citizenship specifically, for both native and foreign born residents. In concert with Haney-Lopez’s legal boundaries, and King and Fuch’s articulation of the effect of demographic shifts, current ideologies underpinning American legal citizenship serve to further complicate notions of membership in America. There is no clear consensus on how membership manifests beyond the legal boundaries of citizenship laws.

For immigrants, particularly adult immigrants, these traditions are not part of their general knowledge or experiences. They must also negotiate how their particular home country experiences counter-balance against new American traditions they encounter. Thus, through political socialization, they come to understand membership in America. Smith, Ngai and Schildkraut’s work provides a complex understanding of the nature of American membership. Given the historical tradition of incremental inclusion and persistent exclusion, how then do

immigrants today come to understand what types of membership are possible? Moreover, which strategies have the highest probability of maximizing their integration into the U.S., perhaps ultimately leading to full legal citizenship? Immigrants seeking membership negotiate more than legal boundaries. They also negotiate cultural, social, linguistic, and political expectations of members within these ideological traditions and expectations. I argue that political socialization helps explain and illuminate the process through which immigrants engage in membership acquisition.

Membership clarified: political socialization as membership acquisition

Political socialization, as a membership acquisition process, requires a consideration of the many dimensions of membership. Membership in the political realm is everything from political, to labor-centered, to passive, to explosively creative, but most of all, it is vague, inclusive at times, exclusive at others. It can be both defined by and a product of social, political, philosophical and cultural forces. The framework of membership requires rigidity AND fluidity: the formal, legal markers of membership—legal recognition through citizenship or legal immigration status—and the informal, attitudinal markers of membership—belonging, identity and engagement. Within even this latter framework, we see both internal (how the individual sees their membership) and external (how society sees an individual’s membership) dimensions. Immigrants, in particular, face additional barriers as foreign-raised residents attempting to navigate a new national context.

The trajectory of immigrants, or their communities, into the realm of membership, however, is not without its challenges. More often, the experiences that alienate immigrants (discrimination, unresponsiveness, policy threats, etc.) can deter many immigrants’ political

incorporation.¹⁶ Hochschild's and Mollenkopf's (2009) full model of immigrant political incorporation¹⁷ accounts for immigrants' political integration, as well as the variations in how these pathways can occur, lapse, or be affected by the context and polity itself. Their framework argues that immigrant/political arena interactions are part of the long term political incorporation process; this allows immigrants to engage the political arena at different points, while remaining flexible to the immigrant's demands and interests. Hochschild's and Mollenkopf's work reflects a shift in our understanding of the immigrant experience as multi-dimensional, generational, and transnational, stating, "[i]n the end, the first-generation experience cannot settle the question of whether a group is assimilating (or integrating)" (2009, 10).

Hochschild and Mollenkopf conclude that in the immigrant incorporation process, the children of immigrants "have much greater potential for incorporation [and] the trajectory of immigrant assimilation therefore depends on whether the children in the second generation can close their parents' gaps in achievement and participation and fully join their host societies. . . ." (2009, 10). This assertion challenges researchers to utilize more nuanced ways to explain the political development of not only adult immigrants, but also their children. Their model opens up the space for my research to examine not only the integration of immigrants into the larger scope of the political arena, but the process by which immigrants get there through political socialization across generations.

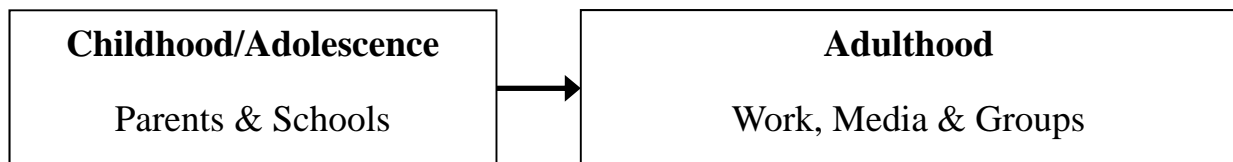
¹⁶ The role of immigrant political integration also includes considerations of immigrant community development and institutional relationships (Bloemraad 2006, 2007; Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad 2008; Wong 2006), shifts in policy and politics and their effects on immigrants (Fraga 2009; Lee, Ramakrishnan, and Ramírez 2006; Ngai 2004; Pantoja and Segura 2003; Zolberg 2006) and the increasing transnational links that permeate immigrant communities today (DeSipio 2003; Jones-Correa 1998; Lien 2006).

¹⁷ Other explanations for immigrant integration into American society and politics include assimilation and acculturation. I focus here on Hochschild and Mollenkopf theory of immigrant incorporation as 1) the most recent iteration in the theoretical understanding of immigrant integration and 2) their comprehensive theoretical framework that accounts for the earlier frameworks of assimilation and acculturation. For more on these theories, see Gordon (1964), Portes and Rumbaut (2001, 2006; 2001) and Alba and Nee (2005). While Gordon's (1964) work would solidify assimilation as a theoretical model for understanding immigrant integration, earlier works by Huebner (1906) or Lippmann (1922) use an understanding of immigrant assimilation to underscore the way in which immigrants become part of the larger culture.

Political socialization in the immigrant experience

Most individuals experience the process of political socialization more intensely throughout their formative years, and often have solidified their worldviews by young adulthood (25 or younger) if not earlier (Hyman 1959). Most are socialized within a particular system, whose membership requirements are made known to the individual throughout that early development. The key influences in this process are family and educational institutions (Hyman 1959).

Figure 1.1. Primary political socialization influences in life cycle-Traditional



The diagram above illustrates that these mechanisms play out throughout childhood and adolescence in the traditional model of the native born, but fade out in prominence and effect by adulthood, where work, media, and social groups replace them. The most prominent mechanisms are family and schools in adolescence because of the strength of their effects at a key point in overall development. The latter exposes them to the particular viewpoints of their social, cultural, and economic conditions in a top-down model of parental socialization, while the former provides structural and institutional knowledge to ground their future behavior or activities. In simpler terms, schools and families educate emerging citizen-members to the way their system works, what their position in the system is, and how they might engage (or not) with that particular system.

Immigrants in new nations do not fit this mold. They initially experience their home country political socialization, not the political socialization of their new nation. They do not have parents raised in this new nation to guide them, nor are they likely to enter school systems

that will help them ground the little knowledge they do have about their new nation. Most immigrants arrive as adults, often without the intention of staying long term, or setting down roots (Jones-Correa 1998).¹⁸ The result, then, is a population of potential citizens who are limited by their familiarity with a new nation, and who are often ignored or ‘left alone’ by the host nation (Bloemraad 2006).

Figure 1.2. Primary political socialization influences in life cycle -Immigrant



Immigrants, subsequently, restart the political socialization process, in some respect, in their new nation, relying heavily on schools and family as socializing agents during adulthood. These immigrants are relying upon the same mechanisms of political socialization as they did in childhood and adolescence, family and schools, primarily out of necessity and access. However, these mechanisms function differently in the immigrant’s adulthood than in their earlier manifestations during childhood or adolescence.¹⁹ Their early socialization supplements this new socialization, and they are essentially ‘catching up’ to the political socialization of fellow (native) adults in their new nation.

Immigrant political socialization—A framework for multi-tiered membership

In this study, I examine adult Mexican immigrants and their political socialization, and subsequent membership development. I focus on how this process plays out through their pre-

¹⁸ This perspective may have shifted in recent years, particularly for immigrants without documentation. In part, this is because securing documentation and crossing the border are more difficult in the post 9/11 era, while linkages to community are rising. The recent Latino Decision poll showed that among the undocumented, linkages to American membership were strong, with 85% having American citizens in their family, and 87% stating they would apply for citizenship if CIR were passed (Barreto and Segura 2013). Many immigrants forego return to their home country for longer periods of time for these reasons, indicating the earlier pattern might not be as prevalent.

¹⁹ There are also other socializing elements like work, media or groups that may provide some limited socialization, but are left for future study.

migration experiences, families, educational institutions. I argue that political socialization is distinctly different for immigrants because it encompasses a specific re-socialization component, a negotiation of new and old political patterns or realities, and an interaction between informal and formal aspects of membership. Adult immigrants have already developed political orientations to their home nation, and must re-adapt those lessons in a new context. Their skills, experiences, and political practices will thus be useful scaffolding for their membership development in a new nation.

Furthermore, as the nurturers of potential future members—their children—immigrants also influence the political socialization and political behavior of a future generation of citizen-members and potential members, an impact that is not easily dismissed when we consider that the population growth of the United States will be Latino dominant over the next forty (40) years (US Census Bureau 2012). In the family, I explore the traditional ‘top down’ dynamic of parent-to-child political socialization, and the emergence of *parallel socialization* where child-to-parent socialization occurs in concert. I extend the notion of family to include spousal dynamics within the immigrant experience to accurately reflect the role of family in immigrant political socialization.

Family life for the immigrant encourages engagement with school systems, language acquisition and community building. Family life, in particular, strengthens their linkages to the community, often by its encouragement in accessing institutions in the immigrant’s role as parents. They raise their children in a new nation, often as non-citizens or non-members for those first few years (or decades), but nonetheless connected, and with a stake to membership in their local communities, schools, or social networks. Their commitment to their children facilitates their own political socialization as adult immigrants, and strengthens their commitment to

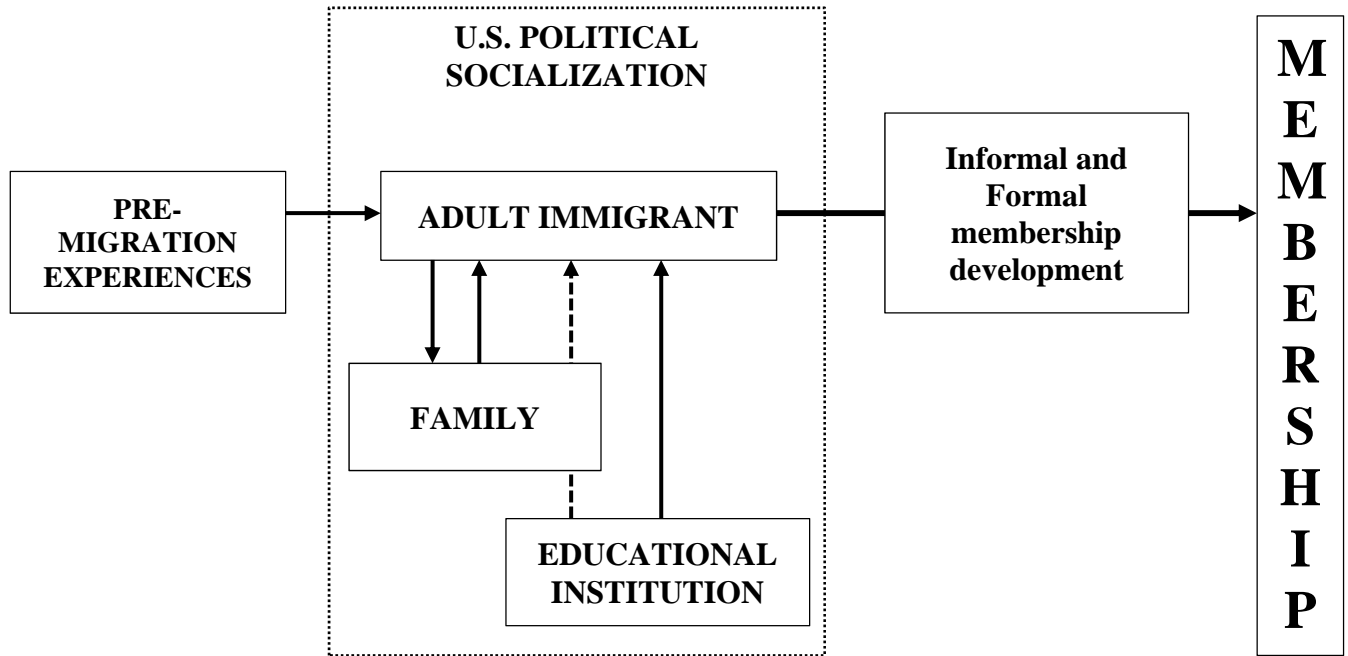
membership in American society. While traditional models of political socialization would limit the ‘family’ socialization to the ‘top-down’ model, the reality of the immigrant family is much different. Immigrant parents face barriers to this ‘top-down’ arrangement if they are unfamiliar with the social, cultural, or political rules of their new nation.

Furthermore, their children are receiving their own political socialization through exposure to schools in the new nation. They acquire the language, often more quickly than their parents, and they are being taught the political education of the native born in American schools. Thus, the immigrant parent engages in ‘parallel socialization’ with their children to facilitate their own political socialization process. In this process, the immigrant parents rely on their children to facilitate access to the political information and socialization they did not receive from their own parents for this new political context. I, thus, unpack how educational institutions intersect with the immigrant family to influence their membership development through direct contact with immigrants as students, and indirect contact with immigrants as parents of students. This reformats membership in the immigrant context by allowing for political socialization to be fluid and dynamic, and the membership of the recipients to be more than formal legal membership.

My project started as a way of understanding how immigrants became political members. What has emerged is a theoretical framework that captures both the formal and informal aspects of membership, and that accounts for political engagement while being rooted in the concept of political socialization as membership acquisition. I conceptualize these political socialization mechanisms in Figure 1.3 below. Adult immigrants have specific interactions with family and children and schools in the U.S. that interact with the pre-migration experience they bring with

them. In doing so, their political socialization manifests into formal and informal engagement and attitudinal outcomes that allow them to claim membership over time.

Figure 1.3. Mechanisms of immigrant political socialization



Resulting from this process are claims to membership in local organizations, communities, networks and potentially, the larger political society. Immigrants use their available resources, like family and pre-migration experiences, to help connect them to institutional resources and broader political membership. In the process they engage in civic, educational, and community practices that help build their claim to (informal) political membership.²⁰ The engagement of immigrants in these local, personal memberships helps create the bonds to the larger, political membership accessible to native born, citizen-members. The range of these socialization experiences, built upon the scaffold of their pre-migration experiences, converge into a self-defined political membership. It is this process of socialization

²⁰ I elaborate the dimensions of membership, in chapter two.

where the force of these mechanisms is exerted on the membership development of adult immigrants.

Roadmap of the dissertation

Political socialization as a means of membership acquisition must address the early formulations of the political socialization framework, as well as the mechanisms of socialization within the immigrant experience: pre-migration, family and educational institutions. In chapter two, I trace the development of political socialization as a framework for understanding and explaining political behavior. I unpack the theoretical roots of political socialization, from its origins to its theoretical limitations, and the many challenges that arose to its capacity to explain the political behavior of members.

In chapter three, I unfold my theoretical contribution, rooting it in the literature of political socialization to articulate a theory of multi-tiered membership. I continue the discussion of membership as it relates to political socialization, and link these to the creation of citizens and the citizen-body, wherein membership is both formal and informal, and has clear implications for political behavior more broadly. I outline the process of political socialization in five stages, as well as the ways in which membership is measured within this framework.

Chapter four advances an empirical examination of pre-migration experiences as a socialization mechanism. In it, I examine the substantive effects of country of origin experiences for adult immigrants. I focus on the conditions of entry for immigrants into a host nation, focusing particularly on the skills, education, and political behavior prior to migration of adult immigrants. In this, I explore how the immigrant pre-migration characteristics and experiences predict their path to formal membership more broadly. I explicitly link these characteristics to the immigrant's subsequent attainment of formal legal membership through naturalization.

In chapter five, I examine how the family dynamics of immigrants can contribute or detract from an immigrant's political socialization. I examine primarily the role of children in this dynamic, particularly in the process of parallel socialization. I also unpack the effects of the spousal relationship, extending the discussion of family to more accurately reflect the immigrant experience. This chapter sets the stage for the role of family in immigrant political socialization, as well as the intersection of family in educational institutions examined in the following chapter.

Chapter six addresses the educational contact of adult immigrants with K-12 and institutions of higher education. I draw upon the intersection of immigrants, their children and educational institutions, examining both institutional and interpersonal connections of immigrants to the K-12 educational system, as well as the direct experience of immigrants as students in American educational institutions. This traces direct and indirect contact with educational institutions, as well as how schools can provide cultural, language and procedural skill development that facilitate immigrant political socialization and membership development.

I conclude with the final chapter outlining the general conclusions from my research, linking the substantive chapters' findings to the theoretical framework of political socialization as a membership acquisition process. I further elaborate on the implications of my key findings for the broader understanding of membership. I end with a discussion of potential additional mechanisms and sources of political socialization affecting membership acquisition.

★ Chapter 2 ★

Existing Theories of Political Socialization

“...[I]n many ways a child born into a system is like an immigrant into it. But where he differs is in the fact that he has never been socialized to any other kind of system. That is to say, he is being socialized politically for the first time rather than re-socialized as for an immigrant. The fact that the new member is a child rather than an adult with a pre-existing set of attitudes toward political life creates a need for special devices to build support for the regime and authorities” Easton and Dennis, on the political socialization of adolescents (1965, 54).

Evolving iterations of membership have complicated the political socialization of emerging members, both native and foreign born. The question of how political socialization occurred for foreign born immigrants, in particular, emerged early in the 20th century with Huebner's (1906) work, when migration waves were challenging notions of American membership and the legal boundaries of citizenship (Daniels 2005; Haney-Lopez 1997). The theoretical framework of political socialization would arise during the mid-twentieth century in Hyman's (1959) work, and help explain how existing generations trained emerging adolescent members in the practices that maintained political stability. The focus on longevity and intergenerational transmission of socialized norms demonstrated above by Easton and Dennis (1965), would set the tone and focus of work in political socialization, and is particularly problematic when dealing with populations with less supportive orientations, or who are in fact immigrants. They state that dealing with alternative orientations requires re-socialization, but

their analysis ends there, continuing to leave Huebner's question unanswered. As the literature evolved, the introduction of class, race, and gender would further complicate the connections between political socialization and political behavior, but the question of immigrant political socialization would remain unanswered for the next 100 years, due in large part on the early focus of the field on white, middle class adolescents.

This chapter will unpack the literature related to the process of political socialization. Specifically, I trace the origins of political socialization as rooted in explanations of democratic stability and support of political systems, the challenges posed to this early focus, its abandonment as a framework for understanding political behavior, and its more recent resurgence. Political socialization originates in the exploration of how people develop political orientations, identities, attitudes and behaviors as part of their development as members in a nation. I link this to membership development through political socialization, and reconstruct the existing literature to trace the theoretical roots of political socialization's development in order to better understand this process for immigrants in the United States.

Early models of political socialization-system stability and the 'ideal' case

Early notions about the need to 'Americanize' immigrants towards American ideals, morals and customs were premised on the need to assimilate immigrants into American standards, norms and behaviors (Daniels 2005; Huebner 1906; Ngai 2004). This often occurred with a consideration of the process of socialization, generally, and political socialization, specifically, in the Americanization of immigrants. The earliest notion of the role that socialization can play to create members out of immigrants was introduced by Huebner's¹ work (1906). He states that schools play a significant role in socializing the children of immigrants

¹ Huebner was trained as a political economist at the University of Pennsylvania, and wrote this piece for the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, a journal read by both Political Science/Government and other social sciences at the time.

towards American ideals, while their adult parents found adequate socialization through unions and community standards. He argued that the children of immigrants would engage in the socialization of their parents through language, culture and norms transmissions, which resulted in shifting practices of the family overall towards American ideals. Huebner wrote this at a time of high migration into the U.S., and legal challenges to notions of American citizenship. In the early 1900s, as we saw from chapter one, the boundaries of legal membership were as yet unsettled, particularly for immigrants.

Huebner captures this variability in membership by articulating the role that immigrant families and educational institutions played in helping to re-shape immigrant political orientations. This focus on the family and educational institutions as socializing forces would permeate future research and would lead to the foundation of political socialization literature half a century later. More striking, however, is that we are still unpacking Huebner's immigrant socialization over a century later, in large part because of the shift to explain the political socialization process of the native born.

The foundational work for political socialization as a framework for explaining political behavior would be introduced by Hyman² (1959).³ He succinctly summarizes the findings of multiple studies looking at the various political orientations of children and adults, and the individual's authoritarianism-democratic tendencies. In doing so, he constructs a cogent framework of political socialization as an analytical process that allows researchers to link developmental behavior in adolescence to adult actions. Focusing primarily on the experiences of children and adolescents, Hyman argues for understanding the role of family as a principal

² Hyman was a trained social psychologist and survey methodologist.

³ It should be noted that Hyman does not cite Huebner's earlier work, despite their similar frameworks and conclusions about socialization mechanisms (school and family).

agent of socialization. Key in this is his establishment of the four primary conditions that contribute to attitude formation:

“1) the accumulation and accretion of experiences, then become more specific through, 2) the individuation or differentiation of earlier diffuse attitudes in the face of experience and/or 3) through the occurrence of trauma and/or 4) through adoption directly from parents, teachers, peers and other individuals” (1959, 39–40).

In other words, “individuals learn gradually and early their political orientations”,⁴ and these set the stage for later engagement with politics. As Hyman (1959) posits, it is in adolescence and childhood that these early seeds of political orientation are planted, and require careful examination to better understand adult behavior.

Hyman, however, cautioned researchers to note the easily blurred line between political socialization and political learning. Political socialization yielded specific outcomes in attitudes, participation and authoritarian-democratic tendencies. Meanwhile, political learning captured the broad experience of information acquisition, an imprecise measure for tracing the relationships between adolescent experiences and adult political behavior given the constant process of learning.⁵ Furthermore, his focus on what he called “mass political behavior” made clear that “deviant” or “elite” behavior would not be well explained within his model (1959, 8), implying that anyone not fitting the standard notion of the ‘ideal’ case⁶ (native born, Americanized), results in challenges to political socialization as an explanatory framework. As the following studies demonstrate, the exclusion of “non-ideal” cases would stunt the analytical use of political socialization as an explanation of adult political behavior.

⁴ Or in this case, attitudes.

⁵ Despite Hyman’s warning, political learning would continue to complicate political socialization frameworks in the literature for decades, with no general consensus on the boundaries of either political learning or socialization.

⁶ The ‘ideal’ case for examining political socialization as a mechanism of system stability and pro-system support would be better fleshed out as the field developed, particularly in Easton and Dennis’ work (1965). However, even in Hyman’s early conceptualization, there is an understanding that anyone not fitting the criteria of mainstream or the ‘average’ man would be ‘deviant’ or ‘elite’ and thus not necessarily captured in the proposed concept. As he was trying to explain ‘mass political behavior,’ Hyman acknowledges the existence of deviations from the typical member of the ‘masses.’

Literature focusing on the political socialization of children and adolescents emerged post-Hyman, but kept a particular focus in mind: democratic stability.⁷ Sigel (1970) and Dawson and Prewitt (1968) argued that political socialization is posited as a method of understanding political stability. Sigel, for example, defined political socialization as “the gradual learning process of the norms, attitudes and behaviors accepted and practiced by the ongoing political system” (1970, 2). This early framework, however, made political socialization inherently pro-system, a function of the individual’s internalization of the “accepted and practiced” norms, attitudes, and behaviors of a nation. This element of continuity and inter-generational transmission was evident in Hyman’s work, and became central to the notion of political socialization as an explanatory framework. However, it required a privileging of the ‘ideal’ case—those who supported the system, and was translated into studies of the white middle class.

Political socialization became a way to understand how societies promote cultural and political values over time, as put forth in Dawson and Prewitt (1968). Their focus was on the broader implications of political socialization, and serves as an excellent primer for understanding the theoretical framework for political socialization that emerged post-Hyman (1959), but before a more direct attempt to address non-‘ideal’ cases. They illustrate how scholars of political behavior throughout time have been concerned with the education and socialization of citizens to promote the long-term stability of their respective regimes, concluding that this concern continues into modern day contexts.⁸ Moreover, their conceptualization treats political socialization as focused on two elements: cultural transmission and individual learning. The first is focused on the society and its role as a socializing agent, and

⁷ Almond and Verba (1963), writing in the early post-Hyman period, argued against the use of political socialization to explain adult political behavior, preferring the use of civic culture and competence. Principally, they stated that the adolescent orientations in the family had little political relevance in adulthood, though they explicitly link this to outcomes in political competence, not as a process more generally. The authors in this chapter are those that situated political socialization as a central explanation of adult political behavior.

⁸ They explicitly cite Plato and Aristotle’s early musing on the need for political socialization and education.

the second on the individual's place in that society and their role in acquiring political information.

Dawson and Prewitt used this framework to refocus political socialization on the outcomes of cultural transmission and individual learning. They argued that the citizens and state mutually provide the boundaries of citizenship, stating, "Political socialization is the developmental process through which the citizen matures politically" (1968, 17). This life-long process requires that the individual engage in political learning to cultivate awareness of the political objects they encounter, and subsequently use that learning to form an opinion about such objects. While Dawson and Prewitt establish the dominance of the early political socialization of adolescents, they also acknowledge that adult socialization can be significant when one's daily conditions are changed from those experienced in childhood. Adulthood political socialization, however, was relatively absent from the earliest literature, and Dawson and Prewitt would leave the framework with a limited exploration of adult socialization outcomes. The early literature, instead, started with the earliest stages of political socialization, childhood, focused primarily on the 'stability' of the political system, and the political socialization of children in that system.

The first cohesive articulation of political socialization within the stability framework arrives in Easton and Dennis's work (1965). Easton and Dennis present findings on the way that children orient and form attachments, through socialization, to government. They analyze white, middle and working class children in public schools,⁹ and posit that children's orientations are relatively positive towards government. Their orientations start as a personalized identification with government in primary schools, and conclude in positive, but non-personal, institutional

⁹ They elaborate on the cognitive and affective dimensions of orientations that children develop from grades two through eight.

understanding of government by middle school.¹⁰ Moreover, Easton and Dennis appear to situate the resulting strong positive attachment to government as a function of the government's attempt to elicit and promote support of the system overall. This chapter opened with their assertion that children were like immigrants, socialized as members in need of "special devices to build support for the regime and authorities" (1965, 54). System stability is inherently cast as the underlying function of political socialization, and would set the tone for the literature that followed.

The intersection of affective/emotional and cognitive orientations in the political socialization of middle class white children add new dimensions to this early literature through Greenstein's work (1965). His work on New Haven adolescents concentrated on the general positive affect most demonstrated towards politics, similar to Easton and Dennis. Children's political socialization first teaches them to trust, and then to understand, political symbols and actors. He extends this analysis to conclude that "the positive side of adult orientations towards political leaders is learned before attitudes of political cynicism are adopted; and these positive orientations seem to have more bearing on adult political behavior than do the negative orientations" (1965, 153–4). Greenstein thus situates political socialization as directly linked to adult political behavior, but such that only positive emotional attachments developed in adolescents more strongly permeate their perceptions of political leaders in adulthood.

System stability and the "ideal" case—considerations for immigrant political socialization

These works are premised on the earliest conceptualization of political socialization as a mechanism for stability and continuity. However, while each assess the relative importance of adolescence in the development of adult political actors, the implications of their work on the

¹⁰ While in second grade, children recognize government as the president, the policeman, or other individuals as 'government'; by eighth grade, they recognize the act of voting and Congress (as a single body) as representative of government.

study of immigrants is key. Greenstein's (1965) implications regarding negative orientations as inherently antithetical to political behavior in adulthood narrow the functionality of political socialization beyond system support or stability. Under this framework, Greenstein would argue that the development of a singular political orientation must first be trusted and accepted, then understood, but the ordering of this process is complicated when trust and acceptance are not a given prior condition, as with 'non-ideal' cases involving gender, race, class, and nativity. Easton and Dennis (1965) set the tendency for a pro-system focus in political socialization, but one that does little to incorporate immigrants, even as they use immigrants to illustrate the political socialization of the native born. While they allude to immigrant re-socialization to a new system, their focus on exploring only the 'ideal' case problematizes political socialization as a mechanism for democratic stability and continuity.¹¹

Furthermore, the focus on stability among Dawson and Prewitt, and Sigel to a lesser extent, restricts the political maturity of immigrants entering a new system. For immigrants, the process of becoming mature political members is hindered by a lack of awareness of those political objects, of knowledge about what those objects mean, much less how one can orient to them as a member. Adult socialization can be significant, as Dawson and Prewitt articulate, and this allows us to still apply the idea of political socialization as the maturation process they posit to adult immigrants coming to the United States. If political maturation happens after achieving awareness of political objects, and one's orientations from childhood can be altered under significant pressure, political socialization can be used to understand the political maturation of adult immigrants.

¹¹ This is not to say that their studies did not account for non-support, or 'negative support' responses, but rather chose to first model the primary outcome of 'positive support' amongst adolescents and children. Their argument was that the positive support orientation accounted for 'most children's' experiences, and thus the experiences of those in the minority were ignored via the exploratory nature of their research (Easton and Dennis 1969, 245). The resulting outcome was that this limited the framework of subsequent political socialization research, and effectively excluded immigrants because of their non-modal status.

Migration, a significant pressure, coupled with long residency or the decision to naturalize can help alter those early orientations of adult immigrants to adapt and relearn the political objects of their new nation. While the inter-generational transmission (from the immigrant's parents) may be missing, the individual socialization that occurs can allow for transmission from other sources the longer the immigrant is in the United States. These challenges to the broader applicability of political socialization as an explanatory mechanism for political behavior would only increase. Scholars began to add complexity to this framework early on, however, by moving away from the 'ideal' cases, white middle class adolescents, and introducing dimensions of race, gender, nativity, region, and class, which we'll see have direct implications for constructing a theory of immigrant political socialization.

Challenging the status quo—addressing the 'non-ideal' cases

The focus on support of government/systems seen in this early literature is not accidental given the early focus on the 'ideal' cases; however it provides little understanding for non-support exhibited by groups, particularly those faced with oppression, stigmatization, or exclusion from the system itself. The challenges of the 'non-ideal' cases are explored by researchers examining 'sub-cultures' of gender, region, and more substantively, class and race.

Variations within the 'ideal' cases--Gender, region and limited class differences

Greenstein's (1965) work, though premised on white middle class adolescents (the 'ideal' case), nonetheless also analyzes class-based and gender-based differences in the process of political socialization. He stipulates that lower class members would be less informed, less participatory, and less inclined to participate, and that young girls demonstrated lower levels of interest in politics generally. His analysis of gender differences, for example, allows for the consideration of sex-role socialization as a factor in young girls' political interest. He stipulates,

“gradually children acquire an explicit conception of politics as a male function,” illustrating how these particular sex roles may affect subsequent adult political behavior (1965, 59). In examining class differences, Greenstein focuses on resource access, indicating that ‘lower status’ children acquire fewer parental political resources and incentives to participate in politics than do upper status children. However, his measure of socioeconomic status is the difference between low-middle class and high middle class, limiting his use of ‘class’ analysis to primarily “middle class” adolescents.

Regional and class variations among children in primary and middle school began to enter even the earlier conceptions of political socialization, including that of Easton and Dennis (1969) who incorporate these elements into a new analysis. Their conceptualization of this process remains inherently rooted in a ‘support system’ theory, but they stipulate that this particular work focuses more on the ‘kind of support [that] is marshaled through the early socialization of those new to the system by virtue of their birth in it’ (1969, 4). The authors focus primarily on the developmental process, not the outcomes, to predict diffuse support for the system by examining children’s developing views of government through their view of policemen, the president and other authority figures. Their work is also in part a response to the growing inability of their earlier model to adequately address increasingly non-white, non-middle class research subjects. In this large scale, multi-city study, the authors nonetheless remained focused on white adolescents,¹² though they introduced regional (Northeast, North-Central, South, West), SES (Middle and working class), and gender considerations in their analysis. They, however, find only “scattered instances of differentiated subgroups” (1969, 352)

¹² The authors stated that they chose this population with the intent of creating a target population “of modal children in elementary schools whose processes of individual political development could serve as a bench mark for future studies.” (Easton and Dennis 1969, 422).

and place little emphasis on the link between these characteristics and the outcomes of political socialization.¹³

Variations within the ‘ideal case’—considerations for immigrant political socialization

The introduction of these variations in experience yields some insight into the applicability of these earlier works and models to ‘non-ideal’ cases. Greenstein (1965) provides some of the earliest theorizing on the alteration of parental socialization practices among immigrant populations when he posits that parents may alter¹⁴ their child’s socialization to better prepare them for the demands of their time.¹⁵ This adaptation encapsulates the immigrant experience, wherein immigrant parents can change their top-down socialization of their children to better prepare them for their new environment. Greenstein explicitly argues that the possibility of altering one’s political socialization experiences to suit one’s children more adequately in a new land, as immigrants do, is a space ripe with the potential to alter political socialization patterns (1965, 62). This passing reference, much like Easton and Dennis’ (1965) earlier quote, to potential deviations in experiences attributable to nativity would take nearly 40 years to address empirically. The continued focus on the “ideal” population challenges the theoretical comprehensiveness of theories of political socialization developed by the above-described authors. I next examine how the introduction of variation in populations stunted the adaptability of political socialization as a comprehensive theory for explaining political behavior in non-white and non-native populations.

¹³ It should be said that Hess and Torney (1967), whose work I elaborate upon below, worked with the same data used by Easton and Dennis in this work. Though these authors are collaborators and colleagues, their approaches to the study of political socialization amongst children varies in approach, with Easton and Dennis focused on the political nature of political socialization and Hess and Torney focused on the developmental features of childhood development and political socialization.

¹⁴ This implies that parents consciously choose to socialize their children differently than their own socialization as adolescents.

¹⁵ He stipulates that this occurs within the parent-child generational shift, such that the parent recognizes the need to raise their children with a different socialization pattern from which the parent emerged.

The emergence of class (and some considerations of race) in political socialization

Hess and Torney's (1967) work on elementary school children integrated an understanding of political socialization with child development literature to explain the formation of political attitudes. Their conclusions are the first to draw comparisons between the various influences of social class and religion in the understanding of political socialization and political attitude formation. The authors begin to uncover the ways in which variations in one's experiences alter the political attitudes and socialization future-citizens, i.e., children, receive. They, nonetheless, speak only to the experiences of white children, though their inclusion of social class aspects allowed them to speak to the 'advantages' of upper-middle class socialization.¹⁶ Specifically, the resources of upper-middle class children gave them a head start on the formation of political attitudes, in comparison to the children from working/lower class households. This established a longer period of cognitive development among those with more resources, yielding different outcomes in political attitude formation between low and middle class children. The differences in political attitudes, however, diminished over time, and by late adolescence/early adulthood were negligible.

The work of Jaros et al. (1968) more closely examines class, analyzing the Appalachian poor, most of them white. The authors find that negative government views are common across generations in this population(1968)(1968). The findings here indicate that only in cases of extreme poverty, as with Appalachian whites, is the role of race diminished. Jaros et al. challenge the 'culture bound' interpretations of political socialization theory, providing an understanding of political socialization that extended beyond system support or positive attachments. This implies that political socialization is a more dynamic process that accounts

¹⁶ Easton and Dennis's earlier work also alluded some to this finding, but while Hess and Torney addressed it head on as part of the child's development and political attitude formation, Easton and Dennis's work used it more as an independent variable, a control for the 'variation' of experiences among individual students.

more acutely for the individual level variations one finds among a citizenry. Their work illustrates that even among whites non-dominant cultures had distinct processes of political socialization.

Political socialization was further shown to limit the available alternative perspectives, particularly for the 'non-ideal' cases, thanks in part to arguments by Weissberg (1974). He argues a pro-system orientation is naturalized in childhood, but can be altered by class, race, and gender differences. Weissberg argues that when measuring outcomes of political socialization, like participatory behavior, the poorest citizens are the least participatory, due to available resources, and limitations in their early socialization that conditioned them to orient towards the larger system as less participatory. However, he sees race as a separate dimension of its own, not related to class, and provides little further theorization on their interaction.

Schools in political socialization-intersecting with class and race

A variation of the approach put forth by these earlier works is introduced with a more critical analysis of the role of schools and race. Langton's (1969) work is the first such study to integrate not only a racial sub-sample in his group of American high school seniors, but to also examine political socialization in a comparative framework.¹⁷ Langton includes non-family agents of socialization, namely school and peer-networks, and focuses upon the attitudinal traits involved in the process of political socialization. Formulating political socialization as a means for political stability, Langton points out that there are often shifts in attitudinal development across generations that alter the 'stability' sought by members of a society, many of which are outlined in school environments as well as in the home.

Langton, however, finds that for American black students, the school/family intersections are in conflict. While these students exhibited positive political orientations when engaged in

¹⁷ Langton uses a comparison of high school seniors in the United States and Jamaica.

civic curricula promoting political involvement, those that had well educated parents¹⁸ experienced higher levels of political cynicism and weaker effects from curricula, when compared to white counterparts. He posits that having better educated black parents translated into more ‘sensitivity’ to black political positions more broadly, leading to decreased politicization¹⁹ for both parents and children despite school socialization (Langton 1969, 118).²⁰ Langton situates responsibility for this decrease in politicization specifically on the lack of information redundancy from black families and community. In other words, because black adolescents are not receiving the same political socialization across all mechanisms (specifically replicating school socialization), this inconsistent messaging about politics resulted in confusion and conflicts that decrease measures of political socialization in black adolescents overall.

The role of schools, and the process of socialization, appear more centrally in Jennings’ and Niemi’s work on the political character of high school seniors (1974). Jennings and Niemi examine not only parent-child relationships, but also that of teacher and adolescent with respect to policy positions, political preferences, knowledge, and trust. While parents are only a mild influence on these traits for adolescents, they find that the connection to the teacher’s influence is even more tenuous. They caution that neither one of these knows the political orientations of the adolescents their purported to be influencing; further, they reduce the school environment to the teacher’s influence and the parent’s influence. This, in particular for the school environment, fails to account for contextual influences like parental involvement in schools, politically oriented coursework, or an interaction between parents, children and teachers.

¹⁸ The higher education of black parents may be related to class and socioeconomic status, but Langton focuses solely on their higher education, not explicitly their socioeconomic status, in his explanation of their influence.

¹⁹ He measures this through knowledge, efficacy, interest, discussion, media usage.

²⁰ This finding of political socialization moderated by race and political reality would be unpacked more thoroughly in Abramson (1977), and later Walton’s (1985) work.

Nonetheless, these findings demonstrate that for white, mostly middle class adolescents (and their parents and teachers), the relationship to political development is not straightforward. Educational institutions remain a valuable factor to an adolescent's political development, but the direct transmission of beliefs and knowledge is not as complete, nor universal, as earlier authors might have suggested. The result is an increasingly complex political socialization process for membership. This complexity, even among these relatively homogenous populations, will only grow as other factors are introduced.

Socioeconomic status and considerations for immigrant political socialization

The examination of consistency and change has remained a significant part of the literature on political socialization, particularly with regards to inter-generational socialization and experiences. Political socialization relies primarily on the transmission of concepts, beliefs and knowledge important or valued by those socializing the individual—whether family or schools. This has deep implications for the stability of governments, and the establishment of a common bond among the citizenry, but in particular for the integration of the adult member. Whereas Jaros's (1968) work illustrated the clear variations in experiences attributable to class, the implications for additional dimensions of political socialization variations are relevant to considering nativity and immigrants. Thus, though class provides a potential alternative explanation, without also considering the role of nativity a full account of the outcomes of political socialization is unattainable.

Further, Langton's work explicitly articulates an understanding of political socialization that allows for attitudinal shifts unguided by previous socialization that is applicable to immigrants re-adapting to a new nation. Langton states that "re-socialization takes place when individuals are inducted into new statuses for which no role models previously existed in the

society.” He theorizes that changes in attitudes that emerge from shifting political systems (pre-industrial to industrial, for example), or rise in social class (often through education), require new socialization as the individual enters a group of which they were not previously a member (1969, 19–20). This expansion of political socialization allows for the pre-migration experiences of immigrants to matter in their re-adaptation to a new political realm. Despite the early promise of political socialization as a framework for explaining political behavior, challenges of variations commonly experienced in populations limited its explanatory scope.

Outcomes of the challenges to the ‘ideal’ case—tackling race head on

Multiple scholars sought to expand political socialization to account for ‘non-ideal’ cases, extending the original framework of stability and pro-system support to race, class and gender. Scholars who sought to integrate race into political socialization, however, fell into one of three groups: 1) scholars adapted existing models to new populations and continued to find that the models were inadequate predictors of political behavior, 2) scholars re-worked existing models to account for the unique experiences of particular populations, creating a hybrid of political socialization with another (or several) mechanism(s), or 3) scholars abandoned the political socialization framework altogether.

Adapting the existing models to other groups

The question of stability, persistence and change through political socialization continues in the work of Jennings and Niemi (1981). Their work provides the first use of panel study data of familial pairs to examine this question, and explores the specific dynamics of family over time among parent-child pairs in both white and non-white families²¹ beyond urban metropolitan

²¹ While Jennings and Niemi do examine the specific white/non-white differences, non-whites account for 10 percent or less of both waves of their study, or approximately a total of 150 non-white students and 150 corresponding parents. They were also almost exclusively black students. They are still the first to systematically sample non-whites, despite the small size.

areas. Their systematic approach allowed them to explore variations by race in their research, concluding that, over-time familial pairs showed decreasing differences between whites and non-whites. They find non-whites had significantly lower levels of political efficacy and trust than their white counterparts, along with clear differences in policy, candidate and party preferences. Non-white children were often more involved in civics courses and more optimistic with regards to governmental symbols than their white counterparts. Meanwhile, the non-white parents' attitudes changed more during the eight-year study period, often in the same direction as changes in their children, and in contrast to little to no change among white parents (1974). This finding shows that there is the opportunity for the younger generations among the disadvantaged to impact or shift the perspectives of the older generations.²²

While the problems with a pro-system approach to political socialization have already become apparent, particularly in understanding 'deviations' from the 'ideal' case, One of the earliest attempts to address these challenges emerged in Greenberg's edited volume *Political Socialization*, published in 1970.²³ He argues that political socialization is vital to understanding all, not just the 'ideal' cases, in order to better understand adult political behavior, stating:

"I will argue that every political regime seeks to instill in young people values, beliefs, and behaviors consistent with the continuance of its own political order; that childhood political learning is relevant to later adult orientations; and finally, that individual political attitudes and aggregates of individual attitudes have an impact on the operation of a nation's political life" (Greenberg 1970b, 4).

²² I would posit that the reason for this is that in this generational grouping, the opportunities available to the younger generations were greater than for the older generational cohorts. As a result, even though the older generational cohorts were not directly experiencing racial progress first hand, they either 1) saw their children experiencing better opportunities and engaged their children in discussing those increasing opportunities, or 2) were generally more hopeful for their children given the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and other such legislation. I posit that this might explain both the shift in their positions from 1965 to 1973, as well as their interactions with their children, and that this provides roots for what I term 'parallel socialization' for immigrants. I explore this fully in Ch. 3.

²³ This edited volume, however, included chapters from various authors challenging the pro-system approach that were available for academics as early as 1965.

Thus, understanding that early political socialization effects on adult political behavior requires the development of a theory that addresses all potential members affected by, or seeking to influence, the nation's political life. This early work documented the first attempts to integrate race, particularly blacks and Latinos, more comprehensively into the framework of political socialization.

The first, and only, integration of Latinos into the political socialization framework came through Garcia's work on Chicano and white adolescents (1973). Garcia's work attempts to directly map the systems analysis/regime support model posited by Easton and Dennis onto the Chicano adolescent population. However, his findings indicate that thinking of political socialization as a way of building support among citizens for government fundamentally limits its application to non-white and non-middle class populations. Garcia demonstrates that, like whites, young Chicanos also start off with positive views of the government, but unlike whites, their increasing contact with 'hostile reality' severely diminishes their overall view of government.

Garcia's work also integrates class dimensions, showing that the status of middle income Chicano adolescents allows them more institutional and educational resources, while the political orientations of the working and lower class Chicano adolescents proved the most variable from young to late adolescence. Garcia states that because of their lack of resources, and greater idealization of government in young adolescence, low income Chicanos experienced more drastic disillusionment in older adolescence and adulthood than their middle class peers. These findings were the first full scale analysis and (and for a long time, only) extension of political socialization into Latino populations. What they demonstrate, however, is that political

socialization is more complex for non-white/non-black populations, one that made the existing theory of political socialization (of diffuse support) incomplete.

The more comprehensive introduction of race into the political socialization literature, however, began with studies of African Americans that followed similar paths of analysis as studies focusing on white Americans. The works of Rodgers and Taylor (1971), Rodgers (1973, 1974) and Lyons (1970) focused on the experiences of black youth, the role of schools, family, and subsequent effects on political orientations. Rodgers' studied adolescent black and white children attending integrated and segregated schools in North Carolina. His conclusions illustrate that educational and community context matters, particularly for black children in segregated schools. The segregation of black children, Rodgers' argues, negatively affects their predispositions towards politics, though he also finds whites in the poorer schools (and who are of similar class status) have similarly negative views of politics and government (Rodgers Jr. and Lewis 1974; 1973, 1974).

Lyons' (1970) work on adolescents in urban and suburban Ohio found that adolescent blacks in urban cities experienced higher levels of cynicism earlier (most by junior high), while similar levels of cynicism were not present in whites until late high school (1970). However, Lyons found that high levels of cynicism were counteracted by high levels of achievement among blacks. He hypothesized that higher achievement led to increased self-confidence and feelings of adequacy when handling difficult, complex or new situations, which increased high achieving black student's efficacy overall. Lyons argues, however, that because the quality of education given to black students was often lower than that of white students, the effect of high achievement, in the aggregate, was diluted overall.

Existing models reconsidered--considerations for Immigrant political socialization

These works integrated African Americans and non-whites more broadly, into the existing models of political socialization, showing that the experiences and outcomes established in those early studies were not universal and had clear demarcations by race. They inform immigrant political socialization through this integration, even as they're stymied by the outcomes. One useful application, however, is in Garcia's work where he notes that local communities and identifying with local communities, for Chicano adolescents, explains the more favorable perceptions of government. This is in part illustrative of the experiences of not only Chicanos in the 1960s and 1970s,²⁴ but immigrants in contemporary America. Contact with localized communities tends to occur within social and community networks, often with individuals of similar characteristics, and thus potentially more inclusive than state or federal level government contact. Further, Jennings's and Niemi's study demonstrates that non-white family dynamics interact in unique ways. They show that non-white parent's shifted their attitudes in relation to their children, much in the same way that immigrant families might do when their children interact with them as translators, language brokers, and emerging American members. Scholars at this time, however, began to advance more nuanced theories of political socialization, introducing dimension like race more centrally to create new formulations of political socialization.

Creating hybrids-political socialization models reformatted

Scholars seeking to integrate race with political socialization focused on particular outcomes to better account for experiences. This framework was extended to explain black adolescents political behavior by integrating political knowledge and efficacy into the analyses in

²⁴ Garcia's work was published in 1973, but surveyed adolescents in the late 1960s. Most of his subjects would become adults (18 years old) by the end of the 1970s.

the works of both Greenberg (1970b, 1973, 2009) and Orum and Cohen (1973). Orum and Cohen's work measures orientations towards politics more generally including measures of partisanship, political knowledge and activity among their young respondents. They find that black adolescents are politicized at a much younger age than their white counterparts, with many black children developing partisan preferences in junior high, talking about politics more frequently, and even being more knowledgeable about political events (Orum and Cohen 1973). However, despite the relatively high interest and knowledge by black adolescents, feelings of disaffection and cynicism do not lead to higher levels of political participation. These findings indicate that among disadvantaged groups, the hostile political realities moderate their subsequent political behavior.

Similar results on the dilution of effects due to race through measures of political efficacy are evident in Greenberg's work. He finds that racial differences in disaffection actually increases as black and white children get older (1970a, 1970b),²⁵ but argues black children tended to be increasingly more disaffected in high school than their white counterparts, dampening adulthood participation. As these studies showed, the experiences of black adolescents, like white adolescents, were formative in their political orientations, yet any political socialization that could encourage adult behavior was altered by their experiences as blacks in America. The historical legacy of black exclusion from non-membership (during

²⁵ These findings are supported by a variety of other authors, whose work followed similar veins as Rodgers, Abramson, Orum and Cohen, and Marvick. Kenyon's work found weak, but positively correlated relationships between black adolescent's feeling of personal efficacy and their subsequent political trust. Her study of Brooklyn adolescents found that whites were likely to feel more politically efficacious than their black counterparts (Kenyon 1970). Meanwhile, the work of Laurence argues that the disaffection of black schoolchildren is appropriate given the political realities facing these children. She found black children were lower of political efficacy measures and higher on political cynicism in her study of Sacramento adolescents (Laurence 1970). In his national study of tenth grade boys, Bachman actually finds that blacks are more politically knowledgeable than whites, similar to the findings in Orum and Cohen among older black children (J. G Bachman 1970). Finally, it is Vaillancourt who most clearly states that the attitudes and opinions of children range widely, but are most strongly affected by race. The stability of attitudes towards politics among black children is lower than the stability of attitudes among white children (Vaillancourt 1973).

slavery), partial membership (during Jim Crow), and finally full formal membership²⁶ (through the Civil Rights movement), yielded experiences that challenged conceptions of political socialization as a pro system force. Thus, political socialization for adolescent blacks needed a consideration of the re-socialization that occurs when one learns to support a system where one is not considered the ‘ideal’ case or are excluded more broadly. These re-socialization processes often occurred in adulthood for blacks and created patterns of re-socialization that led to empowerment. They also challenged political socialization, often relegating it to the background of new frameworks that emerged.

The complication of race in the political socialization framework yielded interesting caveats to many subsequent works, leading many scholars to shift their research focus to the development of political orientations rather than their outcomes. Focusing specifically on black political orientations and socialization, Abramson’s (1977) work links them explicitly to the experience of black life in the U.S. His work addressed four theories to explain the political orientation and socialization that occurs within the black community. Abramson lays out 1) social deprivation theory, which links low self-esteem to subsequent low levels of efficacy and confidence, 2) political education theory, which cites the role of schools and educational authorities in orienting new citizens, 3) the intelligence theory, which argues that lower intelligence among blacks leads to lower levels of efficacy and knowledge about politics, and finally, 4) the political reality theory, which considers context and its effect in moderating the way political orientations are developed (P. R. Abramson 1977; 1972).

Abramson illustrates that of these theories, the social deprivation and political reality theories best predict levels of political trust and efficacy among adolescent blacks. Most notably, Abramson argues that these two theories, together, account for the development and subsequent

²⁶ Or at least the promise of full membership.

orientations of blacks in the political system, and constitute the socialization experience of blacks. Abramson argues that the complex nature of black political socialization requires both: political reality explains how political orientations can be shaped by the status of blacks more broadly in society, as well as the emergence of low self-esteem among blacks. Social deprivation links the subsequent effect of the negative context to low efficacy and confidence, and thus the theories together explain the overall development of black political trust and efficacy.²⁷

A stalled evolution of political socialization—consideration for immigrant political socialization

The literature integrating the black experience into political socialization makes clear that the existing models situated blacks as ‘non-ideal’ cases. Their orientations were not always pro-system, and lower levels of trust and efficacy problematized their support of broader governmental institutions, particularly among black adolescents learning to be both American and black. Black political socialization, thus, invoked multiple layers of socialization, requiring the development of both an American (‘ideal’ case) and a non-white (‘non-ideal’ case) orientation as adolescents transitioned to adulthood. Immigrants and their children engage in similar negotiations, in attempts to claim American political membership while being non-natives, as well as filtering their membership development as Americans through the frame of being ‘immigrants.’ Adult migration forces immigrants to experience re-socialization in the new society, first as an immigrant developing American membership, and then as a member shaped by migration experiences. Black political socialization, thus, provides the space to consider how political socialization can be reformulated and expanded to account for variations not only in class, or gender, but race and nativity as well. However, these developments would fail to

²⁷ Abramson does find some evidence to support the political education theory broadly, but links the root causes of its effects more closely to the political realities and low self-esteem theories. Thus, while political education situates the socialization in institutional mechanisms, the individual level effects of political realities and social deprivation are more accurate predictors of black political behavior. The intelligence theory is unsupported generally, citing specifically that this presumes that blacks are deficient overall in their capacity to engage politics intellectually.

coalesce into a comprehensive framework, and would instead lead to a shift away from political socialization as an explanation for political behavior.

Finding new frameworks—moving away from political socialization

Rethinking political socialization for blacks required examining the unique experience of *being black* in America. The work of Marvick (1970) illustrates how race, migration (within the U.S.), class and the attainment of full citizenship advanced particular socialization patterns within the black community. Terming it ‘re-socialization’, Marvick progresses the understanding of political socialization within this community by laying out that the lessons learned by blacks under Jim Crow as assets or commodities. He argues that “they often find such assets portable to new circumstances and applicable in quite unexpected situations. American Negroes learned these skills under persistent conditions of duress” (1970, 151). Marvick argues these lessons created an environment in which blacks could circumvent ‘traditional’ political socialization in order to get along, but also challenge the status quo to claim their citizenship and political membership. Marvick, however, prefers to engage with political socialization as political learning, a process that teaches blacks skills under duress, but that is broader in its implication. He steps away from the traditional understanding of political socialization as stability/pro-system, opting instead for this specific framework of political learning.

The writing on the wall for the applicability of political socialization to non-white experiences is best articulated by Walton’s (1985) work. Walton argues that the overall experience of African Americans in the United States was not comparable to those of whites.

This results in:

“Black political behavior [that] is a function of individual and system forces. . . [an experience that is] inspired and shaped by some features and currents that do not form the basis of all American political behavior because it is rooted in the black experience in America” (Walton 1985, 7–8).

In this definition, Walton redefines the boundaries for understanding not only black political behavior, but black political socialization. His work goes on to elaborate the many dimensions of black political development, opinion, culture, and socialization, concluding that the experiences of a group so clearly distinct must be analyzed not with the expectation that they will conform to a dominant model, but that they are divergent from it.

This perspective allows Walton to examine the development of political orientations and behavior within a unique population the product of that population's experiences, rather than attempting to adapt a prior pattern to fit. Walton is critical of existing models which relegate black American political behavior as 'deficient,' like political socialization, and that are premised on white's behavior as the standard. These models of political socialization used the mechanisms of schools and families to socialize, but this situated black communities and members as deficient or dysfunctional because of structural barriers, racial orders and cultural restrictions. Walton's work links political behavior as derived from and influenced by the political socialization of *being* African Americans.

Walton examines the way that black political culture has emerged to allow for adolescent and adult political socialization to occur in the wake of 'dysfunctional' schools and families. Communities of color, he argues, must engage in both black and white socialization (sometimes resulting in mutually exclusive experiences), recalibrate those experiences and expectations as black Americans through black community institutions (school, family, church), and emerge with a black political identity that outlines individual behaviors and attitudes.²⁸ Walton articulates how black adolescents might engage with 'white socialization efforts' via schools and interactions with white children, but must also engage in a 'black reconversion or redefinition

²⁸ This is his 'black reconversion' process.

process' as older adolescents and adults.²⁹ Key in this process for Walton is *interest* in inclusion or membership, whether it is institutionally, nationally, or community oriented. Individuals are invested in these 'conversions' as long as there is interest in the process and incentive to engage, i.e. interest in membership.

The trend of shifting away from pro-system socialization continues with Morris et al.'s (1989) work. In it, he focuses on the re-socialization of blacks towards 'protest' politics, negating earlier frameworks of pro system stability. Morris examines adult black political socialization during the Civil Rights era, arguing that the historical alienation of blacks from the political process provided a new orientation of blacks towards 'protest politics'. Illustrating how freedom rides and literacy drives fostered and built a unified vision of black political socialization, Morris demonstrates that for non-white populations, the concept of membership attainment was broader. He shifts his framework away from political socialization, and centers his work on the outcomes of political alienation and political culture³⁰ as explanations of black political behavior.

More recently, black political socialization has emerged to add nuance to previous studies, and in particular adult re-socialization. Revisiting the assertions of Morris's claims about black re-socialization, Parker's work (2009) adds an additional dimension of military re-socialization, articulating how the military experiences had distinct re-socialization effects on black veterans. Parker argues that black veteran's military service solidified their claims on membership in ways that were inaccessible to non-serving blacks—having fought and died for democracy abroad, black veterans were well-equipped to fight for democracy at home. He argues

²⁹ Here, Walton agrees with Abramson's work, and extends Abramson's political reality theory into his own argument.

³⁰ He defines political alienation, broadly, as the way racial interactions place blacks at the bottom of the social order; He defines political culture as the historical and structural functions of black communities and political life as resources (Morris, Hatchett, and Brown 1989, 300).

that this service provided the necessary training, socialization and confidence to combat white supremacy.

In conjunction with Morris and Marvick, he suggests that political socialization can be re-conceptualized as 1) a means of achieving membership and 2) inherently challenging the existing system, what he terms “civic republicanism,” for those excluded from membership. Furthermore, the skills available to these black veterans allowed them to recognize that ‘support’ for the political system in fact required protest of the practices that corrupted it.³¹ Understanding the ways in which previous blacks were socialized and re-socialized allows us to subsequently explore the ways in which ‘non-ideal’ cases engage in political socialization.

Considerations for Immigrant Political socialization

The political reality and social deprivation theories laid out by Abramson have clear implications and resonance within Asian, Native American and Latino communities. Furthermore, as the work of Marvick (1970) and Morris et al. (1989) illustrate, the introduction of full citizenship/membership became a motivation for blacks to translate the skills learned under Jim Crow into tools to achieve acceptance.³² These works provide fertile theoretical purchase for adapting political socialization to immigrant populations. Marvick’s discussion of re-socialization accounts for the similar process through which immigrants adapt previous political learning to a new host society. Walton re-conceptualizes the black experience as a socializing force as derived from *being black in the United States* with this critique, and opens up theoretical ground to do the same with an analysis of immigrants or other minority groups. I argue that this translates into understanding immigrants as shaped by the migration experience,

³¹ Specifically Jim Crow policies that undermined the democratic values they’d pledged to protect.

³² An alternative explanation for the possible differences experienced by racial groups in the processes of political learning and socialization is a class based explanation. Perhaps, given the overrepresentation of racial minorities in the poorest social class, it is their socioeconomic status that alters their perspectives on U.S. politics, rather than their racial membership. However, I argue that is simply another dimension of the racialized experience, and not solely a function of class since poor whites have historically been more pro-system.

and for which political socialization requires a ‘conversion’ of their own through membership development and engagement with their communities

Walton’s threshold of political interest is a useful measure of the beginning stages of immigrant political socialization, particularly as a measure of investment in the creation of a political identity that comes from membership. Walton’s work further informs the experiences of immigrants, wherein they bring with them earlier socialization from their home nations, but engage in a re-socialization to a new host nation’s environment. If applied to immigrants, such theories are useful for explaining their subsequent political membership. Immigrants, similar to blacks, also face exclusion from membership not only because of race, but also nativity (Daniels 2005; Ngai 2004). Thus, the dynamics of nativity alter the ways in which these theories would be applied to immigrants and require a recalibration to account for the immigration experience. Specifically, political socialization for immigrants requires not only entering the process of learning, orienting, and creating one’s position in society, but also the interest and incentive to do so. That incentive is developed through what I will later call informal membership.

Breaking up with political socialization—a framework too limited for complexity

Throughout the 1980’s, political socialization continued to see significant challenges to its ability to explain political behavior beyond the ‘ideal’ case. Pamela Conover’s (1991) work provides the final articulation of its failures, arguing that the conceptualization of political socialization conflated elements of political socialization, knowledge, learning and incorporation without clearly distinguishing between them, and often confounding their effects. Conover clarifies this by disentangling political learning from political socialization. Arguing that political learning is the broader of the two terms, she defines it as the “learning of any politically relevant material regardless of whether or not this learning promotes support for the existing political

regime, and likewise regardless of whether or not the learning is deliberate” (1991, 131).³³ Her definition of political socialization is more narrow, defined as “the process of becoming a member of a group, organization, or society,” (1991, 131), wherein she argues that individuals are taught the lessons needed to ‘fit in’ to their respective political societies. While this articulation, within the framework of earlier political socialization—pro-system, stability, and the ‘ideal’ case—was valid, it missed the opportunity to reframe political socialization to better account for the experiences of new developing members.

Political socialization takes on a new meaning for individuals new to a system. For those beyond the stages of adolescent socialization through family or schools, such as for immigrants, this process becomes infinitely more complex. Immigrants are tasked with integrating into the larger society, to ‘fit in’ with American life in order to gain both societal and legal membership (Daniels 2005; Huebner 1906; Ngai 2004), or risk alienation, subjugation, or deportation. Yet the fact that there are multiple, competing and complementary ideological traditions in the United States (Schildkraut 2005; Smith 1997) complicates how membership is constructed.

While political learning remains aptly broad and useful for immigrants, it is through membership that immigrants (non-members) can subsequently engage the system. Thus, the dynamics of political learning within the process of political socialization of immigrants are far more varied than they are for the native born, but serve a functional purpose on their journey toward membership through political socialization. The inherent outcome of political socialization, after all, is *membership*. Thus, I argue that while Conover’s definitions might inherently work for U.S. born citizen-members,³⁴ her definitions are less useful in considering

³³ See also Anthony Down’s work on ‘byproduct’ learning in *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (1957).

³⁴ The notable exception is of blacks fighting for full formal membership during Jim Crow, and whose political membership has often been contested. Similarly, the right of membership, in the formal citizenship sense, has never

new foreign born members, who must re-adapt their previous political learning and socialization. It is more appropriate to think of political socialization of immigrants as the way through which they acquire their membership.

Huebner revisited—the re-emergence of political socialization for immigrants

Only recently has literature begun to address how immigrant political socialization has occurred. In part, the delay with the rejection of political socialization by Conover (1991) stunted its further development as a viable framework for explaining political behavior. However, recent work has addressed the earlier limitations and begun to cultivate resurgence in theorizing political socialization for more complex populations. Moreover, the re-introduction of political socialization into contemporary literature to understand a group's behavior, like in Parker's (2009) articulation of adult black veteran's socialization, allows for the examination of groups even further removed from American political socialization, like immigrants.

Of the few studies that examine the immigrant experience, the focus has been primarily on voting behavior (Tam Cho 1999), the role of language brokering or incorporation (Wong and Tseng 2008; Wong 2006), the role of institutional dynamics (Bloemraad 2006), or adaptation of pre-migration experiences to new political systems (Lien 2006, 2010; White 2008). Tam Cho (1999) analyzes immigrant voting patterns, linking the propensity to turn out to vote with the explicit role of political socialization as a cultivator of voting habits. She argues that immigrants who are socialized to value voting as a democratic enterprise will be more likely to vote. However, her focus on outcomes rather than processes was a limited contribution to understanding how immigrants become members. Nonetheless, the work presents the first application of political socialization to explaining immigrant's formal political engagement.

been guaranteed to the children of foreign born aliens, as seen during World War II with the internment of the Japanese and other such restrictive policies (Ngai 2004).

Wong (2006), who examines the role of community based organizations (CBO), finds that they are an integral part of immigrant communities, in particular as centers of resource accumulation and information transmission. Her work lays out a dynamic of the immigrant community that introduces agency to individuals who have potentially no other formal membership in the dominant society. The result of this understanding is that immigrant political socialization occurs within contexts of potentially changing formal relationships with the larger government that shapes local and familial relationships. Wong and Tseng (2008) extend the examination of resources for immigrant's by probing the role of language brokering in the immigrant family, and specifically how this subsequently alters political socialization processes. Their findings indicate that the family dynamics of top-down socialization that are the norm in traditional political socialization are tempered when the children (like those of immigrants) must engage in mediating practices, like those in language brokering (translation or interpretation of material for parents).

The notion of citizenship/membership in relation to the context of naturalization is introduced by Bloemraad (2006), who cites comparative cases from Canada and the United States. She demonstrates how the incentives in each nation that 'promote' (legal) citizenship in its eligible-immigrant population contradict the naturalization rates that emerge. Bloemraad unveils how a political socialization process in each nation that hinges on the individual's characteristics (United States) or the community/government's incentives (Canada) can yield such divergent outcomes. She establishes more clearly that in the United States, the process of naturalization (as an end outcome of political socialization) can often be impeded by the emphasis on the individual's incentive or characteristics. While individual immigrants can craft their own political socialization to U.S. politics, the process occurs more quickly and more

profoundly when the larger society (or even the immigrant community) aids in the process of their political socialization, a model demonstrated with the Canadian example.³⁵ While Bloemraad's work is more focused on the acquisition of full formal citizenship (as legal citizenship), her work provides a clear critique for understanding the process of political socialization of immigrants in the United States as centered within the individual immigrant's social and community networks. As more authors begin to clearly distinguish the political socialization of immigrants, a framework for understanding immigrant political socialization has begun to emerge, including considerations of uniquely immigrant traits.

The experiences of immigrants are often filtered through their pre-migration political experiences. Lien's work outlines the pre-migration experiences, and their effects, of Chinese immigrants from distinctly different political environments (China, Taiwan and Hong Kong) (Lien 2010). Her findings indicate that exposure to such variations in political socialization in the pre-migration periods have a positive effect on subsequent political participation in the United States and China. The work of White et al (2008) similarly examines the re-socialization of immigrants to their new nation (Canada), concluding that immigrants' original political orientations from their home-country are an important predictor of how they adapt to their new environments. These researchers integrate these pre-migration experiences to demonstrate that immigrants engage in a transfer of pre-migration behaviors through the consistent exposure to new country politics. This expands political socialization to capture not only the new nation processes, but the roots of immigrant political behavior³⁶ in their home nation.

³⁵ The equivalent expectation for the native born might be that children would be expected to learn about U.S. politics, history, or the English language without any institutional or community support, like that provided by parents, schools, or communities. While this might seem absurd for children with no prior knowledge of the political system, these are the conditions that occur for immigrants who are adults, but who also have no prior knowledge of the new political system.

³⁶ I'll unpack these works and this phenomenon more thoroughly in chapter 4, pre-migration experiences.

Moving forward

This emerging literature has done much to shift away from the limited conceptions of political socialization as an ill-defined, narrowly applied, and limited analytical tool. Yet, no cohesive structure for theorizing about immigrant political socialization has emerged. Though there has been fruitful discussion of what the political socialization process looks like for immigrants, there is clearly a limited scope of understanding and little theorizing on how this process plays out overall. In the following chapter, I present a new theory of political socialization for immigrants, where I argue that it is inherently about membership acquisition, with a specific re-socialization component that allows immigrants to scaffold new experience onto their pre-migration experiences. This process subsequently yields a particular outcome—informal membership—that allows immigrants to develop formal membership through political engagement on their own terms.

★ Chapter 3 ★

A Theory of Multi-Tiered Membership

In this chapter, I develop a framework that addresses immigrant political socialization directly. I first outline the theoretical roots from chapter two that allow me to build a comprehensive theory of immigrant political socialization. I then present the overall process of political socialization as it relates to the development of political membership. I outline the specific structure of membership in my theory, the resulting types of membership, and the intersection of membership with engagement. I elaborate on the interaction of these elements and resulting outcomes of political socialization. I term my new conceptualization a theory of multi-tiered membership. I conclude with the methodological approaches and data that I will use to empirically test the hypotheses derived from my theory.

Theoretical grounding—building on what came before

There are two threads of the literature that are relevant to the construction of my theoretical framework: the first is the literature that introduced Latino¹ variations into political socialization and accounts for their experiences in America (Garcia 1973), and the second is the literature that modified political socialization to address non-white political experiences in the United States (Abramson 1977; Walton 1985). Together, these works provide theoretical

¹This work was selected both because of my focus on Mexican immigrants, but also because it is the only work to deal with a non-white population that was linked to the migration experience.

grounding for constructing a framework that explains immigrant membership development through political socialization. I merge these threads with the relevant socializing mechanisms outlined in recent literature on immigrant political socialization to more adequately frame my theory. These works account for non-white experiences and problematize the existing limited scope of political socialization. They also acknowledge the implied political membership that results from this process, and demonstrate how membership is developed in ‘non-ideal’ cases.

Garcia’s application of the system support framework to his analysis of Chicanos finds that it is an incomplete explanation, but more importantly, that within this population, community and familial resources presented alternative mechanisms to promote engagement (1973). This will be integral to explaining the way that family and community resources function within my framework. Abramson’s and Walton’s works on black political behavior help frame the role of political socialization as contextually derived. Specifically, I borrow from the political reality component of Abramson’s theory in my conceptualization of this process for immigrants.² In doing so, I consider the political reality of immigrants, and the ways in which it shapes their political socialization as immigrants interacting with an unfamiliar context. Abramson and Walton allow me to account for the particular influence of migration within the immigrant population, and account for how this particular experience might complicate an immigrant’s

² I do not negate the influence of the social deprivation theory in the experience of immigrants, but rather make the case that this component of Abramson’s theory is closely linked to the African American experience. While there are shared experiences between African Americans and Latinos, immigrant and native born, I exclude this component for two reasons. First, Abramson explicitly links the low self-esteem and confidence captured in this theory to historical negative treatment/experiences of African Americans in the United States. By their nature as foreign born residents, Latino immigrants do not have a ‘historical’ connection to these negative experiences in the same way as African Americans, though there has been historical discrimination against immigrants. The work of Jimenez addresses this by articulating the ‘replenishment’ of migratory cohorts, such that newer cohorts are increasingly separate from older cohorts (2008). I would posit that for migrants who came prior to the most recent waves of anti-immigrant sentiment (post PROP 187 in CA, for example), their expectations of hostility were lower upon arrival than more recent waves. This, however, speaks more to the ability of immigrants to learn about the conditions in the United States prior to their arrival, not their ‘historical connection as Abramson articulates. Second, the exclusion of this theory allows me to focus on the explicit interactions of the immigrants with their political reality as non- or partial members.

development of membership through political socialization. Walton,³ specifically, provides theoretical leverage to step away from the pre-established and limited expression of political socialization, and to construct a version that adapts uniquely to the experiences of immigrants themselves.

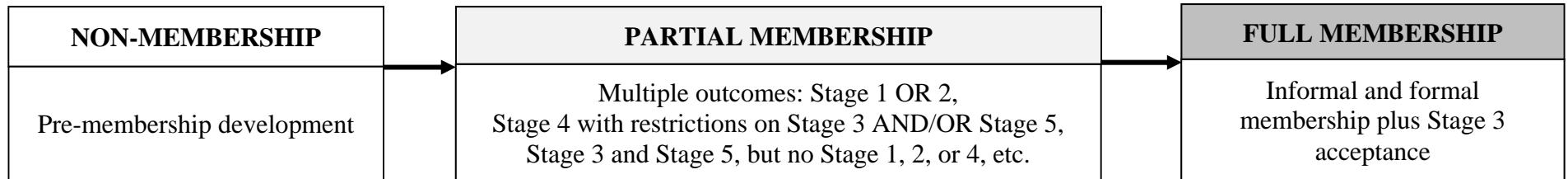
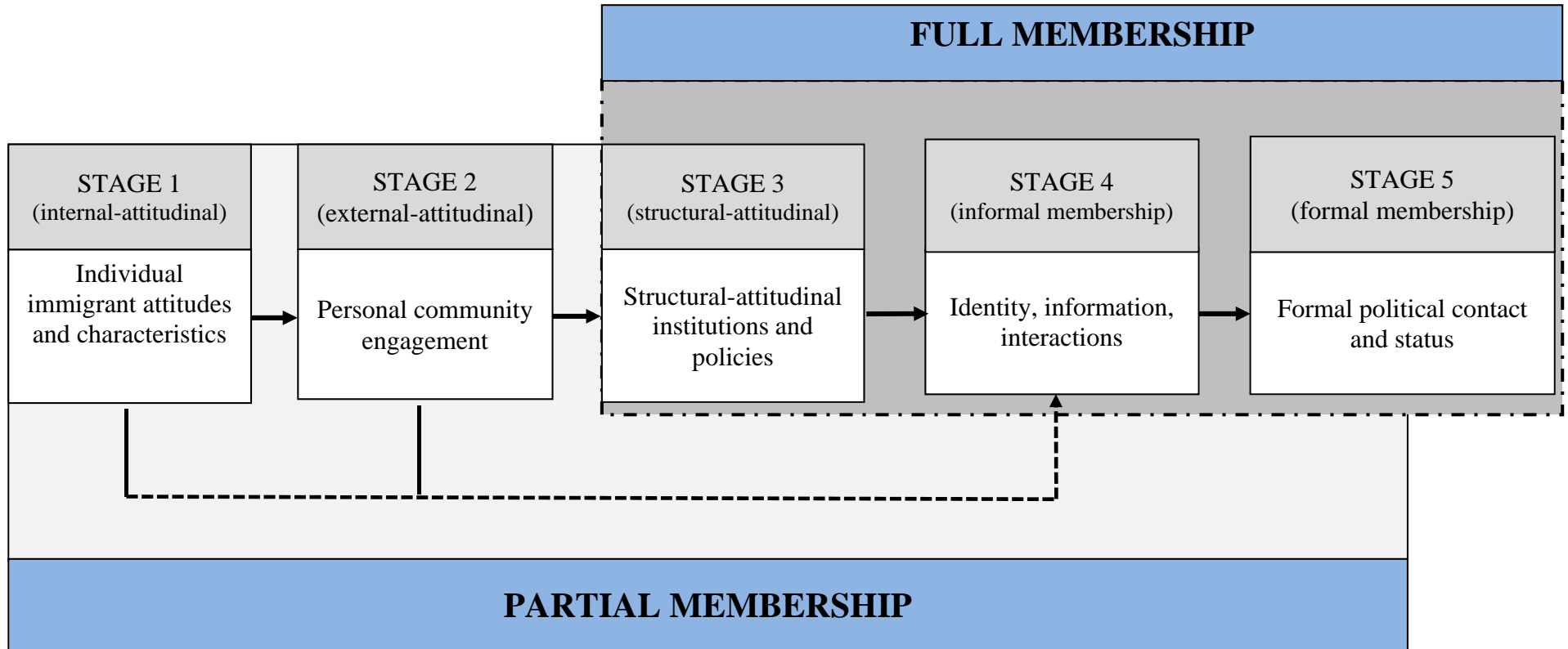
These works provide ample theoretical grounds upon which to build a new framework of immigrant political socialization, particularly in light of the emerging literature on immigrant political socialization outlined in chapter two. From there, I focus on pre-migration experiences (Lien 2010; White et al. 2008), family (Wong and Tseng 2008), and educational institutions (Bloemraad 2006), as specific mechanisms in the political socialization process of immigrants. I thus conceptualize political socialization as the process through which immigrants develop political attitudes and engagement that are informed by the membership expectations of their new nation. Within my framework, political socialization is the process of becoming a member of the new nation of residence. There are both formal and informal dimensions to this membership.

Multi-tiered membership: A new theory of immigrant political socialization

The immigrant political socialization process engages all elements of membership development, including how individuals interact, respond to and are integrated into a political system. However, this membership is complex and must account for both individual development and institutional demands. My theory of multi-tiered membership accounts for this complexity, and starts with an account of what the immigrant brings to the table through the individual characteristics and subsequent available resources for membership development they encounter. This is outlined in Figure 3.1 below, in stage one, the internal-attitudinal stage.

³ And by extension, Abramson, whose theory is well integrated into Walton's conceptualization.

Figure 3.1. THEORY OF MULTI-TIERED MEMBERSHIP



What follows is how those characteristics lead to engagement with their local community in stage two, the external-attitudinal stage. This captures the formative experiences of immigrants with their local contexts, institutions and organizations. These two stages interact and build upon each other, specifically as a result of the cumulative nature of membership; as the immigrant develops their individual characteristics, gains a family or roots in a community, they will become more invested in the community, and thus continue to develop their individual resources.

These occurrences, of course, happen within the interaction of the structural-attitudinal context of stage three, where the formal institutions, policies, structures and majority attitudes establish the socio-political environment in which the individual engages a new nation.⁴ This is the broader context, removed from the personal interactions with immigrants, that accounts for the receptivity of a nation to new members.⁵ Informal political membership, stage four, emerges from the aggregated experiences and resources from the internal/external attitudinal claims of stage one and two, and conditioned through the interactions with this structural-attitudinal context of stage three; it results in the immigrant cultivating informal membership derived from those three earlier stages, and guides the attitudinal expectations of the immigrant. This directly informs immigrants regarding how to participate through political engagement in stage five, while continuing to negotiate the structural restrictions imposed by stage three. This results in the practice of unrestricted quasi-formal behavior (e.g. protests) and restricted formal behavior (voting) in stage five. Combined, these stages encapsulate the totality of the immigrant political socialization experience, and explain the development of immigrants as members of a nation.

⁴ Stage three has implications for stage one and stage two through policies regulating entry into the United States and programs targeting immigrant development or education, as well as hostility of the broader context or institutions towards immigrant communities. However, in the process of political socialization, the path of the immigrants intersects with stage three as they attempt to develop and transition to stage four and five.

⁵ This is the 'hidden meaning' of membership that scholars from chapter 1 allude to, and that constrains membership on dimensions of race, gender, class, etc.

Specifically, this model accounts for the multi-tiered nature of membership. Membership is not simply the internal attitudes of an individual, or their structural status in a nation. It is a combination of various characteristics, experiences and attitudes that result in a stratification of membership as informal and formal. Individual characteristics form the foundation upon which new experiences with the local community can develop informal membership that link one to the new nation. Membership here does not require formal engagement or even formal status recognition by the nation, but simply rests on the individual's experiences and related attitudes. More formal elements, like status or engagement, add additional tiers for membership development, specifically those that result in membership development through status acquisition (e.g. legal citizenship) or involvement (e.g. voting). Membership is a multi-dimensional and multi-tiered construct that allows new members agency in its development through their informal membership, and also recognizes how membership is structured by formal requirements like status or formal engagement.

My theory accommodates the uniquely immigrant experiences and dynamics that result from adult migration and the immigrant family, including pre-migration experiences, within membership development in the U.S. The key contribution of this theoretical framework to explaining political behavior is the incorporation of internal and external attitudinal membership (stages 1 and 2) into the explanation of the developments of informal and formal membership (stages 4 and 5). I argue that as immigrants gain access and familiarity to local resources, primarily through the family or their children's school networks, their membership in the new nation manifests specific informal and formal political engagement. Immigrants are not involved in a new nation for the purposes of gaining membership, per se, but to satisfy practical day to day

demands in a continual, long-term process. In that process, they can claim and develop membership. I elaborate on each of the major parts of my theory below.

Membership development in political socialization

Membership manifests as both formal and informal dimensions; the informal, attitudinal markers develop within the conditions set by formal, legal markers of membership. We see two components for each dimension of membership: informal manifests the internal (how the individual sees their membership) and the external (how the individual interacts with the local community), while formal measures status and contact with the national political structure. These dimensions yield visible contradictory definitions of membership, requiring a clearer articulation of the components that structure multi-tiered membership.

Membership acquisition first requires the development of informal membership characteristics, captured in stages one and two. In this, informal membership draws both from the individual’s characteristics and attitudes (internal-attitudinal) and their interaction with their communities (external-attitudinal), shown below in Figure 3.2. Thus, their internal characteristics interact with external attitudinal mechanisms as they develop familiarity with their new system.⁶ Limited resources, lack of interest or information or rejection by the local or broader community, however, can directly affect internal informal membership, and the transition to formal political membership.

Figure 3.2. Dimensions of membership			
Informal		Formal	
<i>Attitudinal</i>		<i>Structural</i>	
Internal	External	Status	Contact

⁶ I will elaborate on the characteristics of both informal and formal membership, including formal political engagement restrictions later in the chapter.

Informal membership, specifically, can be restricted through the interaction of these structural and attitudinal dimensions. Both dimensions, together, create the broader contexts, institutions and policies from stage three, that moderate a new member's experience. Race, gender, and age have all been used to limit membership at one point or another in the United States, invoking both external-attitudinal rejection and structural barriers to the membership claims of particular groups. This broader context conditions the experiences of new members more generally, and further complicates the backdrop against which membership is developed. Association or heritage from an immigrant population, for example, might still moderate broader membership for native-born members from primarily immigrant-derived communities.⁷ Thus, while informal membership can yield internal-attitudinal claims of membership, and even lead to external-attitudinal acceptance in one's local community of immigrants, this is moderated by the pre-existing attitudinal-structural context beyond the individual's day to day reality, and with which one interacts in the transitions to more formal membership.

There are clear links between informal membership and the development of formal membership. Formal membership develops primarily from status and its benefits—those born in the United States or with legal standing claim status, and that status allows access to specific formal contact or engagement with institutions or agencies.⁸ Thus, while legal status is the simplest form of formal membership, more complex interactions can also yield formal membership through structural contact, such as engaging in voting, or formal institutional contact. These activities more often occur after the establishment of informal membership, through which immigrants develop their early attitudes about their new nation, and the necessary skills, resources, and political interest to engage with formal political membership. They are also

⁷ This is premised on membership in a group that is still primarily seen as “immigrant” or “foreign” (Ngai 2004); think Lucy Liu, Michael Peña, or Mindy Kaling.

⁸ This is either derived from birthright citizenship (14th amendment), or legal status permitting one's residence.

affected by an immigrant's pre-migration experiences, which include both political engagement in their home country or educational and skill resources they brought with them, and can condition how they develop informal membership in a new nation.

Thus, formal and informal membership interact as part of the complexity of the immigrant experience, such that undocumented immigrants can claim to be as American as their documented or native born counterparts (internal-attitudinal) despite attitudinal-structural or structural-status constraints, or formal members like the native born can have underdeveloped informal membership, but all of the benefits of formal membership.⁹ In part, this complexity relates to how engagement is constructed more broadly.

Engagement and membership

This formal/informal dimensionality of membership is indicative of the nuanced relationship that immigrants, and many other groups, experience as United States residents. Further entrenched in the notion of membership are the particular actions that distinguish members from residents or non-members. Thus, engagement with the larger society informs the understanding of how membership is constructed, and what behavior it requires, demands, or discourages. Conceptualizing membership as informal/formal requires an expansion of the concept of engagement within this new framework of immigrant political socialization.

Engagement varies in resource demands, time invested, and accessibility of options, and is not always clearly demarcated as civic, social or political. Engaging in every day debates with friends might be inherently political, even within the social context, while going to a political rally might be primarily social depending on motivations, who one attends with or what one

⁹ This is particularly true given the rise of undocumented youth, who often are raised in the United States, are dominant English speakers and well versed in American politics, culture and practices, but who are excluded by the larger society (external) and formal membership because of the legal status in which they exist. Further work on this can be found in Roberto Gonzalez's work with undocumented youth (2008, 2009, 2011).

learns from the experience. Models of engagement, like those posited by Verba, Schlozman and Brady (1995) posit that low-resources lead to low engagement in civic and political activities. Immigrants are most frequently low-resource, low-language proficiency members of society, and by this model, less inclined to engage in political behavior or activities. However, while the model Verba et al. posit may adequately illustrate the patterns of native born citizen-members, they lack a consideration of two key components of the immigrant experience when measuring motivations for engagement: community and cultural resources, and informal political membership.

The role of culture and community resources within the immigrant experience will in fact help overcome the barriers to engagement from a lack of resources. While the immigrant may be uneducated, low-income, and not able to speak English, a reliance on their community and family can give them access to political information, economic resources and language brokering that can help overcome these initial barriers. Day to day activities are magnified in difficulty for the adult immigrant who is unaware of the rules or agencies in the U.S. Community resources and family networks facilitate immigrant political socialization by providing community resources for individual development. Immigrants can subsequently experience political socialization through these family and community resources in ways that would be discounted in most traditional models explaining political socialization and engagement. These community and family resources can compensate for low individual resources.

Verba et al (1995) explicitly emphasize the importance of the intergenerational transmission of such participatory models, wherein the acquisition of resources early on facilitates political engagement for later generations. This is accurate, however, it fails to address the early experiences of immigrants, or the subsequent development of their informal

membership. Resources available at the onset of membership can alter the political socialization of the immigrant. This is important, moreover in light of how immigrants engage with this development through their families and communities' institutions, like schools. The assessment of children's effects on parental engagement in Verba et al. focused on the parent's 'stake in government policy,' rather than the role of children themselves (1995, 396–7). This downplays the specific role that children can serve as socializing mechanisms in the family. I argue that, for immigrants, children are in fact central components of this dynamic, not just incentives for parents on policy issues. Verba et al. do concede that community connections that are provided through institutions like churches can help defray the limitations of individual resources.¹⁰ They state, however, that these connections are weak and not enough to overcome some of the more serious deficiencies in resources that drive their conceptual framework (1995, 458–60).

The participatory model offered by Verba et al. is an incomplete understanding of how immigrants engage and become citizen-members. Credit for learning how to engage is an important first step in explaining active engagement. Immigrants have little to no prior knowledge about what the political rules are in the United States. Thus, their political 'engagement' begins with any attempt to develop or learn how to be an active member, starting with information acquisition, not political activity. Since immigrants must rebuild their resources upon arrival, and utilize multiple resources to do so, their process of engagement actually starts well before the initiation into formal political engagement activities like petition signing, letter writing or voting. A model that limits political engagement to participatory action is an incomplete categorization of immigrant membership development, or its outcomes. The

¹⁰ While Verba et al. concede that the history and utility of black churches are fundamental components of the political engagement of African Americans in politics, they have only a superficial exploration of the role of these community connections in their book, citing simply attendance and religious denomination for blacks and Latinos (1995, 243–7).

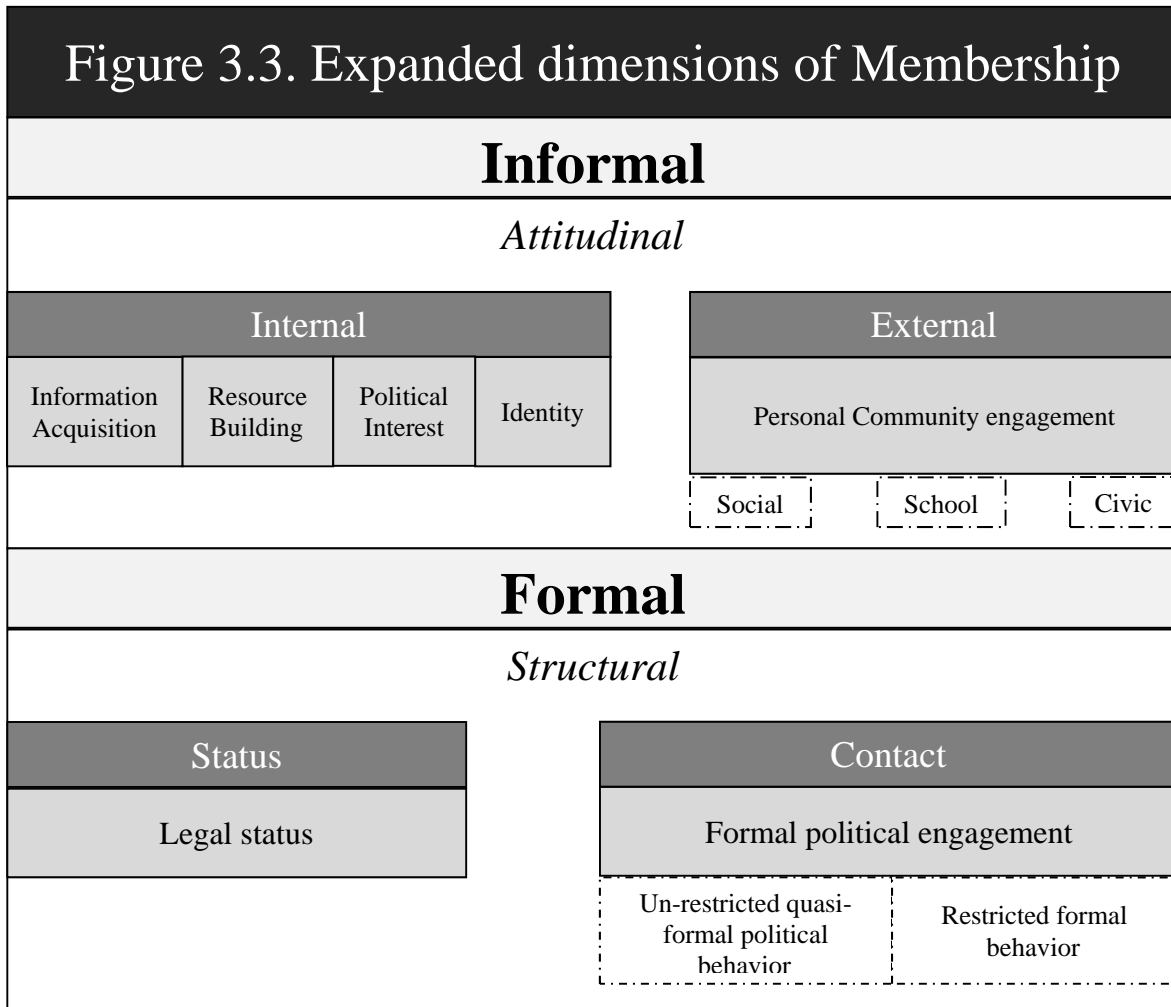
integration of community resources and informal political development is already present in Walton's and Abramson's earlier work, and allows me to better integrate these ideas.

These scholars reframed the role of culture and community when developing frameworks to explain political behavior and engagement. Both their works, while challenging the explicitly restricted nature of political socialization, shed light also on the understanding of engagement within non-white communities. Thus, while low voter turnout, political knowledge or PTA attendance might indicate a disengagement or limited engagement with the political arena, their works illustrate the ways that such engagement occurs in non-traditional activities. Protests, church events, family gatherings, and so forth, become far more important resources in overcoming particular barriers to engagement, and allow for an expansion of engagement, grounded in their work, and which complete the framework of immigrant political socialization.

Expanded dimensions of membership

The relationship between informal and formal political membership should at this point be clear: they exist together as dimensions of membership, but informal precedes formal membership in most circumstances. However, these two constructs also require further unpacking. Informal membership occurs within the development of immigrant characteristics in internal-attitudinal membership (stage 1), and interacting with external-attitudinal membership (stage 2). In thinking through how informal political membership develops, I start with political socialization as interest in politics, borrowing from Walton's definition of political socialization. I extend this definition to include considerations of institutional access and engagement that help develop political membership. This measure of informal membership acknowledges both 1) the costs required to understand a system, and 2) the required resources necessary to engage the system.

Specifically, information gathering, resource building, political interest, and identity comprise the primary internal-attitudinal markers of informal membership, outlined below in Figure 3.3. These four components constitute the breadth of immigrant informal internal attitudinal membership and arise from both their pre- and post-migration experiences. I extend informal political membership development into external interactions to account for the community engagement of the immigrant. In accounting for both the internal and external attitudinal developments, I am then able to measure the way that each helps to form the immigrant’s membership, and potentially formal political engagement.



Formal membership accounts for the formal structural conditions involved with engaging in American political membership. While formal structural status is a clear distinction of ‘legal’ claims on the nation, formal political membership is more complex. It involves a consideration of the effects of status on contact and engagement with governmental institutions and actors. This yields both restricted and unrestricted formal political behavior. This is where registering to vote, participating in rallies, writing to congress, donating money, and other explicitly political activities are captured. The distinction between restricted and unrestricted is predicated on status, where some of these activities are limited only to individuals with legal status (restricted), while the others do not require such status. They do, however, require some form of informal political membership development since they call upon resources, knowledge and engagement practices that are not necessarily intuitive for new members.

Each component of these dimensions is not mutually exclusive, but rather a combination of the immigrant’s experiences and applicability of the process to engagement and membership claiming. The development of immigrant membership, in other words, occurs through the interaction of these elements. In the ‘ideal’ case, information gathering results in resource building and community engagement. This process might, in turn, result in political interest or strengthening of identity (American, for example). These interactions coalesce into informal political membership that has potential for quasi-formal political behavior, like participating in rallies or signing petitions. These activities further bolster the likely occurrence, contingent on status, of formal political behaviors like voting should the later attainment of formal legal status in citizenship be possible. These experiences come together through the immigrant political socialization process, and result in multi-tiered membership, one that provides gradations to membership.

These markers of ‘membership’ are linked to political behaviors or activities that differentiate members from non-members in a society. The result is a gradation of membership that hinges not only on whether one has formal membership (i.e. a legal, tangible marker of citizenship), but also informal status (e.g. social inclusion in the framework of ‘citizen-member’). These gradations develop into partial and full membership, and are built upon the political socialization experiences of new or potential members. These dimensions capture the inherent contradictions in claiming membership when status is prevented, missing, or incomplete, or having formal status without having fully developed political membership.

Types of membership—combinations of formal and informal dimensions

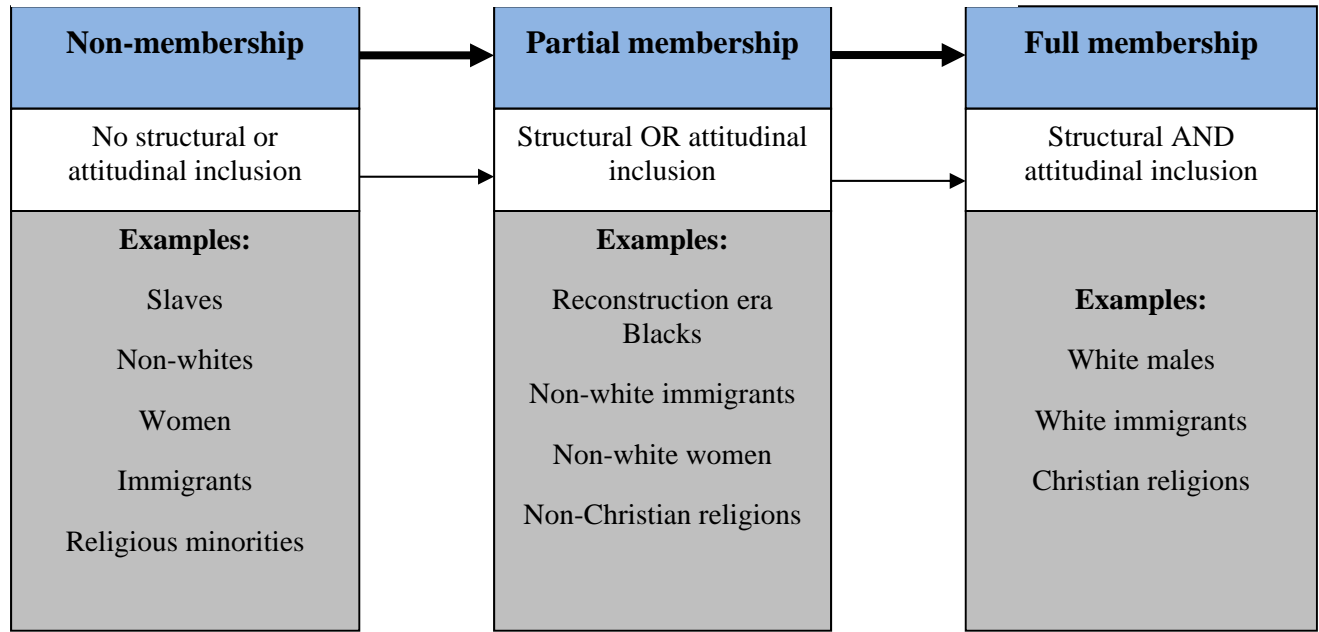
These dimensions yield three types of membership: Non-membership, partial membership and full membership. Each type accounts for the formal and informal dimensions behind membership in America. Non-membership occurs for those without formal (structural) or informal (attitudinal) inclusion, illustrated below in Figure 3.4. Historically, the exclusion of women, slaves, immigrants and non-whites included both excluding them from considerations of informal membership and barring them from legal citizenship.¹¹

Partial membership emerges when one of the two dimensions is satisfied, while the second is either partially or not met. In formal membership, this includes those with legal status that is not citizenship (permanent residency, guest-workers, and student visas); in informal membership, this includes social, political, or structural impediments that prevent full

¹¹ This included, but was not limited to, counting them as less than a whole person, as property, as dependents, or as ‘unsuited’ for political, business, social, or other such arenas; In effect, assuming these individuals were not autonomous and independent beings.

recognition of one's formal claim upon membership, such as the enactment of Jim Crow laws, or discriminatory policies that target a sub-group, but affect the larger population.¹²

Figure 3.4. Types of Membership



However, partial membership can also emerge when the informal attitudinal claim is exercised, i.e. one claims membership even when formal membership is absent or limited, as is the case with undocumented migrants or the immigrant 1.5 generation (young migrants raised in the U.S, but without full formal membership). Table 3.1 below illustrates how quickly partial membership can vary depending on formal status and internal/external attitudinal claims. Here, we can illustrate how even without legal permission, undocumented immigrants can still claim internal-attitudinal membership (Partial₆) through their individual characteristics, or external-attitudinal membership (Partial₂) through community engagement, or both (Partial₄). Further, even with legal permission, immigrants can vary on internal/external attitudinal claims, thus yielding variations in their membership overall.

¹² Prop 187 in the 1990's in CA, or SB 1070 more recently in Arizona are two examples. They made the act of being from a predominantly immigrant group enough reason to question one's legal standing as a member of the U.S.

Table 3.1. Categories of Membership with FORMAL STATUS and INFORMAL dimensions				
	Informal membership		Formal membership	Examples of immigrant ‘cases’
	Internal attitudinal (IA)	External Attitudinal (EA)	Legal permission	
Non-Membership	N	N	N	Undocumented immigrant, with no/limited informal membership
Partial₁	N	N	Y	Immigrants with status with no/limited informal membership
Partial₂	N	Y	N	Undocumented immigrant with no IA claim, but EA claim
Partial₃	Y	N	Y	Documented immigrant with IA claim, but no EA claim
Partial₄	Y	Y	N	Undocumented immigrant with informal membership
Partial₅	N	Y	Y	Documented immigrant with EA claim, but no IA claim
Partial₆	Y	N	N	Undocumented immigrant with IA claim, but no EA claim
Partial/Full** membership	Y	Y	Y	Documented immigrant with informal membership, needs formal membership
Full** membership	Y	Y	Y	Native born with informal and formal membership
**Full membership is contingent on context and the acceptance of the individual into full membership (attitudinally and structurally), which is not always guaranteed even with informal and formal membership development.				

Finally, full membership encompasses both dimensions, with a claim of American identity, recognition by the community as a member and full legal citizenship. This is the most complete form of membership, as well as the most difficult to achieve, in particular because of the broader attitudinal-structural context that conditions whether one is fully accepted as a member more broadly. Here, it is useful to think of how even with all of the claims listed in

Table 3.1, lacking formal membership contact (voting or formal political engagement) might further restrict one's full membership claim.

Thus, even with both formal and informal membership developed and expressed, the attitudinal-structural interaction of the broader context might relegate one to less than full membership if society at large does not readily accept one's membership claims.

Conceptualizing this framework into the dimensions of formal and informal membership presents variations on these three types of membership. Each type sets particular conditions for the informal and formal membership, and Table 3.1 illustrates only some of that complexity.

This is useful, however, as an outline for how to measure membership, and the political socialization process that leads to membership.

Mechanisms of immigrant political socialization

There are three primary mechanisms of political socialization for immigrants within the new nation that require further elaboration. Immigrants, first, are conditioned by their pre-migration political socialization when they engage in the internal-attitudinal (stage 1) membership development. Furthermore, the informal and formal membership dimensions develop within the two primary socializing mechanisms of external-attitudinal membership in stage two: family and educational institutions. In the family, this might include discussing political topics or policies with elders or children, participating in political activities, or relying on family resources for information.¹³ In educational institutions, this might include formal PTA meetings or taking courses in the United States, but also engaging their children on homework or educational projects, volunteering at their child's school or contacting their child's teacher.

¹³ I articulate this view of engagement under the 'immigrant' conditions, thus we should not expect this definition to necessarily translate to their home nation engagement.

Specifically, however, this articulation of political membership includes both active and passive socialization that structures the political development of immigrants within a specifically *immigrant* context. While the primary function of families and schools in U.S.-born theories might have yielded top-down/parent-to-child socialization or direct educational attainment, the lack of nativity among immigrant's parents (or the immigrant's themselves) negates these transactions. Thus the ways that immigrants engage with their family and schools are altered and thus requires a broader view of their effects on the political development of the immigrant, first in their informal membership development through resource building and information gathering, and then the formal membership development by connecting them to quasi-formal activities, or more formal activities, like talking about a ballot initiative with children or voting as a family. Incorporating this in our understanding of membership completes the connection between how one becomes a member and what that membership entails, allowing immigrants to transition from internal and external attitudinal membership, in stage one and two, into informal and formal political membership, in stages four and five.

In many ways, broadening the definition of the boundaries of engagement for immigrants allows us the same latitude to understand adolescent and childhood socialization in earlier theories of political socialization. As stated earlier, as novices to a political system immigrants are unfamiliar with concepts, terms, or symbols. Over time, like their native born counter-parts, familiarity increases; however, whereas the native born individual is often not expected to participate or engage (or in some cases prohibited from) legal entry into formal membership until their 18th birthday, the adult immigrant is inherently already an adult member for whom participation, engagement and knowledge of the larger system is implied or expected. As such, the adult immigrant engages with membership acquisition while simultaneously exercising that

membership, whether by enrolling their children in schools or engaging their children about American society and politics. This dynamic becomes increasingly tied to membership and the political socialization of future citizens.

Thus, the experience of immigration not only alters the adult immigrant's entrance into membership in their new nation, but also that of their children, for which they are made responsible in terms of educating, raising, and training a new generation of American citizens. Understanding how the process of political socialization is altered by this experience of immigration becomes increasingly imperative as more citizens have direct links to the immigration experience.

In the following chapters, I will test the attitudinal components (stage 1 and 2), the individual immigrant's pre-migration characteristics and their engagement with family and educational institutions in a new context, to predict the emergence of informal and formal membership (stage 4 and 5). I start with informal membership, captured as internal individual characteristics in stage one, interacting with the external-attitudinal engagement of community and institutional participation by immigrants (particularly through family and educational institutions in stage two). While I do not directly test the attitudinal-structural dimension of the broader context (stage 3) directly, I argue that it is still present in its influence on the other informal membership components. The resulting aggregate of informal political membership in stage four is thus created through the experiences of immigrants engaging in their community contexts, and influenced by the broader national context. This inevitably yields some transition to formal political membership in stage five that results from the informal membership development of immigrants. These comprise the multi-tiered membership that results from political socialization.

Nuance through a mixed methods approach

Testing this empirically requires nuanced measurement tools, and a mixed methods approach to address the outcomes of political socialization. I use both qualitative interviews and quantitative surveys to provide empirical measures of informal and formal political membership, as well as to address the specific realities facing immigrants. In the coming chapters, I examine the empirical evidence behind the three mechanisms of pre-migration experiences, family and educational institutions, adding more nuance to the relationship between these socializing factors and the immigrant political socialization process. I begin first with what immigrants bring to the table through pre-migration experiences, and how that affects their entry into American membership. I use the following data sources to empirically test these relationships in the subsequent chapters.¹⁴

The Latino National Survey (2006)

I am utilizing the Latino National survey (LNS), a cross sectional survey of Latinos in the United States (2006). The LNS was conducted in 2006-2007, and interviewed 8,634 Latino identifying, U.S. residents on a variety of issues. The interviewing period began on November 17th, 2005 and ended August 4th, 2006. The survey instrument asked respondents approximately 165 distinct items. These items ranged from demographic descriptions, to political attitudes and preferences. Data on their pre-migration political participation and length of residency in the United States was collected. Interviews were conducted by bilingual interviewers proficient in English and Spanish, and respondents were asked to select a language preference and allowed to switch between languages.

¹⁴ Specifically, I use the Latino National Survey for the pre-migration chapter, and the DCA project for the family and educational institutions chapter.

Respondents were selected from across the nation, but the sample was state-stratified. Those states included Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Texas, and Washington. These geographic regions amassed approximately 87.5 percent of the Hispanic/Latino population of the United States, constituting our sampling universe. The survey's unit of observation is the individual level respondent. I will focus solely on the Mexican sub-sample within this survey (N=5704 total, N=3889 immigrant Mexicans), for which the LNS asked respondents to identify the Mexican state from where they originated if they migrated. The survey was conducted via computer-assisted telephone interview (CATI). It is also related by topic and principle investigators to the Latino National Political Survey conducted in 1989-1990, though it is not a formal series or continuation of that survey.

To address contextual factors that affect Mexican immigrants in the pre-migration chapter (chapter 4), I integrated data from four external sources: The Polity IV project (Marshall, Gurr, and Jagers 2010), Transparency International (International 2010), the Mexican Migration Project (Durand Arp-Nisen and Massey 2012), and state-level gubernatorial party status data (Garcia-Castañon 2013). I integrated data from the Polity IV¹⁵ project, wherein democracy scores are available for all nations from 1800 to present day, and Transparency International, a non-partisan organization which ascertains levels of corruption (perceived) for various nations,

¹⁵ “The Polity project has evolved through three earlier research phases, all under the direction of Ted Gurr. Through its evolution, the format of the Polity data has been transformed from its original focus on “persistence and change” in the “polity” as the unit of analysis (i.e., polity case format) to its present country-year case format. The Polity IV combined format was instituted with the 2000 data update. The historical Polity data does not include information on the territorial coverage of central state authority or the existence of non-state polities within its borders (a coverage variable is included with the 1999 Polity updates). . . . [Polity IV has] made a concerted effort to distinguish the regime and authority characteristics of the effective state polity from the use of organized, anti-regime armed force to challenge and, possibly reject, that authority. That is, in order to better inform the study of the relationships among governance, civil warfare, and group integration, authority characteristics must be defined independently from potential antecedents, precipitants, and consequences in non-governability and open warfare.” (Marshall, Gurr, and Jagers 2010).

to the LNS data. The Polity IV project is the fourth wave of a study that codes the ‘authority characteristics of states in the world system for purposes of comparative, quantitative analysis’ (Marshall, Gurr, and Jaggers 2010).

For the data from Transparency International, I took several of their Corruption Perception Indices¹⁶ (CPI) reports and read them into the LNS data as the corruption level for the time of the immigrant’s migration. Their description of this index is that “The CPI ranks almost 200 countries by their perceived levels of corruption, as determined by expert assessments and opinion surveys” (International 2010). The data only extends to 1995, so it is more limited, but nonetheless a useful contribution to determining contextual factors at migration. Due to its limitations, I utilized the CPI in the construction of the variable ‘turbulent’, a measure used to indicate turbulent political conditions at the time of migration, in conjunction with historical accounts of the three countries to avoid the loss of data. As a result, the CPI score is folded into the analysis, though not directly. Both the Polity and CPI data were country-level measure.

From the Mexican Migration Project (MMP), I added a rough measure of pre-migration exposure to ‘migration’ to the United States for respondents from select Mexican states.¹⁷ This was calculated as the rough proportion of migration prevalence in a state, based on responses aggregated by communities in the MMP. I also added a measure of political competitiveness in the immigrant’s home state prior to their migration. This was measured as alternative state

¹⁶ “The *Corruption Perceptions Index* (CPI) 2010 is an aggregate indicator that brings together data from sources that cover the past two years. For the 2010 CPI, this includes surveys published between January 2009 and September 2010. The 2010 CPI is calculated using data from 13 sources by 10 independent institutions. All sources measure the overall extent of corruption (frequency and/or size of bribes) in the public and political sectors, and all sources provide a ranking of countries, i.e. include an assessment of multiple countries” (International 2010). Note, this is process is true for all CPI reports.

¹⁷ This was limited to the data available. Overall, 22 Mexican states were accounted for in the Mexican Migration Community profile data: Aguascalientes, Baja California Norte, Colima, Chihuahua, Durango, Estado de México, Guerrero, Guanajuato, Hidalgo, Jalisco, Michoacán, Morelos, Nayarit, Nuevo León, Oaxaca, Puebla, San Luis Potosí, Sinaloa, Tlaxcala, Yucatán, and Zacatecas.

government (governor) partisanship that differed from the PRI-dominated federal government at the time of migration. I elaborate further on this measure in the pre-migration chapter.

Developing civic actors

The family and educational institution chapters utilize two methods of exploring their proposed questions: a qualitative portion consisting of in-depth interviews and focus groups of Mexican heritage respondents, and a quantitative portion consisting of a national telephone survey of Mexican heritage households. The data collection project is titled *Developing as Civic Actors* (DCA).¹⁸ The qualitative interviews and focus groups inform the discussion about relationships between immigrants and their families, while the quantitative survey aggregates the experiences of the Mexican heritage community to provide more broad patterns of behavior.¹⁹ The data scope and collection for each segment is described in depth below.

Developing as civic actors: focus groups and in-depth interviews

The qualitative portion of the analysis looks at the in-depth focus groups and individual interviews conducted in two states, Arizona and Washington, each of which had approximately three research sites from which to sample. Washington research sites included the Tri-Cities, the Greater Seattle area, and Yakima; Arizona research sites included Phoenix, Tucson, and the Greater Yuma area. These sites were selected both for convenience and difference in political contexts, with Arizona having recently passed legislation targeting undocumented immigrants and Washington being known as a type of “sanctuary” state that does not typically target undocumented immigrants. Interviews and focus groups were conducted starting late August 2011 and concluding by December 15th, 2011. One final set of interviews was help with a group

¹⁸ The project was completed in collaboration with a fellow doctoral candidate in Communications at the University of Washington, and with funding from the Kettering Foundation.

¹⁹The project yielded a total of 801 completed telephone surveys, and 93 in-depth interviews. Nine focus groups were held and follow up interviews with all focus group participants were attempted.

of Washington youth in early Spring 2012. In-depth interviews and focus groups allow the researchers to gain insight into the reasoning processes that involved as immigrants negotiate between their previous political experiences and their new political realities. Altogether, there were 93 in-depth interviews conducted, and 90 focus group participants who took part in 11 group discussions.²⁰ Data from these interviews inform the discussion about relationships between immigrant experiences and their trajectory towards becoming civically and politically engaged.

Developing as civic actors: national telephone survey of Mexican and white households

The quantitative portion was a survey conducted from mid-April to mid-July of 2012. It is a national sample of Mexican heritage households, with a comparison sample of white respondents. It includes 801 respondents: 196 native born white respondents and 571 Mexican heritage respondents of both foreign (n=333) and native (n=238) born status. The survey sampled in the 22 states with at least a 10% Latino/Hispanic population. The survey was bilingual, available to respondents in both English and Spanish. They were also allowed the opportunity to switch languages at the midway point so as to facilitate response and interviewer rapport. The survey was approximately 20-25 minutes²¹ in length and achieved an 80% follow through rate.²² The focus was on Mexican heritage respondents, and we selected the top 11 states with Mexican populations as our primary sampling frame: AZ, CA, CO, IL, NC, NJ, NM, NV,

²⁰ While every effort was made to include respondents in both elements of the qualitative component, some individuals were available for the focus group and not the individual interviews, or vice versa. Thus, the mismatch in corresponding sample sizes is attributed to this fluctuation.

²¹ The time it took to complete the telephone survey stretched beyond our original estimates because of the difficulties associated with reaching ethnic minority groups with telephone surveys: Some people may only have cell phones, many move around periodically and therefore reduce the effectiveness of static telephone databases, and some primarily Spanish-speaking households are skeptical of or unable to talk with primarily English-speaking interviewers. This extended our survey into July of 2012, but yielded 801 completed questionnaires, and approximately 150 partially completed surveys.

²² This is taken by taking all eligible respondents who started the survey, approximately 1000, and dividing it into those that completed the entire survey (801). This yields an approximate completion rate of 80%, a relatively high success rate. AAPOR specific calculations and completion rates can be provided upon request.

NY, TX, and UT. The DCA survey focused on the respondent's thoughts on specific questions about who they used as sources of political information, and whether they talked about specific political issues with those groups. It includes a battery of questions on the contribution of information in conversations about politics, political participation in the United States and in Mexico, and various questions about their involvement in their community, child's school, and other organizations.

We used previous scholarship on political and civic engagement, political socialization, and Latino politics, as well as initial findings from the qualitative phase of the project, to inform and guide the creation of the survey. The full survey consisted of 179 question items (made up of a combination of full questions and sub-questions), and was projected to take most respondents about 20-30 minutes to complete over the phone. We utilized the University of Washington Center for Survey Research and the Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity, Race and Sexuality (WISER) to conduct the survey in a computer lab at the UW campus. WISER and the survey center provided the calling samples for the survey, one of which was a general population sample and the other a sample based on Latino last names. All together, these lists gave us access to nearly 100,000 potential respondents. However, as our focus was on Mexican heritage respondents, the actual eligible number of potential respondents was closer to 60,000.

These data sources will provide the most empirically rigorous account of political socialization within the Mexican immigrant community to date. The Latino National survey sets the standard for broad understandings of the Latino community overall, while the DCA allows for more nuanced measures of the specific political socialization mechanisms of interest here. Coupled with the qualitative findings, this project is able to provide an account of both the aggregate experiences of Mexican immigrants and their membership development, as well the

specific ways in which this development plays out within individual immigrant's experiences.

This level of rigor in the empirical analysis is only available because of the mixed methods approach.

★ Chapter 4 ★

Pre-migration experiences in immigrant political socialization

“Experiences immigrants have in different political systems before they cross the Pacific may result in different relationships they maintain with their homeland as well as different attitudes towards homeland government and political status they develop after the crossing; this, in turn, may affect how much they participate in politics on both sides of the Pacific.”-Lien on the effect of pre-migration socialization experiences of Chinese immigrants (2010, 454).¹

“They’re all corrupt, politicians, in Mexico. Here [the U.S.] too. But at least here, they go to jail sometimes. So that’s good.” –Beto, a male Mexican immigrant, on his view of the difference between American and Mexican politics.

Membership is not immediate, nor is it necessarily a straight path towards political participation, particularly for immigrants. Further, the immigrant’s initial entry into the membership acquisition process is regulated by the institutions and policies of the attitudinal-structural of stage three of multi-tiered membership shown in Figure 3.1. Those same institutions, policies and attitudes, and the historical trends in immigrant incorporation, affect the incentives and resources available for immigrants developing informal and formal membership (Bloemraad 2006; Daniels 2005; Ramakrishnan and Espenshade 2001). Lien’s quote above, illustrates how variations in pre-migration experiences can shift attitudes of

¹ Lien’s quote continues with “Nevertheless, through the process of immigrant re-socialization, their political behavior may also be influenced by the degree of exposure to the host society and connectedness with its institutions.”(2010, 454). This is useful in thinking about the next two chapters as extensions of the assumptions made in this chapter and in the theory of multi-tiered membership overall.

immigrants, affecting both their home nation orientations, and their membership in their new nation.

Further, as Beto articulates, these shifts occur in conversation with each other, with the immigrant evaluating and relying upon both their pre-migration experiences and their new nation experiences simultaneously. I explore the relationship between pre-migration experiences of adult Mexican immigrants and the effect of these experiences on membership in the United States in this chapter. Specifically, I focus on the resources and status at entry for adult Mexican immigrants, discussing how prior political experiences, skills and resources have a direct and measurable effect on their internal-attitudinal traits at the start of membership development. This affects the time between arrival and naturalization that serves as a structural marker of formal political membership, and the overall development of informal and formal membership.²

I lay out briefly key findings from the literature on the non-citizen to citizen transition, and which are substantively important factors attributed to the development of formal membership status. I proceed to briefly outline the history of Mexican politics and its potential socialization effect for current migratory waves. I then develop my theoretical claims for this chapter, and examine the effect of pre-migration experiences empirically. In order to model these relationships, I first outline the variation in pre-migration experiences for Mexican immigrants through bivariate analysis to demonstrate both the range of resources and status at entry and how they might subsequently alter membership development.

I use event history analysis of duration to naturalization in order to understand how the process occurs over the lifespan of the immigrant, particularly with regard to the length of membership development. I conclude by running ordinary least squares regression to predict the

² Citizenship denotes the first structural recognition of formal membership, wherein individuals are regarded as formal legal members, and after which, few formal political activities are restricted.

development of immigrant informal and formal membership, controlling for both the pre-migration experiences, and their effect on the resources and status at entry into the process of multi-tiered membership.

Transitioning from ‘non-citizen’ to ‘citizen’

Specific examples of the ‘non-citizen to citizen’ process for immigrant derived communities are found in the works of Jones-Correa (1998) and Portes and Rumbaut (2001, 2006; 2001). Both find that there are two key factors for understanding an immigrant’s transition from non-citizen status to citizenship: 1) skills and education, and 2) length of residency. I then introduce the pre-migration experiences into this process, borrowing from recent work that similarly integrates these pre-migration experiences for non-American, non-Mexican cases.

Skills and education

The availability of resources, either through skills or education, are important for the development of membership overall. These resources can come both from the immigrant’s pre-migration experiences, or their community resources in the United States. The literature, however, has tended to focus on the skill and educational development of immigrants within immigrant communities in the U.S. (Portes and Rumbaut 2006). The prevalence of insulated immigrant communities provides a particular focus on the informal membership development of immigrants, as Portes and Rumbaut’s (2006) work articulates. Their work addresses the resources and skill development of immigrants within a contained immigrant community. Despite this isolation, the immigrant community is a valuable tool for immigrant resource development because of the availability of community resources to enhance both prior experiences, skills and resources, and develop new ones among immigrants. Membership

development is strengthened through the acquisition of the skills and educations that emerges with longer residency and investment in a community (Portes and Rumbaut 2006).³

Length of residency

The effects of longer residency for immigrants are best elaborated by Jones-Correa (1998): longer residency means more roots are put down and membership in a new nation is increasingly developed. This literature links longer residency to institutional, community and familial connections. These, in turn, interact with the immigrant's skills and education to develop their membership in the new nation. Thus, while it might take 30+ years for Mexican immigrants to 'let go' of their home country membership and seek American citizenship, in those 30+ years they have developed both informal and formal membership traits, and had children grow up in the United States. These children will have limited association to their parent's home country, and can serve to root both parents to their new communities. This family dynamic affects immigrant parents, particularly, though I will unpack this more in the following chapter.

Introducing pre-migration experiences into political socialization

The role of pre-migration experiences in the re-socialization of immigrants to their new nation is addressed in the work of White et al (2008) on immigrants in Canada and Lien on Chinese immigrants in the U.S. (2010), discussed earlier in Chapter two. They both conclude that immigrants' original political orientations from their home-country are important predictors of how they adapt to their new environments. This allows for the transfer of pre-migration behaviors to new country politics and account for how immigrants root their new experiences in their pre-migration political behavior. Lien further complicates this by introducing variations in political environments within the same Chinese immigrant group (2010). Her work argues that

³ Nonetheless, full membership would entail recognition of the immigrant/immigrant group as belonging to America, something from which many non-white immigrant-derived populations are inherently excluded.

distinctly different political environments (China, Taiwan and Hong Kong) alter the exposure to political variations in pre-migration socialization, and affect subsequent political participation in the United States (Lien 2010). Thus, pre-migration socialization, resources, and experiences have clear implications for how immigrants engage with new nations and new membership. This chapter looks solely at role of the pre-migration socialization to examine the effect of immigrant's pre-migration resources, skills, experiences, and status at entry, subsequent residency, and related resource development on their informal and formal membership. Thus, for this chapter, understanding the historical and political experiences of Mexican immigrants is imperative.

Political Socialization in Mexico: an interpretation⁴

Mexico's trajectory as a nation has included Spanish, French, and American invasions, multiple internal conflicts, and periods of intense political corruption. For the better part of the 20th century, there appeared to be only one ruling political party, though the 1917 national constitution established the country formally as a representative democracy that permitted multiple parties. Mexican political history and development have been turbulent, and as citizens of Mexico, the immigrants I examine would have been socialized to this particular history and political system.

Moreover, variations in political cultures, environments, and institutional responses within Mexico create a political socialization experience that can differ by state. I address the larger political events and histories that are familiar to all Mexican citizens, and lay out Mexico's current political and educational systems, as they are fundamental in the socialization of individuals to government and national history. I cannot adequately portray the entire rich history

⁴ Only one systematic study of political socialization in Mexico was found, included here (Almond and Verba, 1963), so this section is based on my interpretation of the characterization of politics discussed by the Mexican citizens I interviewed.

of Mexico and thus only provide an interpretation of important aspects of the political context, history and socialization that immigrants today are likely to have experienced prior to their migration to the United States.⁵

Origins and founding of Mexico

Formally recognized as the United Mexican States (Estados Unidos Mexicanos), Mexico is today a constitutionally established representative and democratic republic. The land that is now Mexico was originally inhabited by several indigenous cultures, including Olmec, Toltec, Teotihuacán, Zapoteca, Mayan and Aztec, that spanned from the current Southwestern United States to regions of Guatemala. The arrival of the Spanish explorers, most notably Hernán Cortés, resulted in the colonization of the region by Spain in 1521, though this colony would declare independence in 1810.⁶ General Agustín de Iturbide, a major figure during the war for independence, would go on to declare himself the head of the First Mexican Empire. He was quickly usurped and replaced with a Republican Constitution in 1824 (Edmonds-Poli and Shirk 2009).

Civil wars would break out over the next few decades, and several regions would declare, or attempt to declare, independence from the emerging Mexican nation-state: to the North, the Republic of Texas and the Republic of the Rio Grande during 1835-1845 and to the south, The Republic of Yucatan in 1823, and again in 1841. The ‘North American Invasion,’ or ‘Mexican-American War,’ with the United States would erupt in 1845 over what is now Texas and its boundaries, but was ended with the Treaty of Guadalupe in 1848. This treaty ended the war, but shrank Mexico’s land-size considerably, ceding Alta California (now California) and the

⁵ In part, I also rely on the commentary of the in-depth interview subjects from the Developing Civic Actors project for guidance in the interpretation. Thus, the earlier quote from Beto is symbolic of the general apathy and lack of trust among many respondents towards politics in Mexico.

⁶ A priest from a small Western town in Guanajuato would be the first to declare independence. His name was Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla.

northern part of what is now Colorado/New Mexico, as well as the disputed parts of Texas that originally caused the war. The final loss of land would occur with the Gadsden Purchase in 1854, which gave the United States the remaining chunk of Southern Arizona and New Mexico. Meanwhile, to the south, indigenous enclaves of Mayans led significant rebellions throughout this same period, and though the Republic of the Yucatán was reintegrated into Mexico, this enclave of resistance remained relatively independent well into the 1930s (Acuña 1999; Edmonds-Poli and Shirk 2009).

The primary national leader during this post-colonial period was another military hero of the wars for independence, General Antonio López de Santa Anna. He ruled over Mexico⁷ and its people during the period from 1824 to 1855. However, Santa Anna's rule was tainted by corruption and excessive use of brute force, and he is widely regarded as a failed leader. Further, he is best known for having sold the majority of Mexico's northern regions to the United States, and the primary cause of the shrinking land mass of Mexico in 1848.⁸ His governance led to various reforms and a new constitution that emphasized a secular state and federalism as the form of government in the Constitution of 1857. This incited another civil war wherein competing governments existed, until 1861, when the Constitution of 1857 was adopted.

Benito Juárez⁹ would govern in the wake of Santa Anna's exile, securing the presidency in 1857. Juárez became president in part because of his opposition to Santa Anna's regime. However, his dedication to democratic reforms would be cut short by the French invasion of 1863. Declaring economic insolvency for the nation, Juárez had informed Spain and France that the debts Mexico owed them would remain unpaid. France, in order to collect the debt, invaded

⁷ While he was often ruling as 'President,' it is worth noting that he left much of the details of governance to his 'Vice-President,' Valentín Gómez Farias, who he would remove and re-instate several times during this period.

⁸ This includes land from the conflict over the 'Republic of Texas', whose sale and subsequent boundary dispute led to the aforementioned 'North American Invasion.'

⁹ He would be one of the few indigenous Mexicans, a Zapoteca, to serve as President.

and was able to establish the Second Mexican Empire under Habsburg Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria in 1864.¹⁰ His rule would last three short years, ending with his execution in 1867.

These events, while historically removed from contemporary immigrants, are still common knowledge and folklore in Mexico. They set the tone for many discussions about politics by alluding to not only modern allegations of corruption in contemporary government, but the historical legacy of corruption and conflict in Mexico's political development. They have been the backdrop for both movies and telenovelas and are part of the core curriculum of Mexican education. These legacies also become increasingly important to consider when unpacking the subsequent legacy of corruption on the development of the modern Mexican state, and the related political socialization of its citizens.

Modern Mexico

The emergence of modern Mexico would start in this post-French state. The removal of French rule occurred after significant conflict and resistance. Juárez would return to power in 1867, and be re-elected once again in 1871. However, his untimely death of natural causes in 1872 left a political vacuum in the emerging nation. His successor, Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada would serve out the remainder of Juárez's term, and even win re-election in 1876. However, it would be the military leader of the resistance to the French, Porfirio Díaz, who would fill the power void in Mexico's government for the next four decades. Ousting Lerdo through a military coup d'état, and appointing himself president in 1876, Porfirio Díaz¹¹ would be the primary ruler from 1876 to 1911. His leadership would stabilize Mexico's political and economic climate, but

¹⁰ This is despite their significant defeat at the Battle of Puebla on May 5th (Cinco de Mayo).

¹¹ Porfirio Díaz rose in prominence in part because he served as a General against the French from 1863-7.

inequality and political repression would become rampant during the 35 year period known as the “Porfiriato.”

It would be in reaction to Díaz’s nearly forty year dictatorship¹² that the 1910 revolution was sparked. Championed by Francisco I. Madero, an American¹³ educated political opponent of Díaz, the blatant corruption and political domination of Díaz would come to an end because of this democratic revolution. The revolutionaries would seek to return power to the people, and focused on land reform, democratization of institutions and the curtailing of power of landed wealthy elites, and foreign investors. Díaz would relinquish power in 1911 to allow for a transition, but strife among the revolutionaries would emerge. Revolutionary heroes Francisco “Pancho” Villa¹⁴ and Emiliano Zapata had waged war against the oppressive regime of the Porfiriato, but their loyalties would place them on opposite ends in post-Diaz Mexico. Villa would continue to support Madero’s government, while Zapata would clash with Madero over land policies and stood eventually in opposition to Madero, backing instead Pascual Orozco, a fellow revolutionary and political rival of Madero, as the legitimate leader of the new Mexican nation.

A new constitution was formed in 1917 and stability returned to the nation. By 1929, one party had emerged to institutionalize the revolutionary spirit: the National Revolutionary Party (PNR-Partido Nacional Revolucionario). This party would rename themselves in 1946 the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI-Partido Revolucionario Institucional). They would rule the highest levels of government for the remainder of the century, and in particular, would hold

¹² Díaz would go as far as to put up false Presidents, like Manuel González, his friend and confidant, while he maintaining governing control.

¹³ As the grandson of one of the wealthiest Mexican men at the time, Madero was relatively privileged. He was foreign educated, studying at institutions in France and at the University of California-Berkeley.

¹⁴ Villa’s birth name is actually Doroteo Arango, but early troubles with the law (rumored) led him to change his name to avoid capture and arrest.

the presidency for 71 years. The first non-PRI candidate wouldn't be elected until 2000 with Vicente Fox, as the candidate for the National Action Party (PAN-Partido Acción Nacional), and followed by fellow PAN member Felipe Calderón in 2006. However, 2012 saw the return of the PRI to the presidency with the election of Enrique Peña Nieto.

The revolution would secure governmental changes that shaped Mexican politics throughout the remaining 20th century. Further, the legacy of the revolution is still a common element of how Mexican politics is discussed and interpreted. Principally, the strong focus on federalism, the promises of the revolution (equal access and political opportunity), and the belief in a better Mexico are common elements of Mexican politics and political discussions today rooted in these earlier events. These events would have significant impact on contemporary citizens of Mexico today and in particular their views of government and governmental agencies.

Resulting government and educational structures

The Mexican governing structure, per the 1917 Constitution, remains a representative, democratically elected government. There are three levels of government: the Federal Union, the state governments, and the municipal governments; each level has executive, legislative, and judicial branches, and is entitled to their own civil and judicial codes. Three parties have dominated politics in Mexico since the 1917 Constitution, and range on the ideological scale from conservative/right wing PAN, founded in 1939, to center-left PRI, founded in 1929 to unify all of the revolutionary factions, and finally to the left-wing/liberal, the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD-Partido de la Revolución Democrática). This last party emerged in 1989 and is rooted in socialist and liberal ideologies. The availability of ideological variations will matter to the perception of government by citizens. While the PRI dominated the revolutionary ideologies of early party formation, its dominance limited the political competition presented by other

political parties. The emergence of both PAN and PRD would begin to introduce political variation in both partisanship and ideology as viable political alternatives for Mexican citizens.

The educational structure in Mexico is secular, per the 1917 Constitution, and free to all Mexican citizens. There is a similar structure as to American schooling, with *primaria* being the equivalent of elementary, *secundaria* as junior high, and *preparatoria* as high school. Education is compulsory until junior high and high school in some areas, though access to schools depends on institutional development in rural areas. The educational system is regulated by the Secretariat of Public Education (SEP), who oversees all accreditation, curricula and school staffing in the nation. Higher education is separate for ‘autonomous’ universities chartered/created by the government, or the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAMs-Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México). Separate institutions for those interested in becoming teachers are also nationalized and run by the SEP, and known commonly as ‘Escuelas Normales’, or Normal Schools. National standards for education usually place literacy at 86% for the national population (Edmonds-Poli and Shirk 2009).

Mexican immigrants interact with these educational institutions, and these governmental structures in their pre-migration experiences. They learned to be political actors in Mexico through the educational and institutional lessons provided in these environments. However, this is only a superficial and indirect measure of the political and educational environment of Mexico, much less its socialization effects. In part, the lack of literature on Mexican political socialization necessitates such broad interpretations.

Mexican political socialization

Only one systematic study of political socialization within Mexico has occurred in the last 80 years. The study, conducted by Almond and Verba (1963), involved a cross-national

survey of citizens on elements of civic culture and citizenship in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Mexico, and Italy. They explicitly examine the role of political socialization solely on the development of civic competence during the late 1950s and early 1960s,¹⁵ and focus on the effects of family, school and workplace socialization on orientations to authority, particularly governmental institutions and actors. However, they swiftly dismiss the role of political socialization in linking nonpolitical events in childhood to political outcomes in adulthood as overly narrow and inadequate predictors. They do conclude, generally, that the role of these socializing agents are unimportant in the general preparation of civically competent individuals or their orientations towards government. However, these findings are limited as they examine only the outcomes, rather than the process through which citizens engaged with these mechanisms. They also rely on the early articulations of political socialization as promoting positive system affect and therefore a mechanism for political stability.

Their work, however, is more important in relation to understanding the political environment of Mexico¹⁶ in the 1950's and 60s. They conclude that Mexico was rife with contradictions in the way their citizens see their government. Almond and Verba find that Mexican citizens are alienated from the larger government, and yet fiercely proud and patriotic, in large part because of the recentness of the 1910 Mexican Revolution. While many Mexicans at the time engaged with bureaucratic authorities, the distrust and perceptions of corruption left over from the pre-revolutionary era were still their primary orientation to government. Moreover, Mexican citizens score highly on the report of competency (ability to engage), but are the lowest of all five countries sampled on actual participation. Almond and Verba posit that this relates in

¹⁵ Measured here as one's ability to participate and engage.

¹⁶ Almond and Verba do admit that their findings are limited geographically as Mexico was a difficult nation to sample randomly. They instead focused on samples within cities larger than 100,000, effectively excluding large portions of the population that resided in more rural areas at the time.

large part to over estimations of Mexican citizen's competence due to Revolutionary ideology that values participation, and the conflation of the competence with participation to satisfy cognitive dissonance. While there can be a strong sense of national pride, overwhelmingly Mexican citizens reject the bureaucratic practices of politics and government while maintaining strong civic aspirations for themselves and their community.¹⁷

Since Almond and Verba's study, little has changed in the environment of Mexican politics, with non-PRI-dominated politics at the presidential and federal level only occurring after 2000. Nonetheless, state political variations did exist, like in Southern Mexico, where large indigenous populations remained relatively independent and resistant to national government interventions (Edmonds-Poli and Shirk 2009; Preston and Dillon 2004). Similarly, distinctions between rural versus urban areas are important as most rural areas struggle to staff schools, provide institutional support, or even basic services long term. Thus, with a consideration of the historical shifts of Mexican politics, I account for not only the immigrant's education and skill level, but also their state of origin in Mexico to determine the potential effects of pre-migration experiences in varying contexts and the availability of political competitiveness at the local level.

These findings present empirical evidence of both the saliency of the revolutionary spirit, and the association of politics with corruption that pervades Mexican political socialization. The result is that while no direct measure of political socialization has been made in recent history, the lack of fundamental change in the political practices of Mexico since 1960 makes the conditions of socialization found in Almond and Verba's work applicable to modern immigrants

¹⁷ It is worth noting that only one female case study was explored in their explication of the Mexican case, of the four cases presented. She was unemployed, a housewife and apolitical. Thus, there was no other example of female Mexican political orientations. No breakdown was provided by the authors for Mexico by demographics, though this was done for the other four nations, so there is no clear sense of the gender distribution of their survey in Mexico and the representativeness of this case. Additionally, there were some rumors that these surveys were actually conducted in cantinas, or bars, rather than in residential homes, further complicating their reliability and generalizability.

who migrated to the U.S. before 2000. Only Mexican immigrants who have come of age during the ‘competitive’ political period since 2000 would have experienced this alternative in federal level politics.¹⁸ The effects of these experiences, I posit, will directly impact the resources and skills they entered with as immigrants into the U.S.

Theoretical contributions-predicting membership from pre-migration experiences

The resources of pre-migration political socialization can directly translate into resource capital that immigrants are able to use in their attainment of U.S. membership. Immigrants who participated in politics in their country of origin have transferable skills that could function in the political system of the United States. Accounting for these pre-migration experiences will illuminate how political socialization works for new members with prior political experiences. In order to model this, I articulate the four combinations of resources, skills, and status that account for the pre-migration experiences, skills and resources immigrants bring into their membership in the United States. I provide detail about the resulting combinations of pre-migration experiences in Table 4.1.

These combinations emerge from the immigrant’s socialization in their home country and affect their resources and status at entry, through which they transition into the membership process of the new nation. For the least skilled, or those with unauthorized status (undocumented), they enter under ‘Limited’-category A, and are the lowest resourced to develop informal and formal membership.¹⁹ Limitations in skills and status delay their ability to engage in political socialization as a process towards membership. These immigrants are those with the lowest education/skills and undocumented status.

¹⁸ This does also take into account the political variations of states in Mexico, where competition is more prevalent. Nonetheless, state variations aside, the shift in political competition from one party to at least two was a significant change in the way that politics occurs in Mexico.

¹⁹ While membership encompasses both the informal and formal elements laid out above, in this case, we focus on the formal element of naturalization as the end goal.

Table 4.1. Categories of Immigrant Entry by Resources and Legal Status

Category	Entry Status	Resource or Skill Level	Example
Limited (A)	Undocumented	Low	Uneducated, undocumented, low skill (agricultural/ domestic) workers
Contingent (B₁)	Undocumented	Mid/High	A doctor with undocumented status or undocumented child immigrant (1.5 generation)
Contingent (B₂)	Legal (provisional) residency	Low	Temporary workers (guest worker visas)
Direct (C)	Legal status (path to citizenship)	Mid/High	An engineer with permanent residency status
Facilitated (D)	Legal status + special benefit from government (or experience)	Low-High*	A documented child immigrant (1.5 generation) with eligible status, authorized refugees or immigrants entering under family reunification policies.

*Skill level matters less, but are still important, in this case for individuals with special governmental programs assisting them, or whose political socialization experience solely in the U.S. Skills will nonetheless play a role on the immigrant's ability to capitalize on those benefits or experiences.

Immigrants who have only one of these characteristics, and could adapt their skills or capitalize on their status, are 'Contingent'-category B. These individuals can either utilize their skills and resources for informal membership development (Contingent-B₁), or have at least some formal recognition of status (Contingent-B₂) that allows for potential permanent status. These immigrants might be low skilled with a provisional or restricted visa, like low skilled guest workers who may have legal permission to enter, but not many resources to build upon for additional membership. However, immigrants entering as 'Contingent' may also be well-resourced and skilled, and able to leverage the advantage of skills, resources or experience, but undocumented, like undocumented child immigrants²⁰ who are English speakers and American

²⁰ These are often referred to as 'Dreamers,' immigrants who arrived in the United States as children, often without a choice, and whose undocumented status impacts their adult interactions, despite English language skills and American educational experience.

educated. Nonetheless, their lack of status can have prohibitive effects on their subsequent membership development.

Those with ‘Direct’-category C entry, on the other hand, are both better skilled and have citizenship-eligible status. These immigrants have both pre-migration experiences that aid in membership development and the formal status to gain formal legal status through citizenship. These immigrants are likely to be well educated, or resourced, and enter the country with legal permission, often yielding a shorter path to formal membership.²¹ Finally, ‘Facilitated’-category D is a special case of entry and can be distinguished as institutional, policy or political facilitation of the immigrant’s entry into a nation.

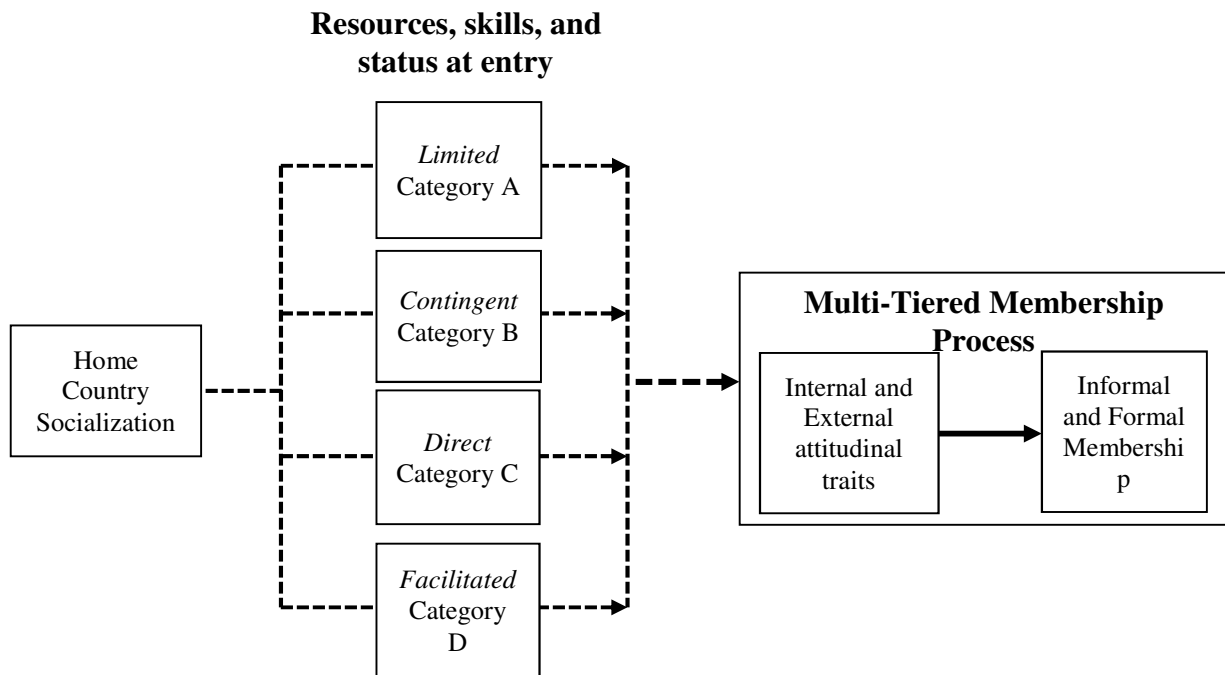
There are two types of immigrants that fit into this category: those with no other lengthy political socialization period outside the U.S., like 1.5 generation (child) immigrants with eligible status or entering under family reunification policies, and those with special privileges or pathways towards membership. The child immigrants are essentially already ‘members,’ both through internal-attitudinal and external attitudinal development, as well as through eligible status. Their informal membership develops in large part because of their almost exclusively American political socialization. Those entering under family reunification policies must still develop informal membership, but their trajectory into formal membership is expedited through preferential policies.

The immigrants in the latter category are either better resourced/skilled, or linked to family members that are, and hold legitimate status, additional protection and available benefits provided by the United States. Examples include Cubans who immigrated to the U.S. during the

²¹ This is measured as a function of status and resources available for formal membership, not necessarily intent or interest. Thus, the path is theoretically shorter given the resources, not because the immigrant chooses to claim formal membership.

1950's and 1960's.²² In support of their entry, the United States established particularly receptive policies aimed at not only facilitating Cuban immigration, but also helping to integrate them within the United States with re-location programs or expedited paperwork (Bardach 2003). Thus, though these immigrants, in characteristics, can resemble those in category C, they are also apportioned special privilege, or experience unique conditions, that facilitate their entry into American membership. I outline the resulting categories within the multi-tiered membership process in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1. Pre-migration experiences structuring entry into multi-tiered membership



The transition from the non-member to member occurs differently for each category of immigrant, contingent on their skill and resource levels and their legal status. While immigrants can move forward in the spectrum (from A-C or D, in special cases), they do so based on legal

²² Known as the 'Golden Exiles,' their immigration occurred primarily because of political turmoil. Those that immigrated were among the political and societal elite of pre-Castro Cuba. These policies, however, would change when less 'desirable' Cubans would migrate in the 1980's, principally in the post-Mariel boat lifts, wherein poor, uneducated, and often darker skinned, Cubans would challenge these receptive policies (Bardach 2003).

status changes for transitions from *limited* and *contingent* to *direct* entry, or increases in skills, or both. Skills can develop through informal membership where interactions with educational institutions and information and resource building for transitions from *contingent* to *direct*, or *direct* to *facilitated* entry. The reverse transition of particular immigrants is also important; for immigrants whose status is revoked or expires, their transition would be in reverse from *facilitated* or *direct* to *limited* or *contingent* entry. However, though this is an important transition, it is difficult in this particular analysis to model that transition at present due to data constraints, so I will only model and theorize about the advances in categories.²³

I thus focus on the resources and status at entry through the bivariate and multivariate analyses, modeled on both the individual characteristics attributed to pre-migration experiences, like prior political participation and their overall skill level at the time of migration, as well as contextual factors, like exposure to alternative/competitive politics based on their origin state in Mexico at the time of migration. I then track the occurrence of formal membership status through the immigrant's naturalization as the event of interest in the life table, demonstrating how the covariates of interest (pre-migration experiences and skills) shorten or lengthen the time it takes for Mexican immigrants to attain formal status. I conclude with an ordinary least squares regression to predict the effects of the resources and status at entry upon informal and formal membership development.

Further, the regional differences in political histories within Mexico can have enough variation to account for contextual influences of political socialization in the time prior to

²³ It is clear that the process of moving from one step to the next in this process is inherently linked to both the legal status of the immigrant, and the effect of their prior socialization and skills. Thus, when transitioning from categories A-B₂ to C, and then forward towards citizenship, each event creates a significant shift in the accessibility of moving forward to the next step. Thus, by measuring the duration between immigration, attainment of legal status eligible for citizenship, and finally, to the completion of the citizenship process allows us to examine the effects of these pre-immigration experiences and skills on the transition between these states.

migration, while the different conditions for migration and the characteristics of those who migrate will account for individual influences on subsequent resources and status at entry. In other words, measuring the effects of these pre-migration experiences, and where immigrants start the political socialization process, allows us to better understand how immigrants achieve membership, as well as predicting which factors facilitate or impede this process.

Hypotheses

The expected effects of pre-migration political socialization are relatively straight forward with regards to skill levels: better skills lead to increased participation and more resources on the path to membership. However, the effect of pre-migration political experiences will provide additional insight into the subsequent effects on U.S. political participation.²⁴ My hypotheses are:

H₁: 'Direct' entry will result in a shorter duration to formal status membership for the immigrant than those immigrants entering under the other three categories.

H_{1a}: 'Direct' entry will have positive effect on the immigrant's informal and formal membership compared to immigrants under the other three categories.

H₂: Political activity in the home country prior to migration will result in a shorter duration to formal status membership for the immigrant than for those with little to no pre-migration political experiences.

²⁴ It should be noted that while legal status is a pivotal component of the status at entry, asking about legal status on a survey instrument is often problematic, both for ethical reasons as a researcher, and response-validity due to both response-bias (towards claims of legal status) and verification. I am able to model this status from the LNS, in large part due to how the question was asked. Respondents were queried about their citizenship process status, specifically, whether they were applying, intended to apply, or not planning to apply. They were then asked why they had not yet become citizens, during which they could respond "I am here without necessary documents to become naturalized/not yet eligible", which I then coded as undocumented/ineligible. I am aware of the potential response bias, but given the self-reported nature and indirect inquiry, this is the best measure available. I can thus model 'Limited,' 'Contingent-B₁' and 'Contingent-B₂.' 'Facilitated' entry is relatively non-existent for immigrants from Mexico, even for those entering under family reunification.

H_{2a}: Pre-migration political experiences will increase informal and formal membership for immigrants, compared to non-participation.

H₃: Immigrants that are exposed to political party variation (non-PRI) through state governors prior to migration will have higher informal and formal membership values than those without variation.

The first hypothesis addresses the expected effects of the resources and status at entry, first on the duration to naturalization (H_1) and then on informal and formal membership as defined in my theory (H_{1a}). The second addresses the effect of pre-migration political engagement and its adaption to new host societies like the United States on time to naturalization (H_2) and then informal and formal membership (H_{2a}). The third captures the potential contextual effects of variations in political environments that are increasingly common at the federal level in Mexico, but were only available to the immigrant in state level politics prior to their migration.²⁵ Each of these hypotheses touches upon a particular element of membership, whether the resources and status at entry or prior political experiences, and their effects on informal and formal membership. I construct the measure of informal and formal membership and key independent variables in the following section.

Methods of Analysis

In order to understand the potential relationships between all of these variables, and the subsequent effects they might have on membership development, I use three types of analysis. First, using the Latino National Survey, I use descriptive and bivariate analysis to determine the

²⁵ The data I'm using interviewed subjects in 2005-2006, which captures the five to six years where a PAN president was in a power. However, the immigrants would have immigrated either before the 2005 date, or had minimal prior political socialization in Mexico during this PAN period. Immigrants who migrated after 2001 (when PAN was actually in power) are 3% for immigrant children (29 of 977) or 18% of adult immigrants (432 of 2403). I nonetheless control for period of migration in my model to account for the potential effect. I also limit the state level variations to only gubernatorial elections prior to 2001-2002 to account for the PRI-dominated environment.

distribution and potential relationships that exist among key variables including pre-migration political experiences and resources and status at entry. I then analyze the relationship between time and three events of interest: 1) formal status acquisition (naturalization), 2) reaching the informal membership threshold, and 3) reaching the formal membership threshold. I do this controlling for the status and resources at entry through event history analysis. I use this to plot cumulative distributions of each occurrence for each dependent variable at each interval of time.²⁶ I then explore the effect of the resources and status at entry and pre-migration political experiences on informal and formal membership, using OLS regression.

Dependent Variable

I focus on three key dependent variables in this chapter. First, I examine the transition of non-citizens into citizens through naturalization.²⁷ I look at this variable in particular because of its relevance to both formal membership (as a marker of formal status) and its relationship to the immigrant's resources and status at entry. I focus the event history analysis on the estimation of duration to naturalization in order to connect the resources and status of entry to the accessibility provided by the immigrant's status. The distribution of the naturalization of Mexican immigrants is presented below in Figure 4.2.²⁸ In it, the distribution of child and adult immigrants is shown; for immigrants that come as children, 44.7% have become naturalized citizens, as compared to 20% of those that came as adults. I provide values for both child and adult immigrants²⁹ to demonstrate the distribution of adult immigrants versus similarly situated immigrants (Mexican children), but who do not enter membership as adults with pre-migration experiences. Thus, my

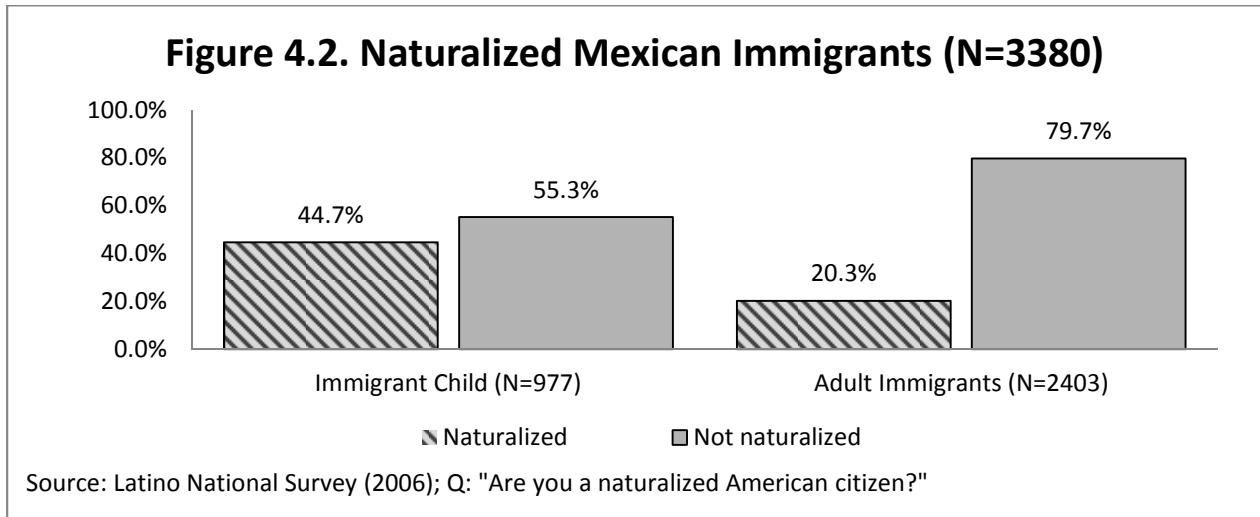
²⁶ I explore the occurrence of the event of interest for each group at each interval specified. I do this analysis utilizing Stata 12, and use standard life-table techniques for estimation. See Gehan (1969) for more on this process.

²⁷ This is a dichotomous (1=Yes, 0=No) variable from question B9: Are you a naturalized American citizen?

²⁸ All charts, tables and figures are from the Latino National Survey (2006).

²⁹ Adult immigrant is categorized as those immigrants who arrived at age 17 or older. Child immigrant is categorized as those immigrants who arrived at age 16 or younger.

focus on adult immigrants is still present, but I will explain it within the context of the broader Mexican immigrant experience.



The second dependent variable is informal membership. I construct informal membership through the combination of measures that account for both the internal-attitudinal dimensions and the external-attitudinal dimension of informal membership. The dependent variable capturing informal membership includes the following measures: information gathering,³⁰ resource building,³¹ political interest,³² a claim of American identity,³³ as well as participation in churches, schools or community groups. The end result is a variable of informal membership that ranges from zero to fourteen (0-14), depicted below in Figure 4.3. This variable accounts for both the internal-attitudinal and external-attitudinal dimensions of membership, and as shown, has a normal distribution for those immigrants that came as children, versus those that came as

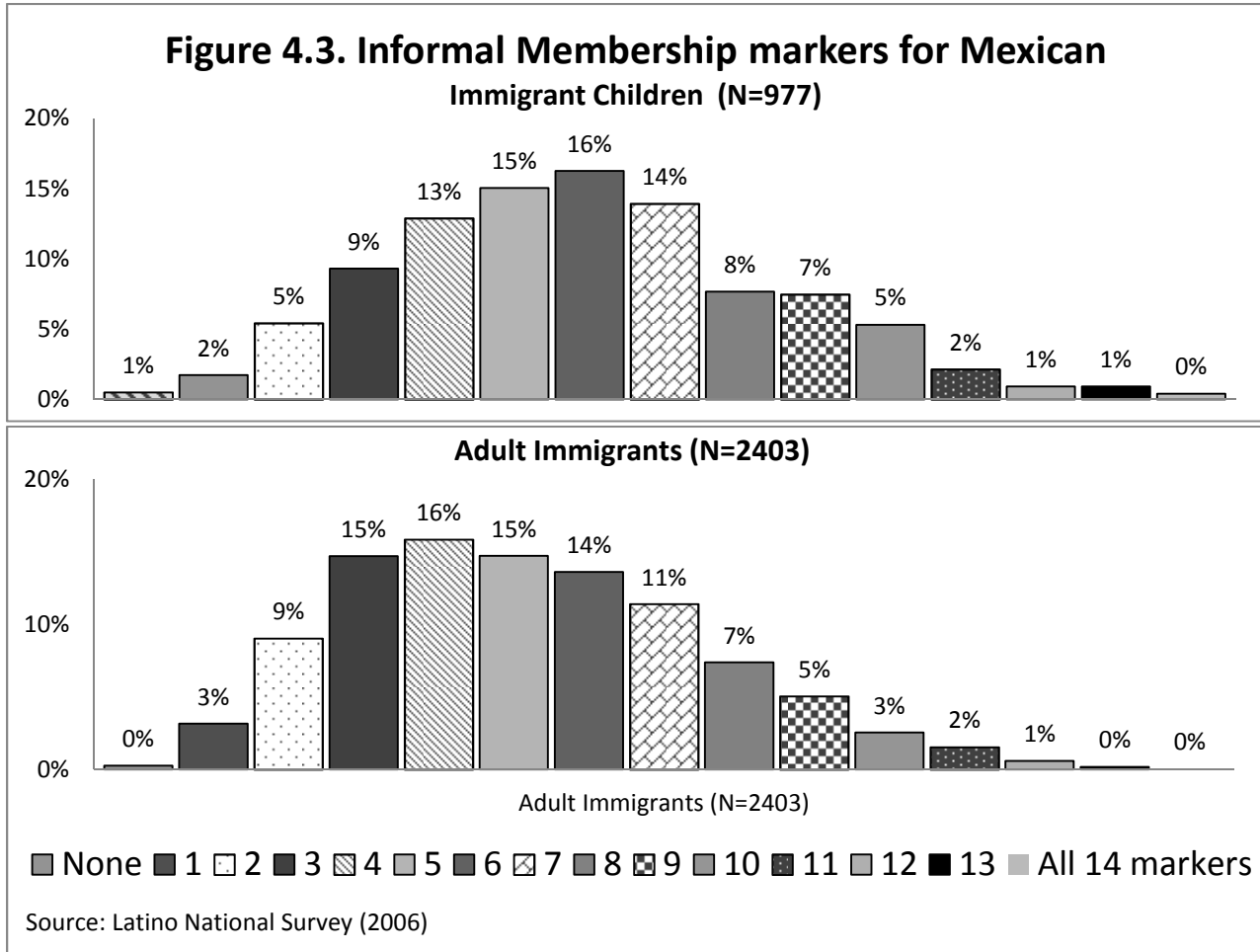
³⁰ This was coded as a four point scale, 0-3, indicating whether one had engaged at all with the following: watched television news (QA1), read the newspaper (QA2), or had internet access (QA5) at any point. A score of three indicates any frequency of use for all three sources.

³¹ Resource building was a combined 8 point scale of interactions with 1) educational institutions (Q7a-Q7c), 2) churches (Q19-for respondents with more than weekly attendance), and 3) groups in general (QD1), as well as a measure of the respondent's propensity to use organizations and informal connections for problem solving (QD3). This also explicitly captures the external-attitudinal membership of my theory.

³² Political interest is a three (0-2) point measure of the respondent's attention to politics and public affairs (QA6).

³³ American Identity is a three point (0-2) measure of respondent identification as somewhat (1), or strongly American (2).

adults. The distribution of adult immigrants is skewed towards lower membership values on informal markers. Thus, not only are fewer adult immigrants naturalized, they also have fewer informal membership markers overall.

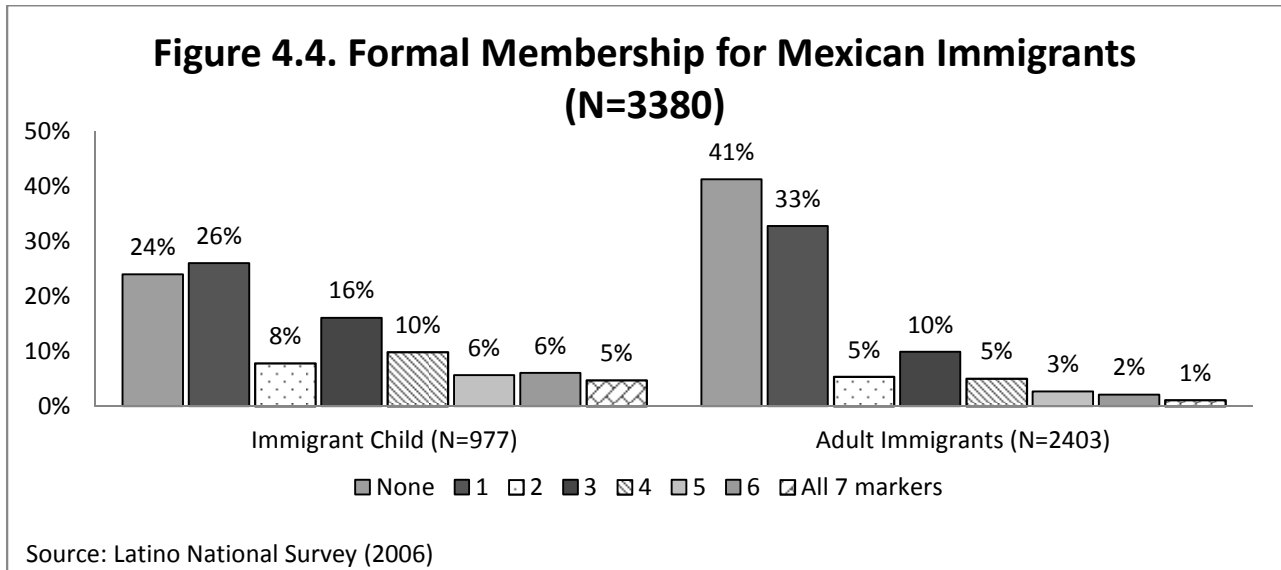


The third dependent variable is the measure of formal membership. This measure is constructed from formal status,³⁴ unrestricted political behavior and restricted political behavior.³⁵ This yields an eight point scale (0-7) that captures both the status and engagement dimensions of formal membership. Figure 4.4 below illustrates the distribution for this variable,

³⁴ Formal status refers to the naturalization variable described above.

³⁵ Restricted and unrestricted political behavior emerges from separate measures. Both are four point scales (0-3). Unrestricted includes contact with elected officials (QD4/D5), and partisan identity (QJ1-taken as any party id was formal identification with system). Restricted includes registering to vote (QI1) and voting in the prior election (QI7), knowledge about how and where to vote (QI10), and whether they had been contacted by political parties in the previous election (QI3).

demonstrating that the child immigrants have more markers of formal membership versus adult immigrants, who skew towards fewer markers overall.



For the event history analysis, the dependent variable is the naturalization of the immigrant; the minimum threshold for informal membership is four markers, and the minimum threshold for formal membership is three markers. I set the minimum thresholds at these levels because the theoretical framework outlines four markers within the internal and external attitudinal dimension and at least three markers for formal membership. Thus, to examine this within event history analysis, I dichotomize the variables as follows: naturalization as 1=naturalized and 0=not naturalized, informal as 1=four or more markers, 0=three or less, and formal as 1=three or more markers, 0=two or less.

In order to measure the duration to these dependent variables, I also constructed an ‘interval’ variable, as well as age of respondent at the time of the survey, age at migration and age at time of naturalization. Since I have over 80 years of data for the ‘age at naturalization’ at yearly ‘observations’, I condense these into five year intervals that designate the length of

residency since migration. Thus, interval 1=0-5 years, interval 2= 6-10 years,³⁶ interval 3=11-15 years and so on, up through interval 14=70 years. This allows me to determine the probability of the event of interest occurring in each five year interval. For the regression models, I use the full informal and formal membership variables as the dependent variables.

Independent Variables

The literature outlined the importance of pre-migration experiences and skills and education. I rethink these measures under the particular resources and status of entry for immigrants as they initiate the membership acquisition process. Thus, I capture their education, skills and prior political activity at the onset of membership acquisition.³⁷ I thus focus on three categories of independent variables: resources and status at entry, prior political experiences and pre-migration context, and demographics.

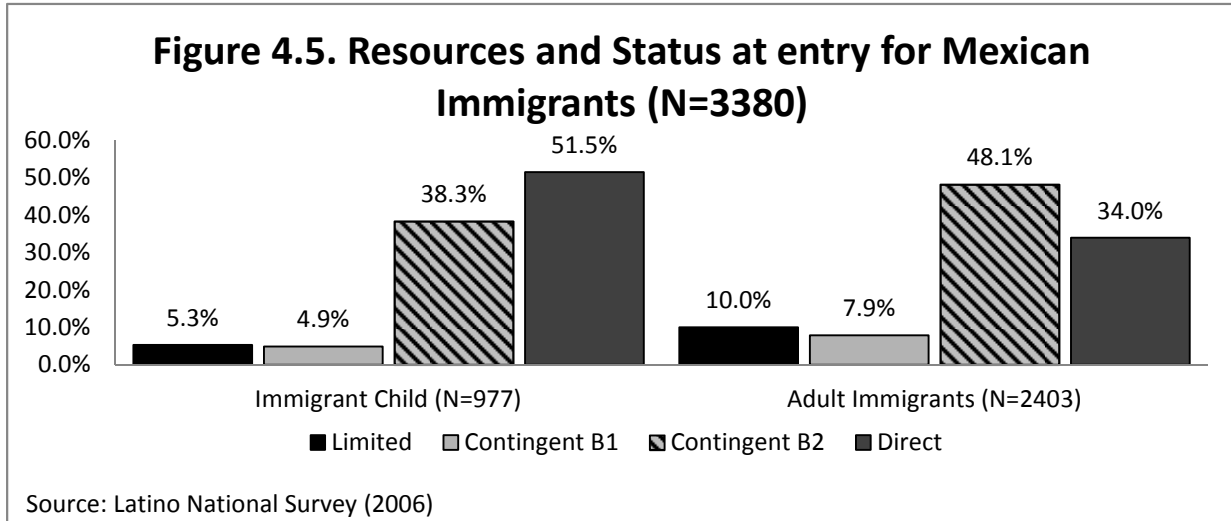
The first set of independent variables account for the resources and status at entry outlined above: limited, contingent, and direct. These are predicated on the immigrant's educational attainment *prior* to arriving in the United States, and their entry status.³⁸ This yields four measureable categories that are outlined in Figure 4.5. Overwhelmingly, both adult and child immigrants are represented by the low resourced, documented status of Contingent-B₂ entry, and the mid-high resourced, documented status of Direct entry. For immigrant children, direct entry is prevalent in part because of their adolescent political socialization within the United States, and thus limited non-American political development, resources, or experiences.

³⁶ Given that residency requirements for citizenship require that immigrants live and work in the United States for a minimum of five years prior to applying for citizenship, interval 1 reflects this fact. Since eligibility for citizenship does not begin until after year five, the occurrence of events begin in interval 2.

³⁷ This is not to say that I ignore the importance of the gender, but rather that I look first at the resources and status that affect all immigrants upon entry. Additional work on the effects of gender, in particular of mothers in families and educational institutions, is done in subsequent chapters.

³⁸ This is a combination of the measures of educational attainment (QD12) and location of highest education (QD13). Status for this measure is predicated on the immigrant's response to why they had not yet naturalized. I coded responses to this question that fell under 'undocumented or not yet eligible' as criteria for 'limited' and 'Contingent-B₁' categorization.

For adult immigrants, their categorization as primarily Contingent-B₂ entry occurs in part because of the lower resourced, but documented legal status that is potentially translatable into permanent residency and citizenship.

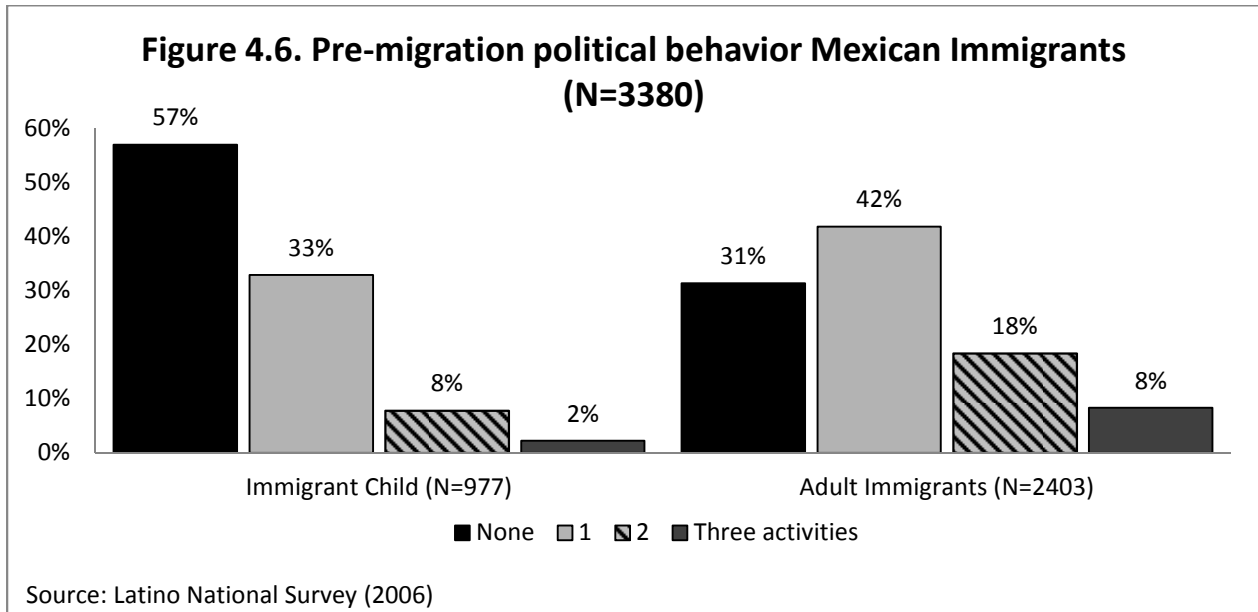


Meanwhile, there were far fewer immigrants, for both groups, that entered under the undocumented status of ‘Limited’ or ‘Contingent-B₁,’ with Limited being both undocumented and low resourced, and Contingent-B₁ being undocumented, but mid-high resourced. In part, this is due to the nebulous nature of recording undocumented or ineligible status. However, these two categories nonetheless represent nearly 20% of adult immigrants, and 10% of immigrant children, in the United States.

Pre-migration factors are important to consider given the potential influence they play in shaping early development among immigrants. Here, I focus on three variables. First, I examine prior political behavior of immigrants,³⁹ shown below in Figure 4.6. While immigrant children who came to the United States are mostly represented as none or one activity participants, adult immigrants have more political activities in their pre-migration experiences. Thus, while the

³⁹ This is a measure of voting in an election prior to migration (QM13) and participating in a political, student, or union group in their home country (QM17).

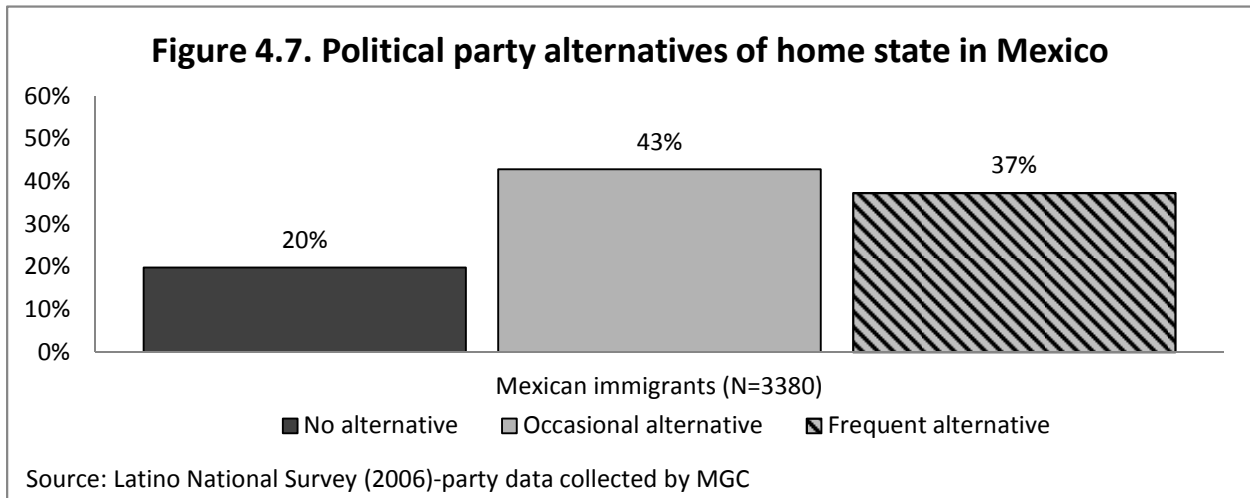
adult immigrant was becoming a political member of Mexico, they acquired a familiarity with the political environment and context that will be transferable to the American context.



This context, however, is not always guaranteed to yield political variations, particularly in a nation like Mexico, whose political history is premised on political corruption, conflict, and citizen distrust of government. Thus, exploring the political context and available alternatives is important. I do this through the state level political alternatives that immigrants might have been exposed to prior to migration. Shown here in Figure 4.7, I capture the political party variation of governorships, PRI v. non-PRI, within Mexican states, particularly as alternatives to PRI party dominance at the national level, over the 14 election cycles prior to 2000.⁴⁰ The variation between children and adults is negligible, so I show the values for the aggregated sample. They show that of all the previous elections, immigrants could have been exposed to either no alternatives (PRI at both federal and state levels), occasional alternatives (some periods of non-

⁴⁰ Most of the survey's immigrants would have experienced these political party alternatives, and thus would have migrated before 2000 or shortly thereafter since the survey occurred in 2005-2006. This also serves as the first presidential election that changed political parties, so I capture the majority of the PRI-dominated period by constraining this measure to only the pre-2000 governorships.

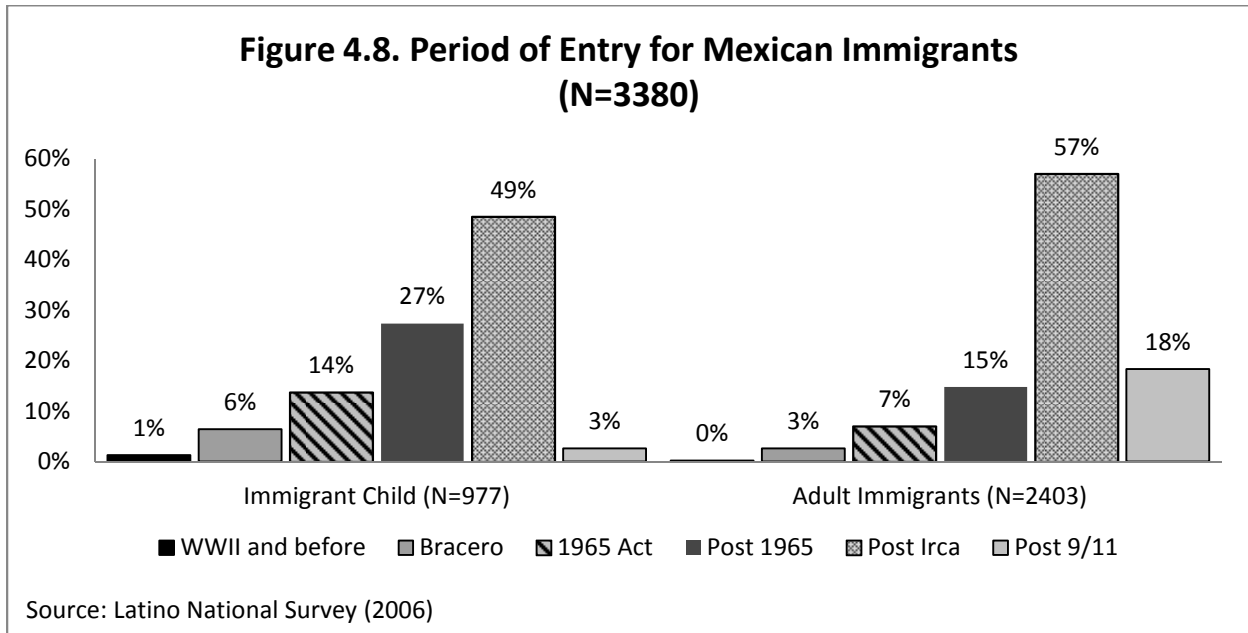
PRI governorships), or Frequent/Consistent Alternatives (at least 80% of previous elections yielded non-PRI governor). Occasional and Frequent alternatives abound, indicating that for most immigrants, even with PRI-domination at the federal level, exposure to political alternatives at state and local levels were present.



I look at more national measures of the political environment, specifically corruption and democracy scores of Mexico that captures an external measure of democracy.⁴¹ I focus on the democratic score given to Mexico at the time of migration to indicate whether this was an important variation for the immigrants more broadly. Further, I also account for the migration periods that may have pulled immigrants to the United States, particularly after the 1965 Immigration Act that removed quotas and allowed more non-European migration. These migration periods matter as a measure of shifting policies and restrictions on entry for Mexican immigrants. Figure 4.8 shows that Mexican migration waves emerged particularly after the 1965 Immigration Act, and peaked in the wake of the 1986 Immigration reform and control act (IRCA). Figure 4.8 shows that most Mexican immigrants came after 1986, with 53% of those

⁴¹ These end up correlating significantly, thus I use only the polity values for democratic scores. These are scores between 0-20 given by Polity IV project to respondent's country. They indicate how 'democratic' a nation is, which I take as potential compatibility of political values with the U.S. Chapter 3 outlines their measurement of this score more thoroughly.

coming as immigrant children and 75% of those coming as adult immigrants arriving in the twenty year period between 1986 and 2006.



Finally, among the demographic variables, I'll model residency, gender (female) and household income, which account for the available resources involved in (formal status) membership development in the literature. Membership entry is moderated by these pre-migration experiences, resources and status at entry of immigrants. The skills, education and pre-migration political experiences of individual immigrants have a clear effect on their ability to transition to informal and formal membership. I lay out these initial intersections in the bivariate analyses of the following section.

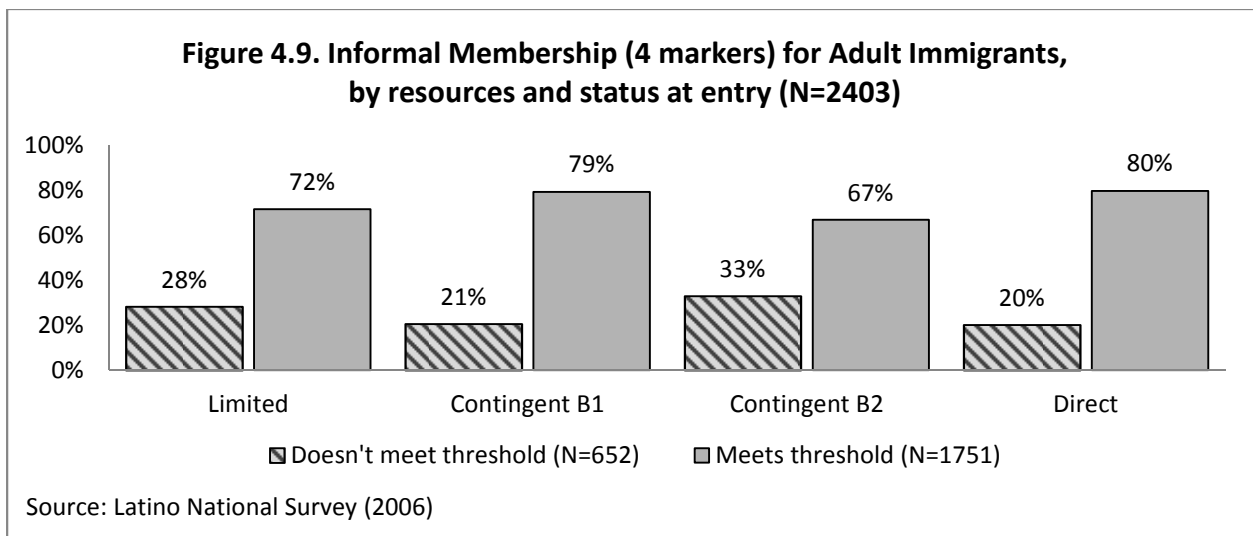
Resources and status at entry and informal and formal membership

Bivariate analysis

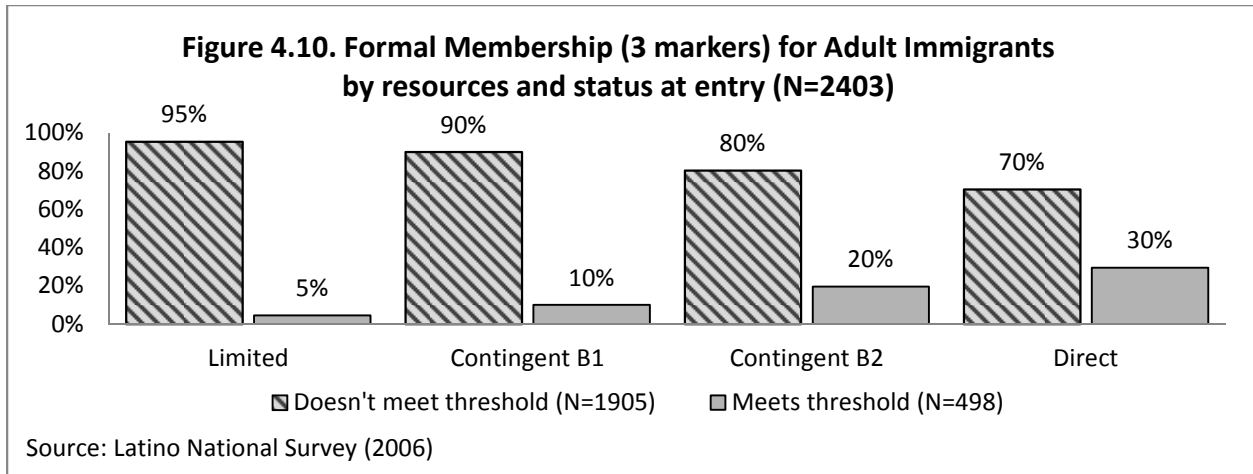
In the first stage of analysis, I determine how resources and status at entry and pre-migration political behavior affect informal and formal membership.⁴² The effect of these

⁴² I now look only at these effects for migrants who came as adults.

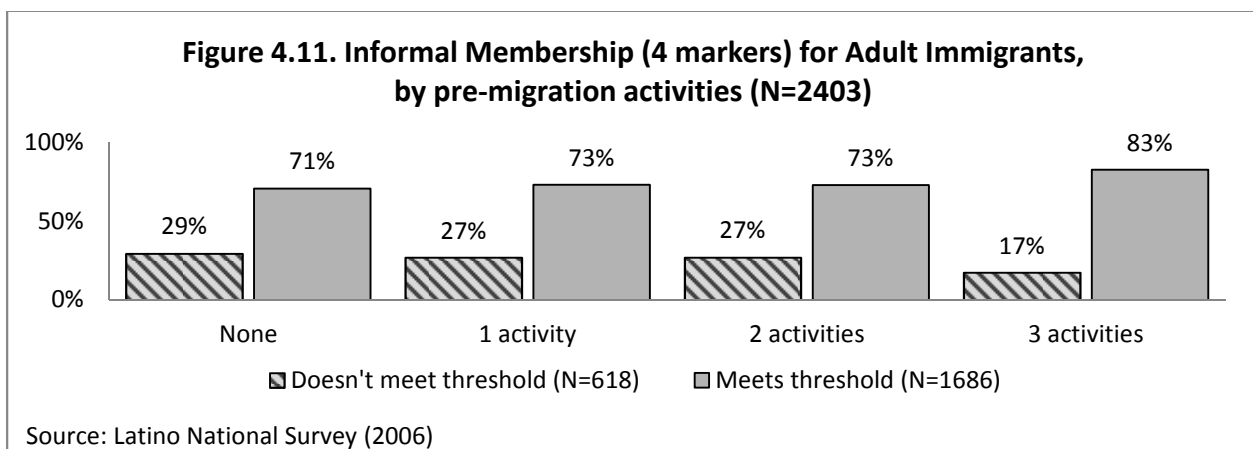
resources and status at entry alters an adult immigrant’s achievement of informal and formal membership. In Figure 4.9, we see that for those with high resources at entry, Contingent-B₁ and Direct, approximately 80% of adult immigrants within both pass the four marker threshold of informal membership. However, those entering with low resources in Limited and Contingent-B₂ are not far behind, with 72% and 67% respectively passing the threshold. This indicates that simple status (or lack of it) does not impede the informal membership development of immigrants overall.



Formal membership, however, does not breakdown in the same way. Even though the threshold for formal membership is much lower (only three markers), these markers require either status, or minimal informal membership to be achieved. Figure 4.10 demonstrates that for those immigrants entering with legal status (Contingent- B₂ and Direct), achieving formal membership threshold is highest, though still relatively low at 20% and 30% respectively. Thus, while informal membership hinged on the resources and status at entry, particularly resources, formal membership hinged primarily on the status component of entry.

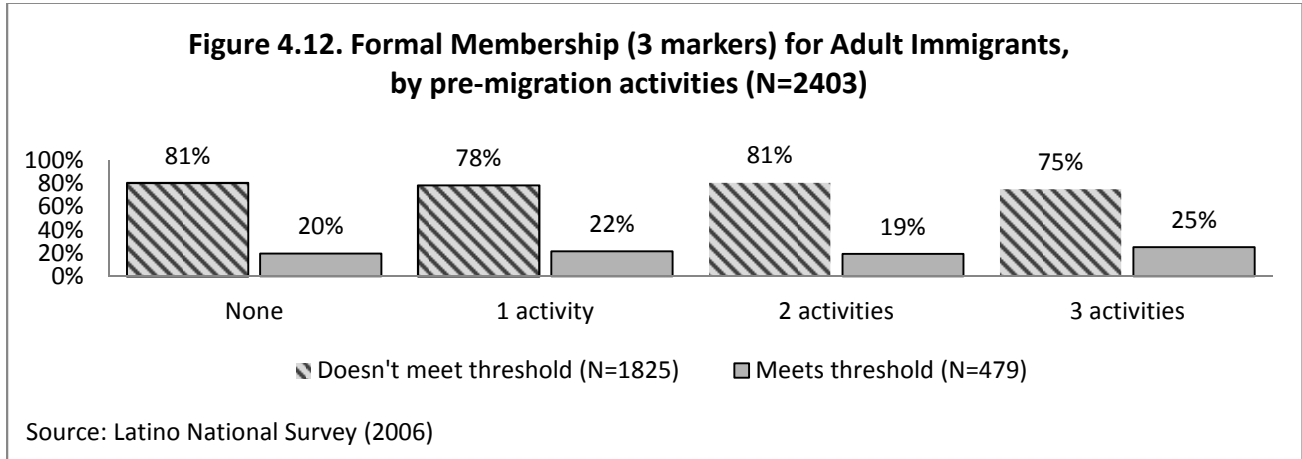


Key in some of these developments, however, are the effects of pre-migration political experiences, particularly political activities. Experiences with governments or bureaucracies may supplement the effects of one's resources and status at entry overall. Figure 4.11 shows that those with peak activity (3) have a higher percentage achieving the informal membership threshold with 83%, 10% higher than those with two activities or less. This indicates that not all political experiences are created equal in the pre-migration context, but that their effect might increase membership development for only those with the most active history.⁴³



⁴³ In fact, one of the measures of pre-migration political activity is voting in an election prior to moving to the U.S. This act was linked to the acquisition of social services and government benefits by several of the respondents in the in-depth interviews. The act of acquiring the tarjeta electoral, or voting card, is itself apolitical as it is a required identification for employment and governmental benefits. Some respondents further stipulated that certain benefits were restricted to only voters, making their participation in these elections less about their political interests and more about their interest in governmental services or benefits.

This pattern holds up in the relationship with formal membership in Figure 4.12, though there, the effect is smaller for those with peak pre-migration activity. Peak activity only accounts for 3-6% more respondents passing the formal membership threshold, versus the other activity levels. Nonetheless, the effects of pre-migration experience, particularly as supplements to the resources at entry, will add to the immigrant’s membership development.



In order to determine the effects of these factors on the long term outcomes of membership, I used event history analysis to predict the time to naturalization, and achievement of minimum thresholds for informal and formal membership for adult Mexican immigrants.

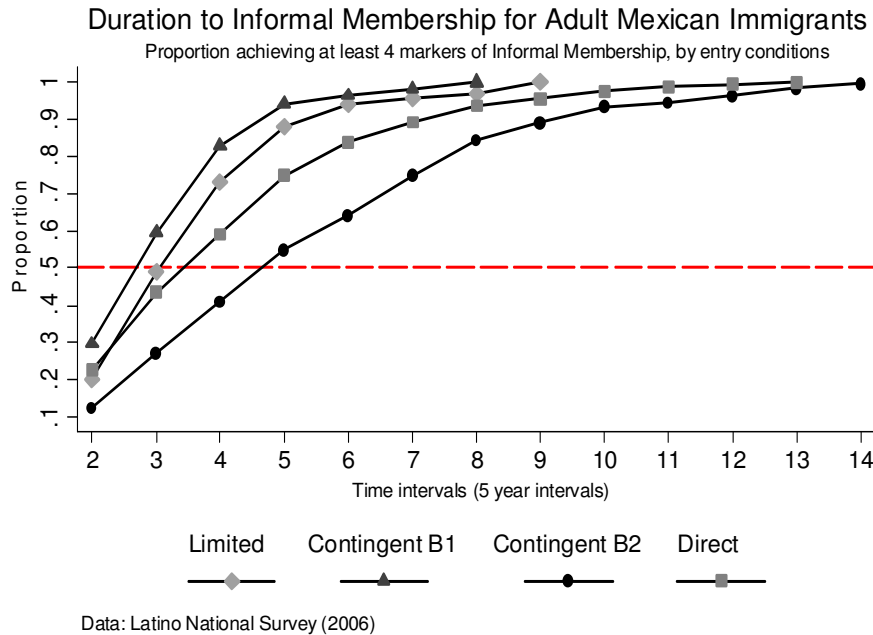
Long term membership development and the effect of resources and experiences at entry

I continue my analysis by predicting the rate over time at which immigrants become naturalized citizens. I also predict the time it takes to achieve informal and formal membership. Each interval is approximately a 5-year span: interval 1 is immigrants with residency between 0-5 years, interval two is residency between 6-10 years, and so forth. I start with predicting informal membership by the resources and status at entry and the pre-migration activities. The results are displayed in Figures 4.13 and 4.14.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ It should be noted that all of the plotted distributions for the occurrence of these events start at interval two, which is the 6-10 year mark. This is the distribution of events, and the result of two facts: 1) most immigrants are ineligible

Informal membership, when predicted by the immigrant’s resources and status at entry, presents a particularly interesting result: When immigrants are not able to access their formal

Figure 4.13. Informal membership and immigrant status and resources at entry



membership because of status, like for those that are entering under Limited and Contingent-B₁ conditions, they are quicker at reaching the threshold of informal membership than their documented or eligible counterparts. While higher skills do matter, seen in the fact that over

50% of Contingent- B₁ respondents pass the informal membership threshold within 15 years (3 intervals), the Limited (low skilled) respondents also approach 50%, and surpass both the Direct and Contingent- B₂ respondents during the same period. These two undocumented/ineligible categories in fact outpace those with status throughout the time intervals measured. Thus, while the bivariate relationship indicated that skills were driving this effect, the reality in the long-term acquisition of membership is that there is an additional consideration taking place: necessity.

Immigrants without status will have to interact and rely upon their resources and information more to function within American society if their status is a potential impediment. Further,

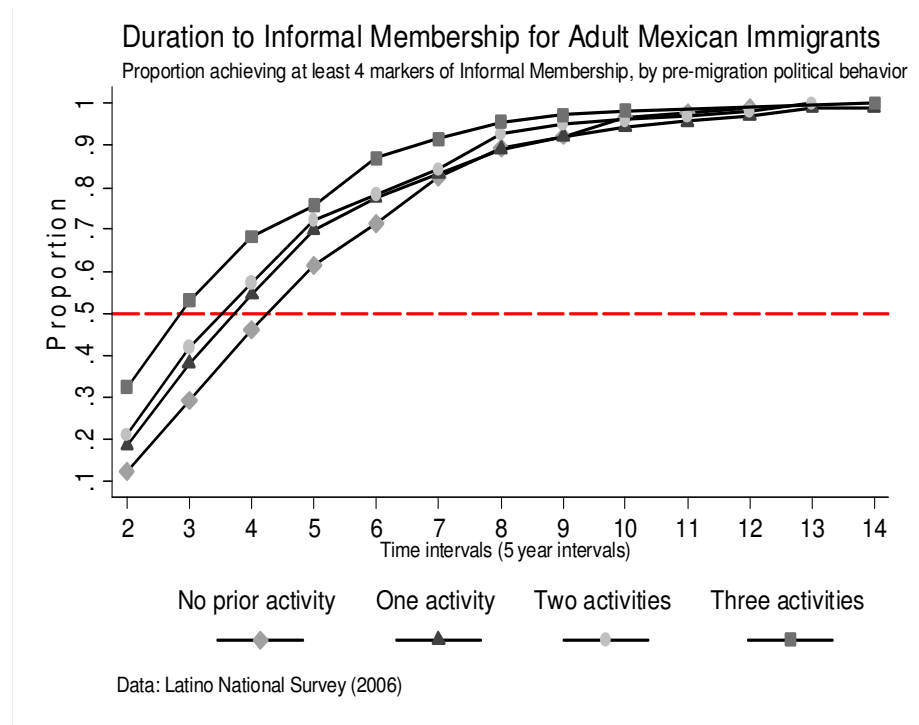
for citizenship (formal membership) until after five years of residency, pushing the start time up for formal membership, but more importantly 2) the development of these markers is not immediate, but rather occurs at a relatively slow pace, such that the first occurrences do not manifest until nearly 10 years after arrival.

necessity may alter the formal membership claims of the undocumented by strengthening their informal claims overall, despite their undocumented status. This informal membership development triggered by necessity may strengthen attachment to American membership as a result.

Examining informal membership with pre-migration political activity adds additional insight into this process, and in fact, reverses the results from above. Pre-migration political activities quicken the

achievement of the threshold of informal membership, principally for immigrants with two or more activities. Over 50% of immigrants with three activities, and 40% of immigrants with two activities, surpass the informal membership threshold within 15 years

Figure 4.14. Informal membership and pre-migration activity

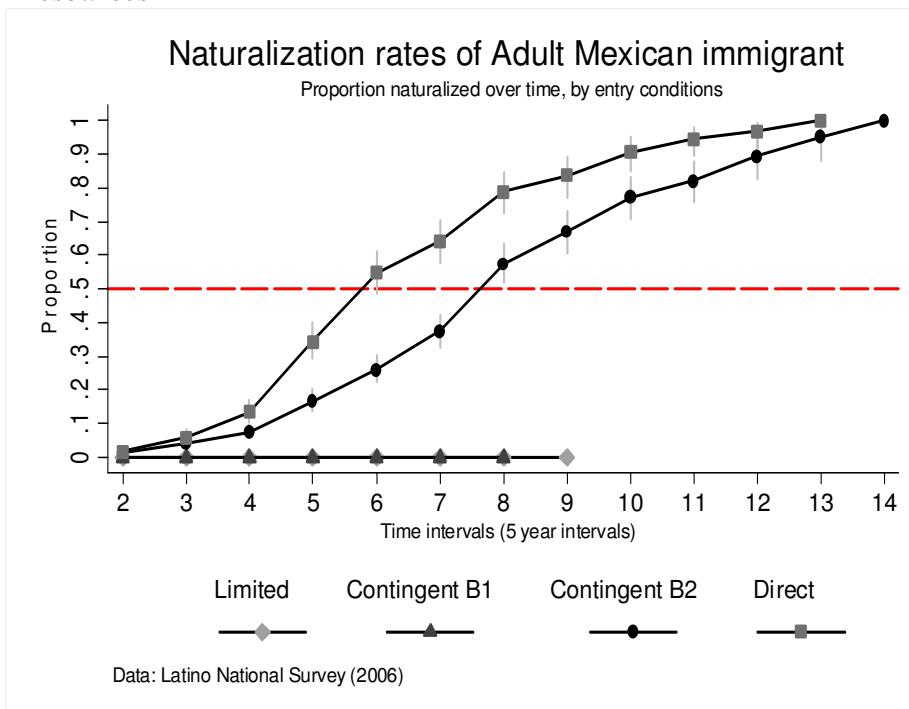


of their arrival. This indicates that their political experiences in their home country may translate into skills and resources they utilize to develop informal membership resources and knowledge. Moreover, the fact that immigrants entering with fewer political experiences take longer to pass the informal membership threshold complicates the bivariate results from above that indicate that the effects of these experiences provide only minimal additional development. The effect of

these experiences on quickening the membership development of immigrants is nonetheless important. Immigrants who develop this early informal membership are closer to developing their formal membership overall.

Central to this membership development, is of course the function of legal status, specifically, the ability of immigrants to naturalize and claim one of the early structural markers of formal membership. Figure 4.15 demonstrates that even while the resources and status at entry enhance the development of informal membership for immigrants who enter as (undocumented) Limited or Contingent- B₁, they nonetheless truncate the immigrant’s formal membership

Figure 4.15. Naturalization occurrence by entry status and resources



development, particularly with naturalization rates. This shows that for immigrants entering without status, their informal membership will likely be their only membership development in the new nation. Further, available

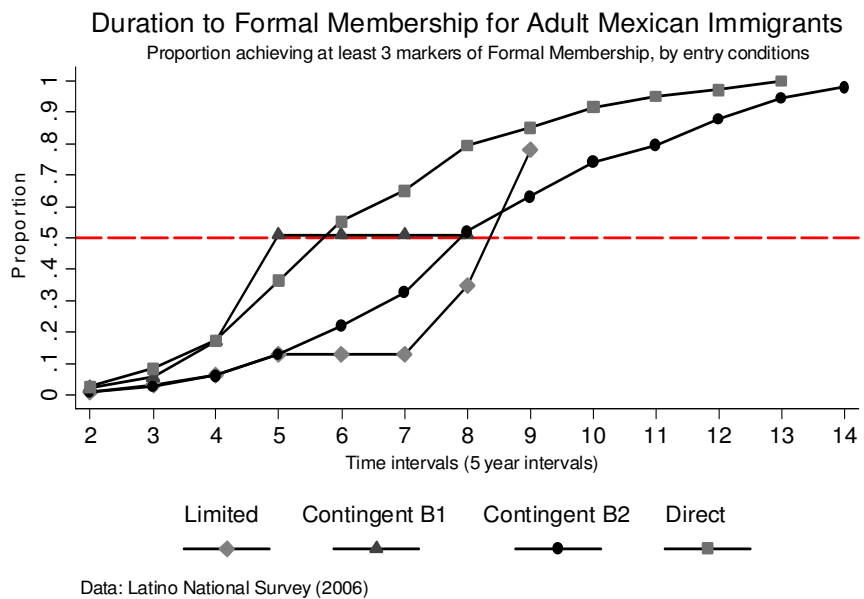
resources intersect here to facilitate this process, where the mid-high resource, legal status Direct entry immigrants reach 50% naturalization within 30 years of arrival, but the low resource, legal status Contingent-B₂ entry immigrants take a full 10 years longer, reaching 50% naturalization at 40 years. Thus, one of the key measures of formal membership, status acquisition, is clearly

highly correlated with the resources and status at entry under which immigrants initiate the membership process of their new nation.

However, formal membership may be more accessible when including unrestricted and restricted political behavior measures. Thus, I modeled the duration to achieving the formal membership threshold of three markers in Figure 4.16. Here we see that those entering as undocumented, under Limited and Contingent-B₁ entry, are still able to access formal membership through measures of unrestricted formal behaviors. Here we see that mid-high resource Contingent- B₁

immigrants are still able to achieve the formal membership threshold within 25 years, but remain at only 50% achievement. Meanwhile, the low resourced, undocumented Limited entry immigrants take

Figure 4.16. Informal membership threshold achievement

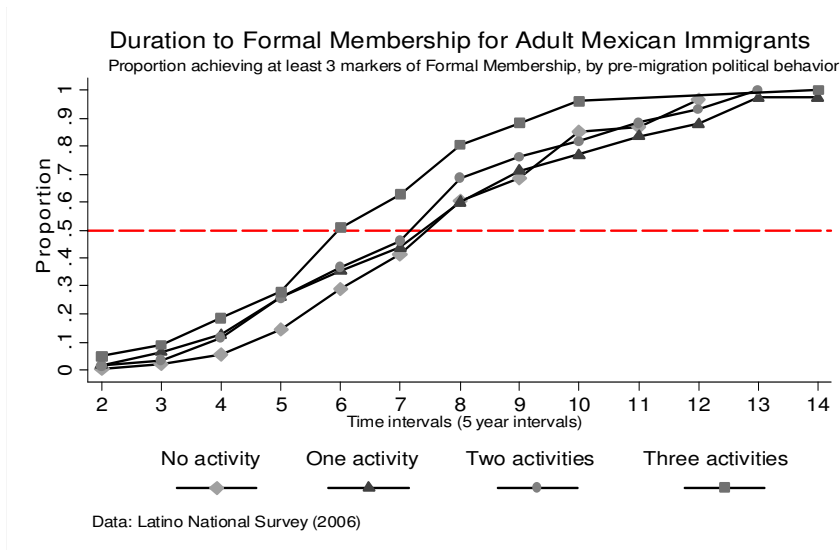


longer to reach this threshold overall, with only 50% achieving this threshold within 45 years after arrival. These results indicate that undocumented immigrants are not barred from formal membership entirely, but can participate in some unrestricted activities, and develop some formal membership. This adds significant insight into the experiences of immigrants beyond status or

restricted political behaviors, and accounts for formal membership development even among the undocumented.

Further, when accounting for the effect of pre-migration political activities on formal membership development, we can see in Figure 4.17 that more political experience prior to

Figure 4.17. Informal membership threshold achievement



migration yields faster formal membership threshold achievement.

However, this occurs primarily for immigrants who were the most active, at three pre-migration activities, while all others are relatively equal in duration. It is clear that the

informal and formal membership is affected by a number of factors, chief among them the resources and status at entry and pre-migration experiences. I now test these relationships empirically through a more rigorous modeling of their effects using ordinary least squares regression.

Complicating membership development

I utilize ordinary least squares (OLS) to predict informal and formal membership. This model accounts for the key independent variables related to the immigrant’s resources and status at entry, pre-migration experiences and context, and key demographics. I present the results in Table 4.2 for adult immigrants. Model 1 predicts the informal membership of respondents. Here

we see that those immigrants with mid/high skill upon entry (Contingent- B₁ and Direct) have a positive relationship with informal membership development, while those with lower skills (Contingent- B₂) have a negative relationship. These are relative to the reference category of ‘Limited’ entry immigrants.

Table 4.2: Ordinary Least Squares regression predicting membership

Independent Variables	Model 1- Informal membership	Model 2- Formal membership
	Coefficient (SE)	Coefficient (SE)
Resources and status at entry ⁴⁵		
Contingent- B ₁ -low resources, undocumented	0.52 (0.22)**	0.13 (0.13)
Contingent- B ₂ .low resources, documented	-0.51 (0.16)**	0.28 (0.10)**
Direct-mid/high resources, documented	0.43 (0.16)**	0.70 (0.10)***
Pre-migration experiences and context		
Pre-migration political activity	0.25 (0.05)***	0.10 (0.03)**
Alternative MX State governor	0.01 (0.14)	0.11 (0.08)
Polity score at time of migration	-0.14 (0.02)***	0.03 (0.01)**
Migration period	0.31 (0.14)**	-0.11 (0.08)
Demographics		
Household income ⁴⁶	0.31 (0.03)***	0.16 (0.02)***
Length of residency	0.00 (0.02)	0.06 (0.01)***
Female	0.49 (0.09)***	-0.20 (0.06)***
Informal membership		
Informal membership index of markers	---	0.13 (0.01)***
Model statistics		
Constant	4.35 (0.96)***	-0.87 (0.58)
	Number of obs =2304 R-squared=0.1467	Number of obs=2304 R-squared=0.333

p<0.000=***; p<.05=**; p<.10=*

Meanwhile, these pre-migration political experiences and context are also important: pre-migration political activity and the period of migration are positively associated with

⁴⁵ Limited excluded as the reference category

⁴⁶ One caveat is that household income is based on their American wages, not on their wages prior to migration as that information was unavailable. Nonetheless, their income in the U.S. is an indicator of the skills they arrived with, and since education is controlling only for education prior to migration, it accounts for the discrepancy that might arise from having become more educated after arrival (and thus increasing skill). Nonetheless, it is clear that this is not entirely pre-migration specific, but due to data limitations, this is the best data available

immigrant's informal membership development, but the political context effect was mixed. The state context of migration had no effect, while the national context of 'democratic practices' had a negative effect on informal membership, indicating that adult Mexican immigrants that came during 'less democratic' periods were less inclined to develop informal membership. However, for immigrants that were politically active in Mexico, as well as those who were more recent arrivals, particularly those in the post-1965 era, informal membership was positively affected.

This finding, in light of the literature and demographic variables, is particularly interesting: more resources and longer residency should boost informal membership. However, while these findings support the notion that increased resources contribute to membership development, they do not support the notion that length of residency is a contributing factor. Given the long-standing reliance on residency as a key predictor in understanding immigrant's trajectory towards naturalization and membership, this finding indicates that simply accounting for residency in the United States is too imprecise. Rather, the resources and status of the immigrant at entry, quality of experiences, and moderating demographics affect the long-term development of informal membership overall.

Modeling formal membership, in Model 2, allows us to extend the impact of these effects. In this model, I find that the immigrant's resources and status at entry are only significant predictors when legal status is secure and eligible for formal membership. Thus, Contingent- B₂ and Direct entry positively affect formal membership development. Further, when considering the pre-migration factors, I find that pre-migration political activity continues to provide positive and significant effects for formal membership development, while the 'democratic' scores become positively associated with formal membership development. This finding might indicate that the lack of democratic practices in Mexico, for those migrating during 'less democratic'

periods, can impact the political practices of immigrants in the U.S. A consideration of the demographic variables predicting formal membership indicates that the earlier expectations of the literature are upheld in formal membership acquisition. Increased resources and longer residency positively affect formal membership development overall.

Pre-migration experiences as new membership scaffolding

These results complicate the way we understand the process of political socialization and its relationship to membership development. In light of the resources and status at entry, pre-migration experiences, context, and the demographic predictors of membership, I am able to better explain the process of membership development for adult Mexican immigrants in the United States. The results demonstrate that the pre-migration experiences of immigrants, coupled with their resources and status at entry are important in predicting informal and formal membership. The skills and experiences one acquires prior to migration can help propel one towards membership, as well as act as scaffolding for future political experiences. These experiences, however, can also temper or exaggerate one's membership development, speeding up the achievement of membership markers, or even naturalization for immigrants with different experiences at entry. Thus, from these findings, we can confirm the expectations from the hypotheses.

Hypotheses one and two posited that the resources and status at entry, and the pre-migration political experiences of immigrants, would speed up the achievement of formal status membership. The effect of the immigrant's status and resources at entry do in fact truncate the duration to naturalization, and informal and formal membership, particularly for those with Direct entry as mid-high resourced, legal status immigrants. What is surprising, however, is that while I posited that 'direct' entry would shorten the duration to informal and formal membership,

this only works for the occurrence of formal membership threshold achievement and naturalization, providing only support for hypothesis one for only these entry categories. Hypothesis two, which predicted positive effects from pre-migration political activity, is supported by the results indicating that for those with the highest political activities (two and three activities) achieved the informal membership threshold in a shorter duration. Formal membership threshold achievement was only quickened for those with three pre-migration activities, the maximum.

The hypotheses regarding the OLS regression relationships were mixed. The first, H_{1a} examines the effect of the resources and status at entry on the immigrant's informal and formal membership. The second, H_{2a} , examines the effect of the pre-migration political activity on informal and formal membership. Both posit that the effects will be positive and significant, and are supported by the OLS results. Low resourced, but documented, 'Direct' entry immigrants have a positive relationship and increase informal and formal membership. Meanwhile, pre-migration activities, similarly, have positive and significant effects on both informal and formal membership achievement as well.

The third hypothesis for the regression result relationships, however, is not supported. Hypothesis three posited that higher exposure to political variation in state level politics would increase informal and formal membership development. The contextual variable measuring Mexican state variation in political climate was not significant, indicating that H_3 is not supported. This result is likely due to a lack of substantive variations between parties when it comes to images or perceptions of corruption. Thus, immigrants can be exposed to political party variations in Mexico, but that variation has little substantive meaning if the immigrant still sees all government as corrupt, or non-PRI parties as constrained by the corruption of the broader

system, or if the political variation is deemed ineffective because of PRI-dominated federal level politics.⁴⁷ In other words, while this measure demonstrates that immigrants do experience political party variations, that variation lacks substantive meaning for the immigrants.

These findings thus present three key takeaways on the effect of pre-migration experiences for immigrants initiating membership in the United States. First, pre-migration political experiences are important resources that immigrants can utilize for both informal and formal membership development. However, the political history and structure of Mexico may temper the effects of such activities, such that only the most politically active prior to migration are able to translate those experiences into an American context. Second, the resources and status of immigrants upon entry into American membership is important in considering how immigrants will continue through the steps ahead. Immigrants without status, like those who are Limited or Contingent-B₁, do not necessarily face barriers to informal membership, but have clear structural-status barriers in developing formal membership. The skills and resources of immigrants upon entry, thus, are an important moderator of how quickly and fully immigrants achieve informal and formal membership. While mid/high resourced immigrants, like those entering as Contingent-B₂ and Direct, are better situated to adapt those skills in their informal and formal membership development.

Finally, the intersection of status and resources explain how immigrant membership is derived not only from their post-migration experiences, but where they enter as members. Well-resourced immigrants are the best prepared to adapt to the new environment, but this adaptability is capped depending on their status. Those with lower resources can still progress and achieve several markers of both informal and formal membership, but may take longer to do so, or be

⁴⁷ This is derived both from the Alba & Verba (1963) study and qualitative interviews.

barred due to lack of status. This chapter, thus, illustrates that the pre-migration experiences affect immigrant's not only upon entry, but in their development as members in a new nation.

These findings further explain the understanding of immigrant political socialization. With prior experiences, skills and education, immigrants do not start this process as blank slates. Rather their particular internal-attitudinal characteristics are moderated by their resources and status at entry, their pre-migration experiences and the subsequent interactions they experience as a result. These external-attitudinal interactions with local communities, organizations or institutions help form their informal membership, acting as skill and information resources. However, interactions with these institutions often intersect with key internal characteristics, namely whether one has a spouse or children. This family dynamic informs subsequent interactions, predicated on one's existing internal-attitudinal characteristics derived from these pre-migration experiences. In the following chapter I explore the relationship of family within the membership process and political socialization of the immigrant.

★ Chapter 5 ★

The Immigrant Family in Multi-Tiered Membership

Membership development through political socialization places the family as a central socializing agent that allows generation after generation of Americans to pass on traditions, political ideologies, and claims to American identity. The family as a socializing force, however, becomes problematized when one considers the role that immigration plays in the growth of the nation, and the political socialization of new waves of immigrant-origin Americans. The immigrant family requires an articulation of political socialization that accounts for the effect of non-native status on family dynamics. I focus this chapter on the role that family plays in the development of informal and formal membership among adult Mexican immigrants and their family. I argue that political socialization is unfolding differently within Mexican immigrant families than models of native born families would expect. Relationships to other immediate members of the family, like a spouse or a parent, complicate the political socialization effects of family on the immigrant.

Principal to this is that the immigrant family of today is often of mixed status. Mixed status, as I explain in chapter one, requires an understanding of how nativity changes the dynamics of all family members. The immigrant family, in particular, captures the range of experiences that shifts in status can create: undocumented, permanent residents, second and third

generation citizens. Thus, mixed status familial relationships are moderated by the effect of these many types of status. A citizen child may think twice about their interactions with institutions if they fear the deportation of their undocumented parent, or permanent resident parents may be motivated by their citizen children to engage with institutions, or develop more formal membership in their new nation.

The cases of María, Luis, and Pedro, from chapter one illustrate how these variations in experience can alter the ways that immigrants not only see membership, but develop it as well. María, the young female immigrant, became a citizen to better secure the future of her US born daughter. María's citizenship attainment, however, was a family ordeal, involving María, her husband and her daughter. Further, immigrant parents in particular face institutional and social demands regarding their children, as the case of Rosa and Jose will elaborate in this chapter. For them, the role that they play as parents becomes a source of political involvement, drawing them into activities in which they might not otherwise participate, and acquire information (and an interpretation of that information) that helps develop their membership. Thus, the children of immigrants become part of their parent's political membership development, as we see also in the earlier cases of Luis and Pedro.

US born Luis was the only formal member of the United States in his family for nearly fifteen years. He grew up with parents and older siblings that did not participate in or discuss American politics, both because of status and limited membership, until well into his late adolescence. His membership development occurred not as a formal legal member, but as a member of a mixed status family, and one where political socialization to American politics was limited. On the other hand, Pedro was a key player in the development of his parents' informal and formal membership in the United States. His experience as a translator, mediator and

interpreter of all things American situated him as a primary resource for his parents, while his parent's simultaneously expressed their own political views and orientations to Pedro. These interactions created a co-development of membership among both parent and child. Given the estimated 11-12 million unauthorized immigrants in the United States today, as well as the million more that are documented, the presence of mixed status families is likely unprecedented (US Census Bureau 2012).

By examining the familial dynamics of adult immigrants, in comparison to U.S. born Mexican origin and white respondents, I delineate how family is a socializing agent for immigrants. This captures the individual characteristics of immigrants (internal-attitudinal traits) as they relate to family through marriage and their role as parents. Further, it intersects with their external-attitudinal development by situating the family as central to the immigrant's community engagement. Not only does the immigrant family provide resources through child and spousal interactions, it also helps spark or further develop political interest by necessitating engagement with institutions in the immigrant's role as parent. Interactions in the immigrant's community because of these family dynamics, through churches, schools or other local resources tailored to their children or partner, further develop the immigrant's informal membership.

We can outline the role of family in immigrant political socialization by looking at the child-parent and spousal dynamics. This reframing of family dynamics for immigrants better captures their membership development. I revisit briefly the literature on the family in political socialization, drawing out the problematic and limited nature of family. I demonstrate how this literature yields a problematic framework for understanding spouses and children within the political socialization process of immigrants. I then outline the family dynamics of immigrants, and provide case studies of the immigrant family dynamic for Rosa and Jose, respondents from

the Developing Civic Actors (DCA) in-depth interviews. I then examine these relationships quantitatively with the DCA survey to predict the resulting empirical relationships to informal and formal membership, and conclude with a discussion of the implications of the family effects on immigrant membership development.

The problem with Family: Family as a parents-only concept

The literature on political socialization experience focuses primarily on the adolescent political socialization of the native born, which focus on the ‘family socialization’ as parents socializing children, or ‘top-down’ socialization. Family (parent-child) is a key component of the political socialization process, as was illustrated in depth in chapter two. Families, for native born members, provide membership patterns. Family can teach patterns of behavior, social norms, and expectations, and emphasizes how the family allows the individual to negotiate their cultural and political membership through their social position (Arnett 1995). Non-white families, meanwhile, provide ethnic and racial socializing forces that differ from white families regarding demographic, economic and familial relationships more broadly (McLoyd et al. 2000).

The result is a view of family as a mechanism of socialization that reflects not only demographic and socioeconomic factors, but also one that is structured differently in non-white families. The works in chapter two provide the ‘political’ focus of socialization, but while it is useful to build upon that earlier literature to account for parental influences, expanding the concept of family to include spousal and child-to-parent dynamics better captures the immigrant experience.

Family as an unimportant factor for political behavior

In contrast to the earlier literature, several scholars have curtailed the function of family as a relevant factor in explaining political behavior. In one of the first systematic examinations of

American voters, the work of Campbell et al includes a discussion of family as a politically relevant resource (1960). Specifically, the authors articulate a view of family as important, though indirect, influencing factor of an individual's political behavior, and even attribute partisanship to parent-child transmission. They, nonetheless, conclude that family is only a small part of this process. However, the work of Connell (1972) and Almond and Verba (1963) argue that family political socialization matters only during childhood and adolescence, but has limited bearing on adult outcomes.

Connell argues that the connections between parent and offspring political attitudes or behavior in adulthood are limited, and attributable to socioeconomic or demographic characteristics, rather than parent-offspring dynamics. Almond and Verba, meanwhile, discuss a link between childhood orientations in the family and adult political orientations to government, but conclude that these are weakly associated linkages (1963). Both dismiss the use of political socialization as an avenue for explaining political behavior. The dominant understanding and accepted influence of family post-adolescence was that it became a non-factor, or had little impact overall. This view, however, focuses too narrowly on the link between adolescent experiences and specific outcomes expected in adulthood, and not on the impact of family political socialization in developing membership skills or attitudes that facilitate active political engagement.

Family as intergenerational stability

Another variation on the role of family reinforced the notion of stability resulting from political socialization that occurs through the inter-generational effects of family socialization. The common thread in this literature is the shared political and historical system where both children and parents experience political socialization. The retention and acquisition of different

types of political knowledge illustrate that historical events can cause differences in interpretation over time and across generations, affecting how parents and children interact in Jennings's work (1996). Moreover, how individuals learn about politics, is partly the individual's cognitive ability to understand, integrate, and analyze information, and how they are taught to filter or interpret information to form opinions (M. X. . Delli Carpini and Keeter 1993; Sigelman and Conover 1981). The implication of these works is that parents will share these experiences with their children as "personalized" histories, while their children are themselves experiencing new formative events. This constricts the ability of immigrant parents to socialize their own children to new nation events that, for them, might be further removed from the parent's experiences. Further, this also limits interactions to the parent-child dynamic and only in the top-down flow of socialization.

Family (spousal) political socialization

There is limited work on the role of spousal political socialization, and less situating it as part of the 'family' dynamic overall. The principal reason for this is that the occurrence of spousal political socialization occurs in adulthood, while most studies focused on the pre-adult periods. Nonetheless, there are threads of this literature that paint a limited picture of the role of spouses in political socialization. Spousal relationships lead to similar party preferences (Campbell et al 1960), though the general conclusion is that it is not a significant source of socialization. Specifically, Niemi's work on the similarity of spousal preferences concludes that those preferences occur prior to marriage, and thus spousal socialization is nothing more than support or reinforcement of previous socialization (1977).

The similarity in spousal political preferences as emerging from initial mate choice, rather than shared socialization during marriage is further supported in Alford et al's more recent

work (2011). The literature on the role of marriage/spouses in ‘speeding up’ political development, however, is more useful for explicating the role of spousal political socialization. Both Verba & Nie (1972) and Stoker and Jennings (1995) find that spousal relationships help to promote political activity more generally. Specifically, initiation of behavior and co-engagement increases among spousal pairs where one partner is more active (and the other ‘catches up’ or ‘matches’ their engagement). This however, echoes Jennings’s and Niemi’s earlier work that argues that partners tend to mimic or have similar levels of political involvement (1971).

The inclusion of spousal dynamics provided little additional explanatory power to “Family” political socialization, as most studies concluded that it was irrelevant or minimal in the adult experiences. Thus, the limited focus on parent-to-child socialization as *family socialization* remained an adequate conceptualization in the political socialization literature. However, the immigrant family presents unique challenges to how ‘family’ works in political socialization.

Accounting for the Immigrant Family in Political Socialization

One exception to the limitations of the literature above is the relatively recent work by McDevitt and Chaffee in the field of political communication. They argue that when it comes to information seeking and political communications, parents and children engage in ‘trickle-up’ socialization, wherein the child (often through civic education) prompts the parent to develop their political information and articulation (McDevitt and Chaffee 2002). However, they propose a model of ‘family political communication’ focusing on conversation dynamics and information exchange, not on the political socialization of the adult immigrant parent or the child to real world political behaviors, and they do not provide empirical tests of this dynamic. Furthermore, they model ‘reciprocal influence’ that still places the parent in the dominant or information

providing role, while for immigrants, this might be reversed (children providing the bulk of the information). Nonetheless, it is important to note that there are some limited attempts to expand family into a more relevant theoretical framework that can be extended to immigrants, though one article (in another field) does not a shift make.

The dynamics of political socialization for immigrants are different because the parents of immigrants are non-native, and thus do not serve the same function as native born parents raising native born children. Immigrant political socialization in the family context of parent-child occurs during the immigrant's adulthood, not their childhood or adolescence. This indicates that the immigrant parent may not be playing the same role in political socialization that native born parents in the top-down model appear to play. The adult immigrant parent cannot rely on their own parents for socialization regarding a new nation. Further, given the mixed status nature of immigrant families, spousal interactions may be between immigrant spouses or native and immigrant spouses. This alters the function of spouses by introducing additional membership constraints if neither is a member of the new nation. Considering all the relationships within the immigrant family both broadens and deepens our understanding of their political socialization.

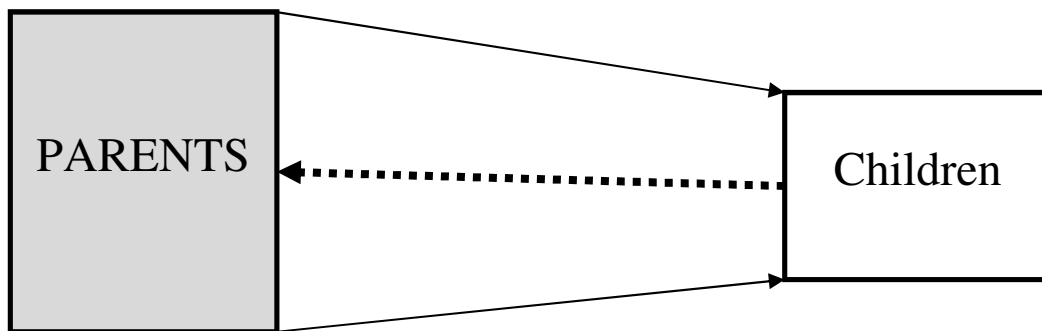
The Immigrant Family model

Immigrant parents will provide political socialization through the traditional 'top-down' model, but because of their unfamiliarity with American membership, their reliance on their children and spouses for information, political discussions and opportunities for engagement, specifically, will alter this dynamic. I account for the expanded view of the immigrant family through child and spousal interactions and their effects on political socialization and membership. Moreover, I do so through the three explicit functions of family: information sources, political discussion partners, and resources for political activity.

Children in immigrant political socialization

The immigrant’s child will receive ‘top-down’ political socialization. However, there will also be an additional dynamic—one where the child holds more authority in determining not only their own political orientations, but also that of their parents. I call this *parallel socialization*, shown in Figure 5.1. *Parallel socialization* occurs through the simultaneous interaction of parents and children. It involves the traditional top-down approach of political socialization of “parent-to-child,” but also involves the bottom-up relationship that children can hold in the immigrant context.

Figure 5.1. Parallel socialization in the immigrant family



In engaging with their children, parents will interact with developing members who are receiving institutional socialization through schools, explored in the following chapter.¹ Children can serve as information resources for parents both as American cultural, historical and political information resources, but also as translators and interpreters. Further, children can become political discussants, providing an ‘American’ perspective to the parent’s understanding and discussion of politics in the United States. Finally, children can become co-participants with their

¹ There are a myriad of other influential factors that intersect with children: media, communities, organizations, churches, etc. These require entire chapters (if not dissertation length) analysis and thus, for the time being, I set them aside to investigate the primary socialization of the parent-child dynamic. Since I address the role of school, I designate it as one of the external forces, but designate all others as ‘Other’.

parents, acting as resources for political activities for their parents. Children accentuate the political information, discussion, and action of the immigrant parent's membership development through this parallel socialization. Adding to this dynamic will be the interaction of adult immigrants with their spouses.

Spouses in immigrant political socialization

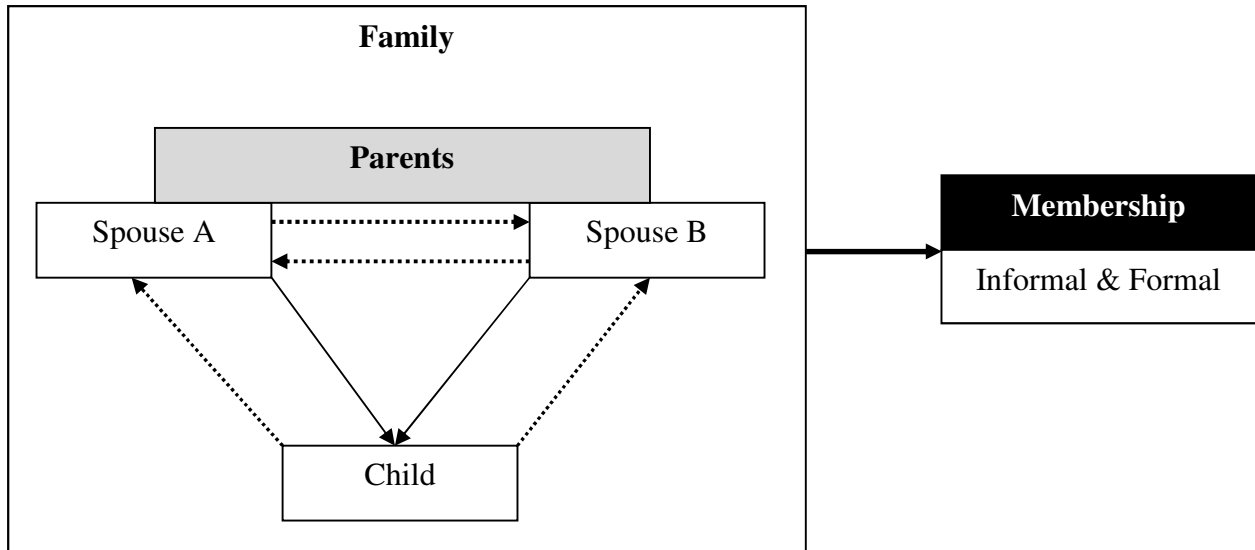
The effects of partner socialization are related to increased motivation for participation and engagement, within the literature. Political behavior might be moderated by one's spousal relationship among the native born, but these effects are made more dramatic among immigrants who need to rely on both spouses and children for their membership development. The fact that this is only minimally explored in the traditional literature only exasperates the need to explore it among immigrant populations. Spouses, as fellow adult family members, may provide political information, a discussion partner, or an additional participant in events or activities. Further, if the literature is correct, spouses may also encourage some of this participatory and political engaged behavior in the respondent as the spouse develops their own membership.² A more accurate model, accounting for the family socialization dynamics of both spousal and child interactions, is demonstrated in Figure 5.2.

This chapter weighs the effects of what the family, both in parent-child and spousal relationships, contributes to the political socialization process. Thus, the complete model of an immigrant's family political socialization includes not only the parallel socialization between the parent and the child, but also the spousal relationship dynamic as well. The political socialization

² Though the role of spouses is one that requires additional exploration, the information collected about the spouses specifically is limited, both in the LNS and the DCA. Thus, using the DCA in this chapter, I am only able to model the respondent's relationship to their spouse, not the spouse's characteristics. The premise that the effect of the spouse, generally, will affect the respondent is still valid, though the spouse is 'measured' indirectly and through blunt questioning of the respondent. Nonetheless, I am able to capture all three potential functions of the spouse, as an information resource, a discussion partner, and a political activity co-attende.

of immigrants will be contingent on all their available socializing mechanisms, and thus accounting for this expanded view of is family is key.

Figure 5.2. Immigrant family political socialization



Hypotheses

In this chapter, I look specifically at the effects of family on informal and formal membership, with a focus on the effects of children and spouses on the adult Mexican immigrant.³ I thus posit the following:

H₁: Familial resources (parent, child, spouse) that are important sources of political information increase the immigrant's informal and formal membership.

H_{1a}: Translation of political information by children for immigrant parents will increase the parent's informal and formal membership.

H₂: More frequent political discussions with familial resources (parents, child, spouse) increase informal and formal membership.

³ White native born, Mexican-origin native (US) born, and Mexican child immigrants are comparison groups.

H_{2a}: Political discussions with familial resources, initiated by respondents, increase informal and formal membership.

H_{2b}: Political discussions with familial resources, with mutual discussion practices, increase informal and formal membership.

H₃: Attendance at political events with all familial resources increases informal and formal membership development.

Data

This chapter utilizes two methods of exploring the question of family dynamics: a qualitative portion consisting of in-depth interviews of Mexican heritage respondents, and a quantitative portion consisting of a national telephone survey of Mexican heritage households. Both these components are from the *Developing as Civic Actors* (DCA) project outlined in chapter three. The qualitative interviews inform the discussion about relationships between immigrants and their families, while the quantitative survey aggregates the experiences of the Mexican heritage community to provide more broad patterns of behavior.⁴

Methodology

The potential relationships exhibited in the survey data within immigrant families are outlined first in descriptive statistics. I then add nuance to these findings through three case studies from the in-depth interviews, two cases addressing the adult immigrant parents, Rosa and Jose (1st generation), and one case outlining the experiences of the native born children of immigrants, Pedro (2nd generation), within these dynamics. I provide more empirically rigorous analysis through ordinary least squares analysis⁵ predicting informal and formal membership as

⁴The project yielded a total of 801 completed telephone surveys, and 93 in-depth interviews. Nine focus groups were held and follow up interviews with all focus group participants were attempted.

⁵ Ideally, this modeling would have included three categories for each group: respondents who had a spouse/partner and child(ren), respondents who only had a partner but childfree, and respondents who were both single and

my dependent variables of interest. These variables are similar to those constructed in the pre-migration chapter. However, the use of the DCA survey allowed for more nuanced measures of the components that constitute the informal and formal membership variable. Thus, I briefly lay out how these dependent variables are constructed, and the independent variables of interests.

Dependent variables

I model the relationship between family (children and spouse) on adult immigrant membership development, and predict two dependent variables: informal and formal membership. Informal membership is a 16 point index⁶ (0-15), comprised of internal-informal measures (0-10) and external-informal measures (0-7). The internal-informal measures are the aggregated positive responses to the following variables: political interest (0-3), strength of American identity (0-2), political information access (0-4), and employment and homeownership (0-1, 1 indicates affirmative). Thus, someone who had high political interest, strong American identity, multiple media sources of political information, and resources through homeownership and employment, would score ten on the internal-informal index.

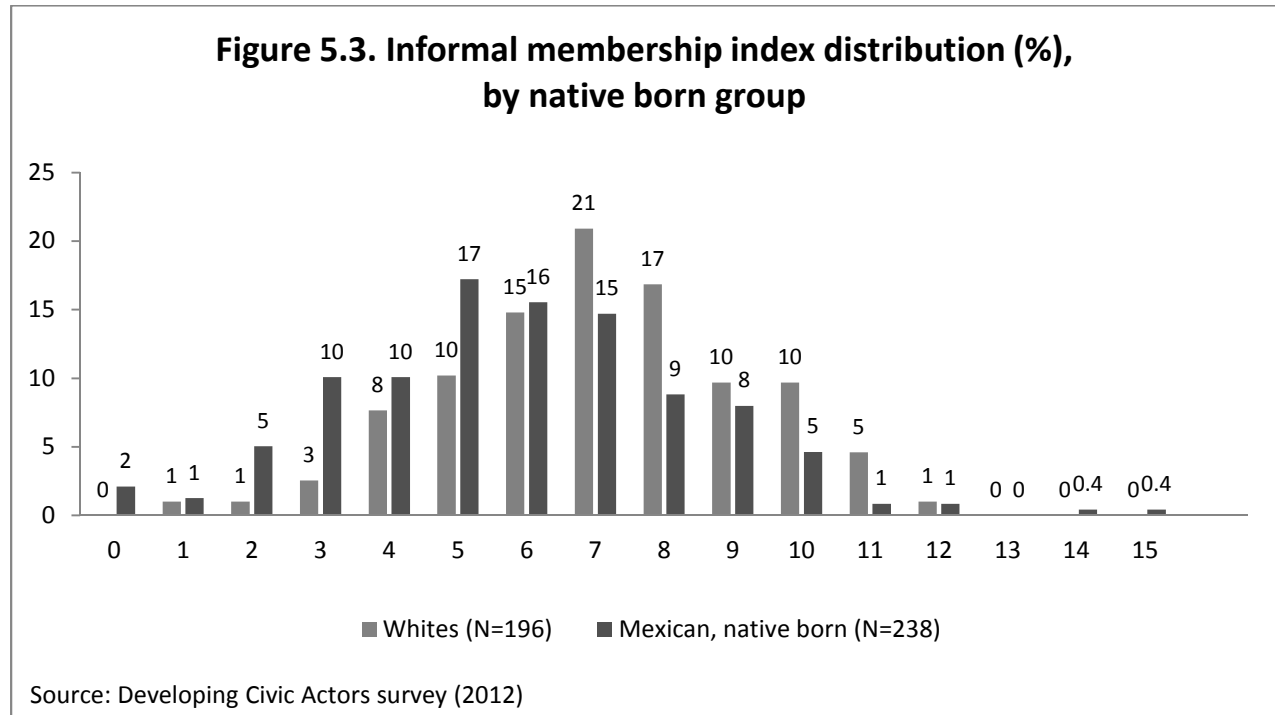
External-informal accounts for the immigrants specific interactions with resource building institutions, like schools or communities. This measure is the aggregated positive responses to the following variables: participation in community organizations, neighborhood watch meetings, parent-teacher or school related organizations, union membership, social

childfree. DCA only provide an N=801 total respondents, most of which are Mexican-origin, married and with children. A total of 20 respondents across all three groups were 'partnered but childfree,' and thus no substantive analysis could be made. Thus, with the remaining cases, I am only able to empirically model two family classifications: partnered and with children, and single and childfree. However, even among this latter category, I have very few cases (less than 75 for all groups investigated), and thus present do not present their results in this chapter as they are potentially biased and challenge empirically substantive assessment. The focus of my analysis will thus be solely on those that are married and with children, but across all available groups.

⁶ The alpha scores for the internal-informal index=.505 and external-informal=.388. The informal index alpha=.449. The alpha scores for the unrestricted formal index=.627 and restricted formal index=.807. The formal index alpha=.722. The theoretical framework proposed helps justify those indices that fall below the .60 threshold by relying on their relationship more broadly to membership development.

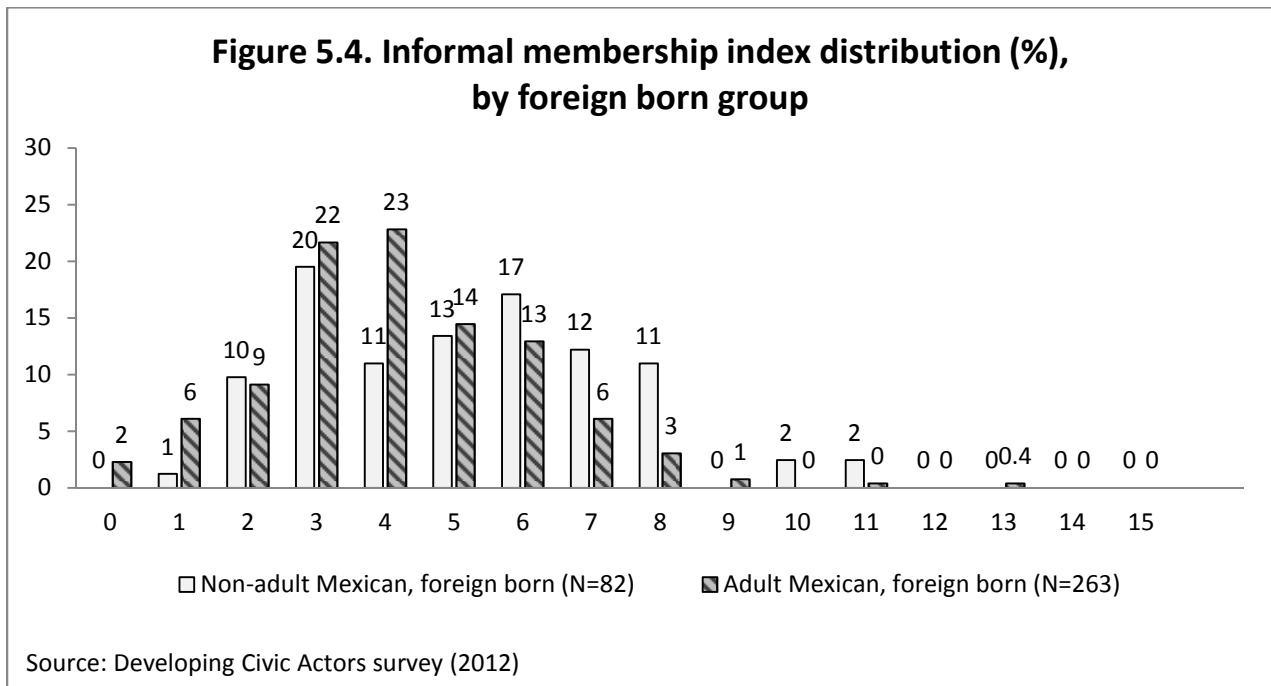
gatherings and religious meetings (not church related), as well as experience informally handling community problems with groups. Thus, someone who engaged in all of these organizations and community events would score a seven value on the informal-external measure. I combine these two measures into a single 16-point variable of informal membership, shown in Figures 5.3 and 5.4.

The native born respondents illustrate a relatively normal distribution on the informal membership index, with over two-thirds of White respondent's having over at least 7-markers (of 15) on informal membership. Only about half of Mexican-origin native born respondents had at least six-markers or higher on informal membership. If we examine only those meeting a four marker threshold (similar to the pre-migration thresholds modeled), then 95% of whites and 82% of native born Mexican-origin respondents achieve informal membership.



Meanwhile, in Figure 5.4, there is a skew towards fewer markers overall for both Non-adult (child immigrants) and adult immigrants. Among non-adult immigrants two thirds have

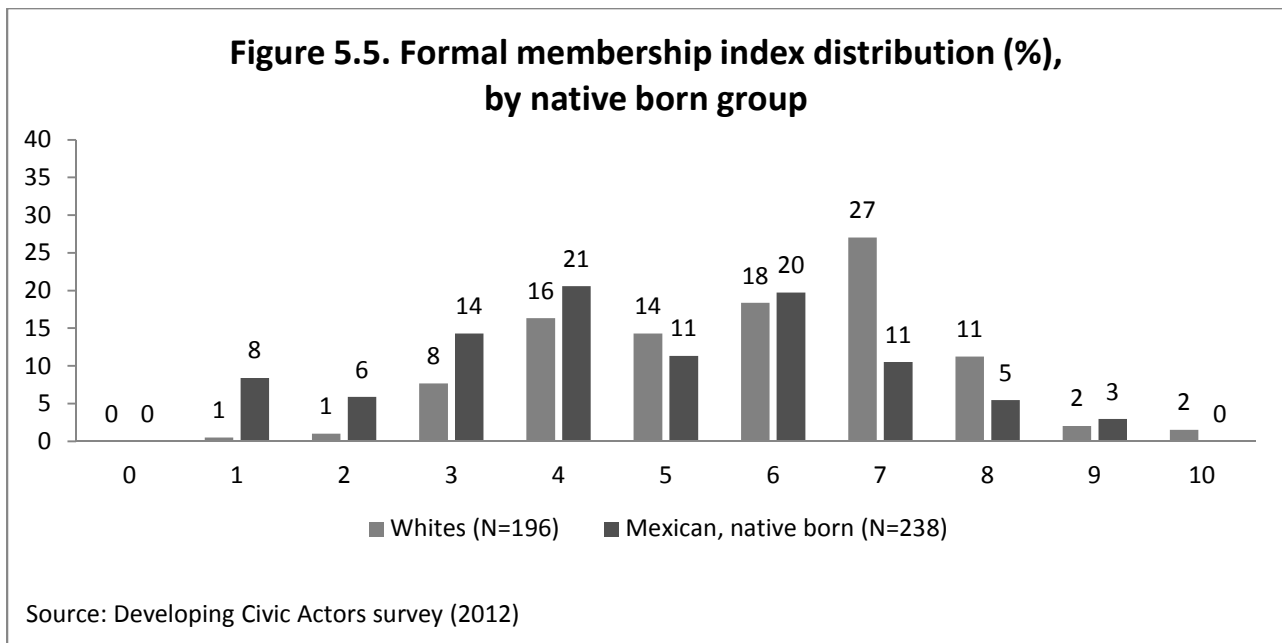
more than four markers of informal membership, while the opposite is true for adult immigrants, with two-thirds having 4-markers or less on informal membership. While both groups skew lower, adult immigrants are overwhelmingly less developed on the informal membership index than these other three groups. If we set the threshold for informal membership at four markers, we see more foreign born respondents achieve informal membership, with 69% of non-adult immigrants, and 61% of adult immigrants achieving informal membership at this threshold.



Formal membership, the second dependent variable, accounts for both status and structural contact in an 11-point index (0-10). I include measures of restricted and unrestricted political behavior, and status. Unrestricted behavior is measured through a 7-point index that includes the aggregated positive responses to the following: participation in political rallies, town hall meetings, and political party events, as well as a claim of partisanship (any party), contact with elected officials and donations to political campaigns or candidates. Restricted behavior is measured as a 5-point index of the following aggregated positive responses: participation in political party event, registering to vote, voting (as vote intent) and citizenship status. Status was

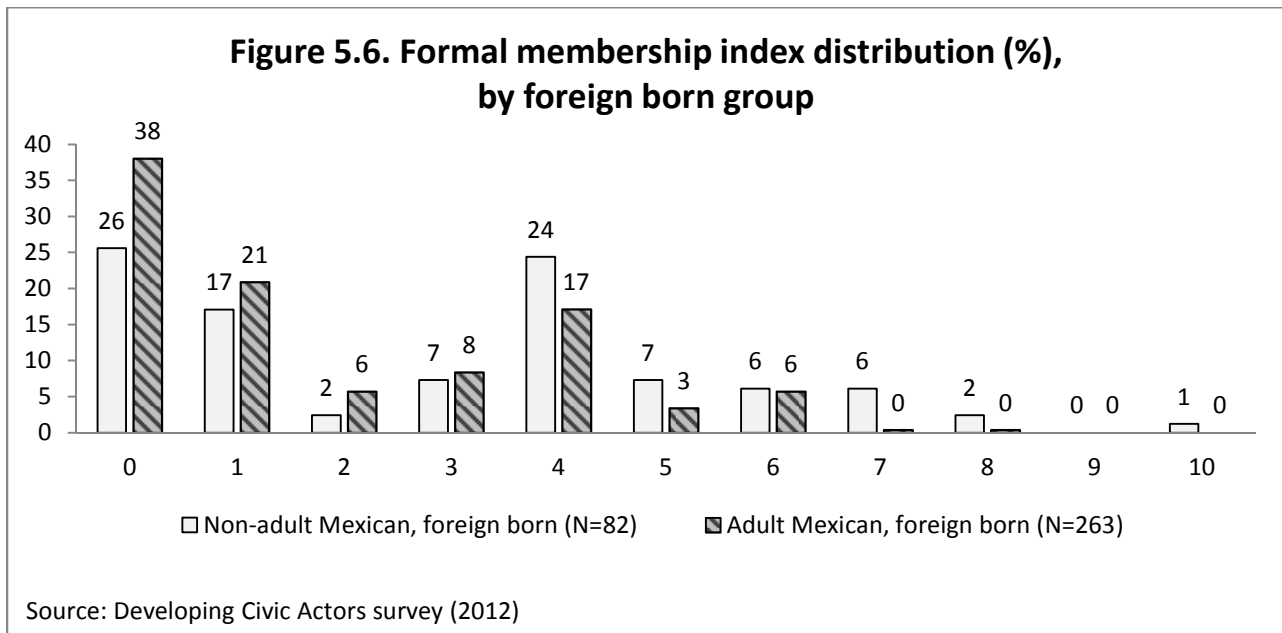
measured as U.S. birth or naturalization status indicating citizenship. These are combined to into a single 11-point formal membership index.

The distribution of respondents in the DCA on the formal membership index also presents similar findings, shown in Figure 5.5 and 5.6, to those in informal membership. For the native born respondents, in Figure 5.5, over three quarters of whites have at least five or more markers of formal membership, while only half of Mexican-origin native born respondents do. Setting the threshold at three markers (replicating the pre-migration thresholds), 90% of whites and 72% of native born Mexican-origin respondents achieve formal membership at this threshold.



Among the foreign born respondents, those that were non-adult immigrants (child immigrants) only 22% have more than five markers of membership, but adult immigrants have less than that with only 9% achieving five markers or more. Overwhelmingly, most adult immigrants, 38% have no markers of formal membership. Lowering the threshold to three

markers allows 55% of non-adult Mexican immigrants and 35% of adult Mexican immigrants to achieve formal membership.



Independent variables

The key independent variables here are interactions and discussions with family regarding politics. Primarily, the goal was to determine what specific role children and spouses played in the membership development of immigrants overall. Thus, I look at three categories of relationships: information, discussion, and engagement. Informational variables relate to the role of children as language brokers, or translators of key concepts related to American politics. Thus, I include both the frequency of translation by children and an index of the translation of various political topics.⁷ I add to this informational function a measure of the importance of the three familial relationships as sources of political information, with measures for children, parents, and

⁷ These topics included: political parties, elections, branches of government, policies or laws, propositions or ballots, citizenship or the process of citizenship, taxes, civil rights, democracy or democratic government, welfare and social services and freedom of speech. These were meant to capture a range of topics related to American policy, political structure and ideals of freedom.

spouses.⁸ Next, I captured another potential function of the family: political discussion facilitation. Here, I measured the frequency of political discussion within the family. I also captured whether the political discussion⁹ occurred with children, parents, or spouses separately, and whether the primary source of political information during the discussion was the respondent, the family, mutual (all family members discussed topics equally) or if they did not know or recall the primary source or leader of the discussion.

Finally, I include an engagement measure for family, specifically, the function of shared engagement with the respondent. Here, I measured whether respondents attended various events¹⁰ with their children, ‘other family’ including spouse and parents,¹¹ with friends or with all of the above. This allows me to capture the potential interaction of family and external-attitudinal membership development, as well as its potential impact on formal political engagement, particularly of the unrestricted variety. I unpack the connections between these independent variables and the informal and formal membership of immigrants in the following sections.

Information sources

The reliance of immigrant parents upon their familial resources requires looking at all three levels of potential impact: information, discussion and engagement. The importance of

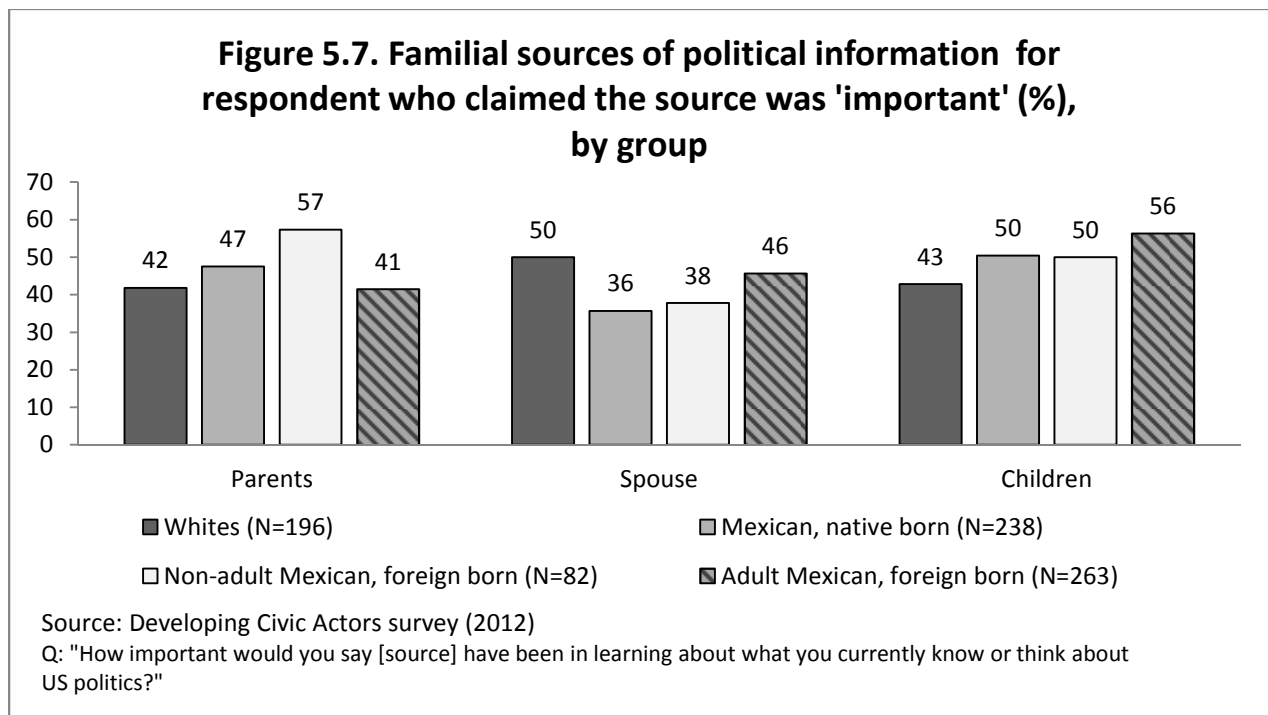
⁸ I will refer to this grouping as KPS-kids, parents, spouse, for brevity in this chapter.

⁹ Respondents were asked about discussions pertaining to the following political topics: 2010 vote choice, registering to vote, policies or laws, community concerns, or ‘other’ political topics.

¹⁰ This question was asked only of respondents who had already admitted to participating in various events, many of which were political in nature. The events they could participate in where: 1. Political rallies/protests, 2. Town hall/council or other governmental meetings, 3. PTA meetings, 4. Religious meetings outside of Sunday, 5. Social gatherings, 6. Political party meetings, 7. Community organization meetings and 8. Neighborhood watch. They could select all that applied.

¹¹ Survey constraints required a combination of these two categories into ‘other family.’ Nonetheless, most immigrants referred to ‘other family’ as primarily their spouse or immediate siblings, not parents, particularly in the qualitative interviews. The result, however, is that the most common response to this question was actually ‘attending with friends’ at 60 respondents.

parents, spouses, and children¹² as information resources for politics, as shown in Figure 5.7, demonstrates how these relationships play out for all four groups surveyed. White respondents only reached a majority on spouses, indicating that 50% of them thought that spouses were important sources of political information, and while parents (42%) or children (43%) were important for fewer respondents. Meanwhile, for native born Mexican-origin respondents, children were important sources of information for a majority of them, but their parent’s closely followed (47%) and spouses trailed significantly behind (36%).



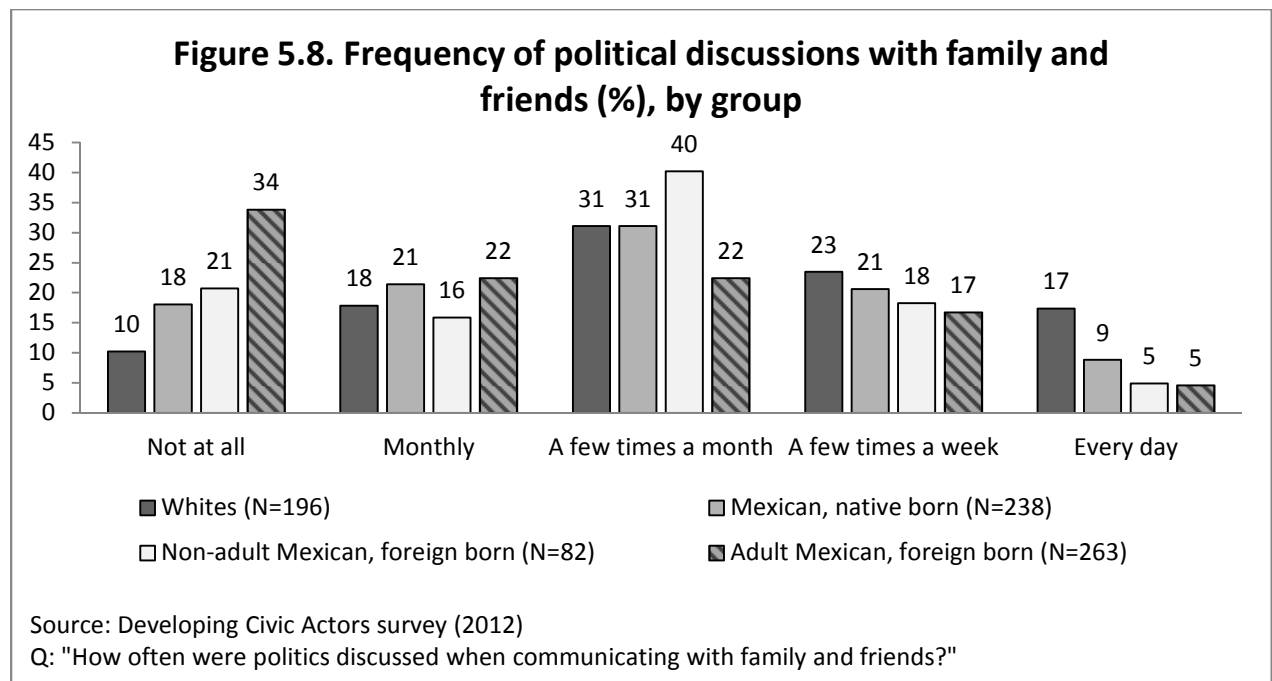
The results are a bit more complex among the foreign born. The results illustrate that of all familial resources, children were thought of as important by a majority of adult Mexican immigrants, at 56%, and outpaced the importance of spouse and parents as important sources of information. For the non-adult Mexican immigrant, 57% thought their parents were important sources of political information, indicating that immigrant parents (who would have brought

¹² Respondents were given four options, “Very important,” “Somewhat important”, “Not too important” and “Not important at all.” Those that answered ‘Very important’ and ‘Somewhat important’ are grouped here into a single ‘important’ response for each source of political information.

their children—these non-adult immigrants to the U.S.) are an important resource. These two findings speak to the relationship of immigrant parents and their children: immigrant parents are important resources for their children (top-down socialization) AND immigrant parents report that their children are important resources as well (bottom-up socialization).

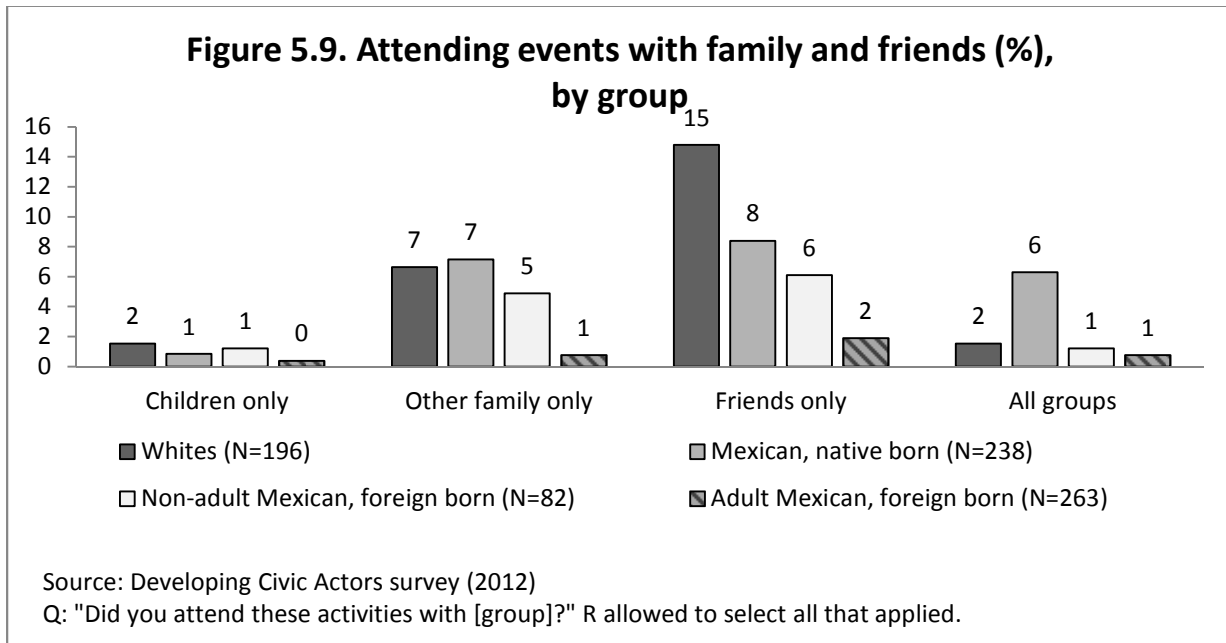
Discussion resources

Looking at the distribution of groups across their frequency of political discussions illustrates a particularly interesting relationship: a majority of respondents across all groups talked about politics to some degree. However, the degree of discussion involving politics was far more varied across groups. Whites had the highest rates of discussion, with nearly 72% discussing politics regularly (at a few times a month or more). Native born Mexican-origin respondents and non-adult Mexican immigrants had similar discussion patterns, with 61% and 63%, respectively, discussing politics at a few times a month or more. Meanwhile, adult immigrants were the lowest discussants, with only 44% engaging in these discussions a few times a month or more.



Attending (political) events with family

The final category of variables is the participation that occurs with or through family resources, shown in Figure 5.9. Here I measure the attendance of events by immigrants with their family, friends and other resources. The results here illustrate that friends are the most frequent resource for attending events, though ‘other family’ matters as well, including both parents and spouses and extended family. Respondents were allowed to identify all the groups that applied, so responses here overlapped for those who said only two of the co-attendeas, but not all three. These are coded as dichotomous variables indicating the respondent’s co-attendeas. They allow for an accounting of the influence of familial resources on actual attendance and participation in events.



Other Independent Variables

Demographic characteristics are included for gender (female), age, income, education, U.S. education, and length of residency. These variables can affect exposure to socializing institutions, available resources and skills, and overall experience/time spent developing

membership. I turn next to the ordinary least squares model results for all married and with children respondents, by nativity and ethnic grouping (Mexican native born, White native born, Non-adult immigrant, Adult immigrant).

The immigrant family in context-linking qualitative and quantitative

Immigrant parents cite any number of reasons for which they migrated to the U.S., but chief among most responses is the advancement of their children. For those that have children in the U.S., or brought their children with them as young immigrant families, this particular notion remains a prevalent and significant force in their understanding of both their purpose as members of their community and members of their new nation. The cases of Rosa and Jose make these particular realities all the more clear. Both are intimately linked to the experience of migration: Rosa and Jose are both immigrants, but the former came as a child, and the latter as an adult. I elaborate their stories below, and link them to the particular functions of families in membership.

Rosa is the mother of three children, married, and a longtime resident of the United States. She is now a citizen, stating “It took so long, but *ya*, I’m a citizen.” Her youngest is in elementary school, and the oldest in high school. Rosa herself had come to the U.S. at a very young age, for a year, she recounts, sometime after kindergarten. “I didn’t have a single friend. I didn’t speak English. And then one day, I met this girl. She didn’t speak Spanish. I didn’t speak English. But we figured it out. We played every day, making signs and sounds. I still remember her.” She pauses, smiling at me before saying, “but then I went back to Mexico and I never saw her again.” Rosa would bounce back and forth between Mexico and the United States until middle school, when she came to the U.S. to stay. She has good English skills having grown up in the U.S., but prefers to speak in Spanish.

Rosa recalls how hard the transition was, and how dumb she felt. “I wasn’t the best student back in Mexico, but I knew things. I just didn’t know how to say them in English.” Rosa grew up in the United States from middle school forward, but still thinks of herself as “Mexican, mostly.” She married another Mexican immigrant, a man who had come as an adult and who she had met through work. They started a family and settled down for their life together. “I guess after the third child, we thought we’d probably stay here,” she murmurs, sounding both resigned and relieved at this whispered confession. “But I don’t know yet.” She adds.

I ask her more about her children. Does she help them with their homework? Do they ever chat about politics or history? Did they help her become a citizen or motivate her to get involved? She laughs, and tells me how she registered to vote: “We were teaching [her child’s class, where Rosa serves as a teacher’s aide] about the importance of voting, about how we all have to be a part of the vote. And they asked me, ‘Did you vote teacher?’ Well, I was so ashamed. I hadn’t. I wasn’t even registered. [Her child] was there. I was embarrassed. I’ll admit it. I wanted to show [her child] that I meant what I said, that I was a good citizen too. So I went home and registered. And then I made my husband do it too. *Now* we vote.” She’d been a citizen for several years at that point, and had often talked about politics, but it wasn’t until that moment when she wanted to show her child how to be a citizen that she took the steps to do so.

José is a broad shouldered man, used to hard labor as an agricultural worker. José has three children, all grown. José is a quiet man, pushing 60, and pauses pensively before answering most questions. José also only speaks Spanish, a fact that makes the level of his political involvement all the more amazing. He is married to a fellow immigrant, but both are U.S. citizens and have been for nearly 20 years. Both are also heavily involved in Democratic Party politics in their hometown. “But just here,” he states, “not anywhere else. They don’t want us

[immigrants]. But I'm fine here. We [he and his wife] do good work here." I ask him how he got involved in politics in the U.S. He tells me about how he used to fight with the party bosses in Mexico, how he was eventually exiled from the party, and how he decided to come across the border and work. "I know when I'm not wanted," he tells me. I laugh. He does not. "They wanted me here though. I'd already come over before and had already helped them [Democrats in the hometown] out, with our people [Mexicans in the area], to get them involved. So when I came over for good, I stayed, and I got involved with them here. It wasn't hard." He says this last phrase dismissively, waving his hand in the air as if shooing a fly. I do not laugh again. When I ask him about how he did this without speaking English, he says, "Well, no one does here. We run everything in Spanish." I ask him if he became a citizen to become involved. He responds, "No, I was already doing everything. I became a citizen so I could vote and do more things. My wife too."

I press him on how his wife got involved, whether she participated with him or him with her. He laughs now, and looks straight at me before shouting for his wife [who is listening to us in the next room]. She comes in and asks what he wants, and he asks her the same question. She snorts, and says, "Mira! Mira! [Look! Look!]"¹³ I'm always doing everything and he's always taking the credit." She leaves the room, and he turns to me and says, "Don't tell her, but it's true. She helps organize most of the events and meetings, but I do lots of stuff too. Besides, she's always working. I go to the committee meetings and the board meetings and the community meetings. I walk the block for the neighborhood [in the neighborhood watch] and I talk to the community. I help people vote." I ask him if his wife helps him decide how to vote. "Well, we talk about it. We have to because we help write up the party positions here, you know, when the Democrats want you to vote one way. Well, we don't always get help [from the party] on local

¹³ There's no clear translation for this beyond "Humph" or similar expression of disbelief/indignation.

stuff, so we talk it through together. Then I go to the [Democratic party] meetings and talk it through there. But she helps me a lot, think through things.”

I ask him about his kids, and he flicks his hand in the air again, “They don’t listen. They don’t like politics.” Having interviewed one of his sons prior to this, I ask him about this statement given that his son had worked for an elected official in the area. “Oh yes. He did that for class credit, not because he wanted to get into politics. But maybe.” I ask him if he wanted his son to get involved in politics. He responds “Well of course. This is his country too. But he’s young. He’s trying save the world first. And he has to finish school and get a job before he worries about any of that.” I ask him if his son ever talks to him about politics, especially after his experience with the elected official. José pauses for a few moments before responding, “Yes, he’s coming around. He’s learning. I think I’m helping with that, and his mom is helping with that, and maybe he’ll start to get involved. But maybe only here in [our hometown]. Here we know everyone and we can help.”

Both Rosa and José illustrate the interactions of family with emerging membership in an American context. Rosa’s experience as an immigrant child did not prepare her fully for her role as an informal or formal member, even after she became a citizen. It was her motivation to set an example for her children that led to her registering and voting, finally exercising more elements of her formal membership. Meanwhile, Jose had no trouble transitioning into an active member of his local community’s political scene, but he fully admits that his wife is his trusted advisor and confidant on all matters related to American politics. Nonetheless, he does not stray from his local arena, choosing instead to place such aspirations on his children. These particular cases demonstrate that not all immigrant families function in the same way, nor do they all yield

similar political outcomes. What they do illustrate is that the family is an integral part of how immigrants develop both informal and formal membership, particularly in the complex world that immigrants encounter.

Family dynamics in a multivariate world

I proceed with the analysis of ordinary least squares regression predicting both informal and formal membership with the above considerations for family dynamics. I model only the partnered and with child respondents, but include models for adult and child Mexican immigrants, Whites, and Mexican U.S. born. Out of the 801 completed cases, 438 fit the married¹⁴ and with children criteria, or 55%, limiting the explanatory power of exploring other categories of family status within this survey, but also allowing me to model the dominant case of respondents. Further, as the family dynamics I theorize involve both the spouse and child, these cases are an appropriate exploration of this theoretical framework.

In this analysis, I delineate the relationship of immigrant families to political socialization. Table 5.1 specifies the OLS results predicting informal membership for each group, with Model 1 for white, native born respondents, Model 2 for Mexican-origin native born respondents, Model 3 for Non-adult (child) Mexican immigrants,¹⁵ and Model 4 for Adult Mexican immigrant respondents. Table 5.2 specifies the OLS results for the same groups, but for formal membership. I outline the results by the three categories of interest for both informal and formal membership: information sources, discussion resources and co-participants in activities.

¹⁴ Married household includes only respondents who were either 1) married and living together, 2) or not married, but living together in a 'married' type union. This accounts for the experience of living in the U.S. together as a family. Children were counted as the respondent claiming any children of any age.

¹⁵ The sample size for this population is also rather small, so interpretations of the coefficients are tenuous.

Information sources

The models for all four groups predicting informal membership show that none of the informational variables for respondents are statistically significant. However, when looking solely at the direction of the relationship, three things can be noted. First, among the respondents who thought their children were an important source of political information, these relationships are negative, decreasing informal membership index values for only those immigrants who were children of immigrants themselves. Whites and the adult immigrant both had positive relationships to using their children as resources, two groups that were expected to have opposite relationships. However, I posit that two things occur here: first, most of the white respondents in the sample, and particularly those with children, were over the age of 40, with 89% identifying as 40 or older in the sample. Thus the older white respondents claim their children are important sources, but only 27% of white respondents lived with children under the age of 18 in their home.¹⁶ This indicates that their children are likely already adults (with their own membership developed), and not children or adolescents within the family structure.

Parents and spouses as resources presented less contrarian results, though none were statistically significant. Nonetheless, the relationships play out so that parents are positive influences for all but the child immigrant. Given that the child immigrant is likely the child of adult immigrant parents, the negative influence of parent's as an information source indicates that the parent (the adult immigrant) is not contributing to the child immigrant's membership development the way that other parents might. Since the immigrant parent is also developing their own membership, this is not surprising given the demands of doing both simultaneously. Reliance on spouses for political information is also positive for all but one group, adult Mexican

¹⁶ This is compared to 40% of U.S. born Mexican-origin respondents, 54% of non-adult Mexican immigrants, and 56% of adult Mexican immigrants.

immigrants. While the DCA did not measure the spouse's nativity status,¹⁷ the cases above help illustrate how this dynamic can work out among immigrant spouses.

Both Rosa and José were immigrants, and married to immigrant spouses. Both incentivized their spouse's membership development, particularly when it came to participation in more formal settings, but both also referred to how this development happened jointly. Thus, immigrants can use their spouses as political resources, or information sources, but when both spouses are immigrants, both must develop the informal and formal membership themselves instead of aiding the immigrant spouse. However, once that development occurs, it can often overlap and aid the immigrant spouse as Rosa and José both illustrate.

Informational functions of family have only two statistically significant results for formal membership, and both decrease formal membership overall: Whites who rely on their children for information, and child immigrants who rely on their spouses for information. These findings indicate that though the informal membership of whites is positively influenced by a reliance on children, the formal membership is not. This means that the internal-attitudinal developments of whites increase in reliance on their children for information, but that the formal structural outcomes are in fact negatively influenced by this same reliance, indicating that whites who rely on their kids have fewer markers of restricted and unrestricted behavior compared to those that do not. This is also true for the other native born group of Mexican-origin respondents, who are also negatively affected by the reliance on children for political information, but not statistically significant.

Among the foreign born, though not significant, the reliance of children for information is positive for both child and adult immigrants. While the trend reverses for the child immigrant,

¹⁷ The Latino National Survey (2006) also does not account for spousal status, though they do inquire about the spouse's racial and national origin classification, which might be a rough proxy if we equate the spouse's national origin with immigrant status, but this is too broad an assumption.

going from negative in the informal model to positive in the formal model, this does not occur for adult immigrants. In fact, the effect of children as information sources continues to be a positive relationship. This suggests that children positively influence informal and formal membership development of the adult immigrant parent, even if not at statistically significant levels.

When considering the translation function of children, and that type of information source, some mixed results emerge. In both models, for both measures of this function, the results are not significant. However, the frequency of child interpretation/translation decreases informal membership only for the foreign born, and formal membership for all three Mexican origin groups. Similarly, the translation of political topics decreases informal membership, but only for adult immigrants and U.S. born Mexicans, not for child immigrants. For formal membership, the results reverse for these groups, with political topic translations increasing formal membership for adult immigrants and U.S. born Mexicans. Rooted in this, and the above findings, however, are the discussions that result from these political information exchanges.

Discussion resources

The findings here are consistent and significant for only one variable: frequency of political discussions. Here, informal membership is increased the higher the frequency of political discussion reported. This indicates that engaging in discussions about politics helps to develop everyone's informal membership, though this finding is not replicated in the formal models, implying that discussions are less vital to the formal status and contact one has with a new nation. Further, on informal membership, controlling for the respondent's own political motivation or interest in political discussion (Respondent led discussion with KPS-kids, parents, or spouse) is the only statistically significant variable to also increase informal membership

development. This indicates that respondents who were particularly informed or interested, so as to lead the political discussion, had increased informal membership compared to those that didn't. This finding is not surprising given the earlier results of the pre-migration chapter that indicated that increased levels of pre-migration political activity positively influenced membership development.

Familial discussion resources, however, seem to have little to no significant relationship on formal membership except for in three cases: where respondents led the discussion with their children, parents, or spouse, or when they talked about political topics with their parents or spouse. These results are only significant for the descendants of immigrant parents, the U.S. born Mexican and child immigrant. For the immigrants, both leading the discussion and talking to their spouse about political topics explicitly led to increased formal politics. For the U.S. born Mexicans, the results were mixed, with discussions led by the Respondent decreasing formal membership, but discussions about politics with their parents increasing their formal membership.

Table 5.1. OLS regression results predicting *informal membership index* for respondents in married household with children

Independent variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	U.S. born white Coefficient	(SE)	U.S. born Mexican Coefficient	(SE)	Child immigrant Coefficient	(SE)	Adult immigrant Coefficient	(SE)
Information source variables								
Frequency of child interpretation	.	.	0.32	(0.42)	-0.05	(0.48)	-0.08	(0.11)
Translation of political topic index	.	.	-0.22	(0.30)	0.13	(0.17)	-0.01	(0.043)
Kids are an important resource	0.35	(0.61)	-0.52	(0.50)	-0.39	(1.18)	0.41	(0.36)
Parents are an important resource	0.17	(0.55)	0.07	(0.49)	-0.83	(1.45)	0.32	(0.37)
Spouse is an important resource	0.24	(0.70)	0.14	(0.66)	1.37	(1.21)	-0.50	(0.41)
Discussion resource variables								
Frequency of political discussion	0.68***	(0.19)	0.42**	(0.17)	0.67*	(0.34)	0.37***	(0.12)
Respondent led discussion with KPS	0.43	(0.60)	0.36	(0.49)	0.77	(1.07)	0.56*	(0.31)
KPS led discussion with R	0.14	(0.63)	-0.51	(0.52)	-0.12	(0.94)	-0.24	(0.33)
KPS and R both led discussion	0.35	(0.56)	0.43	(0.46)	0.50	(0.80)	-0.12	(0.28)
R cannot recall who led discussion	-0.42	(0.59)	0.071	(0.38)	0.12	(0.56)	-0.21	(0.24)
Discussion of politics with Kids	0.02	(0.15)	0.11	(0.12)	-0.04	(0.27)	0.04	(0.093)
Discussion of politics with Parents	0.02	(0.16)	-0.08	(0.12)	0.20	(0.26)	-0.13	(0.10)
Discussion of politics with Spouse	-0.14	(0.14)	0.100	(0.13)	-0.18	(0.29)	0.17	(0.11)
Activity resource								
Attended event with all family/friends	-0.82	(1.67)	1.86***	(0.70)	1.74	(1.69)	4.05***	(1.17)
Attended event with other family	0.10	(0.84)	1.26*	(0.74)	-0.70	(1.93)	0.36	(1.74)
Attended event with friends	0.61	(0.73)	0.71	(0.92)	-0.66	(2.00)	1.08	(1.25)
Attended with kids	.	.	0.48	(1.37)	0.71	(2.44)	.	.
Demographics								
Age of respondent	0.001	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.013)	-0.08	(0.064)	0.01	(0.016)
Missing income reported	-0.48	(0.56)	-1.60**	(0.68)	-1.80	(1.14)	-2.97***	(1.08)
Lower income reported	-1.90**	(0.81)	-1.86***	(0.62)	-2.89**	(1.08)	-2.87***	(1.05)
Middle income reported	-0.12	(0.56)	-0.99**	(0.47)	-1.28	(1.24)	-2.24**	(1.12)
Female (Respondent's gender)	-0.14	(0.42)	0.0045	(0.40)	-0.31	(0.90)	0.22	(0.30)
Educational attainment	0.49**	(0.23)	0.30	(0.18)	0.38	(0.27)	0.24**	(0.10)
Educated in the U.S.	.	.	0.43	(0.99)	-0.68	(1.02)	-0.29	(0.52)
Length of residency	0.01	(0.065)	0.01	(0.017)
Model statistics								
Constant	3.03**	(1.59)	4.54***	(1.53)	4.93**	(2.07)	5.28***	(1.30)
Observations	107		106		51		174	
R-squared	0.5276		0.600		0.697		0.414	

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 5.2. OLS regression results predicting <i>formal membership index</i> for respondents in married household with children								
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Independent variables	U.S. born white		U.S. born Mexican		Child immigrant		Adult Mexican immigrant	
	Coefficient	(SE)	Coefficient	(SE)	Coefficient	(SE)	Coefficient	(SE)
Informal membership variables								
Informal membership index	0.29***	(0.07)	0.28***	(0.09)	0.27*	(0.15)	0.18**	(0.09)
Information source variables								
Frequency of translation	.	.	-0.37	(0.35)	-0.37	(0.37)	-0.07	(0.11)
Translation of political topic index	.	.	0.21	(0.25)	-0.04	(0.13)	0.06	(0.05)
Kids are an important source	-0.92**	(0.42)	-0.34	(0.41)	0.67	(0.91)	0.08	(0.39)
Parents are an important source	0.36	(0.38)	-0.35	(0.40)	1.69	(1.12)	-0.34	(0.39)
Spouse is an important source	-0.07	(0.48)	0.78	(0.54)	-2.67***	(0.95)	0.21	(0.44)
Discussion resource variables								
Frequency of political discussion	0.15	(0.14)	0.002	(0.15)	0.24	(0.28)	-0.09	(0.13)
Respondent led discussion with KPS	0.26	(0.41)	-0.70*	(0.40)	1.67*	(0.83)	0.34	(0.33)
KPS led discussion with R	-0.55	(0.43)	-0.40	(0.42)	0.05	(0.72)	-0.03	(0.35)
KPS and R both led discussion	-0.29	(0.38)	-0.32	(0.37)	-0.17	(0.62)	0.12	(0.30)
R cannot recall who led discussion	0.60	(0.40)	0.02	(0.31)	-0.20	(0.43)	0.02	(0.25)
Discussion of politics with Kids	0.06	(0.11)	0.16	(0.10)	-0.21	(0.20)	0.08	(0.10)
Discussion of politics with Parents	0.07	(0.11)	0.18*	(0.10)	-0.32	(0.20)	0.08	(0.11)
Discussion of politics with Spouse	0.02	(0.10)	-0.04	(0.10)	0.42*	(0.23)	0.02	(0.11)
Activity resource								
Attended event with all family/friends	1.62	(1.15)	0.65	(0.60)	3.20**	(1.32)	2.58**	(1.29)
Attended event with other family	0.10	(0.58)	0.87	(0.62)	1.73	(1.48)	2.72	(1.84)
Attended event with friends	1.48**	(0.51)	1.24	(0.75)	-2.21	(1.54)	1.43	(1.33)
Attended with kids	.	.	2.60**	(1.12)	2.31	(1.88)	.	.
Demographics								
Age	0.04***	(0.01)	0.03***	(0.01)	0.07	(0.05)	-0.007	(0.02)
Missing income	-0.66*	(0.39)	-0.55	(0.57)	-0.54	(0.92)	-2.76**	(1.17)
Lower income	-0.32	(0.58)	-0.38	(0.53)	0.86	(0.94)	-2.60**	(1.14)
Middle income	0.10	(0.38)	-0.46	(0.40)	0.65	(0.97)	-1.79	(1.20)
Female	0.47	(0.29)	0.24	(0.33)	0.33	(0.70)	-0.25	(0.32)
Educational attainment	0.08	(0.16)	0.35**	(0.15)	-0.10	(0.22)	0.18	(0.11)
Educated in the U.S.			-0.37	(0.81)	1.50*	(0.79)	0.18	(0.56)
Length of residency					-0.003	(0.05)	0.07***	(0.02)
Model statistics								
Constant	0.55	(1.15)	0.34	(1.32)	-2.63	(1.76)	1.49	(1.45)
Observations	107		106		51		174	
R-squared	0.543		0.587		0.854		0.459	

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Familial resources for activities

The final function of familial resources is to provide opportunities or support for activities and events in the respondent's life. Participation in such events, when experienced as a family, or because of family connections, may help increase informal and formal membership. The findings indicate that this is true for Mexican-origin respondents, particularly when all members of their family and friend networks become co-participants with the respondent. This relationship is positive for all three of these groups, but only significant for adult Mexican immigrants and U.S. born Mexicans. Further, for the U.S. born Mexican, the attendance of events with other family (including parents, spouse and extended family) further promoted their informal membership. These are respondents who may have immigrant parents,¹⁸ or a native born parent, undocumented siblings, aunts or uncles, or who still have immigrant grandparents in their lives.

Further, the effects of shared experiences translate into formal membership development for all four groups, but with different resources for each. Whites who attend events with friends only see an increase in formal membership development. U.S. born Mexican who attend with children only see this increase, but for the foreign born, whether child or adult immigrant, it is the combination of all these resources that increases their formal membership. Thus, as a unit, the family of immigrants increases their formal membership development in their new nation.

Theory specific effects: informal membership on formal membership

The expected relationship of informal membership is positive and significant for all those progressing through multi-tiered membership. This finding is consistent in the models of Table

¹⁸ The sample of U.S. born Mexican-origin respondents was approximately 60% second generation and 40% third generation. This indicates that the experience of migration for both of these groups was still relatively close.

5.2, and illustrate that the development of informal membership does increase the development of formal membership for all members of a nation.

Demographic effects

Three findings stand out among the demographics characteristics measured: first, the educational attainment mattered only for white and adult immigrants on informal membership, and U.S. born Mexican on formal membership. This points to a missing link between child immigrants, whose educational attainment may be similar to the native born if they arrived in the U.S. at a younger age. Second, length of residency continues to be an important factor for immigrants, but only in the development of formal membership. This might be linked to the relationship of residency and eligibility for formal status or the slow acquisition of formal membership shown in pre-migration for these immigrants overall. Finally, the age of respondent is positive and significant only for the native born, a finding I'd posit relates to the linear effect of aging within the same political socialization system where one is a member. In other words, age has less to do with the immigrant experience since their membership development begins at migration. Thus, the age of the respondent for immigrants, indicates a maturity of the immigrant in time, but not in membership.¹⁹

The role of the immigrant family in multi-tiered membership

The results above indicate that the function of the immigrant family is fundamentally different than prior models of political socialization would have predicted. Children and spouses are significant contributors to the development of the immigrant's membership in a new nation.

¹⁹ One final caveat in regards to income is that those that reported missing income were statistically significant in the some of the models. Approximately 18% of the sample is missing their income. The percentage of members of each group with missing income was: 23% of whites, 20% of U.S. Mexicans, 13% of child immigrants and 18% of the foreign born. The only substantive difference that I could find between who reported missing income was that females were more likely than men (60% versus 40%) and those with the lowest education (26%) and high school grads (33%).

However, what is clear is that their function varies depending on the immigrant's age at migration, and the function of that resource, whether as an information source, a discussion resource, or a co-participant in events and activities. Accounting for both the top-down socialization of parent-to-child, and the bottom-up socialization of child-to-parent requires an examination of all the potential functions of children (and parents) within the family. Further, the spousal dynamic becomes an important component of the immigrant family, and one that the qualitative findings indicate is an important resource for understanding membership in the new nation.

One of the clearest findings is that the experiences of mixed status families complicate all interpretations of the immigrant 'family' political socialization. U.S. born Mexican origin respondents, child immigrants, and adult immigrants all had varying relationships to the various measures of family functions. However, the findings do present support for the hypotheses proposed earlier. Familial resources in the information function were expected to increase informal and formal membership in hypothesis one, but not at a statistically significant level. While kids as resources increased both informal and formal membership for adult immigrants, this was not true when looking at whether those children translated/interpreted political information for the immigrant, as is expected in Hypothesis 1a. This use of children as a resource for translation of political information decreased informal membership, though it increased formal membership. Thus, hypothesis one is only partially supported in the direction of effects, but not for all measures of information resources.

Hypotheses 2, 2a and 2b related to the role of familial sources as discussion resources also had mixed support. While the frequency of political discussion (H_2) is supported for informal membership models, increasing informal membership as frequency increases, this

relationship is not true for formal membership. This indicates that the development of membership that occurs among respondents from discussions is limited only to the internal and external attitudinal membership developments of informal membership.

However, the way that respondents engage in these discussions is also important, particularly for those who are the source or leader of the discussion, as hypothesis H_{2a} posits. This relationship only matters, however, for adult immigrants, increasing only informal membership, but not formal membership. Hypothesis H_{2b}, where the respondent engages in mutual discussion leading/contribution, is not significant for any of the models, and thus is not supported. Finally, the attendance of events with familial resources increasing informal and formal membership is the premise of Hypothesis H₃, and finds support only in the formal membership models. This is true only for immigrant respondents however, and indicates that the immigrant family unit is a unique and important source of informal membership development.

The key contribution of this chapter has been to reframe the relationship of the family in how membership develops for immigrant respondents, particularly those that are adults. Ignoring the importance of spouse or child interactions within the immigrant family substantially limits the way the immigrant's membership development is understood. Whether acquiring information from these familial resources, initiating spirited discussions about a range of political topics, or going out to a rally as a family, the dynamics of immigrant families is unique and contributes to a broader understanding of the immigrant's political behavior. In the following chapter, I will explore more thoroughly how the immigrant family, and the children in particular, help integrate immigrants into the many external-attitudinal structures of their communities. I specifically examine the role that educational institutions play for immigrants, both as students, and as parents, and in the process, complicate how educational institutions socialize immigrants.

★ Chapter 6 ★

Educational institutions in immigrant political socialization

“Parents have to be involved. They have to, it’s their kids. We can’t let [the administration and school board] ignore us.”—Marta, an immigrant mother.

Educational institutions provide a unique environment for the development of informal membership among immigrants, particularly when considering the role of family and children as outlined in the previous chapter. These institutions primarily serve students, not parents, but K-12 schools also play integral roles in the adult immigrant’s membership development. The quote above illustrates the opportunity schools provide for immigrant parents to claim membership, and how educational institutions go beyond socializing only students. Marta, an immigrant mother to U.S. born children, found herself becoming invested in her American membership out of her experiences as a parent. The story of how she realized this unpacks the intersection of family and educational institutions as places for immigrant political socialization.

Marta has two children enrolled in elementary school. Her youngest child is in the first grade, and struggled to get excited about school. Troubled by this, Marta began to volunteer as a teacher’s aide to her child’s class. She helped out for a few days, and quickly realized what was wrong: the teacher yelled. A lot. Marta kept volunteering her time, in part to help her child, but also to understand what she could do about the teacher. She rearranged her child care schedule,

work and domestic duties to accommodate this new activity, and began to talk to other parents. Within a month, she'd had enough conversations with the other parents to realize that this was not the first complaint against the teacher, and she was not alone in her concern. The other parents asked Marta to do something, but she had never gotten involved before and didn't know where to start.

She recalls thinking, "What did I know?" as she tells me this story. "But someone had to do something," she states. Marta chose to act, both because of the other parents and her interest in her child's welfare. She went to the principal, who informed her that there was little the school could do beyond speaking with the teacher and addressing the parents' concerns. For Marta and the other parents, this wasn't enough. She asked the school's secretary what she could do, and the secretary told her about an upcoming school board meeting. Marta, an immigrant with only minimal English skills, did the only thing she could think of: she organized the parents to go to this meeting. She asked the school board to look into the teacher, with several parents there behind her and demanded a response. Her child was relocated to another teacher. The teacher's contract was not renewed the following year. Marta continues to volunteer as a teacher's aide.

Marta is just one of the many examples of how immigrant parents interact with educational institutions in ways that help develop their membership. Not content with the experience her child was having, Marta was motivated to learn how to participate and change the educational system. She didn't see it as political, malicious, or negative, but empowering and necessary, and strengthened her commitment to the school, her community and her child's educational success. Her experiences in the school, and subsequent membership development, emerged from the intersection of her family and an educational institution. Marta was not a

student, nor did she have any prior experience in American schools, but her role as a parent led to her direct involvement with the school.

This intersection can serve as a catalyst for behavior, information acquisition and resource building for parents. This occurs both through the parent-child dynamic, as the previous chapter showed, but also through interactions of the parents with organizations that intersect with family dynamics, like schools. Educational institutions serve as places of immigrant informal membership development that allows them community engagement at a more personal or localized level. The role that educational institutions traditionally take—educating and socializing potential members—requires a re-examination of the way they interact with the immigrant parent’s membership development. The case of Marta, and Lupe later in this chapter, illustrate the relationship of adult immigrant membership and educational institutions, particularly as extensions of family dynamics.

This chapter examines the specific role that contact with educational institutions plays in the political socialization process of adult Mexican immigrants. I argue that the three types of interactions occur: immigrants as students, immigrants as parents of students, and immigrants as actors on behalf of students. The first is the way the literature in chapter two articulates the effect of schools on political socialization: students receive socialization directly from educational institutions. The second and third types of interactions account for how most adult immigrants interact with educational institutions in the U.S.: indirectly through information gathering from their children, and institutional contact with schools as parents. I measure the effects of these three types of interactions.

Immigrants engage directly in resource building and information acquisition through their own education (as students) in higher education institutions or adult education courses.

Moreover, they are able to develop their membership as they participate and become familiar with educational institutions, like K-12 schools, in their role as parents if they don't have experience with them as students, as is more common among adult immigrants. The interaction of the immigrant family with educational institutions allows for indirect contact that also provides valuable information acquisition and resource building. Both direct and indirect contact allows the adult immigrant to develop their informal membership. Thus the school translates and develops the individual characteristics of the immigrant's internal-attitudinal resources into tangible engagement with external-attitudinal resources in institutions, particularly for adult immigrant parents.

I briefly discuss how the literature expects immigrant communities to interact with educational institutions, before delineating the theoretical framework for a more comprehensive understanding of their effects on immigrants today. I will model the effects of the direct and indirect contact experienced by immigrants with educational institutions using the Developing Civic Actors survey, and the cases of Marta and Lupe, two immigrant parents, and their interactions with educational institutions. I do this first through the effect of school interactions with educational institutions through bivariate relationships before modeling them through ordinary least squares regression predicting informal and formal membership. I conclude with an interpretation of the results and discussion of the implications of educational institutions on immigrant membership.

Immigrants in educational institutions and political socialization

I focus solely on the literature explaining immigrant interactions with educational institutions. Scholars working on political socialization have frequently examined the socialization that occurs *through* schools, with their primary cases being children and

adolescents, as discussed in chapter two. In fact, early attempts to integrate European immigrants at the turn of the century focused on the education of immigrant children as a way of socializing immigrant parents to so-called “American” values (Huebner 1906). As such, the role of schools in transferring the system of symbols and American identity became critical in the re-socialization of immigrants in the United States.

However, the educational experiences of modern immigrants are often couched in the explicit relationship of education and race/nativity for Mexican students. The negative effect of school socialization on adolescents is explored for Mexican-origin immigrant and native born students in the work of Valenzuela (1999). Focused on the role of ‘subtractive schooling,’ Valenzuela argues that policies in schools that insist on restricting student’s cultural resources, ‘subtracting’ culture from their educational experience, harm students in cognitive, psychological and educational ways.

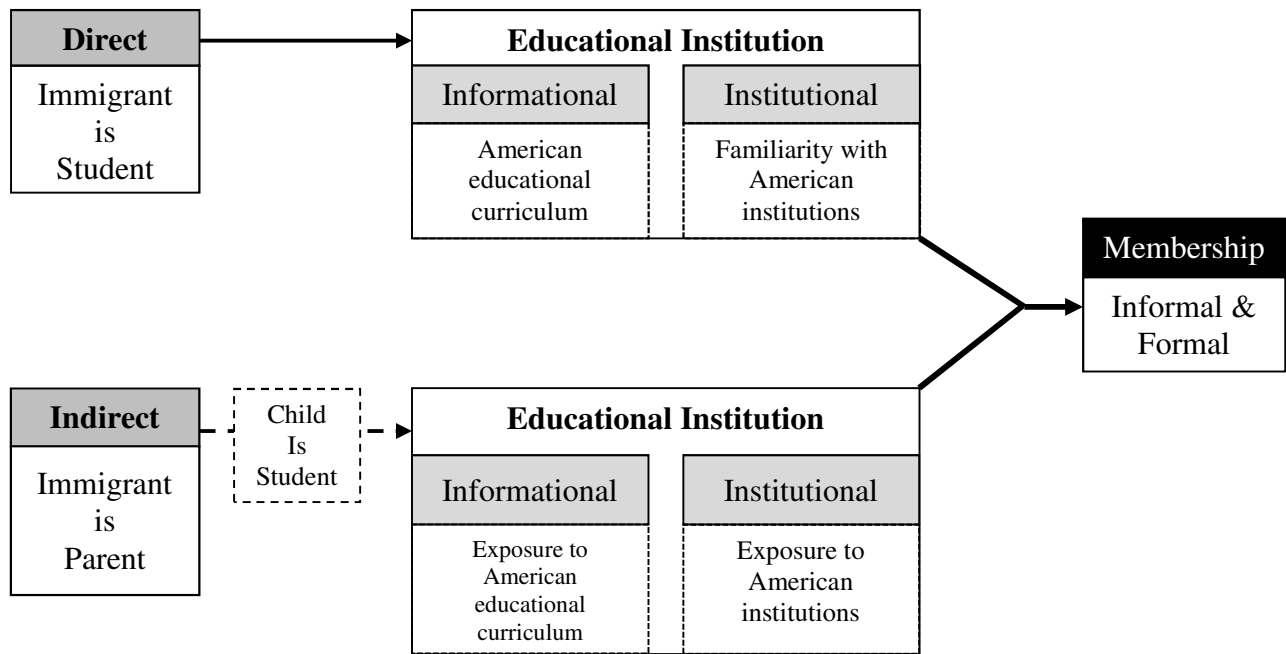
My focus is more explicitly on the adult interactions with educational institutions, but Valenzuela’s work illustrates how educational institutions that are hostile to minority students do so by diminishing the importance of cultural, educational and information resources provided at home in minority or immigrant families. The findings in chapter five, however, illustrate that immigrant families are in fact quite important in the development of membership for all members. School political socialization, thus, can instead provide political information for both students and parents to orient information more broadly, but must include consideration of the many ways that immigrant parents interact with these institutions indirectly.

Educational institutions in immigrant political socialization

Missing from the literature is a discussion of the ways that parental involvement in schools affects parent’s political socialization. As stated previously, studies of political

socialization in schools examine adolescent or childhood educational contact, not adult education or even higher education. Thus, parents of students are rarely the subject of school political socialization literature. I thus outline both the direct (as students) and indirect (as parents) interactions that immigrants have with educational institutions in Figure 6.1. Both of these inform the role of educational institutions within the parent’s informal membership development and political socialization in two particular ways: as informational resources and as institutional contacts.

Figure 6.1. Contact with educational institutions



The direct mode¹ of contact is the most commonly studied in research on political socialization. The educational environment, whether K-12 or higher education, is a distinct product of American society and thus serves to socialize the students through teachings on civics, American history, economics, literature and science. Students in American schools will

¹ The measurement of the information and institutional and informational elements of direct contact are limited in the DCA, in part because of the nature of cross-sectional survey. Thus, I use a proxy of U.S. education to capture ‘direct’ contact more broadly. I elaborate on this in the methodology section.

often study topics like American democracy, the emergence of civil rights, the scientific method,² and economics, to name a few. In this mode of engagement, respondents are students themselves and experience American educational institutions first hand, both as an informational resource through which they learn about American politics, history and culture, but also as an resource that familiarizes the student with the practices and expectations of American institutions.

In the second mode of contact, they are indirect recipients of political socialization from schools.³ This occurs in two ways: as informational and as resource oriented. Parents can access information from the educational institution through contact with their children. This information gathering occurs as part of the parent's role in helping their children with homework, or assignments, such that parents can 'learn' right along with their children. Further, they can gain familiarity with institutional practices in their interaction with educational institutions on behalf of their students. They may experience additional membership development if they are active participants in educational institutions, and participate in PTA, classroom, or school activities, though by no means is this required. This direct participation in the educational institution, however, does provide access to parent and school networks that help interpret the political environment, as well as develop the skills needed for subsequent political activity.⁴ Thus,

² I include science here because of a rich history of debate on the areas of evolution, creationism, and global warming/climate change. Given the political nature of the debates on many of these topics, it seems imperative to note that even in a field that prides itself on objectivity, the lessons learned and transferred in the political socialization process are evident even in the content of a science textbook or class.

³ This conceptualizes borders the phenomenon of "by-product learning" derived from Anthony Down's work, which outlines that individuals will acquire political information unintentionally through everyday activities (1957). However, Down's perspective applies primarily to factual information, and less to the construction of symbols or systems of meanings as is the concern here. In Down's account, individuals are already clued in to the value of the symbols presented to them, even if the information is unintentionally acquired.

⁴ Thus, adult immigrants engaging in higher education in the United States will have more advanced educational attainment and interact with educational institutions differently than those who did not finish high school in Mexico.

immigrant parents are not entirely removed from the socialization effects of educational institutions, but rather, complicate the way that this socialization takes place.

Hypotheses

The opportunity for educational institutions to influence the informal and formal membership development of adult immigrants manifests itself as direct and indirect contact. This framework yields the following hypotheses:

H₁: Direct contact, as students, with American educational institutions will increase informal and formal membership.

H₂: Information gathering (indirect contact) from educational institutions increases informal and formal membership.

H₃: Institutional participation (indirect contact) with educational institutions increases informal membership.

H₄: Mothers, as primary caregivers, will interact with the functions of educational institutions more than fathers, and these interactions will increase their informal and formal membership.

The first hypothesis examines the expected effects of socialization by educational institutions for students expected from the literature. I simplify this to account only for educational institution experience by the respondent, rather than school context, teacher's influence, or textbook content.⁵ The second and third hypotheses posit the effects of the indirect contact on informal and formal membership: educational institutions, as both informational and institutional resources, provide socialization that involves both information acquisition and resource building among parents who either interact with their children or who interact with the educational institution itself. The fourth hypothesis emerges from the gendered expectations of

⁵ The content of 'school' socialization literature covers these three substantive areas and their effects.

caregiving, and situates the bulk of the benefits of educational institutional interactions on mothers. I turn next to the data and empirical methodology I will utilize to examine these relationships.

Data

I will use the Developing Civic Actors survey and two cases from the in-depth interviews, Marta and Lupe, to explore the relationship of educational institutions and parents. I will limit my focus to married households with children, identical to chapter five, in part because this allows for the exploration of educational institution rather than non-traditional family effects.⁶

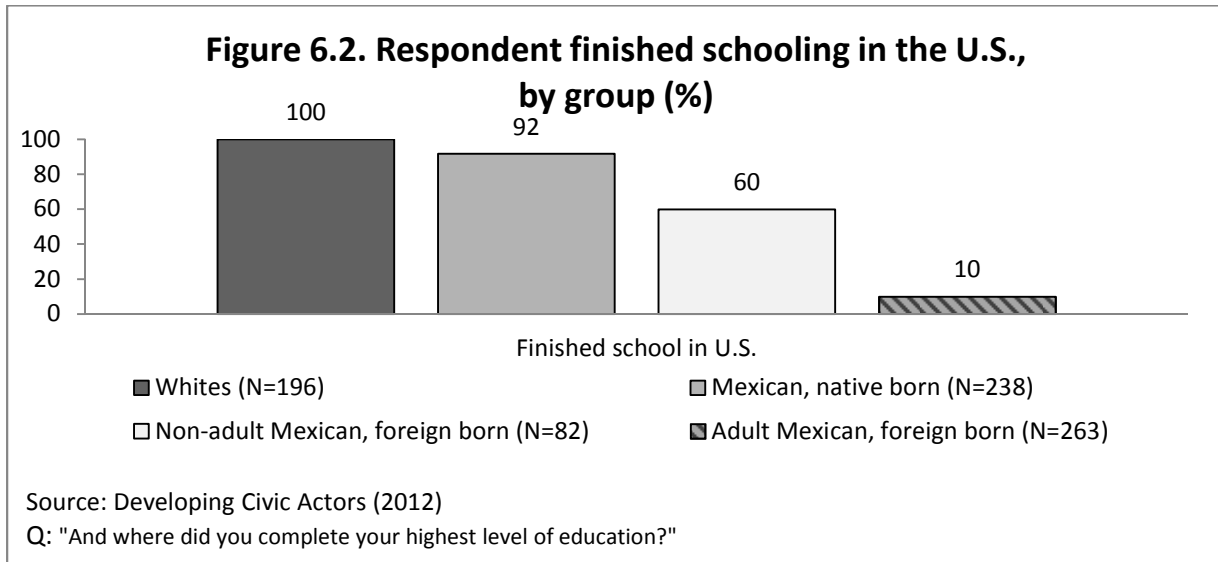
Methods

In this chapter, I use the same informal (16 point index) and formal (11 point index) membership indices developed in chapter five as my dependent variables. I also use the same demographic variables: age of respondent, income levels, and length of residency. I explore first the key independent variables, and then move into the bivariate relationships between educational institutions and these key variables. In order to better situate the bivariate relationships, I utilize the cases of Marta and Lupe to illustrate the institutional and informational functions of educational institutions within the adult immigrant family. I proceed by testing my hypotheses to predict the relationship of educational institutions to informal and formal membership through ordinary least squares regression. I then develop the analysis and discussion of the results within the theory of multi-tiered membership.

⁶ I would also posit that the relationship to educational institutions is inherently different for parents in non-traditional family settings. Parent who are single, divorced, married but living separately, or widowed do not share the demands of participating in the educational institution between two parents, but rather, these demands will likely fall on the primary caregiver, which may or may not be the respondent. This fact, coupled with relatively low sample sizes for non-traditional households restricts my analysis to married households with children. Sample sizes for groups are: white=75, U.S. born Mexicans=125, Non-adult immigrants=37 and Adult immigrant=72.

Key Independent Variables

I examine the direct and indirect contact of respondents with educational institutions. In direct contact, I measure the influence of educational institutions on respondents as students. Thus, I focus on educational attainment and the location of the respondent's highest education as variables of interest. Here, educational attainment is simply the level of their highest educational achievement,⁷ while the location of their highest education is a dichotomous variable indicating this occurred within the United States, shown in Figure 6.2.⁸ This reflects the respondent's experience as a student, and their direct contact with educational institutions in the United States.⁹ Overwhelmingly, both native born groups are primarily U.S. educated, while for the foreign born, non-adult immigrants substantially outpace their adult immigrant counterparts with 60% finishing their schooling in the U.S., while only 10% of adult immigrants doing the same.

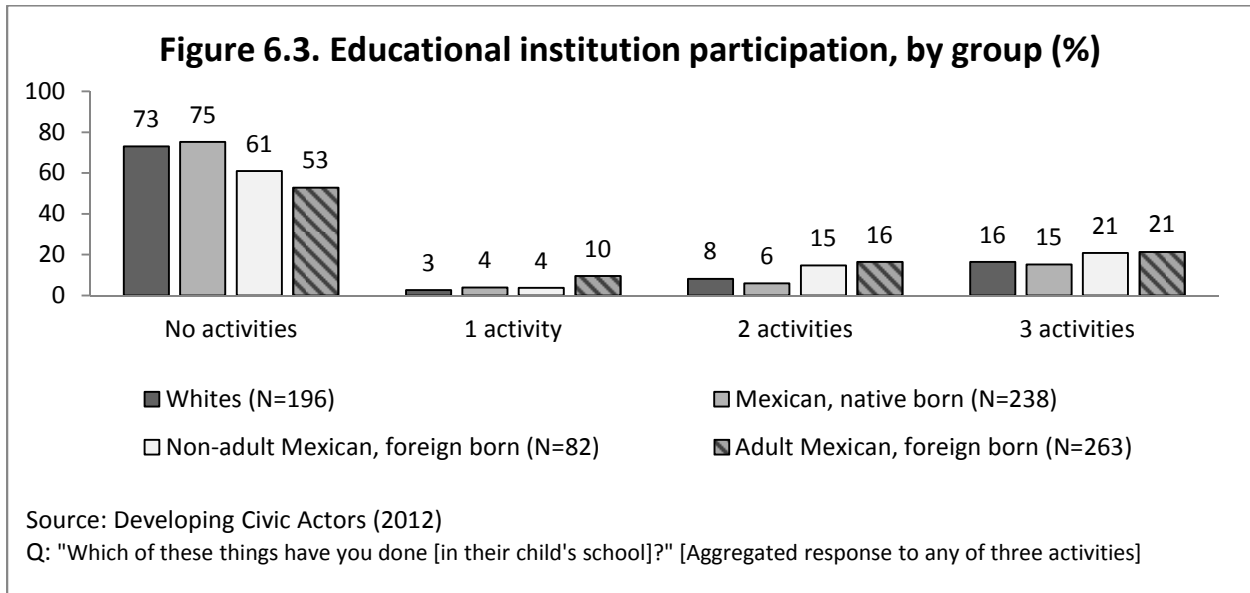


⁷ This is a six point scale: Less than high school=1, Some high school=2, High school grad=3, Some college=4, College degree=5, Post-graduate education=6.

⁸ Here, U.S. education=1, Non-U.S. education=0.

⁹ Given the nature of cross sectional surveys, and legal restrictions on interviewing respondents under age 18 who may still be in K-12, this is the closest proxy available for the experiences of respondents as students. While simply categorizing this experience as a yes/no blunts its precision and the potential variation of school experiences, this also represents one of the few available measures for this type of contact. This question is borrowed from the LNS survey, and is not, to the author's knowledge, available on many other non-immigrant or non-Latino survey instruments. Thus, it becomes the best and only available measure of direct contact by respondents with American educational institutions.

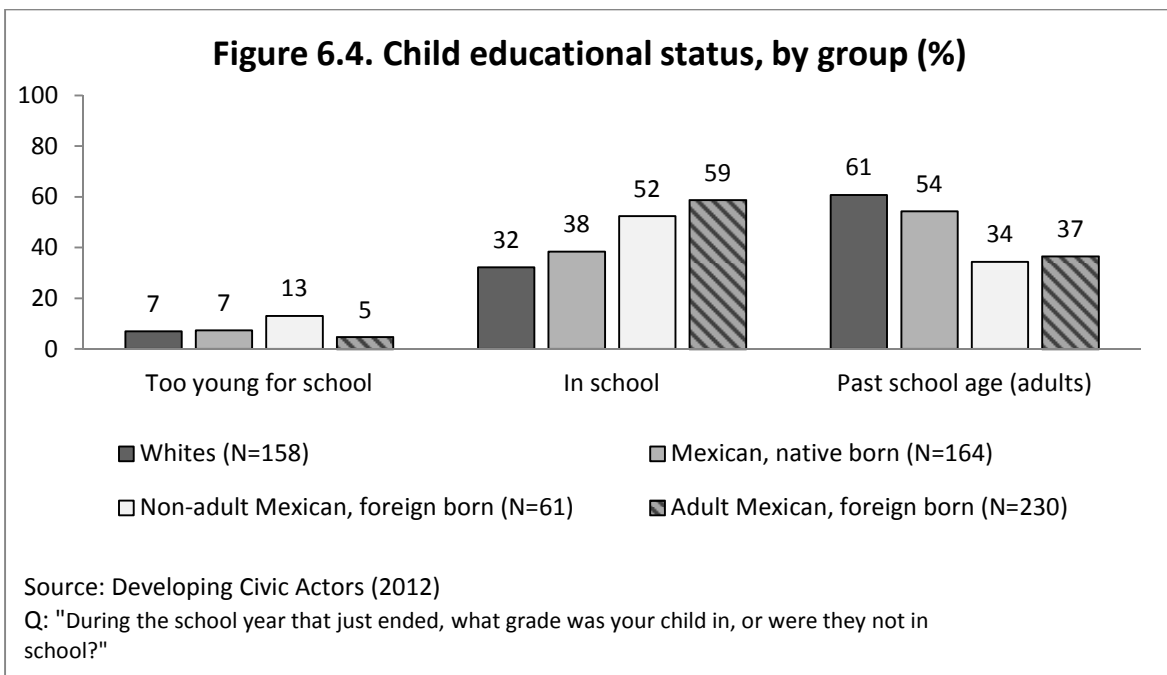
In indirect contact, I measure the respondent's interactions with educational institutions as the parents of students, specifically focusing on informational and institutional dimensions of this contact. This is measured specifically through the educational institution participation index (0-3) and the status of their children in school.¹⁰ The educational institution participation index includes participation in the PTA, volunteering at a school and contacting a school official, shown below in Figure 6.3.¹¹ This index captures the role of educational institutions as a mechanism for developing institutional familiarity and resources. Most native born parents do not utilize educational institutions in this way, with approximately only 25-27% participating. For the foreign born, participation in educational institutions is much higher, with 39% of non-adult immigrants and 47% of adult immigrants interacting with educational institutions in their roles as parents.



¹⁰ This variable is constructed based on the question asking respondents whether they had a child in the K-12 system in the previous year. This is obviously limited in scope since the respondents are being asked only about a single child, rather than all of their children. However, the effect is the same, if not magnified with increasing numbers of children in the school system. Thus, utilizing the stage of schooling of one child provides a view of the effect of school at its most minimal level.

¹¹ Each activity was coded as 1 if present (respondent said they did it) or 0 if not, and then aggregated to an index of 0 to 3. The alpha score of this index is .896

In the second variable, I control for the relative age and student-status of children in the household. Ranging from 0-16, respondents reported the approximate grade that their child is in school, with zero indicating the child is too young to be in school, and 16 indicating that the child is too old to be in school (past college). This variable thus reflects whether the parent is reporting to their current participation in the educational institution through their children, or if they participated in the past and are reporting that behavior now. Figure 6.4 illustrates how this particular dynamic can affect the influence of educational institutions. For whites and U.S. born Mexicans, we see that that a majority of those sampled have adult children too old to be in educational institutions. Thus, the influence of educational institutions will have already occurred, and potentially already developed their membership. Meanwhile, those with children either in school or too young for school, represented overwhelmingly by foreign born respondents, the influence of educational institutions as information and institutional resources is in progress. This will matter in our interpretation of effects since considerations of this delay in effects will help explain educational institutions' influence on membership.



Additionally, I also use measures of the educational institutions indirect information function for parents. Here I measure specifically whether parents reported two events. The first is whether they helped their child with their homework or assignments while they were in school. Surprisingly, among married households with children, only about 45.2% reported actively helping their children with school work. The findings are more interesting broken down by groups: for the native born, only 37% helped their children, while only 38% of U.S. born Mexicans did so. For the foreign born, 51% of non-adult immigrants and 53% of adult immigrants reported helping their children. Second, I also measured whether respondents recalled learning information¹² while helping their children. Here, similar distributions occurred as with those who reported helping their children with homework. Native born respondents reported low learning, with 18% for whites and 20% for U.S. born Mexicans, while foreign born respondents had higher reports of learning, with 34% of non-adult immigrants and 41% of adult immigrants. However, as the bivariate results will demonstrate, even among those that were acquiring information from educational institutions through their children, the role of gender (and who is the primary caregiver) matters.

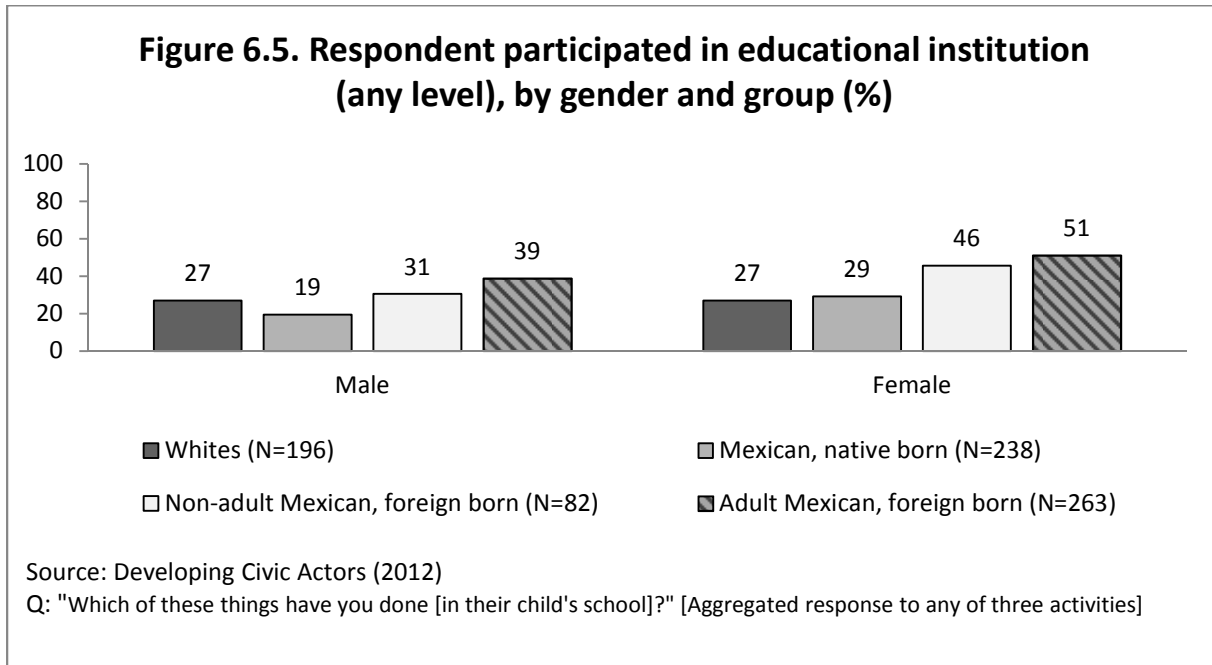
Educational institutions and indirect contact

Bivariate results

Institutional and informational functions of educational institutions allow parents to access resources that would be otherwise unavailable to them, but this access is contingent on the involvement of the parent in caregiving. Thus, examining whether parents are using these resources equally is important given that caregiving of children is gendered as a female/mother's

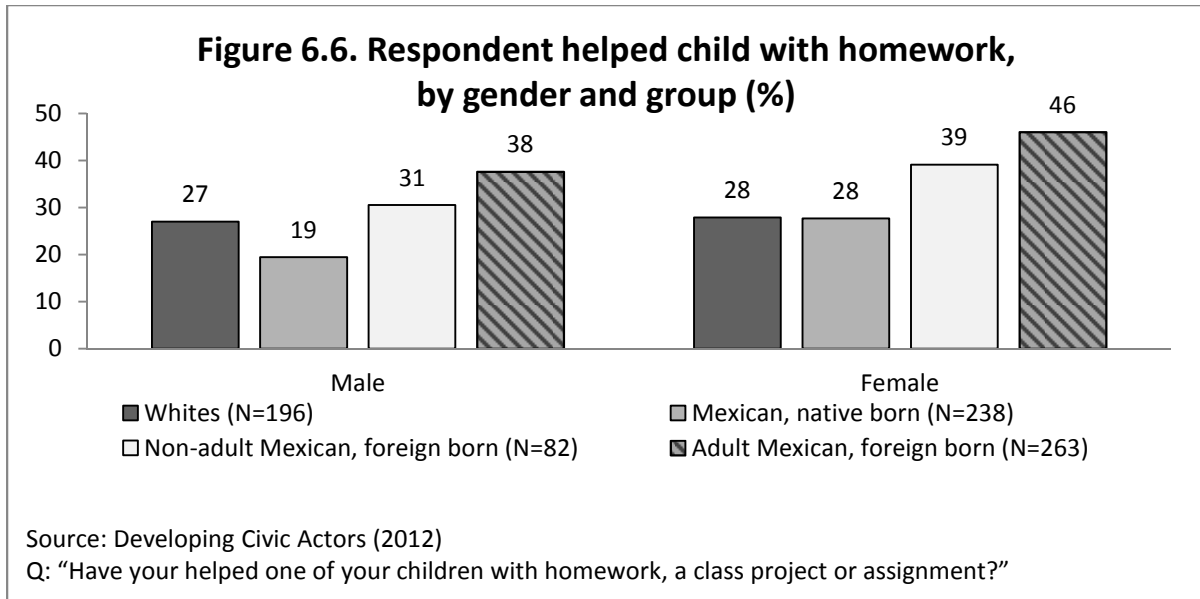
¹² Specifically, parents were asked if they recalled learning the following: 1. English language words or vocabulary, 2. American politics, 3. American history, 4. American culture, and 5. Math or science.

responsibility. Figure 6.5 illustrates the dynamics of gender with participating in educational institutions.

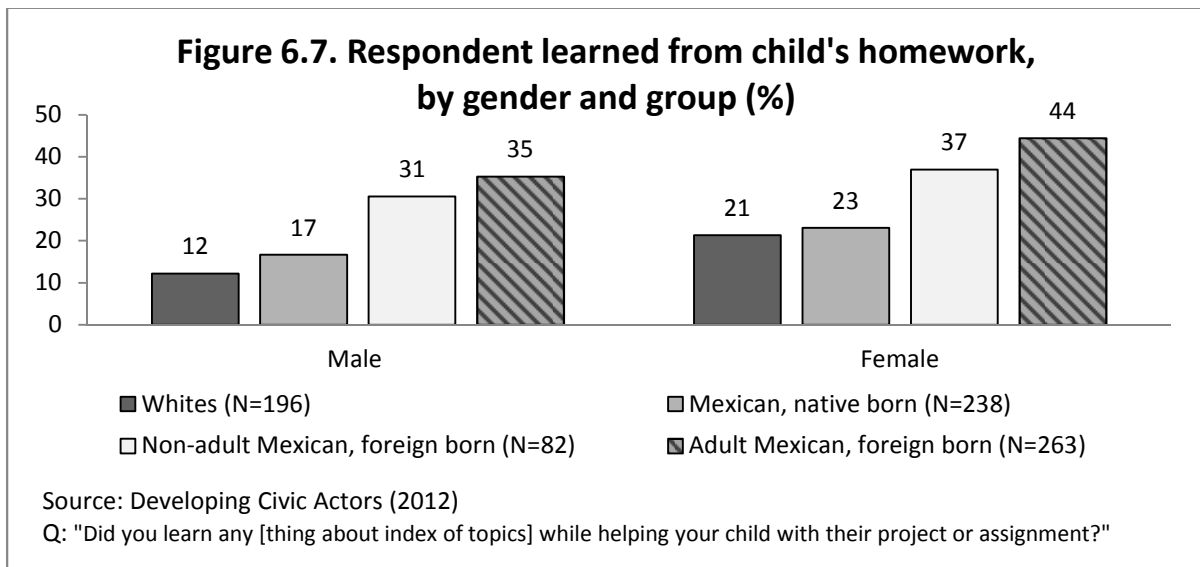


Female (mother) respondents for all but white respondents participated in educational institutions more than the male (father) respondents, even when participation levels were lower overall, as with both native born groups. Thus, there is an explicitly gendered relationship between educational institutions and who is utilizing them (and thus benefitting from their resources). This gendered dynamic continues with the informational function as well, shown in Figure 6.6, where mothers report helping their children¹³ with their homework more frequently than the parents for all groups except whites.

¹³ This question asks "Have you helped one of your children with homework, a class project or assignment?" with Yes/No and Don't know/refused as response options. Only "Yes" responses are reported in Figure 6.6.



Mothers, who helped their children more frequently with homework, learn from their children's homework more frequently as well, as Figure 6.7 demonstrates. Mothers reported learning new information from helping their children do their homework more frequently than fathers for all groups, with the largest difference among adult immigrant parents (9% points difference). Thus, accounting for the gendered interactions of parents with educational institutions will reflect the indirect resource and information building that occurs for parents of students overall.



The nuance of these particular experiences, however, requires additional exploration. As the story of Marta illustrated at the start of the chapter, the role of the parent is one that requires advocacy for the students, as well as the ability to translate learned behavior and information into tangible results. I continue with the story of Marta, and introduce Lupe, to illustrate how the interactions of parents, and the gendered dynamics, help develop the informal and formal membership resources of immigrants.

Educational institutions in context-the case of Marta and Lupe

I present two cases to provide context for understanding the role of educational institutions in the immigrant experience.

Marta, who introduces the chapter, is a middle aged immigrant who came in her late teens, early 20s to the United States. She is married and has a family, works part time and is the primary caregiver for her children. She finished her schooling in Mexico, but did not pursue higher education. She tells me that family is the most important thing in her life. Growing up, she recalls her family as very politically involved, but recalls that politics was primarily an activity for men. Even so, she says, “it was my grandmother who told [my uncles] what to do and how to get things done with politicians in [her Mexican hometown]. She knew, if you want the attention of those in politics, with power, you had to stay on them. No one listens to you just because. You have to go and make them.” This early advice proved useful for Marta when she interacted with her child’s school.

Marta was not always involved in the elementary school her children attended, but had maintained consistent contact with their teachers and other school staff. Her more intense participation occurred with the youngest child, in the story presented at the start of the chapter,

so it was rather surprising to her that she had become so involved only after the event. She recalls how surprised she was at being thrust into that leadership role, stating “It’s not that I did not want to help. I just didn’t know what to do. I knew [my child] was not happy. I knew the other children were not happy. The parents [were not happy]. I kept going, every day, to watch the teacher. But when the parents told me to do something, I didn’t even know where to start. I did though, and look what happened.” Marta applied the political lessons of her grandmother, and even though she did not think her actions were particularly political, she knew that she had gotten the issue resolved because she didn’t let up. Her experiences with the educational institution, out of necessity for caring for her children, provided her with institutional experiences that she could adapt to other contexts. It was her interaction with the educational institutions in the U.S. that allowed her to use these pre-migration experiences.

Lupe is a middle aged mother to both Mexican and U.S. born children. She is married to another immigrant, but he is a U.S. citizen. Lupe has a college degree from Mexico, and worked in a science based field for a short while before moving to the United States with her husband to settle down. She moved around a lot when they first arrived, but settled and have lived at their current residence for nearly a decade. All her children, except for the oldest, are U.S. born. Lupe arrived with no social or family network to speak of, and after a disagreement with her sister-in-law, found little support outside of her husband and young children. She recalls her frustration, in particular at her inability to help her children:

“When we moved here, my oldest should have been in school. He went to school, kinder, in Mexico. We moved here, but I didn’t know what to do. He lost the first grade because I didn’t know what to do. I was at home all the time and had to wait for my husband to come home to go investigate about the school. . . . We tried to register him, but he wasn’t up to date on his vaccines. This is February, so plenty of time had passed. We decided to wait until August. I just walked by here. I knew I had to figure it out. Neither one of us knew where to go and no one helped. Even with our friends a town over, we felt bad

bothering them about what to do. Now I think, I should have asked, but we didn't. . . .so my boy lost his first year (first grade). I came over here [to the school her child attends] and I didn't even know it was a school. I thought it might be a school, and by chance, I walked in and found someone who spoke Spanish because I didn't know any English then. By the time my husband came home that night, my son was registered. But they [the school staff] helped me. He went to school the next day."

Lupe acknowledges how school brought her to resources she might not have had otherwise. The school facilitated her participation in community events and explained institutional practices. She recalls how she learned to read her child's progress reports,

"In [the migrant]¹⁴ program, they taught me about the school systems here. . . .I never missed a meeting here. They taught us how to read their progress reports, work with our kids, work on their homework. Who knows how we did it, because neither one of us spoke English. . . .his teacher was helpful too because she spoke Spanish. She taught him about going to lunch. He didn't know he got food here. He was excited, he never got food before [in Mexico], but here he does. The teacher's showed him what to do. They tell me about it too. . . . I explain things to the women now [other mothers], women who have been here longer than me. About how an 'A' is okay, but you want your kids to get the "E" to reach the goal. We help each other."

Lupe's experience, in particular, required that her social network development occur primarily through her children and husband. Lupe relied on the school, its staff, and the other parents to negotiate her way in the United States after her arrival. The school itself, and its people, became her primary resource for all of her questions, from medical, to educational, to work related. Her experience suggests a sort of 'Comadre' network, the social/familial networks that affect immigrants most directly, that is facilitated by educational institutions. Her reliance on the school as an information resource help her now educate her siblings, cousins, and friends about opportunities in the United States. This introduced both informational and institutional resources for Lupe, including resources for additional educational opportunities for her children through Head Start, language skill development when she helped her children with their homework and targeted programs that helped her become a better parent.

¹⁴ This program was designed for children of agricultural workers, or 'migrant' workers. Lupe was not a migrant worker, but qualified for the program as an immigrant.

These women represent both the institutional and informational intersections of family in the immigrant experience. Lupe's interactions with her son's school have even motivated her to continue her own education, taking English classes at the local community college so that she can converse with her children. Marta's role in removing the teacher has made her more involved in other school activities, and she even extends this into her discussion and engagement with local community politics. Both women benefitted indirectly from the educational institutions that served their children. Educational institutions, either as institutional or informational resources, provide Marta and Lupe significant experience navigating their new American environment. I return now to the survey data to illustrate how these relationships function in a more complex model.

Educational institutions and membership in a multivariate world

I model four groups, U.S. born whites, U.S. born Mexicans, non-adult immigrants and adult immigrants, to predict informal and formal membership. I begin with informal membership in Table 6.1. Direct institutional contact mattered only in terms of respondent's overall educational achievement, but not necessarily their direct experience as students in American institutions. Thus, higher educational attainment was significant for all groups, and increased their informal membership overall, while having completed their education in the United States was a positive (increasing) influence, but was not statistically significant.

Indirect access to educational institutions, as measured first by having children in schools, is positive and significant only for Model 4, adult immigrants. This indicates that as their children get older and go through high school, college, or are beyond schooling, the adult immigrant parent's informal membership increases. This is while also controlling for the respondent's age and length of residency within the model, indicating that it is not simply

advanced age or longer time for membership development that increases informal membership, but the explicit effect of having U.S. educated children.¹⁵ This measure thus controls both for having children, and having children in school. As Figure 6.4 illustrated, only 37% of adult immigrants have adult children, but nearly 60% have children in school. Of those adult immigrants with children in school, 16% have high school students and 10% have college students, indicating that at least 26% of adult immigrants have children in advanced K-12 schooling or in college. The effect of having older children includes both children that are now adults (and were students), and children who are older students. Both provide indirect educational institutional access during the child's K-12 education.

The institutional function, captured in the educational participation index, is positive for all respondents. This indicates an increase in informal membership for all groups as participation in educational institutions increases, but is only statistically significant for whites. The findings on the informational function of educational institutions, however, present some curious results. First, helping children with homework decreases informal membership for whites and adult immigrants. Few whites engage in this behavior, while many adult immigrants engage in this behavior, yet both experience a negative influence from helping their children with homework. I posit that this is because of the gendered dynamics involved in caregiving. Gender, thus, moderates access to educational institutions when the responsibility of caregiving and child-rearing falls upon mothers. Adult immigrant and white mothers who help their children with homework benefit from this behavior through increases in their informal membership, but none of the groups reach statistical significance. Thus, while the act of helping one's child with

¹⁵ Both are not significant among the demographics. In fact, only income is significant for any of the models. Chapter five explains the caveat for income, particularly missing income, in more depth.

homework is negative for adult immigrants, adult immigrant mothers who engage in this behavior see a positive effect that can increase their informal membership.

Further, the information function of educational institutions is supported by the second measure, learning from children's homework, where both U.S. born Mexicans and adult immigrants achieved statistical significance. However, U.S. born Mexicans who learned from their children had decreased informal membership, indicating the process of indirect learning is not beneficial for a population where 92% have experienced American educational systems as students (see Figure 6.2 above). However, for adult immigrants, the relationship is significant and positive, increasing their informal membership by providing informational resources they did not have from direct interactions.

Table 6.1. OLS regression results predicting *informal membership index* for respondents in married household with children

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	U.S. born white		U.S. born Mexican		Child immigrant		Adult immigrant	
	Coefficient	(SE)	Coefficient	(SE)	Coefficient	(SE)	Coefficient	(SE)
Direct contact								
Educational attainment	0.41*	(0.23)	0.37*	(0.19)	0.51**	(0.24)	0.29***	(0.11)
Educated in the U.S.			1.00	(0.96)	0.004	(0.94)	0.27	(0.56)
Indirect contact with educational institutions								
Child by age (grade level)	0.0062	(0.053)	0.057	(0.058)	-0.048	(0.077)	0.062*	(0.035)
Institutional resource function								
Educational participation index	1.79**	(0.83)	0.58	(0.42)	1.04	(0.99)	0.23	(0.34)
Informational resource function								
Helped child with homework	-3.39*	(1.79)	0.68	(1.24)	-2.15	(2.75)	-2.25**	(0.98)
Learned from child's homework	0.36	(0.28)	-0.46*	(0.27)	0.20	(0.42)	0.54**	(0.22)
Interaction of gender with educational institution functions								
Mom participated in educational institution	-1.32	(1.00)	-0.27	(0.55)	-0.52	(1.15)	-0.15	(0.40)
Mom helped child with homework	2.68	(2.53)	-1.32	(1.69)	-0.73	(3.17)	1.75	(1.24)
Mom learned from Child's homework	-0.33	(0.33)	0.49	(0.32)	0.043	(0.49)	-0.29	(0.23)
Demographics								
Age of respondent	0.013	(0.020)	-0.0089	(0.021)	-0.029	(0.051)	-0.0051	(0.020)
Missing income reported	-0.82	(0.55)	-2.67***	(0.70)	-2.83**	(1.10)	-3.77***	(1.15)
Lower income reported	-2.33***	(0.82)	-2.71***	(0.67)	-3.12***	(0.85)	-3.44***	(1.13)
Middle income reported	-0.077	(0.57)	-1.67***	(0.50)	-1.53	(0.98)	-2.69**	(1.18)
Female (Respondent's gender)	0.34	(0.53)	-0.18	(0.54)	0.71	(1.00)	-0.54	(0.43)
Length of residency					0.071	(0.051)	0.0028	(0.018)
Model statistics								
Constant	4.41***	(1.60)	5.14***	(1.72)	4.94**	(1.86)	6.73***	(1.46)
Observations	107		106		51		174	
R-squared	0.266		0.411		0.544		0.230	
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1								

Table 6.2. OLS regression results predicting *formal membership index* for respondents in married household with children

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	U.S. born white		U.S. born Mexican		Child immigrant		Adult immigrant	
	Coefficient	(SE)	Coefficient	(SE)	Coefficient	(SE)	Coefficient	(SE)
Theory specific variables								
Informal membership index	0.35***	(0.08)	0.43***	(0.08)	0.48***	(0.16)	0.26***	(0.07)
Direct contact								
Educational attainment	0.27	(0.17)	0.31**	(0.14)	0.13	(0.24)	0.18*	(0.10)
Educated in the U.S.			-0.14	(0.72)	1.13	(0.87)	0.45	(0.53)
Indirect contact with educational institutions								
Child by age (grade level)	0.02	(0.04)	0.01	(0.04)	-0.11	(0.07)	0.03	(0.03)
Institutional resource function								
Educational participation index	-0.25	(0.62)	-0.070	(0.32)	-0.27	(0.93)	-0.55*	(0.31)
Informational resource function								
Helped child with homework	0.99	(1.34)	-1.21	(0.92)	0.28	(2.58)	-0.81	(0.94)
Learned from child's homework	-0.15	(0.21)	0.32	(0.20)	0.38	(0.39)	0.60***	(0.21)
Interaction of gender with educational institution functions								
Mom participated in educational institution	-0.23	(1.87)	2.45*	(1.25)	-0.66	(2.95)	0.75	(1.17)
Mom helped child with homework	-0.001	(0.74)	-0.35	(0.41)	0.29	(1.07)	0.98**	(0.38)
Mom learned from Child's homework	0.05	(0.24)	-0.42*	(0.24)	-0.12	(0.45)	-0.65***	(0.22)
Demographics								
Age of respondent	0.033**	(0.02)	0.03*	(0.02)	0.10**	(0.05)	-0.004	(0.02)
Missing income reported	-0.41	(0.41)	-0.53	(0.56)	-1.91*	(1.12)	-2.69**	(1.12)
Lower income reported	-0.30	(0.62)	-0.64	(0.54)	0.41	(0.93)	-2.38**	(1.09)
Middle income reported	0.07	(0.42)	-0.31	(0.39)	-0.01	(0.94)	-1.34	(1.12)
Female (Respondent's gender)	0.45	(0.39)	0.21	(0.40)	0.76	(0.94)	-0.55	(0.40)
Length of residency					0.02	(0.05)	0.07***	(0.02)
Model statistics								
Constant	-0.22	(1.22)	-0.24	(1.33)	-5.36***	(1.90)	1.06	(1.45)
Observations	107		106		51		174	
R-squared	0.360		0.503		0.673		0.446	
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1								

These results provide a measure of the effect of educational institutions on the development of internal and external attitudinal resources among individuals developing membership. Educational institutions thus provide the opportunity for individuals to cultivate resources for membership regarding the broader environment and institutions they encounter. The effects of educational institutions on formal membership, however, are slightly different as shown in Table 6.2. Direct contact with educational institutions as measured by educational attainment remains positive for all groups, but is only significant for U.S. born Mexicans and adult immigrants. Thus, higher education increases formal membership development for adult immigrants, similar to the findings of the pre-migration chapter that indicated higher education at entry (and the resources attributed to it) help one better navigate the more formal structural contact involved in formal membership. Further, while completing one's education in the United States is not significant for any group, it is positive only for the foreign born, indicating that there is some influence of contact with educational institutions that translates into resources for developing formal membership.

Indirect contact with educational institutions presents a more complicated relationship to formal membership. Having children, particularly older children in the informal model, does not help predict formal membership. Institutional contact, through educational institution participation, is significant for adult immigrants, but decreases their formal membership. This decrease, however, appears to be related to the gendered dynamics found in the bivariate results, as mothers who participate in educational institutions see a positive increase in their formal membership. Informational contact with educational institutions is also significant for adult immigrants and increases formal membership, both when the immigrant or the immigrant mother learns something from the child's homework. However, this relationship is negative and

significant for U.S. born Mexican mothers, indicating that those who learn from their children's homework decrease in formal membership. They do however, benefit from participation in educational institutions. Thus, educational institutions help build resources in informal membership, but do not necessarily build resources for formal membership. They do, however, provide informational exchanges that increase the formal membership of adult immigrants. Finally, the resources developed as part of the informal membership index are statistically significant and a positive influence on the formal membership of all groups.

Educational institutions and multi-tiered membership

It is evident that political socialization is not a clear cut process, nor does it affect the four groups examined above in similar ways. These findings, however, present some contradictions in the expected relationships to membership. I had hypothesized that educational institutions would be positive overall in their influence on informal and formal membership. However, the findings presented above show that the three functions of educational institutions are not solely positive influences, but vary in effect depending on the dimension of membership being predicted—resource oriented informal membership or status/engagement oriented formal membership. Thus I find only partial support for the four hypotheses proposed, in part because of the complex relationship of each function to the dimensions of membership. Once we re-examine the effect of each function within the dimension of membership predicted, the results gain some clarity in relation to each hypothesis.

In the first hypothesis, examining direct contact with educational institutions as students, the expectation is that this would increase both informal and formal membership. Higher educational attainment did yield significant and positive influences on informal membership for all four groups, where resource and information gathering are key components. Thus, in

predicting informal membership, educational attainment, a key indicator of resources and skill level, would be expected to yield positive results, and does so. Formal membership, however, is defined by legal status and structural contact through political behaviors, and is not exclusively linked to one's educational level. Thus, the finding that U.S. born Mexicans and Adult immigrants are the only groups where higher educational attainment helps predict formal membership can be reframed in the context of how it helps predict legal status (citizenship), restricted and unrestricted political behavior.

The pre-migration chapter has already helped explain how skill levels can affect naturalization rates, thus helping to explain why this finding is significant for adult immigrants. The finding that U.S. born Mexicans also benefit from educational attainment can thus be linked to the role it plays in engagement in unrestricted and restricted political behaviors. Further, given that the relationships for the other two groups (whites and non-adult immigrants) are positive despite not being significant indicates that the relationship of educational attainment is nonetheless positive overall. Similarly, the control for whether education was finished in the United States had positive effects, but were not significant in any model, whether predicting informal or formal membership for the foreign born. This indicates that exposure to American institutions, even if at the end of one's education (and when one is older) can increase informal and formal membership, particularly for adult Mexican immigrants, lending partial support to the first hypothesis.

The second and third hypotheses examine the effects of indirect contact with educational institutions, with hypothesis two theorizing positive effects from the information function, and hypotheses three positing positive effects from the institutional function. Hypothesis two is supported with regards to learning from the child's homework for adult immigrants in both

informal and formal membership, indicating an increase in membership for those reporting that they learned from helping their children overall. However, helping one's child with homework decreases informal membership and is statistically significant. I posit that this relates to the time and energy required to help a child on their homework, and its potential prevention of other resource building or information gathering that could increase membership. Thus, only when one is learning from the child's homework is the adult immigrant able to adequately benefit from the overall experience of this process, though the dynamics of gender complicate this relationship, but I address this further in hypothesis four.

There is only partial support for hypothesis three with regards to adult immigrants, where the effects are positive but insignificant on informal membership, and negative but significant on the formal membership models. This negative relationship is particularly troublesome in light of the theoretical framework proposed (since the assumption is positive influences overall), until we consider the conditions under which educational institutional participation occurs, and the resulting contradictory effects this produces in predicting formal membership. First, these behaviors are being developed in the nascent stages of the adult immigrant's membership, where their informal membership is first being developed to later support and reinforce their formal membership. Adult immigrants are thus engaging with educational institutions at a time where they may not even have reached the formal membership thresholds outlined in the pre-migration chapter.¹⁶

Second, participation in school may increase overall resource and skill development for further engagement, as hypothesized, but this initial engagement takes time away from the political behaviors measured as formal membership. This is not to say that they don't engage at all with formal membership, but rather that for adult immigrants in particular, engagement at the

¹⁶ The earliest of which was 15 years post-arrival, where at least 10% of adult immigrants first reached the threshold.

educational institution level may in fact be the stepping stone to more formal engagement, or may be the only type of participation in which they engage at this time. As the cases of Marta and Lupe showed, sometimes, the effect of the institutional function occurs not at the first contact with educational institutions, but after significant contact and over time, or even in place of more formal engagement. Thus, while educational participation in the informal model might increase informal membership for adult immigrants, it decreases it in formal membership. This is in part because of these constraints, as well as the fact that formal membership requires participation that develops from this institutional function over time. However, some of the contradictory findings above are also due to the expectations of hypothesis four.

In hypothesis four, I posit that there are gender dynamics playing into who participates in educational institutions given that mothers are often the primary caregivers. The bivariate results indicate that more mothers than fathers report these activities, and the results from the regression provide further support for these conclusions, but only for some conditions. There is no statistically significant effect of gender and indirect contact on informal membership, and no consistent pattern for the direction of effects. For adult immigrant mothers, the interactive effects appeared to be primarily negative. Both participation in educational institutions and learning through one's children had negative effects on the mother's informal membership, though not statistically significant.

It is useful, thus, to remember that informal membership is predicated on the individual's resources, and both of these measures relate specifically to the acquisition of resources, whether institutional or learning. The only positive relationship (though again, not significant) for adult immigrant mothers was that of helping their children with homework, an act that did not require filling gaps in knowledge or acquiring skills for participation. Thus, while helping children, in

general, reduces one's informal membership, for mothers, it provides an increase in informal membership.

This relationship is more complicated when looking at its effect on formal membership. For immigrants, the interaction of gender with indirect contact yielded a statistically significant and positive influence for mothers who helped their children with homework, a relationship that is negative overall for formal membership of adult immigrants (but not significant). Thus, mothers who help their children also increase their formal membership. I posit that this occurs primarily as a function of mother's expressing their own knowledge and familiarity with material, resources that help them in formal membership. Helping children with their homework allows mother's access to the child's curriculum, as well as makes her aware of the educational expectations of the child's school. Both these conditions may reinforce information the mother may already know, or give her an opportunity to call upon her strengths. Given that learning from the child's homework is statistically significant and negatively related to the adult immigrant mother's membership, it may indicate that when predicting the more demanding formal membership, having to learn from one's children's homework is indicative of limited knowledge and resources for formal engagement.

Here, more so than in the informal membership model, the lack of knowledge (and thus the higher likelihood that one would 'learn' something from the child's homework) decreases formal membership for mothers. Given that formal membership benefits from advanced informal membership development of resources, knowledge and institutional familiarity, it is not surprising that having to learn from one's children, while also being the primary caregiver and contact person for educational institutions, has a negative effect on formal membership. Both situate the mother as less knowledgeable and with less free time for the formal participation

activities measured in formal membership. Thus, hypothesis four receives partial support, finding significant positive relationships only in the formal membership model, and only for mothers who help their children with homework.

Educational institutions provide exposure to political socialization for immigrants and their children when the parents cannot, but more importantly, they provide the parents with an institutional resource even when the parent is not a student. Thus, educational institutions, in conjunction with the immigrant family and the pre-migration experiences of immigrants, help shape their informal and formal membership development. In the next chapter, I summarize the contributions of my work, examining the linkages between these three mechanisms of socialization and outlining the implications of the theory of multi-tiered membership in understanding political behavior.

★ Chapter 7 ★

Multi-Tiered Membership and the citizens of tomorrow

The theory of multi-tiered membership emerges from an understanding that the development of members, of potential citizens, in a nation does not occur overnight. It occurs over a lifetime and as a result of the process of political socialization. The introduction of adult non-members, immigrants, complicates the way that membership develops. The literature on political socialization was thorough in how it addressed developing members born and raised in a nation, but offered little explanation for how the experiences of immigrants might develop membership, much less become citizens of a new nation. This study proposed the theory of multi-tiered membership as an answer.

My work explicitly addresses the complexity of this experience, not only for adult immigrants, but for all developing members. I reframe the concept of political socialization as membership acquisition, through which members develop both informal and formal attachments to a new nation. They become members, partially through their birth, but more through the lifetime of experiences, resources and acquired knowledge involved in membership. Internal-attitudinal attachments emerge to solidify their claim on informal membership. External-attitudinal exchanges occur that help them further situate their emerging informal membership

within their community. All of these experiences intersect with the reality of the attitudinal-structural environment in which they reside. Combined, their informal membership leads to their formal membership, through which their structural status and contact provide institutional avenues for their expression of membership. Political socialization allows new and emerging members to maintain various iterations of membership, whether informal or formal, that interacts to maintain and reinforce their claims on a nation.

In this chapter, I revisit the framework of how political socialization was limited in its original conception, and how the theory of multi-tiered membership refits it to account for modern experiences relevant to immigrants. Further, I link this new framework of membership to the substantive findings regarding pre-migration experiences, familial dynamics, and educational institutions. I conclude with the implications of these findings, and of the theory of multi-tiered membership, both for how we understand the membership and political behavior of future citizens. I end with additional considerations, particularly with other agents of political socialization and membership development.

Origins of political socialization, revisited

The mid-century work of early political socialization scholars articulated a view of this process that emphasized intergenerational stability. A nation survived, generation after generation, largely on the political socialization of new (native born) citizens. However, their emphasis on stability reinforced many of their assumptions and even the populations that they studied: white middle class adolescents. These were the ‘ideal’ cases, those wherein political stability was expected, and found, to be rooted in their early political socialization. Yet, the introduction of race, class, gender, and nativity complicated these early assumptions. Non-ideal cases introduced complexity that was not readily dismissed by a theory of political socialization

focused on stability and system support. How did class, gender, and racial minorities still developed system support, or if they didn't, what did this imply for political stability? Where did they fit into the political system if they deviated from 'ideal' cases? The work emerging in the nascent stage of political socialization did little to answer these questions.

Work that emerged introducing these 'non-ideal' cases quickly chipped away at the ability of political socialization to adequately explain political behavior. The result was work that challenged the very notion of political socialization as an explanatory framework for anyone outside the 'ideal' case. Literature on blacks, Chicanos, and low-income adolescents illustrated the ill-fitting nature of a political socialization framework focused solely on the maintenance and propagation of a political system that inherently disadvantaged them. Further, the ever-evolving definition of political socialization curtailed its time as an adequate framework for explaining the political behavior of citizens, with authors vacillating between its outcomes and its origins.

It was not until nearly the 21st century (1999) that the introduction of political socialization in the explanation of immigrant political behavior took root. As adults, immigrants often sidestepped many of the socializing mechanisms that the early literature cited in the creation of new members, yet immigrants expressed and practiced membership in much the same way as native born members. The essential framework of political socialization, thus, was an inadequate fit for much of what these recent works examined. Immigrants were far from an 'ideal' case, and moreover, their family and school socialization were nearly non-existent in an American context.

My work bridged these early adaptations of political socialization onto immigrants by reframing this process into one of membership acquisition. Political socialization became the process through which potential members, like adult immigrants, became members. The

uniqueness of the immigrant experience thus required an unpacking of the way that immigrants interacted in a new nation with this process of membership development.

The result is the theory of multi-tiered membership, a process of political socialization that accounts for the informal and formal dimensions of membership in a nation. The informal dimension includes both internal and external attitudinal traits, where potential members develop the resources they brought with them from their home country, and build upon them in their new nation. They use those prior resources as scaffolding for new information useful for their membership, new resources they acquire, and a development of political interest and identity claims on their new nation.

These internal traits interact with the immigrant's external-attitudinal context that conditions their interactions with community organizations, and local resources and society. Further, these experiences interact with the structural-attitudinal institutions and policy that moderate their integration into the broader society. Informal membership, through these combined experiences and resources, emerges as the immigrant develops both internal and external informal memberships in this broader context.

This development has clear implications for their subsequent structural status and contact with the new nation. Legal status moderates their ability to engage in political behavior, limiting new members to unrestricted behavior if their legal status is prohibitive, while opening up restricted behavior like voting to those whose status permits it. Thus, as immigrants develop their prior resources in the new nation into resources that they use for informal and formal membership, what emerges is a view of membership that accounts for the political socialization of new members, but also the complexity of this membership overall.

Mechanisms of political socialization in immigrant membership development

Key in this development are the mechanisms of political socialization that provide valuable membership resources for immigrants: pre-migration experiences, family and educational institutions.

Pre-migration experiences

The findings in the pre-migration chapter provided insight into how an immigrant's home country experiences can affect their informal and formal membership. The event history analysis shows that the resources and status at entry of immigrants helps determine the length of time it takes to develop membership in the new nation. The three types of entry categories measured showed that among the highest skilled and documented immigrants, those with Direct entry, the period to naturalization, informal and formal membership all occurred more quickly than for those with low skill but documented status, or Contingent-B₂ entry immigrants.¹ This chapter, however, also illustrated that pre-migration political experiences positively influenced the informal and formal membership development of immigrants in the United States. Thus, the skills, resources, and experiences that immigrants bring with them have a clear effect not only on how they start the membership process, but how long it takes them to develop membership in a new nation.

The immigrant family

Chapter 5 accomplished several goals in redefining the way that family socializes new members. First, it introduced important considerations with respect to family in the immigrant experience. This includes an examination of how adults interact with family socialization,

¹ This is a category of entry from the pre-migration chapter that describes those immigrants that entered as low-mid skill/resourced and documented.

specifically as an additional resource for socialization. This includes also the second contribution of this chapter, in that it redefined family socialization to include child-to-parent and spousal socialization, as well as parent-to-child socialization. This expanded the utility of family to better reflect the immigrant experience, and the true capacity of family to develop adult immigrant membership. Finally, it examined three functions of family: information gathering, discussion facilitation, and participation resource.

The findings support the conclusion that family has a positive effect on adult immigrant membership development, specifically in the function of discussion and participation. Adult immigrant parents are able to develop their informal membership through these information gathering and resource building experiences. These effects do not directly translate to formal membership, where the participation function of family continues to increase formal membership, but discussions do not. These findings demonstrated that family is more than one's adolescent experiences gleaned from parents, but rather that the family members, including spouse and children, provide far more socialization than previously thought. One such extension is the role of family in providing intersections with other socializing mechanisms, like educational institutions.

Educational institutions

Educational institutions in the literature have examined the direct interactions and socialization of students in schools. The result is thus another limited explanation of how schools can function as socializing mechanisms for new members. In chapter 6, I unpacked both the direct and indirect effects of educational institutions, specifically examining the indirect institutional and informational function of educational institutions on informal and formal membership. The function of educational institutions as information resources increases informal

and formal membership development, while institutional participation contributes primarily to formal membership.

This chapter also tested the limits of the data and findings by yielding seemingly contradictory results across models and groups. Some relationships reversed as a result of the demands of the dependent variable, as in the case for educational institution participation. This index of participatory behavior increased informal membership, but decreased formal membership, which is predicated on participatory behavior in politics. However, considerations of the delayed effects of institutional interactions and skill development, as well as the simple fact that parents involved in the school may have less time to get involved outside of the school, help explain some of these contradictions.

However, these results also yielded additional considerations of gender in the interactions with educational institutions. Mothers as primary caregivers tend to handle interactions with educational institutions, whether informational or institutional, more than fathers. This resulted in findings that indicated that mothers who helped their children with homework benefitted from this practice on their formal membership, but whose reliance on homework for learning had negative effects on both informal and formal membership. Thus adult immigrant mother's with limited knowledge (and thus propensity for learning from homework) were situated as already less developed in informal membership, and thus even more so for formal membership. Nonetheless, educational institutions provided resources for membership development both through indirect contact, to some degree, the gendered expectations of child-rearing.

Membership, developed—the implications of multi-tiered membership

These mechanisms contribute to the understanding of immigrant political socialization. Specifically, tracing the pre-migration experiences, the role and function of family and

educational institutions within the immigrant's process of membership illuminates the complexity of these relationships. Immigrants in particular present a challenge to the process of membership in that they come with distinct experiences rooted in non-American political systems. Further, the mechanisms used to explain membership for the native born are clearly incomplete to understand immigrants. However, the theory of multi-tiered membership addresses this complexity, and allows for a clearer framework to explain how immigrants can develop into political actors.

Multi-tiered membership accounts for the *process* that leads to political attitudes, engagement and identity. The implications of this framework are threefold. First, multi-tiered membership introduces mechanisms of socialization beyond pro-systems support or stability orientations. Instead, it focuses on the resources and skills that develop internal and external attitudinal orientations within the immigrant. These resources and skills cultivate these two dimensions of membership for adult immigrants, predicated on their past experiences, and shaped by their current realities. These resources are the basis for informal membership development, and the premise of its second implication, that membership is complex.

Membership is not a yes or no status. It is a delicate, complicated and contradictory construction of how the individual claims membership, how the society sees their membership, and how that membership manifests as explicit behaviors. Undocumented youth, for example, are championed as 'Dreamers,' individuals who at a young age were brought to the United States and experienced American political socialization and membership development. They claim an American identity not because of their legal status, but rather because of their lived experience, and experienced couched in their informal and partial formal (unrestricted behavior) membership. Membership is fluid and dynamic, not static and universal. The theory of multi-

tiered membership accounts for this fluidity and expands the understanding of both how membership develops and which mechanisms affect it.

Thus, the third implication of multi-tiered membership is in how to think about the relationship between agents of socialization and the individual. While individual traits are powerful in explaining the political attitudes, behaviors, and identities of members, it is the connections to community, family and country that make them citizens. Multi-tiered membership reframes these connections and makes them a central component of the experiences facing members in their development. Re-imagining not only the current emerging citizens, but the implications of these variations in membership for generations to come requires that these linkages be made explicit.

In particular, the relationship of individuals to family socialization will be increasingly important within immigrant derived communities. Children of adult immigrants today are called upon not only for translation and interpretation, but political socialization. Immigrant spouses rely upon each other not only for moral and family support, but also political information resources, partners in participation and co-pilots on each other's membership trajectory. Further, the intersection of the immigrant family with educational institutions situates immigrants as indirect recipients the socialization of their U.S. educated children. The children of immigrants experience their 'American' membership through the shared experiences of their mixed status family. As these children grow up, their orientations to politics, and the role of family within the membership development process, will be shaped by the socialization of their immigrant parents. The theory of multi-tiered membership allows for such variations in membership. Moreover, it shifts the discussion of political socialization, particularly for immigrants, into one that consider the totality of the membership experience.

Further considerations—additional mechanisms of political socialization

There are still several mechanisms of socialization that are left to explore, though few are as intensive as the three examined in this dissertation. The principal mechanism that runs a close fourth is the political socialization provided through media. Media, and in particular television, is the information source most frequently deemed as ‘important’ among respondents in the DCA, regardless of their group or nativity. Thus, exploring media’s role in socializing members would be an important next step.

Further, the intersection of media with family is also important. As the chapter on educational institutions illustrated, family and children in particular are often indirect socialization forces for parents. They provide information and access to otherwise inaccessible socializing mechanisms and can even incentivize behavior. Thus the intersection of media and family would provide significant insight not only into the function of media as a socializing resource, but the ability of immigrant parents to access English language media through their children.

In particular, internet access and the use of the internet for political purposes could be a valuable resource for parents, but the dominance of English language websites might require that immigrant parents with limited English proficiency use their children to translate and interpret this information. Both media and its intersection with the family would contribute significantly to the three mechanisms of socialization examined in this work, and further illuminate the many ways that membership can be influenced and developed.

Two additional dimensions of socialization that should be further examined are adult peer networks, especially work places, and organizational resources, such as community based organizations, church or work groups, or even informal parental resource networks. Immigrants

do not exist solely in their family, but rather interact with co-workers, friends, extended family and community members. These individuals create networks for information gathering, community engagement and resource building that are valuable for the immigrant's membership development. Adult immigrants also cited Latino community organizations as important sources for political information. Particularly for immigrants without extended or immediate family, peer networks and organizational contacts will supplement their membership development. Thus, additional considerations of media, peer networks, and organizational contacts would further enrich this work.

The theory of multi-tiered membership and citizens of tomorrow

The theory of multi-tiered membership accounts for the complexity of not only the immigrant experience, but the experience of emerging members. Membership takes a lifetime to develop, requires maintenance, and can even change depending on one's resources, status, or life events. It is not absolute, complete, nor universal. The theory of multi-tiered membership organizes this complexity into clear stages of development, and dimensions of membership that enrich the understanding of how adult immigrants, and other emerging members, become Americans. In this process, we can understand not only how citizens are shaped today, but how they'll be shaped in the future.

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