Pathways to Adaptation: The Influence of Acculturation on Educational Pursuit of Children of Latino Immigrants

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A dissertation

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2018

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Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

College of Education

University of Washington

Abstract

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Abstract

Children of Latino immigrants represents the fastest-growing group in the U.S. public school system, yet they consistently underperform in education when compared to other racial groups. Educational inequities encountered by children of Latino immigrants can be linked to their experience of acculturation. Using data from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), the current study examined the unique impact of various acculturation-related factors on the attitudes toward educational pursuit held by children of Latino immigrant during their adolescence. The moderating role of potential protective factors (i.e., language, cultural orientation, family dynamics) and key demographic characteristics (i.e., socioeconomic status, length of stay in the U.S.) on acculturation stressors (i.e., perceived discrimination) in predicting

attitudes toward educational pursuit was investigated. Variation in patterns of relations between acculturation-related factors and educational outcomes was examined across children of Cuban and Mexican immigrant families to understand subgroup differences in adaptation among the greater Latino community. Results indicated parent-child conflict as the most consistent predictor for educational pursuit across Cuban and Mexican respondents. Fluent bilingualism was found to be a significant predictor only for Cuban respondents. Perceived discrimination was found to be significantly interacting with parent-child conflict and foreign language dominance among Cuban respondents. Despite study limitations on selection of respondents and measurement of key acculturation variables, findings provided some support for further investigation in the heterogenous impact of acculturation process on educational pursuit across different Latino groups and implications for intervention on supporting the educational effort of youths from Latino immigrant families.

Acknowledgements

Throughout my doctoral study, I am extremely grateful for those who have provided me the critical support for making this scholastic achievement possible. First and foremost, I would like to express my utmost appreciation to Dr. Janine Jones, my advisor and dissertation committee chair, for her wonderful mentorship in guiding me to grow professionally and personally in the program. Her passion in promoting multiculturalism in school psychology and generous spirit as a human being have encouraged me to pursue the type of research I wanted to conduct as an immigrant, hoping that it will provide better insights on removing the barriers for future immigrants as they pursue higher level of education. Also, I would like to extend my heartfelt gratitude to the rest of my dissertation committee members. Thank you to Dr. Filiberto Barajas-Lopez for his invaluable perspective on the role of race in education and improving educational equity for Latino students. Thank you to Dr. Min Li for offering her expertise for problem-solving statistical issues in my current study. Lastly, I would like to thank Dr. Ann Vander Stoep, one of the study co-principal investigators I worked under as a research assistant at Seattle Children's Research Institute, for stepping in as the graduate student representative.

Dedication

I would like to dedicate my dissertation to my parents, Christopher Tse and Ada Mak, who brought me and my brother from Hong Kong to the U.S. for a better education and experience of life. We would not have thrived under such challenging adjustment without the unconditional support and care from our parents. This dissertation is also dedicated to my wife, Natalie Luy, who has always shown her love and patience whenever I am frustrated with what goes on in my life. She has made my life much more fulfilling with the joy and companionship she brings in. Lastly, I would like to dedicate my work to the children and their families that I have worked with. I hope my work and perspective as an immigrant can continue to make a positive impact on those who face similar cultural barriers to advancement in the mainstream society.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Children of immigrant families, including the native-born and those who came to the U.S. at a young age, have become the fastest growing segment of the U.S. child population as they stand at about 23% of all children under the age of 18 (Hernandez, Denton, & Macartney, 2008). These children often face a unique array of economic, psychological, and sociocultural stressors from their process of acculturation, bearing imperative implications on various aspects of their adaptation outcomes (Portes & Rivas, 2011). Alongside the structural obstacles situated within the socioeconomic realm of the lives of immigrant families, the experience of children of immigrants as independent agencies to navigate between cultural pressure to meet expectations from both the society of settlement and their family with foreign-born parents can be a significant source of stress. Furthermore, issues of acculturation take a salient role in shaping the well-being of children of immigrant as they reach adolescence, where they undergo the critical period of forming their self-identity among competing cultural forces (Roger-Sirin & Gupta, 2012; Romero & Roberts, 2003) as well as make key decisions for their educational and career plans (Roche, Ghazarian, & Fernandez-Esquer, 2012). Those who struggle to cope with the disparate demands across the different cultural worlds may deem the acculturation experience more vexing, facing psychosocial challenges that may undermine their development of self-identity and self-esteem (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Maladaptive responses to acculturation-related stressors can eventually cast adverse impact on the prospect of children of immigrants in core areas of their well-being like education (Roche & Kuperminc, 2012), mental health (Anderson & Mayes, 2010), and family relationship (Lim, Yeh, Liang, Lau, & McCabe, 2009).

Latino Immigration: Acculturation and Adaptation

Among the immigrant groups, Latinos are one of the largest and fastest growing groups

in the United States that represents 17.4% (55.4 million) of the national population and experiences a projected increase of 115 percent between the years 2014 and 2060 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015a; U.S. Census Bureau, 2015b). Latino children are also the majority among those who were born to at least one foreign-born immigrant parent (Passel & Cohn, 2011). While immigration was the main source for the growth of the Latino population between 1980 and 2000, the number of native Latino births in the U.S. (9.6 million) between 2000 and 2010 has exceeded their immigrant counterparts (6.5 million) as reported by the Pew Hispanic Center (2016b). In the literature of immigrant adaptation, children of Latino immigrant families have been often documented with more unfavorable outlook in outcomes when compared to other immigrant groups, including low educational attainment (Baum & Flores, 2011; Perreira, Hartis, & Lee, 2006) and poor psychological health (Cespedes & Huey, 2008; Frabutt, 2006). Well-documented acculturation risk factors that are associated with the maladaptation outcomes for children of Latino immigrant families include experience of discrimination (Lee & Ahn, 2012; Smokowski & Bacallao, 2007) and weakened family relationships due to increased parent-child intergenerational gap (Gonzalez, Deardorff, Formoso, Barr, & Barrera, 2006; Lui, 2015). Furthermore, past research studies have documented the protective effects of biculturalism (e.g., fluent bilingual ability; Feliciano, 2001) and strong family relationships (Loukas & Prelow, 2004; Roche et al., 2012) on educational and mental health outcomes of children of immigrant of Latino origins. More understanding is needed regarding how risk and protective factors within the context of acculturation interact in predicting outcomes of adaptation among children of Latino immigrants.

Educational Inequity as a Key Barrier to Adaptation

The substantial degree of inequity in the education system represents as one of the most

adverse forces in blocking the pathway to successful adaptation for children of Latino immigrants. In the U.S. public school system, Latino students stood at 24% (12.1 million) of the total students' enrollment between 2011-2012, representing the fastest growing student group among other minorities and continuing to rise as the White students' enrollments are trending to fall below 50% of the total public school enrollments (NCES, 2015). Among different immigrant generations of Latino students, most English-learner (EL) and English-proficient Latino students are second-generation immigrants (OELA, 2013). Despite being the largest block of incoming students to the school system, the Latino population has historically been underserved for their educational needs and displayed a pattern of educational underachievement. For example, the Pew Hispanic Center (2010) showed that the Latino population held the highest rate of high school incompletion (41%) among adults at age 20 and older when compared to African American adults (23%) and Caucasian adults (14%). The high school dropout rate for Latino students has dropped from 32% in 2000 to 12% in 2014 among individuals between age 18 and 24, yet it continued to remain the highest when compared to that of African American (7%), Caucasian (5%), and Asian (1%; Pew Hispanic Center, 2016a). Per statistics of college completion in 2014, only 15% of Latinos between age 25 and 29 have a bachelor's degree or higher comparing to 63% of Asians, 41% of Caucasian, and 22% of African American. Such gap has been explained by a lower likelihood of Latinos to enroll in a four-year college, enroll as full-time students, and a large portion of Latino college students (48%) choosing to attend a public two-year college (Pew Hispanic Center, 2016a). Estimated by the Pew Hispanic Center (2015) in 2013, Mexicans represented the largest subgroup (64.1%) of the Latino population in the U.S. with 11.5% of foreign-born individuals and 34.6% of U.S.-born individuals within the ethnicity. Mexicans displayed the lowest levels of educational attainment among other Latino

subgroups as well as the overall U.S. population, with around 10% of Mexicans at age 25 and older having obtained at least a bachelor's degree (Pew Hispanic Center, 2015).

Given the crucial role of educational attainment in determining one's ability to advance on the socioeconomic ladder and prospect of ongoing adaptation for future generations (Baum, Ma, & Payea, 2010), there is a critical need for understanding the factors that perpetuate the inequity in educational outcomes among the Latino population. Thus, the current dissertation proposal aims to enhance our theoretical understanding of the pathways of adaptation for children of Latino immigrant families by investigating the interaction of acculturation-related risk and protective factors in determining the attitudes toward educational pursuit among children of Latino immigrant. We are hoping to generate vital implications for informing better implementation of interventions in support of the educational endeavor of Latino children from immigrant families and making recommendations for host society on how to cultivate an inclusive climate that fosters educational success of students from culturally diverse backgrounds.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Theories of Acculturation

The concept of acculturation has been studied extensively since the 1900s in the social science disciplines, such as anthropology, sociology, and psychology (Rudmin, 2003). Broadly defined, acculturation refers to the dynamic process of intercultural changes that takes place when groups of diverse cultural backgrounds experience continuous encounters with one another, which produces changes in the psychological, sociocultural, and economic aspects of life primarily for members of groups that are responding to the environmental demands from the dominant culture (Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 2006a; Phinney, 2003; Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). Specifically, the study of acculturation is closely related to research that focuses on understanding the variations in adaptation outcomes of individuals within the context of immigration. In the United States, racial and ethnic minorities made up 38 percent (approximately 121 million) of its population in 2014 (U.S. Census, 2015b). For foreign born individuals in the U.S., the rate of growth is projected to outpace that of natives—the number of foreign born individual is expected to grow from 42 million in 2014 to 78 million in 2060 (U.S. Census, 2015b). The resulting rapid expansion of cultural plurality from constant waves of immigration can pose momentous social challenges to the country due to cultural gaps that exist between the incoming minorities and the societies they are settling in. For instance, the origins of U.S. immigrants have shifted from Europe to largely Latin America, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East since the enactment of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (Lind, 1995). This has subsequently erected a divide in cultural values and potential barriers to optimal adjustment as non-European immigrants that come from predominately collectivist cultures (e.g., value the overall well-being of family and community) attempted to navigate in a society that

upholds individualistic worldviews (e.g., value the fulfillment of individual needs; Triandis, 1995).

Unidimensional model of acculturation. The process of acculturation was originally conceived by the scholarly community as a uniform and linear path toward assimilation, with the end goal for acculturating immigrants to fully adopt the values and practices of the dominant culture in the host society and ridding themselves of their heritage culture from their countries of origin through a gradual transition (Alba & Nee, 1997; Gordon, 1964). Specifically, this unidimensional model of acculturation an individual's culture of origin was deemed as holding back the individual from the pull of the receiving society's culture (Park, 1928), which relates to the notion that immigrants' identity assets from their heritage culture were regarded as the sources of their marginalized status (Child, 1943; Warner and Srole, 1945). The model also implied that future generations of immigrant families would be progressively more at ease to assimilate into the dominant culture by augmented exposure to the institutional forces (e.g., language, education, vocation) of the host society (Alba & Nee, 2003), which was believed to explain the acculturation experience of the children from the past waves of European immigrants in America between the 18th and 20th centuries (Porte & Rumbaut, 2006; Schildkraut, 2007). On the other hand, the validity of the unidirectional model of acculturation was considerably questioned for its application to describe the acculturation experience of the current wave of non-European immigrants in the U.S. While acculturative stressors associated with immigrants of European descent tend to become irrelevant in later generations, they continue to be salient for most non-European immigrants even beyond the first generation (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008). The current waves of non-European immigrants cannot simply "disappear" into the White majority of the American society due to major differences as racial

beings from European immigrants (e.g., cultural identification, physical features; Portes, Fernández-Kelly, & Haller, 2009). Criticism of the unidirectional model of acculturation has come from the field of cross-cultural psychology since the beginning of 1980s, denoting that the acquisition of the values and practices of the host society does not necessarily negate the maintenance of one's values and practices of his/her country of origin (Berry, 1980). The challenge to unidirectional acculturation suggested not only that there is more than one possible pathway in which immigrants choose to acculturate to their environment, but the types of adaptation outcomes achieved by first-generation immigrants and their children may also be more varied than expected per the social and economic structure of the host societies (Portes & Zhou, 1993). For example, past studies have shown an increase in disadvantaged outcomes in educational and socioeconomic mobility for immigrant families who resided in the U.S. for a longer time (Zhou, 1997).

Bidimensional model of acculturation. The limitations of the unidimensional acculturation model have stimulated research endeavor to explore in greater depth the related concepts and underlying mechanisms that contribute to the differences in the acculturation styles of immigrants and their corresponding adaptation outcomes. Contrary to the narrow notion of joining the host societies through a one-way process, Berry (1997) suggested that two independent dimensions are integral to the complete understanding about how individual immigrant chooses his/her strategies when acculturating to the newly-settled homeland: the degree to which individuals retain the cultural identity of their countries of origin and the degree of involvement the individuals desire to have in their societies of settlement. This model of bidimensional acculturation is also inclusive of the concepts of enculturation, which refers to the individual's process in building an ethnic identity based on his/her heritage culture (Gonzales,

Knight, Birman, & Sirolli, 2004), and biculturalism, which refers to the individual's process of identity development that derives from the combination of both cultures from his/her country of origin and the host society (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). The two cultural dimensions as defined by Berry (1997) intersect to form four types of acculturation strategies that differentially characterize how immigrants seek to adjust to their cultural environment: Assimilation, Separation, Integration, and Marginalization. *Assimilation* occurs when an individual seeks to interact with the larger society of the host culture without maintaining his original cultural identity. *Separation* occurs when individual shows a preference for maintaining one's original cultural identity while avoiding involvement with the host culture. *Integration* is the strategy that utilizes the best of both worlds as the individual attempts to maintain his/her cultural heritage and to involve with the host culture simultaneously. Finally, *marginalization* describes an individual's lack of interest both in maintaining his original cultural identity and interacting with the host culture.

In addition, Berry noted the importance of how the larger context of the receiving society, such as its attitudes toward cultural pluralism and expectations about how immigrants should acculturate (Berry, 1997, 2003), can affect the ways in which immigrants choose to acculturate. Combined with the interactive model of acculturation by Bourhis and colleagues (1997), Berry proposed four types of acculturation attitudes held by the host society: Multiculturalism, Melting Pot, Segregation, and Exclusion. *Multiculturalism* represents a mutual respect between the minority and dominant cultures as the host society expresses openness toward cultural diversity and acceptance to participation from immigrants of diverse backgrounds in the host society. *Melting pot* represents an acculturation attitude when the host society prefers immigrants to assimilate into the dominant culture. *Segregation* occurs when the host society favors separation

between the minority and dominant cultures. *Exclusion* happens when marginalization of immigrants is imposed by the host society. In relation to its influence on immigrants' selection of acculturation strategies, Berry argued that societies with a higher degree of supportive policy for cultural diversity and maintenance of one's cultural heritage tended to have more immigrants with integration orientation (Berry & Sabatier, 2010). It was suggested that some societies, where immigration was a common phenomenon, were more prone to foster a conducive atmosphere for cultural pluralism (Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 2006a).

Acculturation strategies and adaptation. The relationship between acculturation strategies and adaptation outcomes of immigrants and ethnic minorities has been documented in the literature. For instance, some research studies have suggested that the integration strategy, which is synonymous to the individual's inclination to develop a bicultural identity, tends to yield the most favorable adaptation outcomes for immigrant youth (Berry et al., 2006a). Such integration can occur within different dimensions of one's cultural identity, such as practices (e.g., language use, cultural customs and traditions), values (e.g., worldviews or belief systems), and identification (e.g., affiliation to a cultural group; Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006b). Biculturalism was argued to be a desirable quality for immigrant youths to possess in gaining access to both cultures and broadening their base of social support. The ideal of obtaining biculturalism is that it allows individuals to confidently explore and draw connections between the two worlds, helping them to maintain closeness and cohesion with their parents and ethnic peer without losing touch with the society they live in. Potential benefits for individual's psychosocial well-being that are associated with integration strategy included greater social competence, higher self-esteem, and lower level of psychopathology (Anderson & Mayes, 2010; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Wang, Schwartz, & Zamboanga, 2010). In terms of

school-related outcomes, immigrant youth with a bicultural orientation might also exhibit positive academic indicators, such as increases in academic performance and school engagement (Coatsworth, Maldonado-Molina, Panrin, & Szapocznik, 2005; Lopez, Ehly, & Garcia-Vazquez, 2002; Roche et al., 2012). While having favorable evidence for its use, some research has suggested that the feasibility of integration strategy may be dependent on the degree of similarity between individual's heritage culture and the host culture (Rudmin, 2003), level of societal acceptance to multiculturalism (Berry and Sabatier, 2010), and socioeconomic position of immigrants in the power relation with the dominant culture (Ngo, 2008; Steiner, 2009).

When acculturating individuals experience difficulties in aligning with the culture of their settlement, developing a strong orientation towards their heritage culture as related to the process of enculturation or use of the separation strategy may be a good alternative in protecting their psychological well-being against acculturation stressors. Initial research support favors a strong ethnic identity as a buffer against internalizing symptoms such as depression and anxiety (Robert, Phinney, Masse, Chen, Roberts, & Romero, 1999; William et al, 2002). Obtaining a firm orientation in one's heritage culture is highly important and beneficial for acculturating individuals due to the social comfort of belonging to a group that provides resource for social support and self-esteem (Dalhaug, Oppedal, & Røysamb, 2011; Smokowski & Bacallao, 2007). Moreover, the positive association between strong ethnic identity and self-esteem appears to exist across ethnic groups (Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997). Being capable of seeking ethnic contact for solidarity can be essential for the success of acculturating youth from a mental health perspective. On the contrary, marginalization was considered an acculturation strategy with the poorest outlook on adaptation outcomes as it implies a shrinkage in social support due to a combination of rejection by the dominant culture and loss of attachment to his/her heritage

culture (Berry, 1997). Some research findings have shown negative adaptation outcomes associated with marginalization strategy, such as a reduced level of self-esteem in school or social situation (Berry & Sabatier, 2010). Furthermore, the use of marginalization strategy was sometimes shown to be associated with higher level of perceived discrimination from the host society (Berry et al., 2006a), which is a common acculturation risk factor. This might reflect the reason for the individual's choice of marginalization strategy due to unfavorable treatment received from the society of their settlement.

Segmented assimilation theory. In conjunction with one's choice of acculturation styles and related cultural factors, structural elements of the host society also play a significant role in shaping the adaptation pathways of immigrant families and their children. For example, Gans (1992) suggested that insufficient socioeconomic resources may greatly reduce the ability of immigrant families to secure a future of upward mobility for their children. A grim outlook for these children of immigrants with a declining socioeconomic status may entail adverse outcomes of poverty, including low educational level, unemployment, and delinquency. Portes and Zhou (1993) further developed upon this viewpoint with segmented assimilation theory, which argued that immigrants can be assimilated into different segments of the host society with implications for divergent adaptation outcomes. Based on the revised theoretical model of segmented assimilation (Portes, Fernández-Kelly, & Haller, 2009), there are three core components: 1) exogenous factors, 2) principal barriers, and 3) predicted trajectories as results of interaction between exogenous factors and principal barriers.

Exogenous factors. Exogenous factors refer to the vital resources brought by immigrant families to cope with the environmental demands from the societies of settlement. The three key factors include human capital, modes of incorporation, and family composition. Human capital

refers to the level of education and occupational skills as well as financial resources equipped by immigrants, which determine their capability to compete in the American labor market and advance their status on the socioeconomic ladder. The potential of immigrant families to succeed in their social and economic life is also highly influenced by the varying level of reception from various social contexts of the host society, which is conceptualized as the modes of incorporation. Three contextual forces are at play to determine how well immigrants are incorporated into the receiving context: 1) policy approach from government authorities that concerns with accommodating immigrants, 2) public attitudes toward immigrants from the larger society, and 3) strength of social ties with local co-ethnic communities. Moving into the inner ecological system, the stability of relational structure and dynamics of immigrant families is closely linked to the presence of risk and protective factors associated with the adaptation outcomes of their children. For instance, while children with both parents and extended family members tend to enjoy upward mobility during acculturation, the relatively larger socioeconomic burden within a single-parent household may bring the contrary outcomes (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

Principal barriers. Children of immigrants can face significant obstacles from their external environment as they attempt to acculturate. Three major types of societal barriers encountered by children of immigrants include racial discrimination, bifurcated labor markets, and alternative deviant lifestyles from inner-city subcultures. Racial discrimination as a barrier to adaptation is closely related to the current waves of immigration in the U.S. largely come from non-European immigrants, whose hardship of fitting in the white majority society may continue to last through the future generations (Schwartz et al., 2010). In particular, non-white ethnic minority groups were shown to experience more racial discrimination and hostility from

members of the receiving society than white European immigrants (García-Coll et al., 1996; Lee, 2005; Lee & Ahn, 2012; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Such disadvantage may deprive immigrants of equal access to educational and socioeconomic opportunities available in the host society. Overall, differences in cultural values and physical features may set children of immigrants apart from the social standards of the host society and position them unfavorably within the hierarchy of racial groups.

The bifurcation of the U.S. labor market was perceived as the consequence of an economic transformation that was signified by the diminution of the industrial sector and the rise of a service-based economy. While the top tier of the labor market consists of well-paid and knowledge-based occupations that require higher education and technology skills, the bottom tier represents the low-paid menial occupations that require mostly manual work. Unlike how immigrants from pre-1965 period benefitted from the growth of manufacturing jobs, the severe disparity within this new "hourglass" economy left the current waves of immigrants with restricted choices in the labor market (Xie & Greenman, 2005). Without sufficient viable paths in the middle, immigrants are forced to either enter college for enhancing their educational credential or remain in the labor-intensive and low-skilled portion of the labor market. When immigrant families fail to acquire adequate human capital to advance both educationally and occupationally, their lack of upward mobility may become intergenerational by putting their children at risk for stagnation into their impoverished condition (Lopez & Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Rumbaut, 2005).

As children of immigrants struggle to break the social ceiling due to low human capital from their families, poor incorporation from the host society, and scarce educational and occupational opportunities, they are prone to venture out for alternative lifestyles as a way to

cope with their external stressors (Portes & Zhou, 1993). Particularly with low-achieving immigrant students from inner-city neighborhoods, frequent exposure to the deviant youth culture (e.g., substance use, violence, gang-related activities) serves to keep them in the vicious cycle of delinquent acts that weakens their school engagement and academic achievement as well as increases their risk for crime and incarceration (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Vigil, 2002; Zhou, 1997). Disillusioned with their career future, such added risk factor draws children of immigrants farther from the well-established channels of upward mobility into a spiraling path of downward assimilation.

Trajectories of adaptation. Along with the interplay of exogenous factors and principal barriers, the direction of assimilation and quality of adaptation outcomes are substantially influenced by the intergenerational patterns of acculturation experienced by immigrant parents and their children. Three distinctive paths of acculturation include consonant acculturation, selective acculturation, and dissonant acculturation. Consonant acculturation refers to the joint acculturation effort of both immigrant parents and their children in assimilating to the practices and values of the dominant culture at a similar pace. These children are likely to achieve upward mobility in the host society with support of their families with high level of human capital, such as having parents who are college-educated professionals. With similar or lower level of human capital, selective acculturation can take place when both immigrant parents and their children attempt to attain the ways of life from the host society and preserve elements from their culture of origin concurrently. Embedded within a strong network of co-ethnic communities, children from immigrant families undergoing selective acculturation are able to receive solid parental and community support, achieve fluent bilingualism, and develop a successful path to upward assimilation. When children from working-class immigrant families acculturate at a rate

incongruous with their parents and lack community support, they may experience dissonant acculturation as characterized by their rejection of their parental culture and discorded family communication. Typically, parents' lack of proficiency in English becomes one of the main determinants for a loss of control over their children with limited knowledge of the native language spoken by their parents. With the absence of respect and appreciation for their heritage culture, children of immigrant are likely to have conflictual relationship with their parents and lose parental resources and guidance during the process of acculturation. A combination of disconnection from parental culture and lack of socioeconomic resources can push children of immigrants further to undesirable ends of their path of assimilation.

Support and critique of segmented assimilation theory. Segmented assimilation theory was met with both support and challenges in the past through series of empirical research studies of largely longitudinal nature, with specific aims to address and test the principal tenets of the theory regarding the interaction between individual level of assimilation process and contextual level of environmental influences in contributing to divergent adaptation outcomes. The Children of Immigrant Longitudinal Study (CILS) conducted by Portes and Rumbaut (2001) was one of the most notable sources in support of segmented assimilation theory. Portes and colleagues (2009) summarized the evidence for segmented assimilation theory from CILS, showing that early exogenous determinants (i.e., parental SES, family composition, national origins indicated as poorly incorporated by host society) at wave 1 (1992), mediated by early adaptation outcomes (i.e., junior high school performance and educational expectations at wave 1), predicted outcomes associated with downward assimilation (i.e., dropping out of high school, unemployment, poverty, having had a child in adolescence, having been arrested, and having been incarcerated for a crime) for youth of immigrant families at wave 3 (2001). Akresh and

colleagues (2015) examined the notion of divergent pathways of immigrant adaptation by investigating how the link between individual's level of assimilation and health outcomes were moderated by socioeconomic disadvantage at the neighborhood level. Higher level of assimilation (measured by English proficiency and use) was found to be protective against self-reported poor health for men and being overweight for women only in the neighborhoods with the lowest level of socioeconomic disadvantage, providing some support for segmented assimilation theory that the protective effects of assimilation are contingent upon the socioeconomic characteristics of the societal segments in which the immigrants reside.

The major critique toward segmented assimilation theory focuses on its claims pertinent to generational decline in adaptation outcomes as a result of downward assimilation as well as the protective effects of selective acculturation for immigrants who settle within communities that are characterized by socioeconomic hardships. For example, Kalogrides (2009), using data from the Education Longitudinal Study (ELS) to evaluate the presence of generational decline in reading and math achievement among Latino immigrant high school students attending low-SES schools and the effect of immigrant youth's connections to their heritage culture, found that small intergenerational (i.e., first generation vs. second generation, second generation vs. third generation) increases, though not statistically significant, in academic achievement were observed in Latino students from both high- and low-SES schools. Students' cultural connections were also found to have no protective effect for academic achievement of student in low-SES schools, yet the author mentioned about possible limitations in using only students' Spanish language use, instead of bilingual ability, as well as not controlling the generational status of students' Latino friends that might have prevented accurate measure of cultural connections. Xie and Greenman (2005), using data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Adolescent Health to

evaluate the interaction effect between level of assimilation (i.e., full assimilation and partial assimilation/selective acculturation) of Asian and Hispanic immigrant youths and the socioeconomic characteristics of their communities (school and neighborhood) in predicting educational outcomes, found only insignificant benefits for most educational outcomes of Hispanic youths living in poor neighborhoods with high concentration of immigrants and co-ethnics. Also, Asian youths from both high- and low-SES neighborhoods were shown to benefit from full assimilation for their educational and psychological outcomes except for at-risk behaviors.

These examples from past empirical studies have illustrated some of the major critiques for segmented assimilation theory. First, the principal tenet of second-generation decline for immigrants settling in low-SES segments of the host society may be exaggerated and overly pessimistic. In particular, the relationship between assimilation into the urban underclass and maladaptive outcomes from adopting alternative deviant subcultures is not firmly supported as such development of deviant subcultures was seen as a common process for second-generation European immigrants and did not reduce one's ability to strive for upward mobility (Perlmann & Waldinger, 1997). Some past findings also questioned the prevalence of dissonant acculturation, a key factor that purportedly increases likelihood of downward assimilation, stating that it was highly uncommon among the current second-generation immigrants (Waters, Tran, Kasinitz, & Mollenkopf, 2010). Instead of the types of acculturation, other aspects of segmented assimilation, such as racial discrimination, may have better explained differences in adaptation outcomes (Waters et al., 2010). However, it was noteworthy that most of the measures for assimilation in these studies relied on demographic (e.g., length of stay, generational status) and behavioral indicators (e.g., language use), which may not be ideal for capturing the

multidimensionality of the process of acculturation (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010). Furthermore, critics have suggested that the portray of the underclass from segmented assimilation theory is largely a negative characterization of the inner-city African American culture. This potentially ignores the existing diversity of cultural models that may serve to help immigrants to overcome their barriers to upward mobility in communities with socioeconomic disadvantages (Alba & Nee, 2003; Xie & Greenman, 2005).

Besides issues regarding the negative effects of assimilating into the underclass, another area of critique focuses on whether the hypothesized benefits of selective acculturation, such as preserving strong social connections with co-ethnic communities, are disputable. Specifically, maintaining one's strength of social ties to co-ethnic communities often comes with limiting one's access to the social network in the host society. Such lack of social connections outside of their co-ethnic communities may greatly reduce immigrants' information access to available occupational opportunities in the society (Kroneberg, 2008). Another potential drawback of strong embeddedness within co-ethnic communities is that it may assign an individual excessive family and community obligations and cause added stress for an individual's attempt to establish social ties to the host society (DeWind & Kasinitz, 1997). Some researchers have suggested that the benefits of selective acculturation are rather conditional on favorable characteristics of social ties that are maintained by immigrants within their co-ethnic communities. For instance, invested social capital and membership within one's own co-ethnic communities may lead to socioeconomic advantage in return when it assists immigrants with networking with members from better social class backgrounds and locating crucial resources for career advancement (Waters et al., 2010). The context-dependent nature of the positive influences of selective acculturation were also observed from similar research findings on educational outcomes,

showing that immigrant parents' close attachment to one's co-ethnic communities was associated with children's higher math and reading test scores only if the ethnic communities were characterized by high levels of self-employment, education, as well as cultural values that encourage high level of academic aspirations (Kroneberg, 2008).

Acculturation Strategies and Segmented Assimilation: A Combined Perspective

Both fourfold model of acculturation strategies (Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 2006b) and segmented assimilation theory (Portes et al., 2009; Portes & Zhou, 1993) acknowledge the consequential shift in the intercultural dynamic among the massive flow of present-day immigration worldwide, which has strong implications on the heterogeneity in immigrants' orientations to acculturate and their paths to adaptation outcomes. Departing from the oppressive narrative of classical assimilation, both theories share a common interest in addressing the role of biculturalism as a viable means for immigrants' adjustment in their societies of settlement. This view appreciates the potential value in preservation of ethnic heritage and social network as a critical element for immigrants' successful acculturation and adaptation in countries with booming cultural diversity. Moreover, the fourfold model acculturation strategies and segmented assimilation theory differ noticeably in their levels of analyses, identification of contributing factors, and the application for immigrants' adaptation outcomes. An extensive approach that captures the strengths of both theories is indispensable for accurately encompassing the elaborate process of acculturation for children of Latino immigrant families and examining its link to adaptation outcomes.

Rooted from the perspective of cross-cultural psychology, Berry's (1997) fourfold model of acculturation strategies primarily underscores the micro-level analysis on processes of change, including psychological functioning and social behaviors, as individuals form their acculturation

attitudes and cultural identity in relation to both cultures of heritage and host society. It stresses acculturation strategies as individual choices made by immigrants and their children in orienting themselves specifically among cultural forces and variations in psychological and sociocultural adaptation outcomes that are implicated by the differences in choices of strategies. While there have been increasing discussions on how environmental factors (e.g., context of receiving society) interact with individuals' acculturation strategies to shape adaptation outcomes in the societies of settlement, Berry's model of acculturation strategies has generally been presented as a universal framework of process that all types of acculturating individuals undergo (Berry et al., 2006b; Rudmin, 2003). On the other hand, the segmented assimilation theory by Portes and Zhou (1993) provides a macro-level analysis of the process of acculturation that is grounded in sociology. The theory put greater emphasis on the socioeconomic influences from immigrants' family background and the societal segments of their settlement to predict both the processes and outcomes of immigrant adaptation. Contrary to focusing on personal selection of acculturation orientation, segmented assimilation theory underlines the cumulative effects of underlying structural factors within one's socioeconomic environment that dictates the types of assimilation paths immigrant families may experience differentially across generations.

The comprehensive delineation of interplay among socioeconomic influences and their lasting effects on immigrants from generation to generation is a signature strength of the segmented assimilation theory. Yet, this structuralist perspective on immigrant adaptation may overshadow the role of individual variables, such as cultural identity and perception of external environment, in guiding one's process of acculturation. As mentioned previously, multidimensional measures that target core aspects of personal cultural experiences can bear important implication for a variety of adaptation outcomes of acculturating individuals (Schwartz

et al., 2010). While attempting to depict the socioeconomic atmosphere that applies to immigrant adaptation, segmented assimilation theory falls short of effectively defining individual's acculturation orientation and incorporating its relevance in association with other contextual factors. For instance, inadequate conceptualization and operationalization of the three types of acculturation (i.e., consonant, dissonant, selective) may have failed previous effort to detect distinctive effects as distinguished by varied patterns of acculturation. Specifically, measures of individual level of assimilation from past studies being reviewed often were limited in their consideration of cultural indicators (e.g., language proficiency, length of stay) and precluded other indicators that might be more reliable as proxies for the degree of acculturation (e.g., cultural values and identification, perceived fit to cultural environment). Thus, the predictive power of segmented assimilation theory on immigrant adaptation may benefit from a broader framework that respects the independent agency of individual in developing their acculturation orientation as well as addresses its connection with contextual factors embedded in the socioeconomic structure of the receiving society. Conversely, what may strengthen Berry's model of acculturation strategies is an extended focus on the interactive effects of societal context and individual variations in demographic and socioeconomic background on immigrant' styles of acculturation. Consistent with the social-ecological viewpoint (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), immigrants do not live in a vacuum as they develop their acculturation strategies as coping responses to the systemic influences from various layers of their settlement context. By combining the advantageous features from both models of acculturation strategies and segmented assimilation, we can recreate a theoretical framework that maximizes precision to gauge the complexity of an individual's acculturation experience. Such holistic approach to widen identification of relevant risk and protective factors from both individual and structural

level would allow more cogent explanation for the causal mechanism of variations in adaptation outcomes of children of Latino immigrants within the context of their acculturation experience.

Acculturation and Educational Equity for Children of Latino Immigrants

As a crucial indicator of the quality of adaptation, the educational outlook of second-generation Latino youths can be differentially impacted by the multifaceted process of acculturation. These influences operate through various aspects of an immigrant's life, such as socioeconomic background, cultural orientation, family relationship, and school experience (Portes et al., 2009). It is vital for researchers to clarify how key factors rooted in the experience of acculturation affect ability of second-generation Latino youths to pursue educational success through specific manners. A comprehensive understanding of the sources for educational inequities faced by Latino youths is necessary for producing sensible and targeted interventions and policy measures that can substantially improve their future adaptation outcomes. With the bifurcation of the labor market that has led to the decline in labor sector and the rise of the service- and knowledge-based economy (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Xie & Greeman, 2005; Zhou, 1997), completion of postsecondary education has become increasingly important to one's success in the labor market. Specifically, individuals with completion of a four-year bachelor's degree or any postsecondary credential have been shown to obtain higher economic payoff and broader career choices than those with only a high school education (Baum & Flores, 2011). Thus, the prospect of the future generations in the Latino immigrant community would greatly depend on the effort in enhancing educational access among Latino immigrant students as a national priority.

Structural Obstacles to Educational Pursuit for Children of Latino Immigrants

Family socioeconomic status. The level of educational success achieved by children of

immigrant families is highly contingent upon the initial socioeconomic conditions experienced by immigrant families. The level of human capital equipped by immigrant parents, such as formal education and occupational skills, has been perceived as a key determinant for the socioeconomic status of immigrant families and their children's quality of adaptation outcomes in later generations (Portes et al., 2009). Specifically, research literature has attested the role of parental education in predicting children's educational attainment. A key finding within this area has shown that youths with college-educated parents, even after controlling for family income, are more likely to obtain postsecondary education than those whose parents have no college experience (Ellwood & Kane, 2000). Compared to children with native-born parents, children of immigrants tend to come from families in poverty and have parents who did not complete high school or other formal education (Hernandez & Darke, 1999; Pong & Hao, 2007). Such pattern is even more pronounced among parents of Hispanic children, with 34% of mothers and 38% of fathers lacking a high school diploma (Child Trends Databank, 2015).

Parents of Mexican-origin youths tend to have the lowest level of education among other Latino subgroups, with only 9.8% of mothers and 10.1% of fathers having at least a bachelor's degree when comparing to 14.1% of Hispanic mothers and 14.2% Hispanic fathers (Child Trends Databank, 2015). Particularly, low family socioeconomic status, as indicated by family income and parental education, was shown to partially account for lower educational aspirations and expectations of Mexican youths in comparison to non-Hispanic whites (Bohon, Johnson, & Gorman, 2006). Both educational aspirations, referring to an individual's desire to achieve high levels of education, and educational expectations, referring to an individual's realistic assessment of the likelihood to achieve one's desired level of education, are personal orientations that influence the process of educational attainment (Kao & Tienda, 1998). However, it is noteworthy

that Cuban youths tend to have higher educational aspirations and expectations regardless of family socioeconomic status. This may reflect the more affluent and privileged status of Cubans in the U.S. as indicated by their immigration history (Ogbu, 1991; Vélez, 1989). Consistent with the effect of family socioeconomic status, some findings underscored how the lack of financial resources affected Hispanic young adults' attitudes toward their educational opportunities (e.g., less confident in ability to pay for college, felt limited in choice of college due to money as an issue; Baum & Flores, 2011). Beyond the socioeconomic conditions at home, higher average level of parental education in the families' community was found to be significantly associated with higher school performance of their children if parents socialize mainly with their co-ethnic peers (Kroneberg, 2008). It was explicated that the higher socioeconomic resources of such co-ethnic communities generally motivate children of immigrant families, such as Mexican Americans, to pursue higher education and professional career in the mainstream American society instead of their ethnic enclave (Zhou & Kim, 2006)

Immigration status. A prominent structural barrier to the educational advancement of second-generation Latino youths is immigration status. The Pew Research Center (2015) estimated that there were about 4.5 million U.S.-born children under age 18 who were living with undocumented immigrant parents in 2012. Most of the current undocumented population has come from Mexico (Passel & Cohn, 2008). The complexities of a household with mixed documentation status (e.g., U.S-born children living with undocumented parents) often contribute to the multifold disadvantages in the educational prospect of Latino youths. For instance, undocumented status of immigrant parents has been closely linked with low level of family incomes. The Migration Policy Institute (2016) reported that about three quarters of children with undocumented parents lived in families with income level below 185 percent of the

federal poverty level between 2009 and 2013. Other related socioeconomic barriers included scarcity of family resources for child care and the lack of financial autonomy resulted from low-paying menial jobs that are commonly hold by undocumented parents. Due to their legal status, undocumented parents are likely to be subjected to exploitation by their employers and coworkers (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Compared to the general U.S child population, children with undocumented parents were more likely to continue to experience poverty through their transition from childhood to adolescence (Migration Policy Institute, 2016). Poverty in immigrant families has been associated with negative child outcomes in health, cognitive development, and educational achievement (Brooks-Gunn & Duncan, 1997; Yoshikawa, 2012). Children with undocumented parents also tended to complete fewer years of formal education than those with documented parents (Bean, Brown, & Bahmeier, 2015).

Besides concerns for socioeconomic resources, the stability of mixed-status immigrant households can be under threat by the risk of deportation of undocumented parents. Such realistic fear of being deported has often prevented undocumented parents from participating in their children's education as well as the larger community (Olivos & Mendoza, 2010). Parents' active involvement in their children's education and visibility in their children's schools have been documented as positive factors that support their children's educational progress (Boethel, 2003; Henderson & Mapp, 2002; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Due to the lack of effort in resolving institutional barriers (e.g., absence of language support, inflexible time schedule for meeting with parents) and promoting culturally responsive practices that invite immigrant families, undocumented parents are often discouraged from participation in their children's schools. In order to protect their immigration status from scrutiny, undocumented parents may avoid any contact with teachers or paperwork requiring personal information as they

deem school personnel as government employees with the duties to enforce immigration laws (Simón & Trench, 1997). On the other hand, school personnel may jeopardize the legal protection of their students' undocumented parents due to inadequate knowledge about local laws and personal obligations in relation to interacting with undocumented parents. Thus, undocumented parents have been perceived by educators as being indifferent and incompetent regarding their involvement in their children's education. With undocumented parents' avoidance of their children's schools and failure of school personnel to integrate undocumented parents into the education system, children of undocumented parents ultimately receive unfair treatment for their education as their parents are unable to sufficiently fulfill their supportive role in their children's education as well as students are marginalized from valuable school opportunities that are imperative to educational advancement.

Parent-Child Acculturation Gap and Family Dynamics

Intergenerational acculturation gap. Growing up in the U.S., second-generation Latino immigrant youths diverge from their foreign-born parents in the pathways of adaptation and identity development they undergo. Children of immigrant parents face unique stressors in navigating between cultural forces from their families and the U.S. mainstream society, which exert critical influences on forming their sense of identity and styles of adaptation as they reach adolescence (Roger-Sirin & Gupta, 2012; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Furthermore, their capability to cope with the disparate demands across cultures and development of cultural orientations have substantive implications for their educational success (Roche et al., 2012; Roche & Kuperminc, 2012). In the domestic environment of immigrant families, intergenerational acculturation gap between immigrant parents and their children has been frequently studied as an acculturative stressor that affects adaptation outcomes among children of

immigrant (Lui, 2015). Such gap refers to the disrupted dynamic of parent-child relationship within immigrant families as a result of discrepancy between immigrant parents and their children in their rate of acculturation to the dominant culture (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980). While their foreign-born parents may demonstrate more difficulty with acquisition of English skills and resistance to adoption of cultural values and practices of the U.S. mainstream society, U.S.-born children of immigrant are likely to embrace the dominant culture more readily as they are eager to be accepted by their social surrounding (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

As children of immigrant identify themselves more closely with the values and practices of the American culture, the increasing cultural distance between the two generations of immigrants greatly challenge the role of immigrant parents as authoritative guides for their children in the new land (Hoffman, 1989). Among Latino immigrant families, the cultural mismatch within the parent-child relationship can become a common source for family conflicts and stress as immigrant parents attempt to socialize their children per the traditional values and expectations of their heritage culture (Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990; Lui, 2015; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). For instance, Latino immigrant parents with adherence to collectivistic values (e.g., devotion to family, respect for authority figures, regard for goals and feelings of the family above individual ones) may find it difficult to reconcile with their children's individualistic tendency to defy traditions in one's heritage culture (e.g., gender role, hierarchical structure in family relationships) and to adopt cultural values and behaviors of the U.S. mainstream society that immigrant parents perceive as detrimental to their children's psychological and educational well-being (Cespedes & Huey, 2008; Steinberg, Brown, & Dornbusch, 1996). In addition, children's declining proficiency in their heritage language may serve as linguistic barrier that reduces their ability to establish effective communication with

their immigrant parents (Nguyen, Rawana, & Flora, 2011).

Intergenerational family conflict. Although Latino immigrant parents may realize the importance of supporting their children's progress to fit in the U.S. mainstream society as a means to secure educational and socioeconomic success, multiple aspects of family functioning (e.g., parental involvement, parent-child communication, family cohesion) are likely to be compromised as their children concurrently drift away from their Latino culture (Schwartz et al., 2015). This pertains to the emphasis on strong family relationship in the Latino culture that is known as familism, which refers to the cultural notion of treating family as a central source of social-emotional support, loyalty, and solidarity (Cauce & Domenech-Rodríguez, 2002; Marín & Marín, 1991). The effort of children of immigrant to move closer to the dominant culture may simultaneously create psychological distance from their family members, which further alienates themselves from family support through the erosion of interpersonal intimacy and open communication with family members (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). When family bonding between immigrant parents and their children are weakened by intensifying stress from acculturation gap, children of immigrant may be prone to maladaptive outcomes in mental health and education (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Past research has attested the role of intergenerational family conflict as a significant mediator between Latino youths' higher acculturation conflict and lower adaptive functioning (e.g., self-esteem, life satisfaction), higher internalizing problems (e.g. depression, anxiety), higher externalizing problems (e.g., aggression, conduct problems), higher substance use, and greater association with delinquent peers (Buchanan & Smokowski, 2009, 2011), which may significantly interfere with one's educational progress. In addition, some past findings have supported the role of parent-child communication among Latino immigrant families in mediating the relationship between lower parent-child fluency in a

common language (e.g., English or Spanish) and poorer academic outcomes (e.g., school problems, academic achievement, academic aspirations; Schofield et al., 2012).

Biculturalism and familism as cultural strengths. As an alternative to assimilation, the ability to develop a bicultural identity as an adaptation strategy enables children of Latino immigrant to acquire adaptive skills to cope with the cultural demands of the U.S. mainstream society while retaining connection to one's heritage culture (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). Instead of feeling pressured to become "Americanized" as the only way to achieve educational advancement, children of Latino immigrant may see greater advantage in creating their lifestyles through integrating elements from both dominant and heritage cultures and broadening their network of support from people of other cultures. In regard to family relationship, second-generation Latino immigrants with a bicultural orientation are likely to recognize the authority of their foreign-born parents within the family hierarchy and acknowledge their shared identity in the family as an integral component of their lives. Furthermore, their respect for traditional family values (i.e., familism) in the Latino culture can have protective effects on their educational outcomes. Researchers have suggested that Latino youths with strong regard for familism may be motivated to work hard toward educational success as a response to honor their parents' sacrifices of moving to a new country and to fulfill their family obligations to support the socioeconomic advancement of the family through obtaining better career choices (Ceballo, Maurizi, Suárez, & Aretakis, 2014; Fuligni, 2001; Ojeda, Navarro, & Morales, 2011; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Past findings have attested the positive influences of familism on second-generation Latino youths' academic achievement, educational values, and school effort (Aretakis, Ceballo, Suárez, & Camacho, 2015; Roche et al., 2012).

Latino youths' sense of attachment to their families may also enable themselves to be

more receptive to their immigrant parents' attempt to gain knowledge about their daily lives (e.g., interests, social activities, daily schedule), which can empower the role of immigrant parents in protecting their children from external factors that harm their educational progress. Past research findings have shown that parental monitoring has been positively associated with Latino youths' academic motivation and performance (Henry, Merten, Plunkett, & Sands, 2008; Jacobson & Crockett, 2000), as well as negatively associated with Latino youths' dropout risk (Martinez, DeGarmo, & Eddy, 2004). Another factor that may benefit immigrant parents' ability to monitor their children's educational progress would be bilingualism. When children of Latino immigrant are encouraged to preserve their language of heritage culture, foreign-born parents with limited English skills can better communicate their educational views and aspirations to their children. It has been suggested that such enhanced parent-child communication through children's fluent bilingual ability may positively influence children's educational outcomes (Lopez & Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). When children of Latino immigrant are given opportunities for developing cultural competencies in both the dominant and heritage cultures, biculturalism becomes a critical tool for children of Latino immigrant to build a successful path in education by supporting their attempt to explore and expand social connections in the mainstream society while maintaining closeness and cohesion with their families and keeping in touch with their heritage culture.

Experience of Discrimination in School and Society

Discrimination against Latino students. Compared to their first-generation immigrant peers, second-generation Latino youths are associated with some cultural advantages, such as higher level of English proficiency, that may benefit their educational pursuit (Baum & Flores, 2011). Despite their status as native-born in the U.S., second-generation Latino youths are often

not exempt from discriminatory and inequitable treatment experienced by their first-generation counterparts in the schools and the larger society. As a commonly cited cultural stressor among Latino youths, experience of discrimination has been negatively linked to various school outcomes (e.g., school engagement, school belonging, academic self-efficacy, school performance; Alfaro, Umaña-Taylor, Gonzales-Backen, Bámaca, & Zeiders, 2009; Benner & Graham, 2011; Stone & Han, 2005). Due to racial and ethnic features, they confront a hostile climate that put them at risk for unfair devaluation of one's social attributes as deficient and undesirable in the American culture (Olivos & Mendoza, 2010). Within the racially stratified society, Latino youths may also be more unfavorably judged by the public eye when compared to other races (e.g., Asian; Espenshade & Belanger, 1998). When Latino youths interact with their school environment, they are often negatively stereotyped as lacking the intellectual qualities to succeed in academics and bearing delinquent tendency (De Vos & Suárez-Orozco, 1990). Such biases against Latino youths can have dire implications for school outcomes when perpetuated by educators. For instance, past research has shown that teachers tend to hold lower academic expectations, give less positive praise for classroom participation, and make more negative referrals (e.g., special education, disciplinary action) when interacting with Latino students (Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007). Daily encounters of discrimination in the school environment may undermine Latino youths' sense of self to do well in academics when they internalize the negative stereotypes about their racial or ethnic group. Specifically, Latino students' heightened awareness of negative stereotypes about their academic ability may increase their vulnerability to the negative influence of stereotype threat (Steele, 1997). Their academic achievement may suffer due to the stress provoked by their fear of being reduced to the negative stereotypes based on their group membership, even when students do not think the stereotypes accurately portray

their group. The cumulative effect of discrimination and negative stereotypes in the school context can distort Latino youths' development of self-identity in a long run.

As children of Latino immigrant are constantly disparaged by race-based negative characterization of their potential to achieve academic success in the school context, they experience an unequal atmosphere that alienates them from academic opportunities they deserve for further educational pursuit (e.g., college preparation; Kao & Tienda, 1998). Without being acknowledged as capable students, Latino youths may cease to participate in their education as it fails to be a viable path for them to advance the socioeconomic ladder. Perreira, Fuligni, and Potochnick (2010) have examined how experience of discrimination lowered Latino youths' academic motivation (e.g., values and beliefs about academic success and utility of education). In particular, the relationship between discrimination and academic motivation was shown to be facilitated by whether school climate was positive as indicated by students' feelings of being respected and valued. Similarly, Roche and Kuperminc (2012) have found support for the mediating role of school belonging in the relationship between discrimination and school grades. These findings provide key understanding regarding how social processes explain the manner discrimination in the school context affects Latino youths' educational attainment. By cultivating a force of social rejection and alienation, discriminatory experiences toward Latino youths negate their endeavor to seek social acceptance and contribute productively in the school. This invalidation of Latino youths' sense of school membership may put them at significant risk for dropping out of school (Aviles, Guerrero, Howarth, & Glenn, 1999; DeGarmo & Martinez, 2006). Ultimately, the failure to fit in the institutions of the mainstream society as driven by discrimination is likely to lead second-generation Latino youths to reject the dominant culture as a whole (Berry et al., 2006a). Lacking opportunities to move forward in the mainstream society,

marginalization of Latino youths may lead to maladaptive outcomes that include unemployment and involvement in gang-related activities (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

Discrimination against Latino parents. As mentioned earlier, parental engagement with the schools plays a critical role in supporting children's educational progress. While being traditionally perceived as having less interests in their children's schooling and setting lower educational expectation for their children when compared to the general populations, past findings have demonstrated the contrary about Latino parents (Aldous, 2006; Gasbarra & Johnson, 2008). They place a higher value on their children's pursuit of college education as a medium to support a better career prospect. Latino parents also demand high-quality education in their children's schools with strict standards for academics and school behavior (deCarvalho, 2001; Levine & Trickett, 2000). However, Latino parents often experience complications in establishing a positive relationship with the schools that enables them to effectively advocate for their children's education. Linguistic and cultural incongruences are commonly attributed as factors for shaping Latino parents' perceived exclusion from their children's schools. For instance, Latino parents with low English proficiency are often viewed as incompetent communicators due to their limited ability to gather important information from the schools and to engage in bridge building with school personnel (Carreon, Drake, & Barton, 2005; Trumbull, Rothstein-Fisch, & Hernandez, 2003; Yonezawa, 2000). Inadequate language support (e.g., bilingual school personnel, interpreters) from schools often precludes Latino parents from meaningfully participating in school events, such as parent-teacher association meetings and parent-teacher conferences, to understand the education their children are receiving and to channel their educational concerns about their children. Despite language barrier, some Latino parents indicated that their attendance to school events was their way of showing regard for

education to their children and teachers (Hill, Tyson, & Bromell, 2009).

Cultural discrepancy between Latino parents and educators may also exist regarding expectations for the roles of both parties in the children's education and how education should look like in school (Hill, 2009). Since Latino parents commonly express high confidence and admiration for teachers (Gasbarra & Johnson, 2008), they would prefer teacher to take the dominant role in developing the academic aspect of their children rather than being an equal partner with teachers (Correa & Tulbert, 1993). Under this parent-teacher power dynamics, however, Latino parents may feel uncomfortable to disagree when they feel their parenting role is violated by divergent expectations and values of the school (Trumbull et al., 2003). Latino parents' limited knowledge about the administrative structure of the school and parental rights often handicaps their ability to utilize proper procedure within the educational system to voice their opinions on their children's education (Delgado-Gaitan, 1991; Ramirez, 2003). In addition to feeling reluctant to contest teachers' ways to educate, misunderstanding arises when Latino parents and teachers have inconsistent behavioral expectations for students (Plata, 1989). When teachers and parents lack proactive effort in taking others' perspective and reconciling cultural differences in understanding behaviors and values, Latino youths may eventually suffer from mistreatment for their problem behaviors in school due to parent-teacher miscommunication.

Cultural bias in the education system. The uphill battle faced by second-generation Latino youth to fulfill their educational aspirations has largely been maintained by a school system that primarily privileges members of the middle-class, white European culture in the U.S. (Olsen, 1997; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Latino youths can feel ostracized or compelled to assimilate to the dominant culture in the school when their academic effort is being measured against a normative standard that is not inclusive of one's home culture. Within the

school organizational structure, pedagogical practices and curricular emphases may reflect such cultural bias that produce inequitable outcomes for Latino youths' education. At the forefront, the predominant orientation of school programs to socialize students with European American values and support their English language acquisition (Hochschild & Scovronick, 2003) often fails to recognize what children of immigrant families bring to the classroom as racial beings. This neglect of students' identities may disconnect Latino youths from educational experiences that are critical for career building. For example, mathematics education is regarded as a "high status" knowledge with strong socioeconomic utility (Apple, 1992). Yet, instructional styles and content of mathematics education in the U.S. can impede Latino youths' ability to excel in the subject via different forms of exclusion, such as unbalanced group dynamics that limit participation from minority students (Powell, 2002), unsuitable learning and problem-solving strategies that hinder skills acquisition of students from low socioeconomic background (Lubienski, 2002), and Eurocentric bias in the production of mathematical knowledge that marginalizes the intellectual contributions from non-European societies (Joseph, 1997). Approaches of education that incorporate only superficial elements of multiculturalism in a selective manner (Hill, 2009) or rely on the "one-size-fits-all" mantra to serve all students (Martin, 2003) may fall short of making education culturally relevant to the daily lives of Latino youth from immigrant families and applicable for their use to overcome sociocultural struggles on their path to achieve upward mobility.

In summary, the research literature has provided a robust rationale for recognizing the adaptation of children of Latino immigrants as a pressing issue. First, the burgeoning growth of immigrant population has highlighted the salience for improving our theoretical understanding of acculturation as a complex process and its linkage to future adjustment of children of immigrant

families. Second, children of Latino immigrants, while being the largest and fastest growing minority among in the U.S. public school system, disproportionately lag behind across outcomes in education and other aspects of their adaptation when compared to other racial groups. Third, the struggle of children of Latino immigrants to move upward within the education system and the larger society is closely linked to the intertwining influences of various stressors that are unique to their acculturation experience. Understanding the individual role and interrelation of these factors within one's acculturation process will be essential to the effort to effectively intervene and eliminate one's barriers to adaptation.

Overview of Research Aims

The current study proposal is to investigate the comprehensive picture of how various acculturation-related factors differentially impact the attitudes toward educational pursuit held by children of Latino immigrant families during their adolescence. Specifically, we focus on how individual variables within each category of acculturation-related factors (i.e., language, cultural orientation, family dynamics, perceived discrimination) directly affect respondents' educational aspirations and expectations. Furthermore, the study will examine the moderating role of potential protective variables (e.g., types of ethnic identity, bilingualism, familism) and key demographic characteristics (e.g., socioeconomic status, length of stay in the U.S.) in buffering the effect of discriminatory societal atmosphere perceived by individuals as an acculturation stressor on attitudes toward educational pursuit. To investigate the role of bicultural involvement among children of Latino immigrant families, we are interested in understanding the interaction effect between respondents' preference to the American culture and level of familism on shaping their attitudes toward educational pursuit. With the intention to understand sub-group differences within the greater Latino community, the study will identify acculturation-related factors, their

relationship to attitudes toward educational pursuit, as well as moderator effects across children of Cuban and Mexican immigrant families. Past research has often treated Latino children as a monolithic group, which may potentially ignore the diversity of Latino ethnic subgroups in their educational prospect (Jasinski, 2000). For example, Cuban adolescents were found to have significantly higher level of college aspiration, expectation, and attainment than Mexican adolescents (Bohon et al, 2006; Garcia & Bayer, 2005). Also, differences in demographic characteristics and societal reception between Cubans and Mexicans may have implications on their varying attitudes and outcomes related to education (Bohon et al, 2006; Garcia & Bayer, 2005; Jasinski, 2000). Being two of the largest Latino-origin ethnic groups in the U.S. (Pew Hispanic Center, 2012), Cuban and Mexican immigrants diverge in key characteristics in socioeconomic status, racial identification, geographical residence, and sociopolitical attitudes (Pew Research Center, 2006). For example, Cuban families were found to have higher socioeconomic status and education resources compared to Mexican families (Jasinski, 2000). In addition, the immigration history of Cubans as political exiles with human capital may have benefitted their adjustment to the American mainstream society (Portes & Stepick, 1993), where the migration of Mexican immigrants to the U.S. has been closely tied to the demand for low-cost labor (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). These factors may lead to variations in acculturation experience between members of the two ethnic groups and subsequently affect their effort and motivation to pursue higher education. Based on these important distinctions between the two ethnic groups, we expect that children of Cuban and Mexican immigrant families would respond to their acculturation experiences in disparate manner.

Chapter 3: Methods

Study Data: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

The present study used data from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS). The study was conducted between 1991 and 2006 to study the adaptation process of children of immigrant families, which is broadly defined as United States-born children with at least one foreign-born parent or children born abroad but brought at an early age to the United States. The original survey (Wave 1) was conducted in 1992 with a large sample of 5,262 children of immigrants, which represented 77 different nationalities and attended the 8th and 9th grades (average age of 14) in 66 public and private schools in the metropolitan areas of Miami/Ft. Lauderdale in Florida and San Diego, California. The primary purpose of this survey aimed to obtain baseline information of the respondents, including basic demographics, racial identity, self-perception, perception of the American society, psychological health, language proficiency and use, educational attainment and aspirations, and relationship with parents.

Wave 2. The first follow-up survey (Wave 2) was conducted three years after the original survey in 1995, which retrieved 4,288 respondents or 81.5 percent of the original sample. During the time in which the respondents graduated from high school, the follow-up survey aimed to examine the progress of respondents' adaptation outcomes measured from baseline survey. Additional information collected included family cohesion and perception of school environment. The survey team also attempted to reach out to those who had dropped out of school before graduation for completing the survey through visiting the respondent's last known address or mailing the questionnaire to the respondent with a stamped and addressed return envelope. Accompanying the first follow-up survey, the survey team also interview respondents' parents to understand how parental characteristics and expectations affected their children's

adaptation outcomes. A total of 2,442 parents or 46 percent of the original student sample were interviewed. The questionnaire was translated into six different foreign languages for parents who did not understand English. Overall, most the baseline and first follow-up surveys were conducted in schools attended by the respondents.

Wave 3. The final follow-up survey (Wave 3) was administered between 2001 and 2003, which was about a decade after the original survey. At this phase of the study, the average age of the respondents was 24 and their early adulthood adaptation outcomes were assessed. The third wave of the study retrieved complete or partial information on 3,613 respondents or 68.9 percent of the original sample. With respondents leaving school for work and located in different states, the survey team collected their data mostly by mailed questionnaires. Telephone and field interviews were conducted as necessary to follow up with unreturned questionnaires. In addition to information collected from previous waves of surveys, this third wave survey measured adaptation outcomes in employment, civil status and ethnicity of spouses/partners, political attitudes, and delinquency and incarceration.

Dataset rationale. The rationale for using CILS to answer our proposed research questions is founded upon several features of CILS. First, the longitudinal design of the study provides the advantage of capturing the developmental trajectories of core adaptation outcomes among a sizable sample of second-generation immigrant students from a variety of national origins. Second, the abundant inclusion of variables that are relevant to the adaptation processes allows us to understand vital relationships among variables that determine the quality of immigrant adaptation. For our study, we used data collected at Wave 1 and 2 of the study from the samples of respondents from Cuban (n = 1226) and Mexican (n = 755) immigrant families. The majority of respondents (63%) were native-born children with at least one foreign-born

parent. Two major limitations of the study data include geographic locations of the respondents and loss of respondents due to attrition. Respondents were recruited from two interview sites only – San Diego and Miami/Ft. Lauderdale. While most Cuban respondents were interviewed in Miami/Ft. Lauderdale, most Mexican respondents were interviewed in San Diego. Geographical location of respondents was controlled and taken into consideration when discussing the generalizability of the study results. In addition, 285 Cuban respondents and 184 Mexican respondents from Wave 1 were not re-interviewed at Wave 2 and/or missing data, leaving the final sample of the current study with 941 Cuban respondents and 571 Mexican respondents.

Independent Variables

Language. Respondents' language ability and preference was assessed at Wave 1. The CILS assigned each respondent into one of four mutually exclusively categories based on their fluency in English and a foreign language: Fluent Bilingual (know English very well and know a foreign language at least well), English Dominant (fluency in English but much weaker knowledge of a foreign language), Foreign Language Dominant (speak the parental language well but are less fluent in English), and Limited Bilingual (have lost fluency in the home language but have not yet acquired full command of English). Types of language speaker were effect coded with a set of three predictors ("Limited Bilingual" as reference group). Both English language proficiency and bilingualism have been associated with favorable academic and mental health outcomes for children of immigrant (Golash-Boza, 2005; Suárez-Orozco, Rhodes, & Milburn, 2009). While gaining language proficiency in the host culture may serves as a bridging tool for connecting children of immigrant with the larger society (Arcia, Skinner, Bailey, & Correa, 2001), bilingualism may be viewed as part of the bicultural strategy that put children of immigrant at an advantage of benefiting from two cultural worlds (Berry, Phinney, Sam, &

Vedder, 2006). Under varying demographic characteristics (e.g., ethnicity, socioeconomic status) and sociocultural experiences (e.g., discriminatory experiences) of respondents, we are interested in how the four types of language speaker may differ in their association with educational pursuit of children of Mexican and Cuban immigrants.

Cultural orientation. Respondents' were asked to state their *ethnic identification* based on five categories: American, Hyphenate (e.g. Mexican American), National-Origin (e.g., Cuban), Racial/Panethnic (e.g., Latino), and Mixed/Other. An effect-coded binary predictor was constructed in which respondents who identified themselves as American only were coded as 1 and the rest with a non-American identifier were coded as -1. Respondents' *preference for the American culture* at Wave 1 was measured by asking how often respondents prefer American ways of doing things on a 4-point scale (1 = All of the time, 2 = Most of the time, 3 = Sometimes, 4 = Never). Reverse coding was used to ensure greater numeric value indicates higher preference for the American culture. Latino youths' alignment with the American culture and distancing from their heritage culture have been associated with higher family conflict and stress due to a widening gap between how parents and their children adjust to the mainstream society (Schwartz et al., 2015), which can have negative implication on their adaptation outcomes (Buchanan & Smokowski, 2009, 2011; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). We aim to enhance our understanding about the strength of different cultural orientations variables in predicting how children of Mexican and Cuban immigrants approach their educational pursuit.

Family dynamics. As an important notion of the Latino culture, *familism* at Wave 1 was measured as a 3-item composite ($\alpha = .58$) by asking respondents to indicate whether they agree or disagree with preferring to choose a relative rather than friend for help on finding a job, regarding relatives as the best source for solving serious problems, and getting a job near family

even if it means losing a better job somewhere else. Each statement was rated on a 4-point scale (1 = Agrees a lot, 2= Agrees a little, 3 = Disagrees a little, 4 = Disagrees a lot). Reverse coding was used to ensure greater numeric values reflect higher level of familism. Past research has attested the protective effect of familism on second-generation Latino youth's educational outcomes (Aretakis et al., 2015; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Roche et al., 2012), which may be due to the accessibility to family support and obligation to pay respect to parent (Fuligni, 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). In addition, *parent-child conflict* at Wave 1 was measured by asking respondents to rate how often they got in trouble because their ways of doing things were culturally different from that of their parents. A 4-point scale was used to assess the frequency of clash between respondents and their parents (1 = All of the time, 2 = Most of the time, 3 = Sometimes, 4 = Never). Reverse coding was used to ensure greater numeric value indicates higher level of parent-child conflict. With family being a central source of support within the Latino culture (Cauce & Domenech-Rodríguez, 2002; Marín & Marín, 1991), we are interested in how changes in parent-child relationship within immigrant families, such as conflicts that arise from intergenerational acculturation differences, affect children's attitudes toward advancing within the educational system.

Perceived discrimination. We examined how respondents' educational pursuit was affected by respondents' *perceived discrimination* within the American society. This was evaluated by respondents' indication of agreement or disagreement on whether there is racial discrimination in economic opportunities in the U.S. Perceived discrimination was effect coded as a binary predictor (-1 = Disagree, 1 = Agree). Like their first-generation counter parts, second-generation Latino youth are subjected to discriminatory treatment in schools and the larger society with negative effect on their academic motivation and performance (Perreira et al., 2010;

Roche & Kuperminc, 2012) and mental health (Ríos-Salas & Larson, 2015). We are interested in how perceived discrimination in the American society may prevent individuals from pursuing higher education and whether such effect may be attenuated by potential protective related to acculturation.

Dependent Variable

Educational pursuit. Respondents' attitudes toward educational pursuit at Wave 2 was measured by a 2-item composite ($\alpha = .83$) that assessed respondents' level of educational aspiration and educational expectation. *Educational aspiration* was assessed using the following statement, "What is the highest level of education that you would like to achieve?" *Educational expectation* was assessed using the following statement, "What is the highest level of education that you think you will get?" Respondents endorsed each of the statements by using a 5-point scale that represented a range of education levels (1 = Less than high school, 2 = Finish high school, 3 = Finish some college, 4 = Finish college, 5 = Finish a graduate degree). Educational aspiration and expectation are personal orientations that has been shown to influence the process of educational attainment (Kao & Tienda, 1998).

Control Variables

Several variables regarding characteristics of respondents and their parents were controlled. Respondents' age at Wave 1 interview was recorded. Gender (-1 = Male, 1 = Female), first interview site (-1 = Miami/Ft. Lauderdale, 1 = San Diego), and respondents' length of stay in the U.S. (-1 = less than 10 years, 1 = 10 years or more) were effect coded. Socioeconomic status of respondents' parents was assessed by the parent SES index constructed by the CILS, which is a unit-weighted standardized scale of father's and mother's education, occupational socioeconomic index (SEI) scores, and family home ownership.

Hypotheses

The nature of relations between acculturation-related predictors and educational outcome among our sample of children of Latino immigrant families are hypothesized as the following (see Figure 1 for example of testing model for each variable set):

Hypothesis #1: Respondent's language ability at Wave 1 will be directly related to educational outcome at Wave 2. Specifically, bilingualism will be positively related to educational pursuit as main effects.

Hypothesis #2: Respondent's cultural orientation at Wave 1 will be directly related to educational pursuit at Wave 2.

2a. The ethnic identification as being American will be negatively related to educational pursuit as main effect.

2b. Preference for American culture will be negatively related to educational pursuit as main effect.

Hypothesis #3: Respondent's family dynamics at Wave 1 will be directly related to educational pursuit at Wave 2.

3a. Familism will be positively related to educational pursuit as main effect.

3b. Parent-child conflict will be negatively related to educational pursuit as main effect.

Hypothesis #4: Level of perceived discrimination experienced by respondent at Wave 1 will be directly related to educational pursuit at Wave 2. Specifically, perceived discrimination will be negatively related to educational pursuit as main effect.

Hypothesis #5: The acculturation-related (i.e., bilingualism, ethnic identity, preference for American culture, familism, and parent-child conflict) and key demographic variables

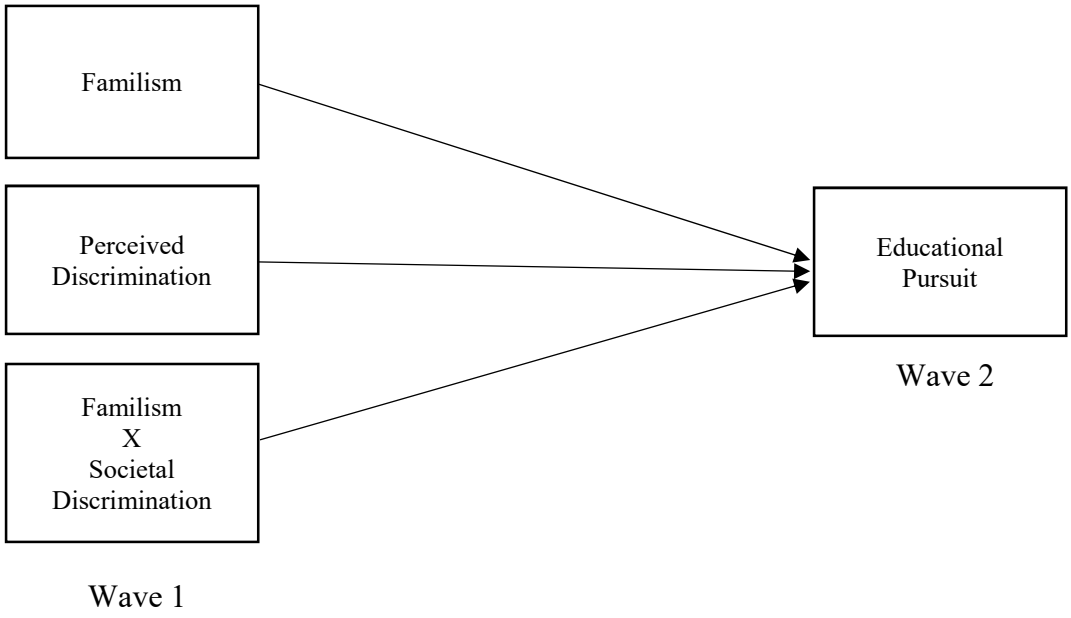

Figure 1. Example of Testing Model for Direct and Moderator Effects of Acculturation Predictors on Educational Outcomes.

(i.e., socioeconomic status, length of stay in the U.S.) at Wave 1 will individually moderate the effect of perceived discrimination at Wave 1 on educational pursuit at Wave 2.

Hypothesis #6: Familism at Wave 1 will moderate the effect of preference for American culture at Wave 1 on educational pursuit at Wave 2.

Hypothesis #7: Differences in strength of direct and moderator effects of acculturation-related predictors at Wave 1 on educational pursuit at Wave 2 will be detected between Cuban and Mexican respondents.

Analysis Plan

All data analyses were performed by the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS 16.0). Descriptive statistics for control variables, independent variables, and dependent variables were performed for the overall sample as well as Mexican and Cuban respondents separately. Bivariate analysis was conducted to examine the strength of correlations among study variables.

For ease of results interpretation, all categorical predictors were effect coded and all metrical predictors were standardized. To test the study hypotheses, multiple linear regression with sequential predictor entry was used for testing main effects and interaction effects of predictors on the outcome variable. Sequential predictor entry was used to allow for testing incremental variance accounted for as predictors were added to the model in arranged blocks. Block 1 included control variables (age, gender, interview site, length of stay in the U.S., school percentage of minority students, parent SES). Block 2 included the main effects of language variables. Block 3 included the main effects of cultural orientation variables (ethnic self-identity and preference for American culture). Block 4 included the main effects of family dynamic variables (familism and parent-child conflict). Block 5 included the main effect of perceived discrimination. Results of the regression model from block 1 to 5 were interpreted to determine the direct effect of each variable had uniquely on respondents' educational pursuit. Block 6 included the tests of acculturation-related and demographic variable interactions (language x perceived discrimination, ethnic identity x perceived discrimination, preference for American culture x perceived discrimination, familism x perceived discrimination, parent-child conflict x perceived discrimination, parent SES x perceived discrimination, length of stay in the U.S. x perceived discrimination, and familism x preference for American culture). Results of the regression model from block 6 were interpreted to determine whether there were any moderator effects of acculturation-related variables on perceived discrimination in predicting respondents' educational pursuit. Initially, the regression analysis was run with all Latino respondents to examine the pattern of relation between study predictors and outcome in the overall sample. Then, regression analysis was run with Cuban and Mexican respondents separately to examine any changes in strength of relation between variables. The final model for the outcome variable

was as follows:

Educational pursuit = b_0 + b_1*Age + b_2*Gender + b_3*Interview site + b_4*School percentage of minority student + b_5*Length of stay in U.S + b_6*Parent SES + b_{7-9}*Bilingualism (3 predictors) + b_{10}*Preference for American culture + b_{11}*Ethnic identity + b_{12}*Familism + b_{13}*Parent-child conflict + b_{14}*Perceived discrimination + b_{15-17}*Bilingualism*Perceived discrimination (3 interaction terms) + b_{18}*Preference for American culture*Perceived discrimination + b_{19}*Ethnic identity*Perceived discrimination + b_{20}*Familism*Perceived discrimination + b_{21}*Parent-child conflict*Perceived discrimination + b_{22}*Parent SES*Perceived discrimination + b_{23}*Length of stay in U.S.*Perceived discrimination + b_{24}*Familism*Preference for American culture

Chapter 4: Results

Descriptive Analyses

The overall study sample consisted of 1,512 respondents, who completed both Wave 1 and Wave 2 interviews in the CILS. Table 1 summarizes the descriptive statistics of all study variables. For demographic characteristics of the overall study sample, there was an even representation of male and female respondents with an average age of 14.1. The majority of the respondents resided in Ft. Lauderdale/Miami (n = 959, 63%) and had stayed in the U.S. since birth (n = 964, 64%). Comparisons of study variables between Cuban (n = 941) and Mexican (n = 571) respondents was performed using t-tests or chi-square tests. Mexican (M = 14.17, SD = 0.85) respondents reported an average age significantly higher than that of Cuban (M = 14.05, SD = 0.82) respondents ($t(1161) = 2.56$, $p = .011$). There were significant differences by percentage of respondents at different interview sites, with most Cuban respondents (n = 939, 99.8%) being interviewed in Ft. Lauderdale/Miami and most Mexican respondents (n = 551, 97%) being interviewed in San Diego ($\chi^2(1) = 1420.20$, $p < .001$). Percentages of respondents who had stayed in the U.S. for ten years or more (Cuban, n = 852, 90%; Mexican, n = 419, 73%) and less than ten years (Cuban, n = 89, 10%; Mexican, n = 152, 27%) significantly differed between the two ethnic groups ($\chi^2(1) = 78.12$, $p < .001$). Cuban (M = 0.18, SD = 0.68) respondents had significantly higher level of parent SES than Mexican (M = -0.63, SD = 0.63) respondents ($t(1281) = 23.52$, $p < .001$). For language ability and preference, significant differences were found between the two ethnic groups ($\chi^2(3) = 204.81$, $p < .001$) on percentages of respondents who were fluent bilingual (Cuban, n = 357, 38%; Mexican, n = 138, 24%), English dominant (Cuban, n = 357, 38%; Mexican, n = 126, 22%), foreign language dominant (Cuban, n = 64, 7%; Mexican, n = 195, 34%), and limited bilingual (Cuban, n = 163, 17%;

Mexican, n = 324, 57%). Percentages of respondents identifying themselves as American (Cuban, n = 216, 23%; Mexican, n = 16, 3%) and those who used a non-American ethnic identifier (Cuban, n = 725, 77%; Mexican, n = 555, 97%) as ethnic self-identity significantly differed between the two ethnic groups ($\chi^2(1) = 111.10$, $p < .001$). Cuban ($M = 2.51$, $SD = 0.68$) respondents expressed significantly stronger preference for the American culture than Mexican ($M = 2.23$, $SD = 0.65$) respondents ($t(1240) = 8.13$, $p < .001$). Level of familism was significantly higher ($t(1065) = 7.39$, $p < .001$) among Mexican respondents ($M = 2.05$, $SD = 0.70$) than Cuban respondents ($M = 1.79$, $SD = 0.60$). Cuban ($M = 4.50$, $SD = 0.68$) respondents expressed a significantly higher level of educational pursuit than Mexican ($M = 3.96$, $SD = 0.91$) respondents ($t(951) = 12.25$, $p < .001$). There were no significant differences in gender representation of respondents ($\chi^2(1) = 0.48$, $p = .49$), parent-child conflict ($t(1510) = 1.57$, $p = .12$), and perceived discrimination ($\chi^2(1) = 2.32$, $p = .13$) between the two ethnic groups.

Table 1.
Descriptive Statistics for Study Variables

Variables	All groups n = 1512		Cuban n = 941		Mexican n = 571		Cuban vs. Mexican t or χ^2
Control Variables							
Age *M (SD)*	14.10	(0.83)	14.05	(0.82)	14.17	(0.85)	2.56*
Gender *n (%)*							0.48
Male	756	(50)	477	(51)	279	(49)	
Female	756	(50)	464	(49)	292	(51)	
Interview Site *n (%)*							1420.20***
Ft. Lauderdale/Miami	959	(63)	939	(99.8)	20	(3)	
San Diego	553	(37)	2	(0.2)	551	(97)	
U.S. length of stay *n (%)*							78.12***
Ten years or more	1271	(84)	852	(90)	419	(73)	
Less than ten years	241	(16)	89	(10)	152	(27)	
Parent SES index *M (SD)*	-0.12	(0.77)	0.18	(0.68)	-0.63	(0.63)	23.52***
Independent Variables							
Bilingualism *n (%)*							204.81***
Fluent bilingual	495	(33)	357	(38)	138	(24)	
English dominant	483	(32)	357	(38)	126	(22)	
Foreign language dominant	259	(17)	64	(7)	195	(34)	
Limited bilingual	275	(18)	163	(17)	112	(20)	
Ethnic Identification *n (%)*							111.10***
American	232	(15)	216	(23)	16	(3)	
Non-American	1280	(85)	725	(77)	555	(97)	
American Preference *M (SD)*	2.40	(0.68)	2.51	(0.68)	2.23	(0.65)	8.13***
Familism *M (SD)*	1.89	(0.65)	1.79	(0.60)	2.05	(0.70)	7.39***
Parent-child conflict *M (SD)*	1.98	(0.89)	2.00	(0.92)	1.93	(0.84)	1.57
Perceived discrimination *n (%)*							2.32
Disagree	293	(19)	171	(18)	122	(21)	
Agree	1219	(81)	770	(82)	449	(79)	
Dependent Variables							
Educational Pursuit *M (SD)*	4.30	(0.82)	4.50	(0.68)	3.96	(0.91)	12.25***

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Bivariate Analyses

Bivariate correlations between all study variables among the overall sample were summarized in Table 2. For control variables, educational pursuit was positively correlated with being female ($r(1510) = .12$, $p < .001$), having lived in the U.S. for 10 years or more ($r(1510) = .06$, $p = .022$), and parent SES ($r(1510) = .33$, $p < .001$). Educational pursuit was negatively correlated with age ($r(1510) = -.12$, $p < .001$) and residing in San Diego ($r(1510) = -.32$, $p < .001$). For independent variables, educational pursuit was positively correlated with being fluent bilingual ($r(1510) = .15$, $p < .001$), being English dominant ($r(1510) = .11$, $p < .001$), using American as ethnic identifier ($r(1510) = .11$, $p < .001$), and preference for the American culture ($r(1510) = .05$, $p = .047$). Educational pursuit was negatively correlated with familism ($r(1510) = -.14$, $p < .001$) and parent-child conflict ($r(1510) = -.10$, $p < .001$). Educational pursuit was not significantly correlated with being foreign language dominant ($r(1510) = -.02$, $p = .55$) or perceived discrimination ($r(1510) = .04$, $p = .11$).

Table 2.

Correlations of Study Variables for Overall Sample

Measure	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.
Dependent Variables														
1. Educational pursuit	--													
Control Variables														
2. Age	-.12 ***	--												
3. Female	.12 ***	.00	--											
4. San Diego	-.32 ***	.07 *	.03	--										
5. U.S. stay: 10 years or more	.06 *	-.07 **	-.06 *	-.23 ***	--									
6. Parent SES	.33 ***	-.20 ***	-.13 ***	-.52 ***	.19 ***	--								
Independent Variables														
7. Fluent bilingual	.15 ***	-.04	.09 **	-.11 ***	.05	.10 ***	--							
8. English dominant	.11 ***	-.05 *	.05	-.13 ***	.13 ***	.15 ***	.33 ***	--						
9. Foreign language dominant	-.02	.00	.07 *	.20 ***	-.26 ***	-.17 ***	.44 ***	.44 ***	--					
10. Ethnic identity: American	.11 ***	-.05	-.13 ***	-.27 ***	.13 ***	.24 ***	.00	.11 ***	-.07 **	--				
11. American preference	.05 *	.00	-.08 **	-.21 ***	.12 ***	.19 ***	.02	.15 ***	-.08 **	.27 ***	--			
12. Familism	-.14 ***	.06 *	-.15 ***	.20 ***	-.17 ***	-.18 ***	-.11 ***	-.13 ***	.08 **	-.07 **	-.07 **	--		
13. Parent-child conflict	-.10 ***	-.02	.02	-.04	.05	-.04	-.04	-.03	-.05 *	.01	.06 *	-.02	--	
14. Perceived discrimination	.04	.01	.01	-.05	.11 ***	.08 **	.04	.10 ***	-.03	.04	-.01	-.03	.05 *	--

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

In addition, bivariate analyses were conducted separately by national origins. Among Cuban respondents (Table 3), control variables that were positively correlated with educational pursuit included being female ($r(939) = .10$, $p = .002$) and parent SES ($r(939) = .23$, $p < .001$). Educational pursuit was negatively correlated with age ($r(939) = -.13$, $p < .001$). Educational pursuit was not significantly correlated with residing in San Diego ($r(939) = .03$, $p = .30$) or having lived in the U.S. for 10 years or more ($r(939) = .04$, $p = .281$). For independent variables, educational pursuit was positively correlated with being fluent bilingual ($r(939) = .19$, $p < .001$), being English dominant ($r(939) = .08$, $p = .012$), and being foreign language dominant ($r(939) = .09$, $p = .007$). Educational pursuit was negatively correlated with parent-child conflict ($r(939) = -.12$, $p < .001$). Educational pursuit was not significantly correlated with using American as ethnic identifier ($r(939) = .04$, $p = .212$), preference for the American culture ($r(939) = .00$, $p = .900$), familism ($r(939) = -.06$, $p = .060$), or perceived discrimination ($r(939) = .05$, $p = .116$). Table 4 summarizes the bivariate correlations between study variables among Mexican respondents. For control variables, educational pursuit was positively correlated with being female ($r(569) = .17$, $p < .001$) and parent SES ($r(569) = .18$, $p < .001$). Educational pursuit was negatively correlated with age ($r(569) = -.08$, $p = .047$). Educational pursuit was not significantly correlated with residing in San Diego ($r(569) = -.06$, $p = .188$) or having lived in the U.S. for ten years or more ($r(569) = -.06$, $p = .181$). For independent variables, educational pursuit was negatively correlated with familism ($r(569) = -.11$, $p = .011$) and parent-child conflict ($r(569) = -.11$, $p = .006$). Educational pursuit was not significantly correlated with being fluent bilingual ($r(569) = .04$, $p = .366$), being English dominant ($r(569) = .06$, $p = .153$), being foreign language dominant ($r(569) = .03$, $p = .535$), using American as an ethnic identifier ($r(569) = -.02$, $p =$

.700), preference for the American culture ($r(569) = -.03$, $p = .479$), or perceived discrimination ($r(569) = .01$, $p = .884$).

Table 3.

Correlations of Study Variables for Cuban Respondents

Measure	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.
Dependent Variables														
1. Educational pursuit	--													
Control Variables														
2. Age	-.13 ***	--												
3. Female	.10 **	.05	--											
4. San Diego	.03	-.03	.00	--										
5. U.S. stay: 10 years or more	.04	-.11 **	-.07 *	.02	--									
6. Parent SES	.23 ***	-.23 ***	-.15 ***	.05	.07 *	--								
Independent Variables														
7. Fluent bilingual	.19 ***	-.06	.07 *	-.01	-.01	.05	--							
8. English dominant	.08 *	-.07 *	.05	.05	.09 **	.10 **	.26 ***	--						
9. Foreign language dominant	.09 **	-.01	.06	.01	-.08 *	-.01	.57 ***	.57 ***	--					
10. Ethnic identity: American	.04	-.05	-.15 ***	.03	.09 **	.13 ***	-.04	.08 *	-.01	--				
11. American preference	.00	.00	-.06	.03	.07 *	.10 **	-.03	.08 *	-.01	.26 ***	--			
12. Familism	-.06	.05	-.21 ***	-.02	-.05	-.07 *	-.09 **	-.10 **	-.07 *	-.01	-.02	--		
13. Parent-child conflict	-.12 ***	-.02	.06	-.03	.01	-.09 **	-.07 *	-.08 *	-.10 **	.00	.05	-.04	--	
14. Perceived discrimination	.05	-.02	-.05	.02	.04	.07 *	.01	.09 **	.01	.03	-.03	.00	.10 **	--

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 4.

Correlations of Study Variables for Mexican Respondents

Measure	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.
Dependent Variables														
1. Educational pursuit	--													
Control Variables														
2. Age	-.08 *	--												
3. Female	.17 ***	-.08 *	--											
4. San Diego	-.06	.02	.08	--										
5. U.S. stay: 10 years or more	-.06	-.01	-.05	-.03	--									
6. Parent SES	.18 ***	-.13 **	-.12 **	-.24 ***	.12 **	--								
Independent Variables														
7. Fluent bilingual	.04	.01	.13 **	-.03	.06	.03	--							
8. English dominant	.06	-.01	.06	-.08	.13 **	.12 **	.46 ***	--						
9. Foreign language dominant	.03	-.03	.07	.00	-.33 ***	-.18 ***	.40 ***	.42 ***	--					
10. Ethnic identity: American	-.02	.03	-.09 *	-.20 ***	.05	.13 **	.00	.11 **	-.03	--				
11. American preference	-.03	.04	-.12 **	-.14 **	.09 *	.10 *	.05	.23 ***	-.06	.19 ***	--			
12. Familism	-.11 *	.05	-.10 *	.08	-.20 ***	-.12 **	-.08	-.14 **	.14 **	-.08 *	-.05	--		
13. Parent-child conflict	-.11 **	-.01	-.06	.02	.08	-.05	.02	.05	.02	-.01	.07	.02	--	
14. Perceived discrimination	.01	.06	.10 *	-.05	.17 ***	.07	.08	.11 *	-.05	.04	.00	-.05	-.02	--

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Regression Models

Regression analyses among the overall sample, Cuban respondents, and Mexican respondents were used to test the relationships between acculturation-related predictors and respondents' level of educational pursuit. To examine hypothesis #7, we denoted the qualitative differences in how strength of association between acculturation-related predictors and respondents' level of education varied across Cuban and Mexican respondents.

Overall sample. A multiple linear regression with sequential predictor entry was used to predict respondents' attitudes toward educational pursuit at 3-year follow-up. Results from the overall sample were presented in Table 5. In the first block, which included respondents' demographic characteristics, accounted for significant variation in educational pursuit, $R^2 = 0.17$, $F(5,1506) = 59.95$, $p < 0.001$, $R^2_{adjusted} = 0.16$. Controlling for respondents' demographic characteristics, the main effects of language ability and preference (Block 2) accounted for an additional 1% of the variance in educational pursuit, $R^2_{change} = 0.01$, $F_{change}(3,1503) = 5.44$, $p = 0.001$ ($R^2_{total} = 0.18$ and $R^2_{adjusted} = 0.17$). In the third block, the main effects of cultural orientation variables did not account for significant variance in the outcome, $R^2_{change} < 0.01$, $F_{change}(2,1501) = 1.01$, $p = 0.363$ ($R^2_{total} = 0.18$ and $R^2_{adjusted} = 0.17$). In the fourth block, the main effects of family dynamic variables accounted for an additional 1% of the variance in educational pursuit, $R^2_{change} = 0.01$, $F_{change}(2,1499) = 9.07$, $p < 0.001$ ($R^2_{total} = 0.19$ and $R^2_{adjusted} = 0.18$). In the fifth block, the main effect of perceived discrimination did not account for any additional variance in educational pursuit, $R^2_{change} = 0.00$, $F_{change}(1,1498) = 0.50$, $p = 0.479$ ($R^2_{total} = 0.19$ and $R^2_{adjusted} = 0.18$). Lastly, the sixth block, which included the acculturation-related and demographic variable interactions terms, did not account for significant unique variation in

educational pursuit after controlling for demographic variables and main effects, $R^2_{change} = 0.01$, $F_{change}(10,1488) = 1.29$, $p = 0.230$ ($R^2_{total} = 0.19$ and $R^2_{adjusted} = 0.18$).

Results from the final block, with all predictors entered in the model, showed that the average respondent's level of educational pursuit was 4.25 points ($SE = 0.05$), holding all other variables constant, $t(1487) = 95.52$, $p < 0.001$. Among control variables, interview site, sex, age, percentage of minority students in school, and parent SES uniquely predicted respondent's level of educational pursuit. Holding all other variables constant, respondents who were residing in San Diego during the first interview were predicted to have a 0.34-point decrease in level of educational pursuit at 3-year follow-up compared to those residing in Miami/Ft. Lauderdale during the first interview, $b = -0.17$, $SE = 0.04$, $t(1488) = -6.74$, $p < 0.001$, $sr^2 = .02$. Respondents who were female were predicted to have a 0.24-point increase in level of educational pursuit at 3-year follow-up compared to their male counterparts, $b = 0.12$, $SE = 0.02$, $t(1488) = 5.83$, $p < 0.001$, $sr^2 = 0.02$. Similarly, respondent's age had an unique relationship with educational pursuit as estimated to be $b = -0.06$, $SE = 0.02$, $t(1488) = -2.80$, $p = 0.005$, $sr^2 < .01$.; for every standard deviation increase in age, we expect a 0.06-point decrease in level of educational pursuit at 3-year follow-up, holding all else constant. Parent SES had an unique relationship with educational pursuit as estimated to be $b = 0.16$, $SE = 0.03$, $t(1488) = 5.26$, $p < 0.001$, $sr^2 = 0.01$; for every standard deviation increase in socioeconomic status of respondents' parents, we expect a 0.16-point increase in level of educational pursuit at 3-year follow-up, holding all else constant. Among independent variables, fluent bilingualism and parent-child conflict uniquely predicted respondent's level of educational pursuit after holding all other variables constant. Respondents who were fluently bilingual had higher level of educational pursuit at 3-year follow-up than the average of all respondents by an estimated average of 0.11 points ($b = 0.11$, $SE = 0.04$, $t(1488) =$

2.64, $p = 0.008$, $sr^2 < .01$), which supported hypothesis #1 regarding respondent's language ability. Between the two variables in regard to respondent's family dynamics, only frequency of parent-child conflict had a unique relationship with educational pursuit as estimated to be $b = -0.12$, $SE = 0.03$, $t(1488) = -4.60$, $p < 0.001$, $sr^2 = 0.01$. This finding provided partial support for hypothesis #3; for every standard deviation increase in frequency of parent-child conflict, we expect a 0.12-point decrease in level of educational pursuit at 3-year follow-up, holding all else constant. There was no support for either hypothesis #2 or hypothesis #4 as the main effects of cultural orientation variables and perceived discrimination were found to be nonsignificant.

A significant interaction was found between frequency of parent-child conflict and respondents' level of perceived discrimination ($b = 0.06$, $SE = 0.03$, $t(1488) = 2.42$, $p = 0.015$, $sr^2 < .01$). As illustrated in Figure 2 as an ordinal interaction, respondents who disagreed with the statement that there was racial discrimination in economic opportunities in the U.S. displayed lower level of educational pursuit at 3-year follow-up than those agreeing with the statement when both groups experienced high parent-child conflict (+1 *SD*) whereas there was no difference in level of educational pursuit at 3-year follow-up when both groups experienced low parent-child conflict (-1 *SD*). While this finding partially supported hypothesis #5 with a significant moderation effect in the relation between parent-child conflict and perceived discrimination, it did not support the hypothesized effect of perceived discrimination as the level of educational pursuit of those with lower level of perceived discrimination in economic opportunities tended to be more negatively affected by higher level of parent-child conflict. No support was found for hypothesis #6 as the interaction between familism and preference for the American culture was not significant.

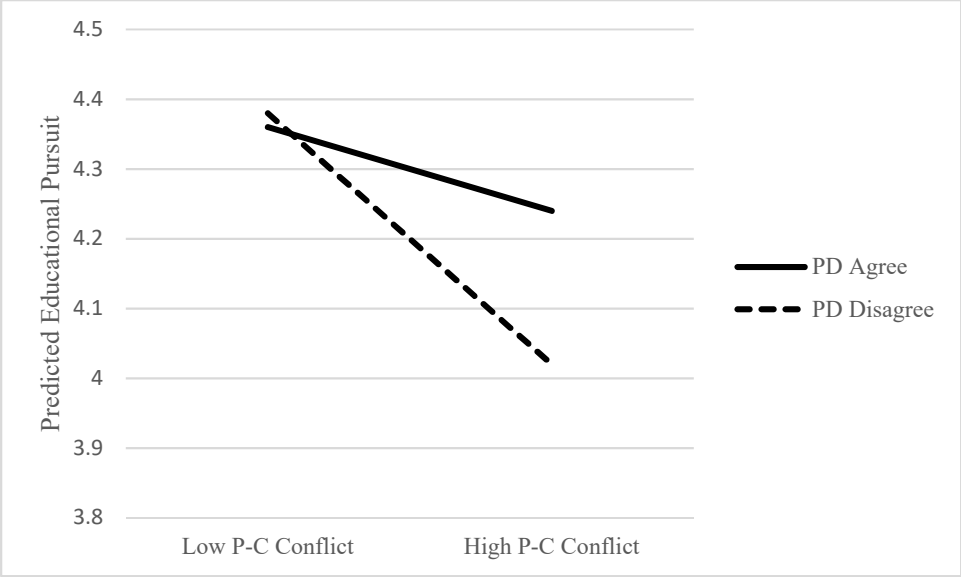

Figure 2**.** Predicted Educational Pursuit for Perceived Discrimination, by Levels of Parent-Child Conflict

Table 5.

Multiple Linear Regression with Sequential Predictor Entry for Educational Pursuit (All Respondents)

	Block 1 (Demographic)					Block 2 (Language)					Block 3 (Cultural)				
	R^2_{change}	R^2_{total}	R^2_{adj}	*b (SE)*	sr^2	R^2_{change}	R^2_{total}	R^2_{adj}	*b (SE)*	sr^2	R^2_{change}	R^2_{total}	R^2_{adj}	*b (SE)*	sr^2
Model Fit	0.17 ***	0.17 ***	0.16			0.01 **	0.18 ***	0.17			0.00	0.18 ***	0.17		
Coefficients															
Intercept				4.27 (.03) ***					4.26 (.03) ***					4.28 (.04) ***	
Age				-0.05 (.02) **	<.01				-0.05 (.02) **	<.01				-0.05 (.02) *	<.01
Female				0.13 (.02) ***	0.02				0.12 (.02) ***	0.02				0.12 (.02) ***	0.02
San Diego				-0.17 (.02) ***	0.03				-0.16 (.02) ***	0.03				-0.16 (.02) ***	0.02
U.S. stay: 10 years or more				-0.03 (.03)	<.01				-0.03 (.03)	<.01				-0.03 (.03)	<.01
Parent SES				0.20 (.02) ***	0.04				0.19 (.02) ***	0.04				0.19 (.02) ***	0.04
Fluent bilingual									0.11 (.03) **	0.01				0.11 (.03) **	0.01
English dominant									0.01 (.03)	<.01				0.01 (.03)	<.01
Foreign language dominant									0.00 (.04)	<.01				-0.00 (.04)	<.01
Ethnic identity: American														0.03 (.03)	<.01
American preference														-0.02 (.02)	<.01
Familism															
Parent-child conflict															
Perceived discrimination															
Fluent bilingual X Perceived disc.															
English dominant X Perceived disc.															
Foreign lang. dominant X Perceived disc.															
American preference X Perceived disc.															
Ethnic ID: American X Perceived disc.															
Familism X Perceived disc.															
Parent-child conflict X Perceived disc.															
Parent SES X Perceived disc.															
10 years or more X Perceived disc.															
Familism X American preference															

Note. N=1512. Block 1 F-change test df = 5, 1506; Block 2 df = 3, 1503; Block 3 df = 2, 1501; Block 4 df = 2, 1499; Block 5 df = 1, 1498; Block 6 df = 10, 1488.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

	Block 4 (Family)					Block 5 (Discrimination)					Block 6 (Interaction)				
	R^2_{change}	R^2_{total}	R^2_{adj}	*b (SE)*	sr^2	R^2_{change}	R^2_{total}	R^2_{adj}	*b (SE)*	sr^2	R^2_{change}	R^2_{total}	R^2_{adj}	*b (SE)*	sr^2
Model Fit	0.01 ***	0.19 ***	0.18			0.00	0.19 ***	0.18			0.01	0.19 ***	0.18		
Coefficients															
Intercept				4.28 (.04) ***					4.27 (.04) ***					4.25 (.04) ***	
Age				-0.05 (.02) **	<.01				-0.05 (.02) **	<.01				-0.06 (.02) **	<.01
Female				0.11 (.02) ***	0.02				0.11 (.02) ***	0.02				0.12 (.02) ***	0.02
San Diego				-0.17 (.02) ***	0.02				-0.17 (.02) ***	0.03				-0.17 (.02) ***	0.02
U.S. stay: 10 years or more				-0.03 (.03)	<.01				-0.03 (.03)	<.01				-0.02 (.03)	<.01
Parent SES				0.18 (.02) ***	0.03				0.18 (.02) ***	0.03				0.16 (.03) ***	0.01
Fluent bilingual				0.10 (.03) **	0.01				0.10 (.03) **	0.01				0.11 (.04) **	<.01
English dominant				0.01 (.03)	<.01				0.00 (.03)	<.01				0.03 (.05)	<.01
Foreign language dominant				0.00 (.04)	<.01				0.00 (.04)	<.01				0.02 (.05)	<.01
Ethnic identity: American				0.03 (.03)	<.01				0.03 (.03)	<.01				0.02 (.04)	<.01
American preference				-0.02 (.02)	<.01				-0.02 (.02)	<.01				-0.03 (.03)	<.01
Familism				-0.03 (.02)	<.01				-0.03 (.02)	<.01				-0.04 (.03)	<.01
Parent-child conflict				-0.08 (.02) ***	0.01				-0.08 (.02) ***	0.01				-0.12 (.03) ***	0.01
Perceived discrimination									0.02 (.02)	<.01				0.05 (.04)	<.01
Fluent bilingual X Perceived disc.														-0.00 (.04)	<.01
English dominant X Perceived disc.														-0.03 (.05)	<.01
Foreign lang. dominant X Perceived disc.														-0.04 (.05)	<.01
American preference X Perceived disc.														0.02 (.03)	<.01
Ethnic ID: American X Perceived disc.														0.00 (.04)	<.01
Familism X Perceived disc.														0.02 (.03)	<.01
Parent-child conflict X Perceived disc.														0.06 (.03) *	<.01
Parent SES X Perceived disc.														0.02 (.03)	<.01
10 years or more X Perceived disc.														-0.03 (.03)	<.01
Familism X American preference														-0.02 (.02)	<.01

Cuban respondents. In the first block (see Table 6), Cuban respondents' demographic characteristics accounted for significant variation in educational pursuit, $R^2 = 0.08$, $F(5,935) = 15.71$, $p < 0.001$, $R^2_{adjusted} = 0.07$. Controlling for respondents' demographic characteristics, the main effects of language ability and preference in the second block accounted for an additional 3% of the variance in educational pursuit, $R^2_{change} = 0.03$, $F_{change}(3,932) = 9.96$, $p < 0.001$ ($R^2_{total} = 0.11$ and $R^2_{adjusted} = 0.10$). In the third block, the main effects of cultural orientation variables did not account for significant variance in educational pursuit, $R^2_{change} < 0.01$, $F_{change}(2,930) = 0.89$, $p = 0.412$ ($R^2_{total} = 0.11$ and $R^2_{adjusted} = 0.10$). In the fourth block, the main effects of family dynamic variables account for an additional 1% of the variance in educational pursuit, $R^2_{change} = 0.01$, $F_{change}(2,928) = 5.73$, $p = 0.003$ ($R^2_{total} = 0.12$ and $R^2_{adjusted} = 0.11$). In the fifth block, the main effect of perceived discrimination did not account for any additional variance in educational pursuit, $R^2_{change} < 0.01$, $F_{change}(1,927) = 2.41$, $p = 0.12$ ($R^2_{total} = 0.12$ and $R^2_{adjusted} = 0.11$). In the final block, the acculturation-related and demographic variable interactions terms altogether were found to account for an additional 2% of the variance in educational pursuit, $R^2_{change} = 0.02$, $F_{change}(10,917) = 2.55$, $p = 0.005$ ($R^2_{total} = 0.15$ and $R^2_{adjusted} = 0.12$).

Results from the final block showed that the average Cuban respondent's level of educational pursuit was 4.48 points ($SE = 0.23$), holding all other variables constant, $t(917) = 19.37$, $p < 0.001$. Among control variables, sex, age, and parent SES uniquely predicted Cuban respondent's level of educational pursuit. Cuban respondents who were female were predicted to have a 0.20-point increase in level of educational pursuit at 3-year follow-up compared to their male counterparts, $b = 0.10$, $SE = 0.02$, $t(917) = 4.41$, $p < 0.001$, $sr^2 = 0.02$. Cuban Respondent's age had an unique relationship with educational pursuit as estimated to be $b = -0.05$, $SE = 0.02$, $t(917) = -2.46$, $p = 0.014$, $sr^2 = 0.01$; for every standard deviation increase in age, we expect a

0.05-point decrease in level of educational pursuit at 3-year follow-up, holding all else constant. Parent SES had an unique relationship with educational pursuit as estimated to be $b = 0.11$, $SE = 0.03$, $t(917) = 3.61$, $p < 0.001$, $sr^2 = 0.01$; for every standard deviation increase in socioeconomic status of Cuban respondents' parents, we expect a 0.11-point increase in Cuban respondents' level of educational pursuit at 3-year follow-up, holding all else constant. Among independent variables, fluent bilingualism and parent-child conflict uniquely predicted Cuban respondent's level of educational pursuit. Supporting hypothesis #1, Cuban respondents who were fluently bilingual had higher level of educational pursuit at 3-year follow-up than the average of all Cuban respondents by an estimated average of 0.17 points ($b = 0.17$, $SE = 0.04$, $t(917) = 3.91$, $p < 0.001$, $sr^2 = 0.01$) after holding all other variables constant. Frequency of parent-child conflict had a unique relationship with educational pursuit as estimated to be $b = -0.12$, $SE = 0.03$, $t(917) = -4.12$, $p < 0.001$, $sr^2 = 0.02$, providing support for hypothesis #3. For every standard deviation increase in frequency of parent-child conflict, we expect a 0.12-point decrease in level of educational pursuit at 3-year follow-up, holding all else constant. Since no significant main effects were found for cultural orientation variables and perceived discrimination, hypothesis #2 and hypothesis #4 were not supported.

Two significant interactions were found in the final block. An ordinal interaction between frequency of parent-child conflict and level of perceived discrimination (Figure 3) was found to be significant, $b = 0.07$, $SE = 0.03$, $t(917) = 2.35$, $p = 0.019$, $sr^2 = 0.01$. Cuban respondents who disagreed with the statement that there was racial discrimination in economic opportunities in the U.S. displayed lower level of educational pursuit at 3-year follow-up than those agreeing with the statement when both groups experienced high parent-child conflict whereas there was no difference in level of educational pursuit at 3-year follow-up when both groups experienced low

parent-child conflict. While this significant moderation effect partially supported hypothesis #5, the hypothesized effect of perceived discrimination was not supported as Cuban respondents with lower level of perceived discrimination tended to have lower level of educational pursuit when they experienced higher level of parent-child conflict.

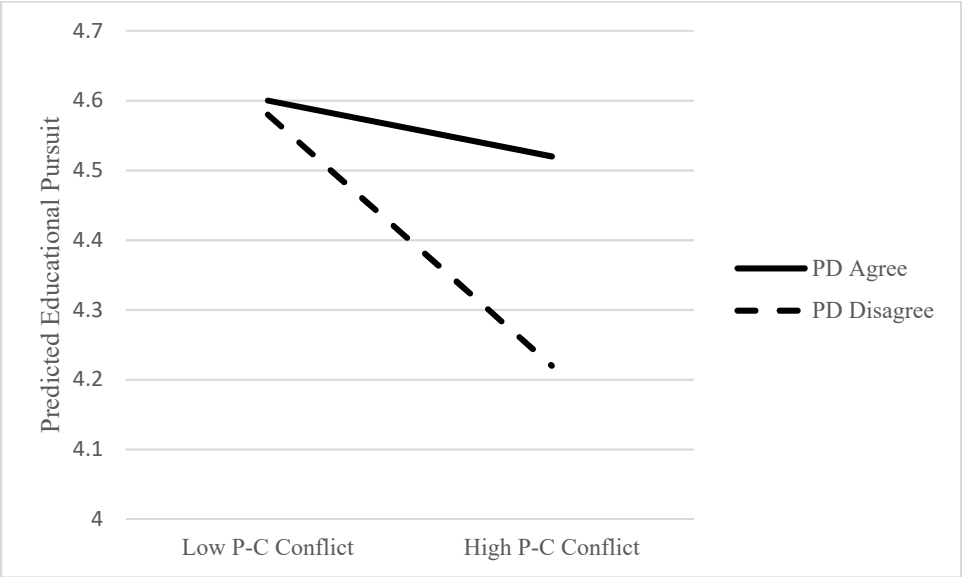

Figure 3**.** Predicted Educational Pursuit of Cuban Respondents for Perceived Discrimination , by Levels of Parent-Child Conflict

In addition, hypothesis #5 was partially supported with a disordinal interaction found between foreign language dominance and level of perceived discrimination (Figure 4), b = -0.17, SE = 0.07, $t(917)$ = -2.34, p = 0.017, sr^2 = 0.01. While Cuban respondents who agreed with the presence of racial discrimination in economic opportunities in the U.S. displayed a higher average level of educational pursuit than those disagreeing with the statement, the nature of this relationship was reversed when the language dominance of both groups was a foreign language. No support was found for hypothesis #6 among Cuban respondents as the interaction between familism and preference for the American culture was found to be nonsignificant.

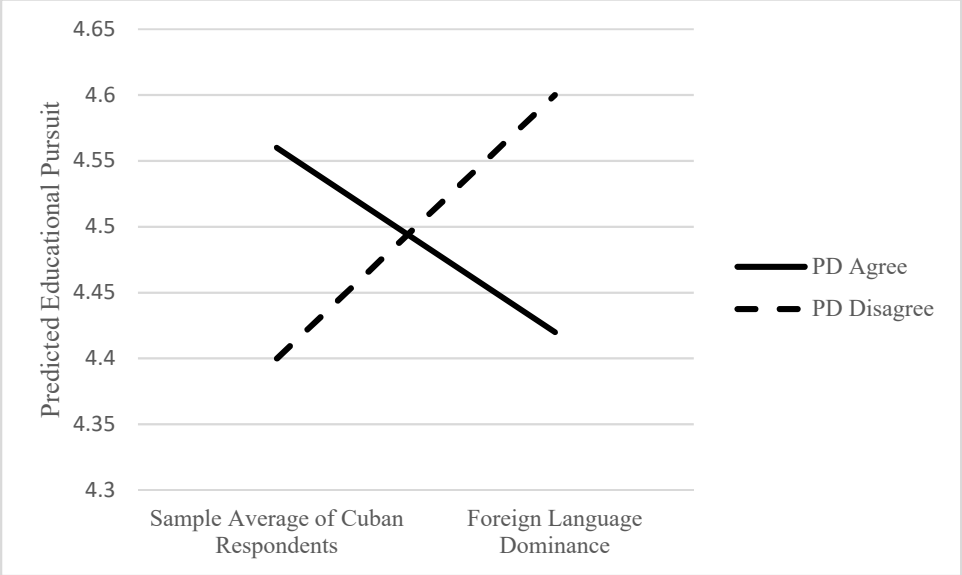

Figure 4. Predicted Educational Pursuit of Cuban Respondents for Perceived Discrimination, by Foreign Language Dominance

Table 6.

Multiple Linear Regression with Sequential Predictor Entry for Educational Pursuit (Cuban Respondents)

	Block 1 (Demographic)					Block 2 (Language)					Block 3 (Cultural)				
	R^2_{change}	R^2_{total}	R^2_{adj}	*b (SE)*	sr^2	R^2_{change}	R^2_{total}	R^2_{adj}	*b (SE)*	sr^2	R^2_{change}	R^2_{total}	R^2_{adj}	*b (SE)*	sr^2
Model Fit	0.08 ***	0.08 ***	0.07			0.03 ***	0.11 ***	0.10			0.00	0.11 ***	0.10		
Coefficients															
Intercept				4.55 (.23) ***					4.53 (.23) ***					4.56 (.23) ***	
Age				-0.06 (.02) *	0.01				-0.05 (.02) *	<.01				-0.05 (.02) *	<.01
Female				0.10 (.02) ***	0.02				0.09 (.02) ***	0.02				0.09 (.02) ***	0.02
San Diego				0.14 (.23)	<.01				0.16 (.23)	<.01				0.16 (.23)	<.01
U.S. stay: 10 years or more				0.02 (.04)	<.01				0.02 (.04)	<.01				0.02 (.04)	<.01
Parent SES				0.17 (.03) ***	0.05				0.16 (.03) ***	0.04				0.16 (.03) ***	0.04
Fluent bilingual									0.17 (.04) ***	0.02				0.17 (.04) ***	0.02
English dominant									0.02 (.04)	<.01				0.02 (.04)	<.01
Foreign language dominant									-0.04 (.06)	<.01				-0.04 (.06)	<.01
Ethnic identity: American														0.03 (.03)	<.01
American preference														-0.02 (.02)	<.01
Familism															
Parent-child conflict															
Perceived discrimination															
Fluent bilingual X Perceived disc.															
English dominant X Perceived disc.															
Foreign lang. dominant X Perceived disc.															
American preference X Perceived disc.															
Ethnic ID: American X Perceived disc.															
Familism X Perceived disc.															
Parent-child conflict X Perceived disc.															
Parent SES X Perceived disc.															
10 years or more X Perceived disc.															
Familism X American preference															

Note. N=941. Block 1 F-change test df = 5, 935; Block 2 df = 3, 932; Block 3 df = 2, 930; Block 4 df = 2, 928; Block 5 df = 1, 927; Block 6 df = 10, 917.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

	Block 4 (Family)					Block 5 (Discrimination)					Block 6 (Interaction)				
	R^2_{change}	R^2_{total}	R^2_{adj}	*b (SE)*	sr^2	R^2_{change}	R^2_{total}	R^2_{adj}	*b (SE)*	sr^2	R^2_{change}	R^2_{total}	R^2_{adj}	*b (SE)*	sr^2
Model Fit	0.01 **	0.12 ***	0.11			0.00	0.12 ***	0.11			0.02 **	0.15 ***	0.12		
Coefficients															
Intercept				4.54 (.23) ***					4.51 (.23) ***					4.48 (.23) ***	
Age				-0.05 (.02) *	0.01				-0.05 (.02) *	0.01				-0.05 (.02) *	0.01
Female				0.09 (.02) ***	0.02				0.10 (.02) ***	0.02				0.10 (.02) ***	0.02
San Diego				0.14 (.23)	<.01				0.14 (.23)	<.01				0.14 (.23)	<.01
U.S. stay: 10 years or more				0.02 (.04)	<.01				0.02 (.04)	<.01				0.06 (.05)	<.01
Parent SES				0.16 (.03) ***	0.04				0.15 (.03) ***	0.04				0.11 (.03) ***	0.01
Fluent bilingual				0.17 (.04) ***	0.02				0.17 (.04) ***	0.02				0.17 (.04) ***	0.01
English dominant				0.01 (.04)	<.01				0.01 (.04)	<.01				0.03 (.05)	<.01
Foreign language dominant				-0.05 (.06)	<.01				-0.05 (.06)	<.01				0.04 (.07)	<.01
Ethnic identity: American				0.03 (.03)	<.01				0.03 (.03)	<.01				0.03 (.04)	<.01
American preference				-0.01 (.02)	<.01				-0.01 (.02)	<.01				0.00 (.03)	<.01
Familism				-0.00 (.02)	<.01				-0.00 (.02)	<.01				-0.02 (.03)	<.01
Parent-child conflict				-0.07 (.02) ***	0.01				-0.07 (.02) ***	0.01				-0.12 (.03) ***	0.02
Perceived discrimination									0.04 (.03)	<.01				0.08 (.05)	<.01
Fluent bilingual X Perceived disc.														0.01 (.04)	<.01
English dominant X Perceived disc.														-0.02 (.05)	<.01
Foreign lang. dominant X Perceived disc.														-0.17 (.07) *	0.01
American preference X Perceived disc.														-0.03 (.03)	<.01
Ethnic ID: American X Perceived disc.														0.01 (.04)	<.01
Familism X Perceived disc.														0.04 (.03)	<.01
Parent-child conflict X Perceived disc.														0.07 (.03) *	0.01
Parent SES X Perceived disc.														0.05 (.03)	<.01
10 years or more X Perceived disc.														-0.06 (.05)	<.01
Familism X American preference														-0.03 (.02)	<.01

Mexican respondents. In the first block (see Table 7), Mexican respondents' demographic characteristics accounted for significant variation in educational pursuit, $R^2 = 0.08$, $F(5,565) = 9.39$, $p < 0.001$, $R^2_{adjusted} = 0.07$. Controlling for respondents' demographic characteristics, the main effects of language ability and preference in the second block were not found to account for any additional variance in educational pursuit, $R^2_{change} < 0.01$, $F_{change}(3,562) = 0.25$, $p = 0.865$ ($R^2_{total} = 0.08$ and $R^2_{adjusted} = 0.07$). In the third block, the main effects of cultural orientation variables did not account for significant variance in educational pursuit, $R^2_{change} < 0.01$, $F_{change}(2,560) = 0.44$, $p = 0.643$ ($R^2_{total} = 0.08$ and $R^2_{adjusted} = 0.06$). In the fourth block, the main effects of family dynamic variables account for an additional 1% of the variance in educational pursuit, $R^2_{change} = 0.01$, $F_{change}(2,558) = 4.18$, $p = 0.016$ ($R^2_{total} = 0.09$ and $R^2_{adjusted} = 0.07$). In the fifth block, the main effect of perceived discrimination did not account for any additional variance in educational pursuit, $R^2_{change} < 0.01$, $F_{change}(1,557) = 0.18$, $p = 0.672$ ($R^2_{total} = 0.09$ and $R^2_{adjusted} = 0.07$). In the final block, the acculturation-related and demographic variable interactions terms altogether did not account for significant unique variance in educational pursuit after controlling for demographic variables and main effects, $R^2_{change} = 0.01$, $F_{change}(10,547) = 0.78$, $p = 0.649$ ($R^2_{total} = 0.11$ and $R^2_{adjusted} = 0.07$).

Results from the final block showed that the average Mexican respondent's level of educational pursuit was 4.18 points ($SE = 0.19$), holding all other variables constant, $t(547) = 22.11$, $p < 0.001$. Among control variables, sex and parent SES uniquely predicted respondent's level of educational pursuit. Mexican respondents who were female were predicted to have a 0.32-point increase in level of educational pursuit at 3-year follow-up compared to their male counterparts, $b = 0.16$, $SE = 0.04$, $t(547) = 3.99$, $p < 0.001$, $sr^2 = 0.03$. Parent SES had an unique relationship with educational pursuit as estimated to be $b = 0.26$, $SE = 0.06$, $t(547) = 4.05$, $p <$

0.001, $sr^2 = 0.03$; for every standard deviation increase in socioeconomic status of Mexican respondents' parents, we expect a 0.26-point increase in Mexican respondents' level of educational pursuit at 3-year follow-up, holding all else constant. Among independent variables, only parent-child conflict uniquely predicted Mexican respondent's level of educational pursuit ($b = -0.11$, $SE = 0.05$, $t(547) = -2.24$, $p = 0.026$, $sr^2 = 0.01$), which partially supported hypothesis #3. For every standard deviation increase in frequency of parent-child conflict, we expect a 0.11-point decrease in level of educational pursuit at 3-year follow-up, holding all else constant. Contrary to findings from Cuban respondents, fluent bilingualism was not found to be a significant predictor for Mexican respondents' level of educational pursuit at 3-year follow-up. Also, there was no support for hypothesis #5 or hypothesis #6 as none of the interaction terms was found to be significant among Mexican respondents. These findings provided support for hypothesis #7 as there were ethnic differences in both main effects and moderation effects of acculturation-related predictors on respondents' level of educational pursuit across Cuban and Mexican respondents.

Table 7.

Multiple Linear Regression with Sequential Predictor Entry for Educational Pursuit (Mexican Respondents)

	Block 1 (Demographic)					Block 2 (Language)					Block 3 (Cultural)				
	R^2_{change}	R^2_{total}	R^2_{adj}	*b (SE)*	sr^2	R^2_{change}	R^2_{total}	R^2_{adj}	*b (SE)*	sr^2	R^2_{change}	R^2_{total}	R^2_{adj}	*b (SE)*	sr^2
Model Fit	0.08 ***	0.08 ***	0.07			0.00	0.08 ***	0.07			0.00	0.08 ***	0.06		
Coefficients															
Intercept				4.20 (.10) ***					4.19 (.10) ***					4.13 (.14) ***	
Age				-0.04 (.04)	<.01				-0.04 (.04)	<.01				-0.04 (.04)	<.01
Female				0.17 (.04) ***	0.03				0.17 (.04) ***	0.03				0.16 (.04) ***	0.03
San Diego				-0.06 (.10)	<.01				-0.05 (.10)	<.01				-0.07 (.11)	<.01
U.S. stay: 10 years or more				-0.07 (.04)	0.01				-0.07 (.05)	<.01				-0.07 (.05)	<.01
Parent SES				0.22 (.05) ***	0.04				0.22 (.05) ***	0.03				0.23 (.05) ***	0.03
Fluent bilingual									-0.01 (.07)	<.01				-0.01 (.07)	<.01
English dominant									0.04 (.07)	<.01				0.06 (.07)	<.01
Foreign language dominant									0.02 (.07)	<.01				0.01 (.07)	<.01
Ethnic identity: American														-0.07 (.12)	<.01
American preference														-0.03 (.04)	<.01
Familism															
Parent-child conflict															
Perceived discrimination															
Fluent bilingual X Perceived disc.															
English dominant X Perceived disc.															
Foreign lang. dominant X Perceived disc.															
American preference X Perceived disc.															
Ethnic ID: American X Perceived disc.															
Familism X Perceived disc.															
Parent-child conflict X Perceived disc.															
Parent SES X Perceived disc.															
10 years or more X Perceived disc.															
Familism X American preference															

Note. N=571. Block 1 F-change test df = 5, 565; Block 2 df = 3, 562; Block 3 df = 2, 560; Block 4 df = 2, 558; Block 5 df = 1, 557; Block 6 df = 10, 547.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

	Block 4 (Family)					Block 5 (Discrimination)					Block 6 (Interaction)				
	R^2_{change}	R^2_{total}	R^2_{adj}	*b (SE)*	sr^2	R^2_{change}	R^2_{total}	R^2_{adj}	*b (SE)*	sr^2	R^2_{change}	R^2_{total}	R^2_{adj}	*b (SE)*	sr^2
Model Fit	0.01 *	0.09 ***	0.07			0.00	0.09 ***	0.07			0.01	0.11 ***	0.07		
Coefficients															
Intercept				4.11 (.14) ***					4.12 (.14) ***					4.18 (.19) ***	
Age				-0.04 (.04)	<.01				-0.03 (.04)	<.01				-0.04 (.04)	<.01
Female				0.15 (.04) ***	0.03				0.15 (.04) ***	0.03				0.16 (.04) ***	0.03
San Diego				-0.06 (.11)	<.01				-0.06 (.11)	<.01				-0.07 (.11)	<.01
U.S. stay: 10 years or more				-0.07 (.05)	<.01				-0.07 (.05)	<.01				-0.08 (.06)	<.01
Parent SES				0.21 (.05) ***	0.03				0.22 (.05) ***	0.03				0.26 (.06) ***	0.03
Fluent bilingual				-0.02 (.07)	<.01				-0.02 (.07)	<.01				0.01 (.09)	<.01
English dominant				0.04 (.07)	<.01				0.05 (.07)	<.01				0.06 (.11)	<.01
Foreign language dominant				0.03 (.07)	<.01				0.03 (.07)	<.01				-0.01 (.08)	<.01
Ethnic identity: American				-0.09 (.12)	<.01				-0.09 (.12)	<.01				-0.08 (.18)	<.01
American preference				-0.02 (.04)	<.01				-0.02 (.04)	<.01				-0.08 (.06)	<.01
Familism				-0.07 (.04)	0.01				-0.07 (.04)	0.01				-0.07 (.05)	<.01
Parent-child conflict				-0.09 (.04) *	0.01				-0.09 (.04) *	0.01				-0.11 (.05) *	0.01
Perceived discrimination									-0.02 (.05)	<.01				-0.08 (.18)	<.01
Fluent bilingual X Perceived disc.														-0.03 (.09)	<.01
English dominant X Perceived disc.														-0.03 (.11)	<.01
Foreign lang. dominant X Perceived disc.														0.06 (.08)	<.01
American preference X Perceived disc.														0.10 (.05)	0.01
Ethnic ID: American X Perceived disc.														-0.02 (.18)	<.01
Familism X Perceived disc.														-0.00 (.05)	<.01
Parent-child conflict X Perceived disc.														0.05 (.05)	<.01
Parent SES X Perceived disc.														-0.08 (.06)	<.01
10 years or more X Perceived disc.														-0.02 (.06)	<.01
Familism X American preference														-0.02 (.04)	<.01

Chapter 5: Discussion

The present study used the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) dataset to investigate how the multifaceted process of acculturation influences children of Latino immigrant families in their attitudes toward pursuing higher education during their adolescence. The study included CILS survey data that was collected at Wave 1 and 2 from respondents of Cuban and Mexican descent. Respondents were interviewed at Wave 1 at eighth or ninth grade and re-interviewed at 3-year follow-up before they graduated from high school. Using multiple linear regression with sequential entry, the study assessed the direct and moderation effects of acculturation variables in predicting the level of educational pursuit at 3-year follow-up. Results were analyzed with the goals to understand the impact of acculturation risk and protective factors on respondents' level of educational pursuit and ethnic differences in the relation between acculturation predictors and level of educational pursuit across Cuban and Mexican respondents.

Summary and Interpretation of Findings

Among all acculturation-related predictors from the current study, parent-child conflict appeared to be the most consistent predictor for educational pursuit from analyses with the overall sample as well as with Cuban and Mexican respondents separately. High parent-child conflict at early stage of high school, measured by frequency of clashes between parent and child due to cultural differences in ways of doing things, was shown to lower the level of education respondents decided to pursue as they approached high school graduation, even after controlling demographic and other acculturation variables. This finding was consistent with previous literature on parent-child acculturation gap and intergenerational family conflict among immigrant families, where increasing cultural distance in the parent-child relationship may disrupt family support that shapes attitudes of children of immigrants toward how far they aspire

and expect to reach in their education (Lui, 2015, Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, Schofield et al., 2012). On the other hand, the current study did not support familism as a predictor for level of educational pursuit among either Cuban or Mexican respondents. Specifically, this finding did not align with previous literature on the protective role of familism in that children's respect for and obligation to repay their immigrant family as core source of support would lead to greater effort to strive for educational successes (Aretakis et al., 2015; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Roche et al., 2012). Parent-child conflicts that are based on intergenerational acculturation differences, when directly compared to familism, functioned better in the present study as a family variable in capturing the crucial process within the family dynamic among Latino immigrant families that determines the quality of relationship between immigrant parents and their children, which may subsequently contribute to variations in children's attitudes toward their future educational pursuit. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the practical significance of the result regarding parent-child conflict appeared to be limited due to its small effect size and interpretation of its actual impact on educational pursuit should warrant caution. Also, the nonsignificant findings of familism may be due to issues with psychometric definition of the construct, which was further discussed in the later section.

The positive relationship between fluent bilingualism and educational pursuit was observed when analyses were conducted among the overall sample and Cuban respondents, but not Mexican respondents. Cuban respondents who were fluent in both English and language of their national origin tended to aspire to and expect higher level of educational pursuit, which was consistent with previous research that documented the protective effect of fluent bilingualism on the educational endeavor (e.g., less likely to drop out of school, higher academic performance) of children of immigrant families through utilizing resources from both their ethnic community and

mainstream society (Feliciano, 2001; Portes & Rivas, 2011). However, Mexican respondents did not appear to benefit from fluent bilingualism in the current study. Due to small effect sizes of the findings, more investigation may be needed to further determine whether fluent bilingualism grants substantial advantage in educational pursuit for one ethnic group over the other. A study conducted by St-Hilaire (2002) found that fluent bilingualism was significantly associated with higher educational expectations, but not educational aspirations, among eighth and ninth grade Mexican students with immigrant parents. Also, past research has reported that Mexicans have stood out as the lowest in educational aspirations, expectations, and attainment among other Latino groups. Garcia and Bayer (2005) found that Mexicans, compared to Cubans and Puerto Ricans, were significantly less likely to attain a college education even after controlling for influential background factors (e.g., parental education and occupation, individual academic performance).

Similarly, Bohon and colleagues (2006) found that adolescents of Mexican immigrant families had lower college aspirations and expectations than Cuban adolescents, suggesting that adolescents' background factors (e.g., parental education, family income, immigrant generation, English language use at home) were related to level of college aspirations and expectations variably across Latino groups. Prominent structural disadvantages of Mexicans, such as high rates of poverty, low levels of parental education, and poor incorporation by the mainstream society, have put the group into "caste-like" conditions, whereas historical advantages of Cubans, such as higher human capital and resources, have been more conducive to their development of higher educational aspirations and expectations. Such a gap in socioeconomic status was also observed between our samples of Cuban and Mexican respondents, which might have overshadowed any advantages provided by fluent bilingualism for Mexican respondents.

Bohon and colleagues (2006) also noted that children of Cuban immigrants in the Miami/Ft. Lauderdale area, where their settlements have been historically located, tended to benefit from their bilingual ability when conducting business in the future and as a sign of pride among upper and middle classes, which might have explained the observed relation between fluent bilingualism and educational pursuit among our Cuban respondents. More research is needed to examine the circumstances where fluent bilingualism can be a protective factor for both Cuban and Mexican respondents in their pursuit of higher education.

For our cultural orientation variables, neither ethnic identification nor preference for American culture was found to predict variations in respondents' level of educational pursuit. Portes and Rivas (2011) found that while children of immigrant families may have different selections of ethnic labels based upon their experiences (e.g., discrimination and lack of opportunities in the mainstream society), children's level of self-esteem do not appear to vary based on differences in ethnic identification. Portes and Rivas further suggested that having an ethnic label, regardless of selection, may serve as a protection for one's self-esteem. This may explain the absence of significant changes in respondents' level of educational pursuit based on whether respondents chose an American ethnic identifier or not as its effect appeared to be minimal on producing differences in respondents' self-perception of what they desire and can realistically expect to achieve in higher education. In addition, a possible explanation for the lack of main effect of preference for American culture on levels of educational pursuit may be that its effect has been accounted for by other study variables, such as parent-child conflict. For example, respondents' preference for American culture may not necessarily worsen parent-child relationship when such preference is encouraged by the immigrant parents. Such differences in cultural preference may be tolerated by immigrant parents if their children's orientation toward

the mainstream society enhances their educational successes and socioeconomic mobility (Kroneberg, 2008).

As an acculturation risk factor, respondents' perceived discrimination in the economic opportunities in the U.S. did not lead to lower level of educational pursuit at the time they graduated from high school. This finding was not consistent with previous literature that suggested that perceived discrimination was associated with a variety of negative educational outcomes, such as school belonging, academic motivation, and school performance (Alfaro et al., 2009; Benner & Graham, 2011; Perreira et al., 2010; Roche & Kuperminc, 2012; Stein, Gonzalez, Cupito, Kiang, & Supple, 2015; Stone & Han, 2005). While most of the studies being reviewed here measured perceived discrimination by asking one's personal experiences of discriminatory treatment, the current study differed in our measurement of perceived discrimination by asking one's belief in the existence of societal discrimination in economic opportunities. This may indicate that personal experience of discrimination, instead of belief in the existence of discrimination, may be more powerful in influencing one's attitudes and behaviors related to education. Possible refinement for making our measure of perceived discrimination more comprehensive may include assessing respondents' perceived relevance of societal discrimination in their educational and career prospect as well as likelihood of experiencing such discrimination personally. It may also be critical to further investigate how one's awareness of racial discrimination at the societal level impacts personal beliefs in his/her educational advancement.

While the effect of perceived discrimination was not significant as a single predictor for educational pursuit, the current study found perceived discrimination to be significantly interacting with parent-child conflict and foreign language dominance. Among the overall

sample and Cuban respondents alone, the added negative effect of parent-child conflict on educational pursuit was unexpectedly greater for those who showed stronger disagreement with the existence of racial discrimination in economic opportunities in the U.S. More research is needed regarding the underlying processes that make respondents with low awareness of perceived discrimination more vulnerable to parent-child conflict as they develop their attitudes toward pursuing higher education. For example, it may be possible that one's lack of awareness of racial discrimination in the mainstream society may bear the tendency to assimilate into the American culture, which may increase frequency of conflict with their immigrant parents due to widening cultural gap in lifestyle. Furthermore, a moderation effect was observed in the relationship between perceived discrimination and foreign language dominance among Cuban respondents. This finding may suggest that personal belief in the existence of racial discrimination in economic opportunities may not limit Cuban respondents' aspirations and expectations to pursue higher education until one's realization that foreign language dominance may be an educational barrier to their potential in continuing their educational pursuit. On the other hand, there was no moderation effect between perceived discrimination and any of the predictors for estimating Mexican respondents' educational pursuit at 3-year follow-up. As we have mentioned, the strong influence of socioeconomic disadvantages among Mexican respondents might have accounted for greater effect than belief in perceived discrimination on shaping one's perception of available economic opportunities in the mainstream society, which subsequently affects one's aspiration and expectation in higher education.

Limitations of Study

Using a large national dataset, the current study aimed at gaining insights into how the process of acculturation differentially impacts level of educational pursuit of children of Cuban

and Mexican immigrant families as two distinct Latino groups. While the study presented rich data of a large sample of respondents, several limitations of the study should be noted for interpretation of the study findings. First, the current study sample contained only respondents from CILS who were interviewed at both Wave 1 and Wave 2 data collection. Data from respondents who were not able to be contacted for interview at Wave 2 was not included in the current data analyses, which may pose issues for generalizability of the current findings toward the two Latino groups in the current study. The current study was able to retain 77% of Cuban respondents and 76% of Mexican respondents from CILS Wave 1 interview for data analyses. Also, a highly uneven distribution of Cuban and Mexican respondents across the San Diego and Miami/Ft. Lauderdale areas was observed from the CILS. It is important to interpret the current findings with the perspectives that uncaptured personal characteristics of excluded respondents as well as factors that are unique to the geographical locations and immigration history of the two Latino groups may have impacted the quality of our findings for holistic understanding about how acculturation processes influence one's dispositions in education.

Another limitation pertains to the psychometric properties of measures for key variables in the study. While the current study adopted all original items from the CILS dataset to capture varying aspects of the latent variable of familism, the internal consistency of the composite was poor ($\alpha = .58$). Furthermore, the measure of familism in the present study may suffer from weak content validity when compared to alternative measures of familism used in other research studies. For example, the Attitudinal Familism Scale (Lugo Steidel & Contreras, 2003) is an 18-item composite that assesses familism with four subscales (familial support, family interconnectedness, family honor, subjugation of self). Enhancing the multidimensionality in our current measure of familism may boost its ability to adequately predict respondents' educational

pursuit and offer more nuanced understanding about how multiple facets of familism affect one's decision-making in education. Likewise, the current study used a dichotomized single-item measure of perceived discrimination due to an unacceptable level of internal consistency (α = .40) of the Perception of Society and Discrimination Index (PSDI; Portes & Bach, 1985) used by the CILS. Based on the critical relation between attainment of higher education and socioeconomic mobility (Baum & Flores, 2011), the present study selected the only item from the PSDI that addressed individual perception of racial discrimination in economic opportunities to assess whether racial discrimination serves as a deterrence to children of Latino immigrants from pursuing higher education. A more comprehensive measure of perceived discrimination, such as personal history of experiencing discriminatory treatment and its relevance to one's career prospect, with high internal consistency may be needed to better assess its effect on respondents' attitudes toward educational pursuit. Lastly, the absence of significant main effects from cultural orientation variables in the study may suggest the need for better measure that can holistically assess the multifaceted nature of one's acculturation style, including cultural identification, cultural values, and cultural practices (Schwartz et al., 2010). Improving the robustness of our variable measures may increase the amount of unique variance in educational pursuit collectively accounted by our acculturation predictors.

As mentioned earlier, the practical significance of the findings was minimal as evidenced by its small effect size. While the effects of parent-child acculturation conflict and fluent bilingualism on Cuban respondents reached statistical significance, the degree of change these predictors produced in respondents' attitudes toward pursing higher education was very small in the present study. Comparing to other stronger predictors, such as parent SES, the detrimental role of acculturation difference in the parent-child relationship as well as the benefits of fluent

bilingualism may appear to be more inconclusive based on their relatively weak impact on respondents' educational pursuit. Along with the measures of familism and perceived discrimination, it is possible that alternative approaches for assessing acculturation difference between immigrant parents and their children and multiple facets of bicultural tendency of immigrant children may improve the practical significance of our current findings.

Implications of Findings and Future Directions for Research

As one of the fastest-growing block of students in the U.S. school system, the educational underachievement among children of Latino immigrants has attracted significant research interest with the goals to understand the precipitating factors and mechanisms for such phenomenon of education inequity among Latino communities. The findings of the current study provide important implications for continuing research effort in investigating the role of acculturation and related sociocultural forces on the development of educational aptitude among children of Latino immigrants. The current study also attempted to contribute research knowledge to the limited literature on addressing differences in acculturation experiences and its impact on one's educational outcomes across Latino subgroups (Bohon et al., 2006; Garcia & Bayer, 2005, Jasinski, 2000), which calls for diversification in our intervention approach that accommodates the heterogeneity of educational needs among Latino communities. Specifically, the current study findings provided some implication for the need to understand the diverging pattern of associations between acculturation predictors and future educational pursuit across children of Cuban and Mexican immigrants, which appeared to be consistent with their distinct differences in immigration history and demographic characteristics (Jasinski, 2000; Pew Research Center, 2006; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Portes & Stepick, 1993) as well as level of educational attainment (Bohon et al., 2006; Garcia & Bayer, 2005).

Through a multidimensional perceptive on the concept of acculturation, future research will benefit from investigating how specific aspects of the parent-child acculturation gap facilitate the development of familial dynamics among Latino immigrant populations over time. Better theoretical understanding of rise of acculturation conflict within the parent-child relationship as well as its processes that are related to lower educational pursuit among children of Latino immigrant would support development and experimental research on appropriate interventions that focus on building conflict resolution and communication skills building between parents and child as well as agency of parents to participate in their children's education. Beyond family risk factors, it is essential to continue to explore the positive role of strong family functioning in promoting constructive parent-child dialogue that encourages future advancement in education. Further research in cultural family values and dynamics can produce more in-depth knowledge that emboldens Latino immigrant parents in identifying family strengths and utilizing their position to effectively support their children's cultural development and educational progress.

The diverging strength of fluent bilingualism as a positive predictor for educational pursuit across Cuban and Mexican respondents may suggest the need for further study on the supportive factors that enable fluent bilingualism to be beneficial for increasing one's aspirations and expectations for higher education across different Latino groups. For example, fluent bilingualism may not provide any positive effect on the educational aspirations and expectations of children of immigrant when their immigrant parents are fluent in English (Mouw & Xie, 1999). Knowing how fluent bilingualism interacts with one's external environment, such as characteristics of settlement and family cultural values, may improve understanding of its application for supporting one's pursuit in higher education. Furthermore, it may be imperative

to deepen our understanding of the underlying processes that maximize one's benefits from fluent bilingualism in maintaining access in both the mainstream society and one's ethnic community.

Due to numerous nonsignificant findings regarding the effect of familism and perceived discrimination in the current study, it will behoove future research to continue exploring their critical role and interaction effects on shaping one's educational attitudes. A scarcity of studies has examined the moderation effect of familism on perceived discrimination in regard to influencing one's educational outcomes. For example, Stein and colleagues (2015) found that familism, while having direct positive effects for Latino youth's school belonging, did not serve any protective role of moderating the negative effect of discrimination on school belonging. Intervention research that aims to support educational aspirations and expectations across children of various Latino immigrant groups may be aided by additional understanding on the specific conditions and mechanisms that activate the protective effects of familism and other necessary mediators (e.g., school climate) in alleviating the influence of perceived discrimination. In particular, more research effort may be dedicated to investigating how various qualities of school-based interactions and relationships (e.g., student-student, teacher-student, teacher-parent) are conducive to creating an inviting and intellectually stimulating educational environment that elicits active participation from both Latino students and their immigrant parents.

With the intensifying anti-immigrant sentiment amid the current political climate (Santamaría Graff, 2017), it is more important than ever to fortify research effort that focuses on building resiliency within children of Latino immigrant as they pave their path to educational success. Recognizing the critical link between students' acculturation experience and their

educational prospect, the present study aims to contribute to an evolving knowledge base of acculturation that generates implications for reducing systemic barriers in education for students from Latino immigrant families and supporting students' potential to maximize their educational benefits through their school experience. Rigorous research continues to play a key role of informing members of the current education system to be better equipped to ensure equitable access to education for children of Latino immigrant, transforming our schools into inclusive spheres that acknowledge the diversity of students' cultural experience, honor cultural assets as integral to one's scholastic identity, and prepare students to be productive members of cross-cultural societies.

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