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Perennial and Situational: A Study of Immigrant Identity
Formation and Transformation

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Abstract

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This dissertation investigates the formation and transformation of Latino identities as well as the political implications of these transformations. I argue that upon arrival, shift from a defined stance in terms of their identity. Namely, they are likely feel strongly identified with their country of origin and far less identified as Americans. Conversely, their identification towards a pan-ethnic or Latino identity is likely seen as more flexible. Using mix-methods approach I find that as immigrants immerse in and by the host society, they go through a transition phase and they begin to experience what I call receptive and unreceptive agents of categorization. To deal with those agents immigrants find a comforting zone in embracing a situational identity (i.e Latino). Finally, after living in the U.S. long enough, immigrants are better able to deal with these agents and a return to their country of origin identity can be observed which I call perennial identity. In addition to ethnographic interviews I use a unique repeated cross-sectional sample survey, taking advantage of the numerous individual observations within a specific cohort and time period, I employ a hierarchical age period cohort analysis (HAPC) in the form of cross-classified models in which observations across the different surveys are nested within time periods and cohorts. By combining cross-sections from studies taken over five decades, I am better

able to estimate APC effects than prior studies, which tend to be limited to a either a single cohort or a single period. The empirical findings suggest trends that support the dynamics of a dynamic process of identity formation and transformation in which identities unfold as perennial or situational

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GLOSSARY

LATINO/LATINA/HISPANIC: I use the these terms interchangeably to refer to those individuals who can trace their ancestry to any of the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. While the specific terms have particular histories and even meaning I use them interchangeably but fully recognizing their distinctiveness

GRINGO/GABACHO: These terms are used particularly among Mexicans to refer to Anglo Americans, their use towards other Latinos however, is often employed in a derogatory way.

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DEDICATION

to Janeth, with love

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

In 2010 the U.S. census revealed that Hispanics constitute 16.3% of the US population and that Hispanics are the fastest growing minority group, projected to be about 30% of the population by 2050 (U.S. census data, 2010). Given the evident growth of the Hispanic population and its imminent presence and influence, the Spanish-language television network Univision launched a campaign called “We are America!” celebrating the “new American reality” and the way in which Latinos have found a way to immerse in the American culture; fuse, adapt, blend, adopt traditions and share traditions. A constant reference made by the Univision campaign is the fact that both native born Latinos as well as Latino immigrants are now an important force capable of influencing the polity, both culturally and politically (Ramos, 2009). While it is true that second and third generation Latinos constitute an important segment of the overall Hispanic population the reality is that the immigrant (first generation) component of the Latino population still constitutes a considerable share of Latino households. As a result, Latino immigrants shape how Latinos in general are perceived by others and even themselves. U.S. Census data show that in 2010, 38% of Latinos were first generation and 32% second generation -the children of immigrants. Furthermore, the Pew Hispanic Center forecasts that by 2020 the Latino population will be composed of 34% first generation and 36% second generation (Passel and Cohn, 2008). These numbers tell us that about 70% of the Latino population was, is and will be either immigrants themselves or have immigrant parents.

These facts pose interesting challenges to both the day-to-day lives of Latinos and to academics striving to understand the way in which immigrants from Latin Amer-

ica make the U.S. *su casa*. On the one hand, Latinos see themselves as an important component of a new race/color scheme in which the black-white dichotomy seems less possible. On the other hand, Latino identity is still questioned on the extent to which it truly fits within the “American-way.” Some academics have questioned the degree to which Latino identity, given its direct link with immigrants, puts in jeopardy the core of “American values” (Huntington, 2006). Conversely, extant literature using individual level data has shown that Latinos are in fact incorporating and acculturating (see de la Garza, et al. 1996; Fraga and Segura, 2006; Fraga et al., 2010) regardless of the continuing influx of Latin-American immigrants.

Given the complex nature of this group, attempts to better understand how Latinos see themselves have focused on acculturation and cross generational acculturation patterns (e.g. Berry 1997; Portes and Rumbaut 2001), but few studies have undergone a deep investigation question of identity formation and transformation among immigrants. Certainly, understanding identity is a difficult task; and, immigrant identities are a myriad of complexities. Social identity theorists suggest that individuals are driven to uphold a positive distinctiveness of the group they belong. This is hard for Latin American immigrants who are usually pushed from their country of origin and pulled into the U.S. precisely because of their lack of resources (Staudt and Garcia-Rios, 2011). In addition, once in the U.S., immigrants are likely to be pressured to balance demands between home country and host country (Jones-Correa, 1998). As a result, in order to maintain a positive self-image, immigrants in particular, are tempted to modify their social identity. Scholars from various fields have explored different dynamics regarding the identity of Latino immigrants. For the most part these studies have focused on how the Latino/Hispanic category came to exist, be used and accepted (see for instance Gracia 2000; Beltran, 2010; Mora, 2014) While these studies present an important contribution to the understanding of the development of this category we still know very little about how identity forms and transforms among immigrants.

Moreover, while the link of identity and political science has been explored (Crenshaw, 1991; Calhoun, 1994; Keith & Pile, 2004; Lipsitz, 2006) immigrant identity has been overlooked for the most part. I suggest that understanding the formation and transformations of ethnic identity among Latinos can be one of the stepping stones to better understanding not only Latino politics, but given the growth of the Latino population it can also be a stepping stone to understand the future of American politics. Today, 13% of our country is foreign born and an additional 11% have immigrant parents. That means one out of four Americans have a direct connection to the immigrant experience. What's more, these numbers are only projected to grow: the Pew Research Center found that 24% of all children born in 2008 in the U.S. had an immigrant parent.

Many scholars have studied the prevalence of racial and ethnic identities among members of minority groups, including African Americans, Latinos, and Asians (e.g., Dawson 1994; Jones-Correa and Leal 1996; Lien 1994). However, the relationship between group identity and political attitudes and behavior has been hard to consistently reproduce, with some studies detecting strong evidence (Shingles 1981; Dawson 1994; Sanchez 2006; Junn and Masuoka 2008; Barreto 2010) and others finding weak or no results of this relationship (Uhlener et al. 1989; Tate 1991; Lien 1994; Leighley and Vedlitz 1999). Furthermore, these studies include ethnic identity as a static element and do not document how identity forms or transforms. At best, scholars have focused on the relationship between group consciousness and linked fate. However, the notion of linked fate and group consciousness is only partially advancing the understanding of identity. Given multiple identities, linked fate scholarship has not explored with whom Latinos' fate is linked to. Specifically, one question scholars of linked fate have not considered with respect to Latinos is do immigrants see themselves "linked" to other Latinos as "Latinos" or as "Mexicans" or "Mexican-Americans" or "Cubans"? What is the basis for adopting linked fate, and what role does country of origin identity versus pan-ethnic "Latino" identity have in untangling

Latino linked fate?

Among those investigating the formation and development of ethnic identity the theoretical writing outweighs the empirical research (e.g. Zinn, 1980; Barvosa, 2008; Beltran, 2010). In addition, most of the empirical work focuses on cross generation comparisons or early childhood identity acquisition, far less work has been done to investigate the transformations of identity. As noted by scholars (e.g. Phinney, 1990; 2007; Jimenez, 2010), the topic is of sufficient importance to warrant serious research attention, but in order for the research to yield useful and meaningful results, greater conceptual and methodological clarity is needed. The primary goal of this dissertation is to shed some light on the understanding of the complex dynamics of Latino identity and then, to demonstrate the importance of identity as an independent variable in understanding political behavior. Accordingly, in this dissertation I posit a new theoretical framework to assess the different paths of identity formation and transformation that immigrants from Latin America undergo while living in the U.S.

1.1 Dissertation Layout

In the chapters that follow I explore these dynamics with a multi-method approach. I focus on first generation Latinos which have been overlooked in general and in terms of their identity development in particular. Arguably, first generation Latinos should constitute a cornerstone in the foundation of our understanding of Latino identity.

First I lay out the basis of the theoretical framework and illustrate these dynamics aided by my ethnographic work. I have administrated semi-structured interviews to a snowball sample of Latinos and Latinas in various cities of Washington State; El Paso, TX; and Washington, DC. I personally conducted most of these interviews but I was also assisted by three Latino research assistants: a male and two females. I was particularly interested in observing how Latinas felt much more comfortable speaking to a Latina than otherwise. Further detail on the methodology of these interviews as well as the semi-structured questionnaire can be found in Appendix 1. I

also present an empirical assessment of these transformations using a unique repeated cross-sectional sample survey comprised by Latino focused surveys ranging from 1965 to 2006, which I call the Latin American Immigrant Survey Composite (LAISC). This dataset combines over 9,500 survey observations, from five different surveys into a single archive. The consistency in the wording of the identity questions across these surveys allows me to construct a repeated cross-sectional sample survey for the first ever cohort analysis of Latino identity¹ and which can be used to estimate age-period-cohort (APC) effects using a Hierarchical Age Period Cohort model (Caplan, 1995; Land & Yang, 2013).

I suggest that in order to properly study identity formation and transformation we have to conceptualize it as an Age-Period-Cohort analysis. The assumption is simple: The experiences of immigrants today might be different to the experiences of those who lived in the country 50 years ago. Recently arrived immigrants today have a different experience from those who arrived in the U.S in the 60's. The problem with using cross-sectional data gathered at one point in time to study time-related phenomena is the confounding of time and cohort changes. For instance, estimating the preferred identity of an immigrant who arrived in the year 2000 and surveyed in 2010 would give us a sense of the identity of an immigrants who has been in the US for $t = 10$ but that would not necessary be true for an immigrant who arrived in 1960 and was surveyed in 1970. While the use of an APC analysis is not without caveats, namely the confounding of time and cohort, the evidence amounted in this dissertation is suggestive of trends that support the perennial-situational model. In short, both qualitatively and quantitatively, I find that immigrants undergo a set of identity transformations as a result of an internal negotiation between what I call

¹The LAISC is comprised by five different data sets: the Mexican American Study Project (MASP), 1965; the Mexican Origin People in the United States: the Chicano Survey (Chicano Survey), 1979; the Latino National Political Survey (LNPS), 1990; the Pew Hispanic Center/Kaiser Family Foundation National Survey of Latinos (Kaiser Survey), 1999 and the Latino National Survey (LNS), 2006.

“perennial identities” and “situational identity.”

1.1.1 Chapter 2: Perennial and Situational: Developing a New Theory of Identity Formation and Transformation

In this chapter I posit a new theoretical framework to assess the different paths of identity formation and transformation that immigrants from Latin America undergo while living in the U.S. Using social identity theory and social categorization theory I posit that immigrants undergo a set of identity transformations as a result of an internal negotiation between what I call “perennial identities” and “situational identity.” By perennial identity I mean identities that persist, and remain being salient despite changes in one’s life cycle. Conversely, by situational I mean identities that are embraced transitionally. In short, while different immigrant cohorts have experienced different contextual environments these identity transformations and transitions can be observed even within different arrival cohorts. I lay out the basis of the theoretical framework and illustrate these dynamics aided by my ethnographic work.

1.1.2 Chapter 3: Assessing Latino Identity Formation and Transformation: A case for non-linearity

In this chapter I present a quantitative approach to the perennial-situational identity theory. Using the Latino National Survey 2006, I study the transformations that Latino immigrants undergo while living in the U.S. Based on the perennial-situational model I explore the dynamics between time in the U.S. and the different ethnic identities that Latinos embrace. Despite the limitations of cross-sectional data and linear models, the evidence found in this chapter is suggestive of trends that support the dynamic nature of Latino identity as introduced by the perennial situational model.

1.1.3 Chapter 4: *Assessing the Age Period Cohort Conundrum-[Re]Assessing Latino Identity*

This dissertation aims to be not only a substantive theoretical contribution to the understanding of Latino identity formation but it also aims to contribute to the methodological conundrum of the study of Age Period Cohort Analysis. Taking advantage of the numerous individual observations within a specific cohort and time period in the LAISC, I employ a hierarchical age period cohort analysis (HAPC) in the form of cross-classified models in which observations across the different surveys are nested within time periods and cohorts. I discuss in further detail the construction of the data set in Chapter 3 and in Appendix 2. Using an APC analysis allows me to estimate under specific assumptions the effect of exogenous shocks across cohorts (year of entry to the U.S.), periods (year of interview) and time in the U.S.

In addition, I propose that the systematization of the identity questions observed in surveys since 1965 allow for the construction of a unique repeated cross-section sample survey which has been used to estimate age-period-cohort (APC) effects (Caplan, 1995; Land & Yang, 2013). Thus, to test my theory empirically I use a unique repeated cross-sectional sample survey comprised by Latino focused surveys ranging from 1965 to 2006, which I call the Latin American Immigrant Survey Composite (LAISC). This dataset combines over 9,500 survey observations into a single archive for the first ever cohort analysis of Latino identity.

1.1.4 Chapter 5: *Establishing the When and How of Identity and Political Participation*

One of the main motivation for this project is that ethnic identification is one of the prime bases for participation in social movements (Simon et. al 1998). Social identity theorists suggest that individuals are strongly driven to maintain a positive self-image (Tajfel and Turner 1979). One way people achieve this is by upholding a

positive distinctiveness of groups they belong to, that is, by ensuring ones ingroup(s) compares favorably against an outgroup(s). For this reason, threats to a groups worth elicit specific reactions from group members reactions that depend on ones level of identification with a group (Ethier and Deaux 1994; Doosje et al. 1995; Ellemers et al. 1997; Spears et al. 1997). Therefore, a key component is to test the different dynamics explored throughout the dissertation against political participation measures as well as policy positions. I test these across identities, generations and time lived in the US. I use LNS for this analysis. This data sets includes a battery of political participation questions. Instead of creating an index of participation I test every political activity as a separate outcome variable. I theorize that having different identities across different points in time would foster different participation levels on different political activities. Finally, in order to asses political participation I conduct an original survey experiment in which respondents are presented with agents of categorization to test directly the identity to politics link.

Chapter 2

PERENNIAL AND SITUATIONAL: DEVELOPING A NEW THEORY OF IDENTITY FORMATION AND TRANSFORMATION

The classification of “Hispanic” or “Latino” itself is new, an instance of a pan-ethnic category created by law decades ago. But the groups subsumed under this label –Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Dominicans, Salvadorans, Guatemalans, Colombians, Peruvians, Ecuadorians, and the other dozen nationalities from Latin America and even Spain itself– were not “Hispanics” or “Latinos” in their countries of origin; rather, they only became so in-the United States. This label has a particular meaning only in the U.S. context in which it was constructed and, is applied, and where its meaning continues to evolve.

The people this label attempts to encompass are rapidly transforming the country’s demographic and geographic composition. “Hispanics” or “Latinos” are an extraordinarily diverse group, comprised of recently arrived newcomers and of old timers with deeper roots in US soil than any other ethnic group except for the indigenous peoples of the continent. They comprise a population that can claim both a history and a territory in what is now the United States that precede the establishment of the nation. But it is also a population that has emerged suddenly, its growth driven both by accelerating immigration from the Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America and by high rates of natural increase. Forty-five percent of the total Hispanic population of the United States today is foreign-born, and another 31 percent consists of a rapidly growing second generation of U.S.-born children of immigrant parents (Rumbaut, 2006).

Although the single label implies otherwise, “Hispanics” or “Latinos” are not a homogeneous entity, and should not be presumed to be so. Particularly, recent newcomers who differ notably in national and social-class origins, cultural backgrounds, phenotypes, migration histories, legal statuses, and contexts of reception in the United States. Prior to 1970, Mexicans were almost always coded as “white” for census purposes, and were deemed “white” by law since the nineteenth century (Haney-Lopez, 2003). In addition, neither “Hispanic” nor “Latino” is a term of preference used by Latin American newcomers in the United States to define themselves; rather, the research literature has consistently shown that they self-identify preponderantly by their national origin (Rumbaut, 2006). How then are these categories internalized by immigrants from Latin America? Attempts to better understand how Latinos see themselves have focused on acculturation (e.g. Berry 1997; Portes and Rumbaut 2001), departing from the assumption that there is a linear and progressive transition from country of origin identities to host country identities with pan-ethnic identities serving as an intermediate step in this process.

In this dissertation, I present a new theory to better assess the formation and transformation of identity. I focus on first generation Latinos which have been overlooked in general and in terms of their identity development in particular. Arguably, first generation Latinos should constitute a cornerstone in the foundation of our understanding of Latino identity. In this chapter I lay out this new theoretical framework to assess the different paths of identity formation and transformation that immigrants from Latin America undergo while living in the U.S. Using social identity theory and social categorization theory I posit that immigrants undergo a set of identity transformations as a result of an internal negotiation between what I call “perennial identities” and “situational identity.” By perennial identity I mean identities that persist, and remain being salient despite changes in one’s life cycle. Conversely, by situational I mean identities that are embraced transitionally. In short, while different immigrant cohorts have experienced different contextual environments these identity

transformations and transitions can be observed even within different arrival cohorts. I lay out the basis of the theoretical framework and illustrate these dynamics aided by my ethnographic work.

2.1 Investigating Incorporation, Assimilation, and Identity: A Century-Long Endeavor

Throughout most of the 20th century, social scientists theorized about the process by which newcomers to America develop their identities. Mostly, their studies linked this development to the incorporation into mainstream culture. In particular, research focused on identity choices as the main indicator of American assimilation (Gordon 1964; Hirschman 1983; Alba and Nee 1997; Foner 2000; Alba and Nee 2003; Waters 2005). Beginning in 1914, Park undertook the study of what happens to people from diverse cultures and languages when they come into contact with one another. According to this model, contact between peoples from different cultures forces them to seek ways to accommodate each other to minimize conflict. According to Park, as immigrants learn to accommodate to the dominant group, a process of cultural assimilation takes place culminating in amalgamation. For Park, the process leading to cultural assimilation was progressive and irreversible. However, Park does not mention identity as part of his assimilation process.

It was Gordon (1964) who provided a systematic dissection of the concept of assimilation proposing seven sub-processes and suggests that: “[e]ach of these steps or sub processes may be thought of as constituting a particular stage or aspect of the assimilation processes” (Gordon, 1964: 70). These sub-processes include: “marital assimilation” characterized by large scale intermarriage, “attitude receptional assimilation” characterized by the absence of prejudice from the mainstream host culture, “behavior receptional assimilation” characterized by the absence of discrimination from the mainstream host culture, “civic assimilation” characterized by the fact that the demands rose by the immigrant group do not create any conflict of value

and power. However, the most critical distinction suggested by Gordon is between “behavioral” assimilation or “acculturation” which is the absorption of the cultural behavior patterns of the ‘host’ society and what he termed “structural” assimilation, by which he meant “the entry of members of an ethnic minority into primary-group relationships with the majority group” (Alba and Nee, 1997) Finally, the last sub process suggested by Gordon is identificational assimilation which refers to the development of a sense of peoplehood based on the host society (Gordon, 1964), this being the culmination of the process. Thus, according to Gordon, a successful acculturation process culminates when host country identities are embraced.

Conversely, Teske and Nelson (1974) offered a psychological perspective on acculturation. According to these scholars, acculturation included changes in material traits behavior patterns, norms, institutional changes, and values. It was Berry (1980), however, who expanded on Teske and Nelson to include varieties of adaptation and specifically identified the following four: assimilation, integration, rejection, and deculturation. The importance of Berrys qualitative study was that immigrants could reverse their acculturation process to the dominant group and revert to their former cultural heritage. Today, there are numerous instances of ethnic groups who have managed to revive their ancestral language and culture such as Ainu in Japan, French in Quebec and Catalan in Spain (Fishman, 2001; Rico and Jennings 2012). Thus, for these scholars, acculturation is not strictly a unidirectional process of cultural change but rather process forced by inter-group contact with multiple outcomes. What we see on these studies is that identity is seen as independent of acculturation and assimilation.

2.1.1 Identity Beyond Assimilation a Psychological Perspective

On different levels and forms, early sociology scholars saw identity as part of a process (i.e assimilation). Conversely, some psychology scholars have seen ethnic identity as a process itself or the culmination of a process.

According to Phinney (1990) the formation of ethnic identity may be thought of as a “process similar to ego identity formation that takes place over time, as people explore and make decisions about the role of ethnicity in their lives.” (pp, 502). An element pertaining to this process is what Phinney calls “self-labeling” which is the ethnic label that one uses for one-self to define who we are, who we chose to be. Certainly, among those who are racially distinct by feature or skin color , or whose culture (e.g. language) distinguishes them from the dominant group self-identification is partly imposed (Buriel, 1987) While adolescents and adults can be assumed to know their ethnicity; the issue is, Phinney notes, one of choosing what label to use for oneself. Although this appears to be a simple issue, it is in fact quite complex, “inasmuch as one’s ethnicity, as determined by descent (parental background), may differ from how one sees oneself ethnically.” This is a important difference noted by Phinney and, like more recent developments in sociology, places identity as a dynamic element even if imposed there certain agency in choosing ones ethnic label to define who we are even if those labels have been imposed.

2.1.2 Latino Identity In a Post Assimilationist Era

Previous studies have analyzed political knowledge legacies over time and across generations establishing how parental knowledge elevates offspring knowledge levels, especially so in the surveillance and collective memories domains. As these young adults aged, the parental legacy continued to have an impact (Jennings, 1996). However, few studies have followed up on these theories focusing on Latinos. Padilla (1980, 1987) and Keefe and Padilla (1987) presented a multidimensional and quantitative model of acculturation among Chicano households (N=860) in California. Their model relied on two major constructs; cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty. According to this model, cultural awareness represents the implicit knowledge that individuals have of their cultures of origin and of their host cultures. Padilla and Keefe showed that cultural awareness declined from the first (immigrant) generation to the fourth gen-

eration of Mexican origin respondents. Furthermore, the steepest decline in cultural knowledge occurred between the first and second generation. While this study helped advance our knowledge of ethnic awareness across generations, it did little to uncover how identity formation takes place among first generation immigrants.

Therefore, while earlier studies of assimilation centered around European immigrants, segmented assimilation scholars place Mexican immigrants at center of their study finding that ethnic loyalty to the culture of origin remained consistently high from the first to the fourth generation (López and Stanton-Salazar 2001; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). In other words, although individuals possessed limited implicit knowledge of the culture of their grandparents by the third or fourth generation, they still held on to their Mexican heritage identity. In identifying with their Mexican heritage, they preferred friends of the same ethnicity and preferred to engage in Mexican-type activities. Portes and Rumbaut (2010) observe that second generation Mexican Americans will experience downward assimilation, that is, “learning the cultural ways of the host society does not lead to upward mobility but, instead, to exactly the opposite” (p. 264) and that instead of becoming like the assimilating Italians they will become more like the stigmatized African Americans and large numbers identifying as Mexican.

Most of these studies focused on identity across generations, and provide an insightful approach to how identity is embraced or rejected by the subsequent generations. Accordingly, recent segmented assimilation theories posit that the long history of Mexican immigration and discrimination combined with low levels of human capital has created a hostile environment for subsequent generations, forcing them into a potential downward path of assimilation. Particularly, Thomas Jimenez’s (2010) work provides a framework that illustrate how assimilation processes are greatly shaped by the duration of immigration waves. When immigration stops, access to the ethnic symbols and practices that immigrants bring with them fresh from the homeland also stop. The salience and meaning of these symbols, Jimenez claims, change over time,

heavily influenced by life in the United States. Similarly, the ethnic distinctiveness of groups also declines when immigration stops. For Latinos however, he argues, these symbols and practices continue to replenish as immigration influxes are maintained. Thus, this ethnic replenishment is a central factor shaping ethnic identity formation among Latinos. Moreover, historical approaches such as Ian Haney Lopez (2004) and Christina Mora (2014) provide accounts that show how certain groups within the Latino community have rejected the notion of whiteness or even pan-ethnicity at different points in history and how they end up accepting this notion. Mora notes that despite historical disagreements within the Latino community a tight web of media, state and activists was able to uphold the notion of Latino pan-ethnicity. While these authors present an interesting framework they do not develop a model per-se, the perennial situational model builds from these frameworks in hopes to advance the understanding of Latino identity

In 1977, as required by Congress, the OMB's Statistical Policy Division, the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, issued Directive 15: "Race and Ethnic Standards for Federal Statistics and Administrative Reporting" to standardize the collection and reporting of "racial" and "ethnic" statistics and to include data on persons of "Hispanic origin." Directive 15 specified a minimal classification of four "races" ("American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian or Pacific Islander," "Black," and "White") and two "ethnic" backgrounds ("of Hispanic origin" and "not of Hispanic origin"), and allowed the collection of more detailed information as long as it could be aggregated within those categories. Since that time, in keeping with the logic of this classification, census data on Hispanics have been officially reported with a footnote indicating that Hispanics may be of any race."

Certainly as Mora (2014) notes there has been a concerted effort to racialize Latino/Hispanic and subsume them into one group. As mentioned above, prior to 1970, Mexicans were almost always coded as white" for census purposes, a history of struggles and 'back-and-froths' lead to the point where the 2000 census asked

separate questions for “Hispanic” or “Latino” origin and for “race,” permitting a cross-tabulation of the two and thus an examination of how “Hispanics” or “Latinos” self-report by “race” as well as by national origin.

Despite growing diversification and accelerating immigration from Latin American countries over the past few decades, persons of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban origin still comprised 77 percent of the 35.2 million Hispanics counted by the 2000 census. Those of Mexican origin alone numbered 22.3 million –63 percent of the U.S. total at the time. Puerto Ricans on the mainland accounted for another 10 percent and Cubans for 4 percent. (If Puerto Ricans living on the island [who are U.S. citizens by birthright] were added to the calculation, those three groups would comprise 80 percent of the total.) Much of the remainder was accounted for by six nationalities of relatively recent immigrant origin: Dominicans, Salvadorans, and Guatemalans make up 7 percent of the Hispanic total, while Colombians, Peruvians, and Ecuadorians combine for nearly 4 percent more. Hence, nine ethnic groups accounted for nine out of ten (88 percent) Hispanics in the U.S. mainland. Their size and evolution reflect both the varied history of their incorporation in the United States and the relative geographical proximity of their source countries to the United States: Mexico, El Salvador, and Guatemala from Mesoamerica; Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic from the Caribbean; and Colombia, Peru, and Ecuador from South America. Persons who trace their ethnic identities to the ten other Spanish-speaking countries of Central and South America, plus Spain, comprised only 4 percent of the Hispanic total. And only 8 percent self-reported as “other Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino” in the 2000 census, without indicating a specific national origin. (Rumbaut, 2006)

In addition, Hispanics as a whole are much more likely than non-Hispanics to consist of relatively recent newcomers to the United States: 45 percent of Hispanics are foreign-born, compared to fewer than 8 percent of non-Hispanics. Only other Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino is overwhelmingly a native-born population (94 percent) –some with ancestries that can be traced back many generations. Aside from that

special case, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans— the two populations of longest residence in the United States, and the largest by far are the only ethnic groups that consist mainly of natives (58 percent of the Mexicans and 60 percent of the Puerto Ricans were born in the U.S. mainland.) All others are primarily foreign-born populations, from two-thirds of the Cubans and Dominicans to more than three-fourths of all the other groups. (Rumbaut, 2006)

Therefore, the picture we are presented looks like this: Early assimilation studies expected immigrant to follow a uni-dimensional and linear transition into a melting pot; later developments showed that ethnic identities can be maintained across generations. However, their unique composition make Latinos a unique population not only in terms of their history in the U.S. but also their present. While these facts make Latinos seem as unique population not only in terms of their history in the U.S. but also their present. The reality, is that even these studies of early immigrants groups have not considered the possibility of multiple identities or mid cycle identity shifts. Future historical studies could find evidence that even those early groups of immigrants did not fall directly into the linear/monotonic assimilation model. As such, assimilationist theories fall not only short in the sense that it homogenizes a group that was never homogeneous but it also predicts and assumes linear trajectories that have never happened among Latinos and perhaps no immigrant group has completely gone through such process. In addition, some scholars have noted that Latinos have rejected pan-ethnicity or whiteness and argue that an orchestrated co-optation between the state, interest groups and media ended up building the notion pan-ethnicity. On the other hand, a constant replenishment of ethnicity through continuous immigration flows maintains ethnic ties (Mora, 2015).

While I concur with Mora (2014) that the Hispanic/Latino category was a constructed one, I suggest in the section below and subsequent chapters that notions of pan-ethnicity were embraced at different points in history even by first generation immigrants. Mora seems to suggest that pan-ethnicity somehow diminishes or obscures

country of origin identity, however Fraga et. al. (2010) very clearly make the case for multiple identities. That is, immigrants can accept a “Hispanic” identity but still maintain their Mexican or Puerto Rican identity. Additionally, the notion of replenished identity provides an important account to better understand how identities are shaped, mainly for second and third generation Latinos but it only explains partially how the identity of first generation Latinos is affected. This dissertation explores those paths to replenishment experienced by the first generation Latino. My claim is that immigrants from Latin America embrace those pan-ethnic identities not because of their *panethnic* features, that is the subsuming of several groups but because they represent a middle point between two identities, two ends of an spectrum.

2.2 Developing a new theory of identity transformation

The missing piece in the picture presented above, is an exploration of the individual, one that centers on the first link in that chain; such is the focus of this dissertation. To explore how identity forms and transforms I propose what I call the perennial-situational-model. This model builds on two dynamics that immigrants generally face, often simultaneously. I call these processes receptive or unreceptive agents of categorization. These agents are receptive when they push immigrants to modify their identities as a result of balancing a sense of belonging. On the other hand, unreceptive agents are those that push immigrants to modify their identity as an effort to maintain a positive distinctiveness in light of negative perceptions by the outgroup. Generally, immigrants face these agents of categorization simultaneously as they build social ties in the U.S. and become more familiar with racial and social settings; including becoming aware of discrimination. In this section, I further elaborate on the perennial-situational-model as well as the agents of categorization.

As mentioned above, the classification of “Hispanic” or “Latino” itself is new, an instance of a pan-ethnic category created by law decades ago. But the groups subsumed under this label were not “Hispanics” or “Latinos” in their countries of

origin; rather, they only became so in the United States. This label has a particular meaning only in the U.S. context in which it was constructed and, is applied, and where its meaning continues to evolve. As Cristina Mora (2014) notes, the notion of Latinidad as we know it today is the result of years of conflicts, negotiations, and collaboration between state and non-state actors including media outlets such as Univision. In fact, she notes that in the '50s and '60s Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cuban Americans overwhelmingly considered themselves to be separate groups and didn't really identify with one another. While I concur with her historic research findings I suggest that in order to understand the formation of identity among immigrants from Latin America it is necessary to understand Latinidad beyond notions of unity among immigrants of different countries. One puzzling result in the MASP – which was conducted in 1965 – is that 33% of the respondents identified as Latino/Hispanic and 20% identified as Chicano or Mexican American. That is, 53% chose not to identify as Mexican or American. What I propose is that, for immigrants, Latinidad represents not only a notion of unity with immigrants from other countries but rather an intermediate point between their country of origin (COO) identity and an American identity.

To further investigate this idea of immigrant identity formation I conducted extensive qualitative interviews with Latino immigrants in the United States. Relying on best practices in qualitative research, I administered a semi-structured interview to a snowball sample of Latino immigrants, and stratified my sample by age and length of years living in the U.S. so that I could observe identity at different times for immigrants in America. This feeling of being in the middle, which Jones-Correa calls liminality, was noted by Ramon a 65 year old Mexican immigrants who I interviewed as part of my initial qualitative research in Pasco, WA:

You begin to feel lost because you go back to Mexico and then they make fun of you because you speak differently, even if you don't notice it they do

and they call you 'gabacho' and the funny part is that back then I didn't even speak English that well, I still don't. It's almost like they were making me feel like I was no longer Mexican but I was no 'gabacho' for sure.

Levitt and Jaworsky claim that migration “has never been a one-way process of assimilation into a melting pot or a multicultural salad bowl but one in which migrants, to varying degrees, are simultaneously embedded in the multiple sites and layers of the transnational social fields in which they live” (2007: 130). Accordingly, Jones-Correa (1998) explains that Latin American immigrants usually do not plan to stay long in the host country; rather they come to work and save enough money to return, they see themselves as sojourners. This “ideology of return” leads initial immigrants to draw a sharp distinction between the work and social settings. In fact, social settings are minimized since it would detract sojourners from their goal of gathering income, income that can be taken back to his or her home country. However, this identity of “homo economicus” divorced from any social setting, Jones-Correa explains, cannot be sustained and as people stay they find companionship which requires time and resources. Thus, the development of social networks means that they work less than they planned and they spend more in the host country which means that they have to stay longer. Then, as they stay longer their need for community also becomes stronger. As immigrants continue to live in the host country their lives become more complicated and the return may be put off indefinitely. Yet, Jones-Correa claims, the ideology of return persists, and they talk about going back year after year, even as they settle and build roots in the host country. Ramon, my interview subject, continues to work at the age of 65 in a meat processing factory and with no retirement plan, still dreams of retiring in his homeland:

I am from [a small town in Michoacan, Mexico] and things don't change too much in those small towns, I haven't been there in while but when I talk to my sister, from what she tells me I know things haven't changed.

I don't know if that's bad but I know that once I move back to retire over there, I am going to find the same little town.

This reinforcing cycle is called the myth of return. However, as immigrants start to settle and the myth of return withers away, they face the challenge of having to balance demands between home country and host country. Jones-Correa claims that this explains the low level of naturalization which immigrants see as a betrayal to the home country. Immigrants then choose to maintain ties with both countries as a way to balance these demands. Thus, immigrants can live simultaneously within two or more nation-states but at the same time, to some extent, apart from those nation-states. This simultaneity was beautifully expressed by Gloria, a 21 year old Colombian who migrated at a young age:

I don't like how people assume that just because I grew up here in the States I don't know anything about Colombia or Latin America, I do! I grew up here but it's not like I forgot about Colombia. In fact, when I go to Colombia I feel at home, even if I am not there every single day, when I go it feels like I never left.

Fraga et al. (2010) posit that this simultaneity allows immigrants to develop multiple identities. While we can suppose that one's identity is composed by multiple elements, the prospect of immigrants holding multiple national loyalties, hence multiple identities, is a new development in the literature. However, this shifting of identities *per se* is not new. In fact, as mentioned, instances of pan-ethnicity can be observed as early as 1965 when the MASP was conducted. What's more, the data reveals that even foreign born Latinos chose a pan-ethnic label as their main identity in 1965. This does not necessarily mean that Latino and Hispanic was already accepted as a unifying label as it is seen today or that foreign born had embraced that unity. What it shows, I suggest, is that immigrants like Gloria and Ramon strive

to maintain ties with both countries and find a comforting buffer zone in identifying pan-ethnically, that is, pan-ethnicity is seen as a more instrumental identity.

David Laitin's (1998) inspired by Erik Erickson, presented a conceptualization of identity rooted in rational choice and game theory. He explains that identity reversals are the result of identity being instrumental rather than primordial. Laitin builds on Erikson notion that:

[identity formation is a process] by which the individual judges himself in the light of what he perceives to be the way in which others judge him in comparison to themselves and to a typology significant to them; while he judges their way of judging him in the light of how he perceives himself in comparison to them and to types that have become relevant to him.

Laitin notes that this conceptualization frames identity as something to be searched for and discovered, a goal. However, it also frames it as a quest in which identity is not primordial but instrumental and individuals seek to adjust their identities to the judgment of relevant others. He claims that identities are “constructed and reconstructed as social opportunities change. (20)

The main contribution of Laitin to the understanding of identity is a conceptualization that recognizes both the power of identity groups to give their adherents a sense of natural membership and the power of individuals to construct and reconstruct their social identities. Rooted in game theory, Laitin presents his approach in a diagram where the X axis represents the percentage of the population engaging in a certain activity, in this particular instance, choosing to speak the regional Language (RL) (e.g. Russian) or the central Language (CL) (e.g. Latvian). On the Y axis he plots the average benefits for speaking each language. The process is represented by two horizontal S-shaped curves that intercept towards the center at a point k . Initially, the payoff for speaking Russian may exceed that for speaking Latvian. As more people shift to Latvian, however, the payoff for Russian declines and that for Latvian grows. At some point, the tipping point k , where the two curves intersect, the

payoff for Latvian begins to exceed that for Russian, and a “cascade” toward speaking Latvian is observed. However, after this instrumental shift of identity happens, he notes that “the curves reverse direction at the extremes” in search of individual uniqueness.

I argue that this a very similar process to what Latinos face in the U.S. Immigrants from Latin America might find more useful to strongly identify with their country of origin and even speak Spanish. As they live longer they will need to learn more English and in order to balance those demands noted by Jones-Correa they will find a comforting buffer zone in identifying pan-ethnically, making pan-ethnicity a more instrumental identity.

Certainly, our identities as human beings are fluid, not a fixed thing, as Marion Young (2000) elegantly describes:

[T]he subject is not a unity, it cannot be present to itself, know itself. I do not always know what I mean, need, want, desire, because meanings, needs and desires do not arise from an origin in some transparent ego [...] Subjects all have multiple desires that do not cohere, they attach layers of meanings to objects without being aware of each layer or the connections between them (231-232).

This fluidity is especially true among Latino immigrants. Christina Beltran (2010) urges scholars to approach concepts of identity among Latinos as a form of “evanescent homogeneity” an experience of commonality “whose existence is forever possible yet never guaranteed.”

It is in light of this fluidity that the perennial-situational-model exists. Certainly, identity is still an integral part of each individual, and we have multiple identities, rather than just one. But identity is also situational, a set of roles and ways of living life that is “mediated” or created in social interaction with other people playing roles and living their lives. Moreover, these identities have a structure, they fit together into a recognizable constellation. For example, one person who is (1) a “Mexican” and a (2) “Latina” is also (3) a mother, called Mamá, and Mom. She is also (4) a wife

or just as significantly for her identity, she is not a wife. The person she is involved with, her partner, also creates in interpersonal mediation a large facet of her identity. Moreover, this same woman is also (5) a working person, another part of her identity, whether a high school counselor or a state senator. The person's living and past backgrounds, her social class, her identification with her community and the wider society, all these and many more aspects of her life contribute to her identity, they are fluid, multiple and situational. Within this fluidity several authors such as Berry (1980), Portes and Rumbaut (2001) and even Laitin (1998) point to a notion of identity reversal. That is, within shifts of identity they noted that immigrants return to their country of origin identity. I claim that rather than identity reversals there are identities that persist; Gloria's desire to maintain her Colombian identity is an instance of what I call "perennial" identities and while those identities coexist with other identities these identities are "situational". The different reactions by Berta, a 56 year old immigrant from Mexico illustrate this differentiation:

Berta: Well, when we got here [in Seattle] there was hardly any Mexican, and well... you leave behind many things and you want to forget many, sometimes is better to leave those behind. But even if you forget a lot of things about Mexico you never forget you are Mexican.

SIGR: How can you forget Mexico but remember you are Mexican?

Berta: Because one is just a country and the other one is who you are... even when you change you are a changing Mexican

Other scholars have found a similar dynamic in which country of origin identity is shown as perennial. For instance Adrian Felix (2010), using ethnographic work and in-depth interviews with Mexican migrants, shows that "naturalizers" retain their Mexican ethnic identities and that cross-border loyalties do not wane upon

naturalization. One of his interviewees, a 49 year-old immigrant named Adela, offered an interesting metaphor when questioned about her identity:

Well, when I am in the states, I can say I am a citizen. But when you are in your country, all it is a piece of paper that makes you a U.S. citizen, but in reality you were born in Mexico. And I think you are never going to leave Mexico. It is like a marriage. Even if you are married, you cannot forget about your parents. It is very similar. Even if I become a citizen, I will never forget where I came from. (p. 615)

What is at stake here is the interaction of perennial identities and situational identities. Even after Adela has obtained citizenship her perennial loyalties persist. When immigrants arrive to the host country they begin a process in which their identity is questioned and tested. Upon their arrival, as Jones-Correa tells us, they believe that eventually they will return to their country of origin. As immigrants start to settle and the myth of return withers away, they face the challenge of having to balance demands between home country and host country. On the one hand they are pressured to keep their ethnic culture. On the other hand they are pressured to adapt and adopt new forms. As a result of this conflict and as a way to balance such demands, multiple identities emerge. Latin American immigrants in the U.S. are thus confronted with two challenges; mainstream societal norms demand to change their ways and even their language, the adopting of these new ways and new language represents a move towards being more acculturated and hence accepted by the host culture. However, any move towards those norms represents a distancing from those perennial loyalties. These are what I call receptive agents of categorization. The desire to accommodate both of these demands pushes immigrants to modify their identity. The conversation that I had with Rodolfo a Mexican immigrant in Kennewick, WA shows this type of dynamic.

Rodolfo: I don't know all the history about the whole Chicano thing, but that's how we called other people from Mexico.

SIGR: What about you? Did others call you Chicano?

R: Yeah, mostly in Mexico, [people in Mexico] called me Chicano, sometimes to make us feel bad, like when my children spoke English, they called them Chicanos.

SIGR: Did it bother you that they called you Chicano?

R: Not really, better Chicano than gringo

SIGR: Do you feel they saw you as less of a Mexican?

R: Maybe, but now I know I am more Mexican than them, they do nothing for Mexico, they are just there... Here we have to make an effort to keep [Mexican traditions] alive.

Thus, immigrant's identities are tested with the mere contemplation of the self. As they build roots in the US, Latin American immigrants realize that there are words that they only know in English. They might find themselves substituting Spanish words with English ones unconsciously. They might also realize that their social circle in their country of origin (COO) is withering away and that their social circle in the US is becoming stronger and more diverse. Maybe they had children and they speak more English than Spanish and they know more about US than what they know about their parents' COO. Then, they will have to assist them in their homework and learn about Lincoln and Washington, and they will engage in a political socialization process led by their children (Garcia-Castañon, forthcoming). They will be then invited to 4th of July parties and celebrate Thanksgiving. But the longing of the home land and the desire to instill in their children the COO traditions will also be present. In the middle, not fully American and moving away from their country of

origin identity, I posit that the immigrant finds a buffer zone in pan-ethnic Latino identity, one that does not conflict as much with those perennial loyalties and one that puts them closer to the demands of the host society. Put differently, a situational identity is embraced as a transition between national-origin identity and American identity.

There is one additional element revealed by Rodolfo: their country of origin identity persist, it is like marriage as Adela pointed out; and it is embraced as a main identity once there is no longer a need to balance those demands. Immigrants like Ramon find that after living in the U.S. long enough they feel they have, in a way, paid their dues to be American or Mexican or both. After living in the US long enough, immigrants generally have enough resources of all kinds to uphold positive views of their COO identity regardless of the disdain that some might have in relation to their group. Similarly, after living enough time abroad an immigrant might realize that a Mexicana a Colombiana or Salvadorea does not have to speak Spanish or have children who do it to identified herself as such.

Another element denoted in the conversation I had with Rodolfo is the way in which identity is being used in instrumental way; shifting from period to period; serving different purposes. In the words of Laitin those identity shifts mentioned by Rodolfo reflect a instrumental use of identity. That, is Rodolfo realizes that early in his life as immigrant, being Chicano was neither convenient nor desired but it became a useful identity “better Chicano than gringo” he says. Finally, he realized that identifying as Mexican was not only useful or possible, but deserved –which he did not see before. Edwina Barvosa (2008) presents a similar framework in introducing of the idea of identity salience to the debate surrounding multiple identities. As Barvosa puts it: “Identity Salience is [...] a function of how the subject understands and wishes their various identities and the perceived limitations placed on identification in an immediate situation (p 67).” The use of identity as an instrument as well as identity salience are the hearth of the perennial-situational model. However, the

perennial-situational model goes further and proposes that intermediate identities such as Latino can also be seen instrumentally.

2.3 Revisiting Social Identity Theory: The Formation of Latino Identity in America

In addition to the receptive agents of categorization described above, immigrants also face unreceptive agents of categorization. Social Psychologists Henri Tajfel and John Turner (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) argue that human interaction ranges on a spectrum from being purely interpersonal on the one hand to purely intergroup on the other. A purely intergroup interaction is one in which people relate entirely as representatives of their groups, and where one's idiosyncratic, individualizing qualities are overwhelmed by the salience of one's group memberships. It was argued that sliding from the interpersonal to the intergroup end of the spectrum results in shifts in how people see themselves and each other. Drawing on his own social cognition work (Tajfel & Wilkes, 1963), Tajfel argued that the mere process of making salient 'us and them' distinctions changes the way people see each other. When category distinctions are salient, people perceptually enhance similarities within the group and enhance differences among the group. Tajfel and Turner argued that the motivating principle underlying competitive intergroup behavior was a desire for a positive and secure self-concept. Therefore, if we are to accept that people are motivated to have a positive self-concept, it flows naturally that people should be motivated to think of their groups as good groups.

However, groups are not islands; they become psychologically real only when defined in comparison to other groups. Striving for a positive social identity, group members are motivated to think and act in ways that achieve or maintain a positive distinctiveness between one's own group and relevant outgroups. According to SIT when a low status group member strives to back a positive social identity members either leave the group (physically or psychologically), make downward intergroup

comparisons that are more flattering to the ingroup, focus only on dimensions that make the ingroup look relatively good or engage in social change to try to overturn the existing status hierarchy.

This intragroup dynamic is what Turner and colleagues called self categorization theory SCT. Turner and colleagues claim that there are three levels of self-categorization: the superordinate category of the self as human being (or human identity), the intermediate level of the self as a member of a social ingroup as defined against other groups of humans (social identity), and the subordinate level of personal self-categorizations based on interpersonal comparisons (personal identity). Given the large constellation of social identities to which people have access SCT scholars suggest that categorization (including self-categorization) occurs as a function of both accessibility and fit (Oakes, 1987; Oakes, Turner, & Haslam, 1991). Fit refers to the extent to which the social categories are perceived to reflect social reality; that is, the extent to which they are seen to be diagnostic of real-world differences. Thus, a category distinction is more likely to have high fit if social behavior and group membership are in line with stereotypical expectations which they call normative fit.

For Latinos then, in a societal context in which maintaining a positive distinctiveness as immigrants is difficult, Latino immigrants are confronted with the need to shift identities. I call all of these episodes agents of unreceptive categorization. Latino immigrants face an interesting process as they seek to uphold this positive distinctiveness. While some people in the US have positive views of the immigrants from Latin American the reality is that there is also considerable disdain towards this group. In one of the biggest and most comprehensive surveys –The American National Election Studies (ANES), 2012– when respondents were asked their opinion on whether local policy should use racial profiling to determine the immigrant status of Latinos 52.4 percent of the entire sample favored the profiling of Latinos. In relation to whether Latinos feel discriminated the Latino National Survey (LNS), 2006 shows that 33.22 percent of the whole sample has experienced or perceived some type of discrimina-

tion. As mentioned above, recent immigrants go through a *homo-economicus* stage and as I move from from this stage they also perceive more unreceptive agents of categorization. This is also reflected in the responses in the LNS. Among immigrants who have been in the country less than 10 years 22.3 percent reported some type of discrimination. In contrast, among immigrants who have been in the country more than 20 years 38.5 percent reported some type of discrimination. of whether their perception changed or living longer in the country exposed them to more negative interaction, the reality is that as immigrants live longer they will have to deal with those feelings the longer they live in the U.S.

This negative perception is usually confronted as immigrants move away from the identity of “homo economicus.” Thus, with more societal resources, immigrants who have lived in the US longer face a new challenge: upholding positive views of their ethnic identity in comparison to the out-group is now more difficult. Again, in the middle, not fully American and finding it difficult to have a positive view of their country of origin identity, I posit that the immigrant finds a buffer zone (and a viable normative fit) in pan-ethnic Latino identity, one that does not conflict as much with those perennial loyalties and one that is, perhaps, seen with better eyes by the host society. Mario a 40 year old immigrant from El Salvador in DC provided a typical example:

[...] at work I always say that I am Latino because when you say that you are from El Salvador they start looking at you in a different way, and unfortunately I can't blame them, a lot of [immigrants from El Salvador] here are only looking for trouble. But people like me, we just want to work and have a decent life

Thus, when confronted with these episodes Latinos are more likely to embrace a buffer, pan-ethnic identity which is perceived as flexible during any of the stages mentioned. I also argue that while permanent immigrants, those who have been in the U.S longer,

could embrace any identity, they tend to be more resourceful (in the broadest sense) which allows them to embrace an American or even a country of Origin identity. The conversations that I had with Pedro, a 50 year old Mexican living in Chicago exemplifies how *old-timers* embrace perennial identities despite unreceptive agents of categorization.

I no longer care if they look at me in weird way when I am listening to my Ranchero music, it is mostly out of ignorance. So more than anything I feel sad for them. It is their loss really, there is lot of history and culture behind those Corridos

2.4 Assessing The Identity-to-Political Participation Link

Social identity theorists suggest that ethnic identification is one of the prime bases for participation in social movements (Simon et. al 1998). As mentioned above SIT suggests that individuals are strongly driven to maintain a positive self-image (Tajfel and Turner 1979). One way people achieve this is by upholding a positive distinctiveness of groups they belong to, that is, by ensuring one's in-group compares favorably against an out-group. For this reason, threats to a group's worth elicit specific reactions from group members, reactions that depend on one's level of identification with that group (Ethier and Deaux 1994; Doosje et al. 1995; Ellemers et al. 1997; Spears et al. 1997). For this reason, when immigrants are confronted with unreceptive agents of categorization they feel inclined to modify their identity to a pan-ethnic identity.

Extant literature has not fully explored the ethnic identity and political participation link. For the most part, identity has been relegated to be a control variable. At best, scholars have focused on the relationship between group consciousness and linked fate. The central claims that researchers have on group consciousness range from finding no consistent relationship between participation and group consciousness to finding a strong relationship between group consciousness and political participa-

tion (Leighley and Vedlitz 1999; Leighley 1996; Snchez 2006; Stokes 2003). The idea of a ‘linked fate’ among African-Americans is posited to explain the political behavior of the African American community (Dawson 1994; McClain & Stewart. 2006). Dawson (1994) describes ‘linked fate’ as the perception that what happens to the group happens to the individual. Therefore, through group consciousness, the individual experiences a sense of belonging to the group as well as a conscious commitment to the goals and betterment of the group which stimulates not only “individual awareness of the group’s status in society relative to other groups but also an overall commitment to act collectively to satisfy group interests” (Stokes 2003, 363). Though group cohesion/consciousness is more broadly described than linked fate in much of the literature as it refers to the realization of commonality among groups than a perception of direct impact, the theoretical foundation is still relevant to understanding the role of group consciousness on the Latino community.

I claim that the notion of linked fate and group consciousness is only advancing the understanding of the identity-participation link partially. If pan-ethnic identities are embraced not only as a way to balance demands but also as a way to uphold positive distinctiveness, I advance that during transition periods, that is –when more unreceptive agents of categorization are perceived, immigrants who strongly identify pan-ethnically would have greater levels of participation. Consequently, those embracing perennial identities (e.g. COO) during the Arrival or Permanent stages would have higher levels of participation. Thus, if situational identities differ from perennial identities in terms of when and under which circumstances they are embraced I posit that the question to be asked is not only whether there is a sense of linked fate but rather *with whom*, when and under which circumstances. Using this framework and aided by mixed methods I present a new approach to the Latino identity-to-politics link in Chapter 5.

2.5 *Perennial and Situational: A Model*

Figure 2.1 lays out the argument, it can be summed as follows: broadly speaking, immigrants develop their identities across three main stages: (1) arrival, (2) post arrival or transitional, and (3) a long-term stage. Moreover, in general terms, immigrants can embrace either a country of origin identity, a more pan-ethnic identity or an American identity during those stages. Certainly, identities are fluid and a multiplicity of identities is possible; yet, upon arrival, immigrants have a defined stance when it comes to country of origin identity and American -they likely feel strongly identified with their country of origin and far less identified as Americans. Conversely, their identification towards a pan-ethnic or Latino identity is likely seen as more flexible, one that could be embraced or not. As immigrants immerse in and by the host society, they go through a transition phase and they begin to experience both receptive and unreceptive agents of categorization as mentioned above, to deal with those agents immigrants find a comforting zone in embracing a pan-ethnic identity. Finally, after living in the U.S. long enough, immigrants feel they have, in a way, paid their dues to balance the demands of those receptive agents, they are also better equipped to deal with unreceptive agents and their country of origin identity returns to be the main identity.

It is this dynamic which makes Latino identity a situational identity as opposed to perennial. Conceptualizing Latin American immigrants as situational or perennial allows me to analyze immigrant identity beyond its presence or absence but rather when and under which circumstances those identities are present and how they relate to political participation.

2.6 *Testing the Perennial Situational Model*

The theoretical framework presented in this chapter serves as a pivotal point in this dissertation. The argument presented here is that for Latino immigrants (although

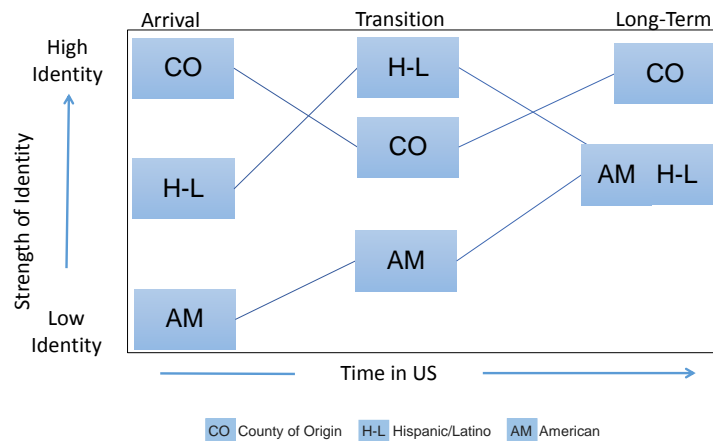


Figure 2.1: Identity typologies and Life in the US among Latino Immigrants

more evidence might also suggest that this is true for all immigrants) identity transformations are not linear. In fact, they are not uni-dimensional. I argue that identities can be perennial or situational and this joint conceptualization enriches our understanding of how, when, and under which circumstances identity affects political participation. When an immigrant arrives in the US she goes through the *homo economicus* stage, working to make ends meet, to save money and send money and thinking about the possibility of returning soon. During this stage she would be mostly unaware of receptive agents of categorization. In addition being a recent immigrant will have her identify strongly with her country of origin but as the myth of return withers away she will begin to socialize and develop social ties that will confront her with agents of categorization. On the one hand she will be pressure to learn the language and adopt new norms but also pressured to keep her roots and maintain her Spanish; these are what I call receptive agents. This same socialization will confront her with unreceptive agents. she will become aware of discrimination and the place that her own immigrant status signifies in the American context. It is not that these unperceptive agents were not there before but the steady socialization allows for the realization of the existence of those agents. An intermediate identity such as

Latino/Hispanic will help her navigate those agents like Mario. Finally, as she is able to look back and deal with such agents her country of origin will return, she would learn that even if she does not speak Spanish that well anymore she can still be a proud Mexican, like Rodolfo. While the ethnographic evidence supports and enriches the model presented in this chapter, testing these theoretical model quantitatively would strengthen the claims in this dissertation. In the following chapter I test the different parts of the perennial institutional model presented in this chapter proposing a new methodological approach. Thus, the perennial-situational model invites researchers to re-assess their assumptions not only theoretically but also methodologically.

Chapter 3

**ASSESSING LATINO IDENTITY FORMATION AND
TRANSFORMATION: A CASE FOR MID-LIFE
IDENTITY REVELSALS**

Several studies have noted the importance of group identification among racial and ethnic minorities in general, and Latinos more specifically (e.g., Keefe and Padilla 1987). These studies focus on Latino/pan-ethnic identification (e.g., Garcia 1982; Jones-Correa and Leal 1996; Lee and Bean 2004). What is more, what these studies seek, for the most part, is to explore the link between identification and political participation or policy preference, issue position (e.g., Kaufmann 2003; Lopez and Pantoja 2004; Nicholson, Pantoja, and Segura 2005; Sawyer 2005). As Fraga et al (2012) note, what these ask is: “Do people in fact identify as members of a group, and do these group membership have political ramifications, affecting individuals attitudes, beliefs, and actions?”

This is an important line of research and there is an unquestionable need for a deeper exploration of this question. However few studies focus on understanding precisely the core of this question, that is, the nature of identity. Not only should we be asking whether a certain type of identity exist but given the dynamic nature of identity we should also be asking: *under which circumstances* identity exist. despite the importance of this questions few studies are devoted to this question. Most recently, Fraga et al (2012) devote an entire chapter to the identities that Latinos in the U.S. adopt as they settle, adapt, and integrate into American society. Using Latino National survey data they highlight the complexities of identity among Latino communities. Broadly, their findings show that Latinos approach identity from three

fronts: they desire to maintain their country of origin (COO) identity, as well as embracing a Pan-ethnic identity but that does not seem to conflict with the desire to embrace and American identity.

While their exploration of Latino identity informs the multidimensional aspect of Latino identity a deeper exploration of these patterns is necessary. Specifically, as I have suggested in previous chapters, we need a deeper understanding of how the identity of the first generation forms and transforms. In this chapter, I explore the identity formation and transformation of Latino immigrants based on the perennial-situational model. Several scholars have noted that one important question is whether Latino identity, interpreted as an ethnic label or a racial label, diminishes over time (Gordon 1964; Lieberman 1981; Alba and Nee 2003). Fraga et al ask this very question, however, they focus on comparisons across generations. I contend that a study that focuses on the way in which time in the U.S affect the identity of immigrants from Latin America should be a corner stone to better understand Latino Identity in general. Time is the core element of the perennial-situational model.

In this chapter I use the Latino National Survey 2006 to study the transformations that Latino immigrants undergo while living in the U.S. Based on the perennial-situational model I seek to find a dynamic relationship between time in the U.S. and the different ethnic identities that Latinos embrace.

3.1 Exploring Identity through Survey Data

The ideal data in a study of formation and transformation of identity are data that would allow examining these transformations across time, that is, panel data. To my knowledge there is only one study that offers such possibility, the Mexican American Study Project. This study includes a survey conducted in 1965 by Glebler, Mooore and Guzman and a follow up in 2000 by Telles and Oritz. A preliminary exploration of the data among first generation respondents shows interesting patterns: When asked about their preferred identity (Mexican, Mexican American, Latino or Hispanic or

American) in 1965, 21% self-identified as Mexican American and 20% as Latino. By 2000 these numbers dropped to 15% and 11% respectively. As expected those who identified as American increased from 4% to 12% in 2000. However, Mexican identifiers increased from 56% to 67%. In other words, Mexican identity did not wither away, in fact, it returned stronger. While these preliminary data show interesting patterns a full multivariate analysis would provide greater confidence on these patterns. To examine these different identificational processes I use the Latino National Survey, 2006 (LNS). While the LNS is not panel data, the large number of observations allows for a great exploration of trends as well as simulation of the trend. Moreover, it allows me to explore the case of curvilinear relationships using the same tools that other scholars have used and drawn different findings. In Chapter 5, I analyze identity using a repeated cross-sectional sample survey, the LAISC and address the issues of using cross-sectional data to study *over-time* trends. I also employ a hierarchical-age-period-cohort (HAPC) analysis.

3.1.1 *Latino National Survey*

The LNS is a major national telephone survey of Latinos residing in United States. This includes, US born, legal residents, citizens and undocumented Latinos. The study seeks a broad understanding of the quantitative nature of Latino political and social life in America. There are other surveys available, such as the 1989 Latino National Political Survey (LNPS), the Toms Rivera Policy Institute (TRPI) surveys 1996–2004, the Pew Hispanic Center surveys 2000–2006, the 2004 Mexican American Study Project and the 2006 Latino National Survey (LNS). Of all the available data, the LNS is the most recent and the most comprehensive in size and scope. Conducted in 2006, the LNS interviewed a total of 8,634 Latino adults in 16 states and asked more than 100 substantive questions (averaging 45 minutes in length) and includes different questions on identity. The survey was conducted by telephone using bilingual interviewers. Latino immigrants, that is, first generation Latinos represent 66.2

percent of sampled Latinos in the LNS which makes this survey a prime element for the purposes of this dissertation.

3.1.2 Identity in the LNS

One of the main advantages of the LNS is that they provide several questions about identity. Specifically, they asked about identify in two ways: Respondents were asked to chose how strongly they identify with either a country of origin identity (e.g. Mexican, Colombian etc), a pan-ethnic identity (e.g. Latino, Hispanic) or American. All respondents were asked to asses their strength of identification with the three identities. As a result, respondents could identify very strongly with all three identities if they wanted. Table 3.1 shows the distribution of the responses for the three questions. One thing to highlight is that high distribution of respondents choosing to identify strongly or very strongly, this is true across all three identities as seen in Table 3.1 but predominantly for COO and Latino.

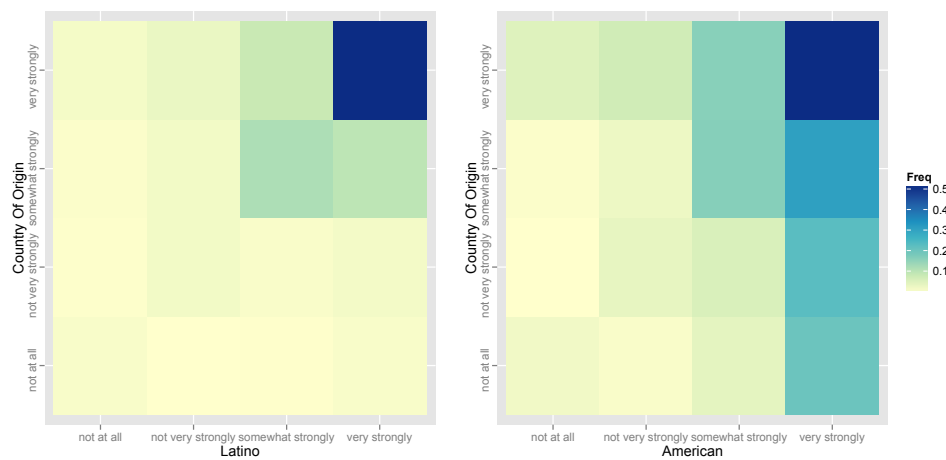
Table 3.1: LNS Identity Strength for Country of Origin, Latino and American

Levels	Country of Origin %	American%	Latino %
not at all	3.0	19.8	3.3
not very strongly	7.1	21.9	5.6
somewhat strongly	19.9	28.4	24.4
very strongly	66.9	25.3	63.5
dk/na	2.4	3.7	2.6
refused	0.8	0.8	0.6
N = 5311			

This survey design allows to observe what Fraga et. al. (2010) identify as multiple identities. Figure 3.1 shows this identity overlap. This heat map shows contingency values of response overlaps. On the Y axis of each heat map are the responses for COO. On the X axis are the responses for Latino and American respectively. The darker the blue, the higher the overlap. The heat map presents graphically two interesting patterns. First, when given the opportunity to identify strongly with any

or all identities respondents chose to have strong identities with all identities which indicates that. Most notably, They chose to identify strongly with their COO *and* with a Pan-ethnic identity which shows a higher concentration in the upper right cells. Moreover, the figure shows that even if given the opportunity to rank the degree of affinity to a given identity respondents choose to either identify strongly or not identify at all. This pattern is interesting in and on itself; it seems like in terms of identifies ethnically Latinos identify strongly.

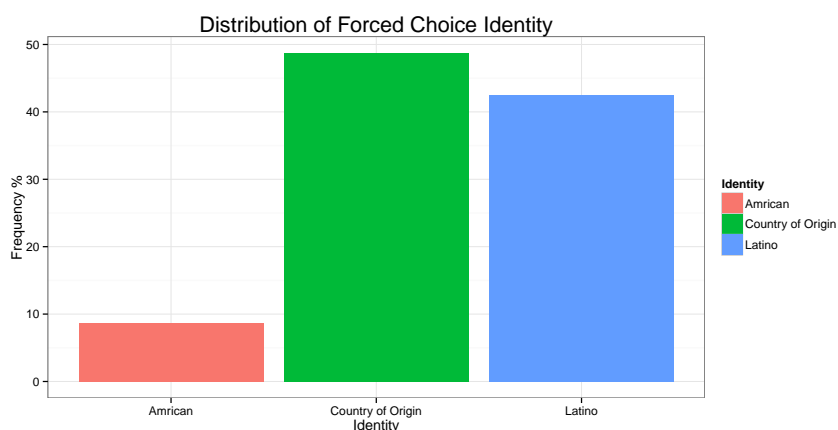
Figure 3.1: Heat Map of identity Overlap



Beyond these identity questions, the LNS also asked a forced choice question. Figure 3.2 shows the distribution of responses to this question. While the nature of this question will not show identity overlap it does show that Latino immigrants have almost equal preference for a COO identity and a Latino identity with 48.75% and 42.57% respectively. Interestingly, while most respondents chose to identify very strongly with all identities (including American) when forced to chose one identity only 8.68% chose American as their main identity. This is considerable drop from the 53.7% that chose to identify strongly or very strongly as American. Figure 3.3 shows the distribution of responses to the forced choice question by responses to the strength

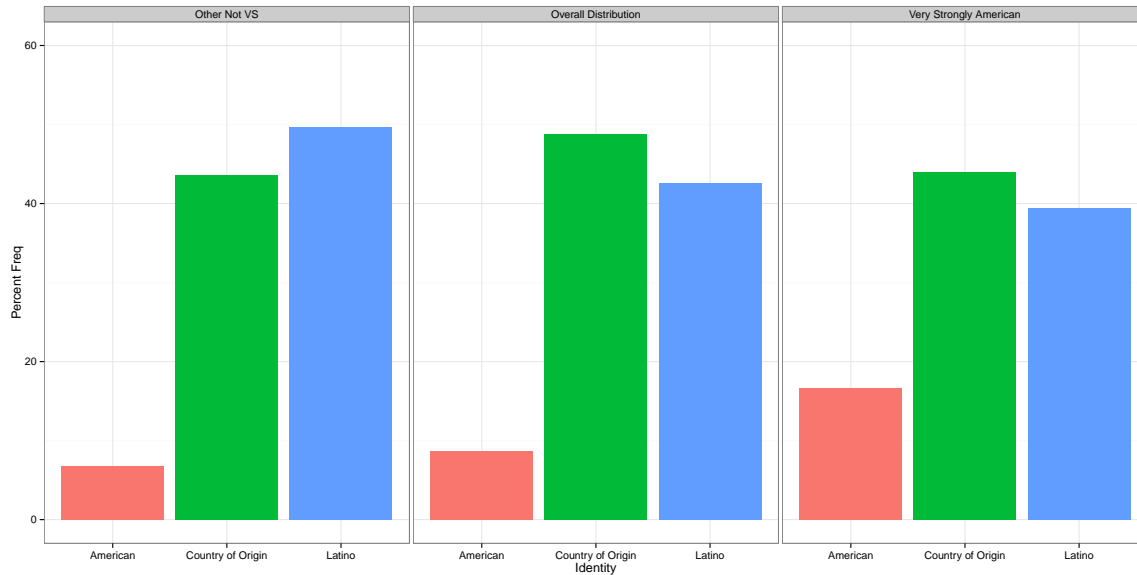
of American Id variable. Specifically, the central panel shows the overall distribution. The right panel shows the distribution for those respondents who answered “very strongly” to the American identity question. The left panel is those who chose any other option. It can be seen that the distribution is very similar across any type of answer. Theoretically, what we learn from this figure is that while Latinos could certainly embrace multiple identities and certainly we are not one thing and one thing only, our identities are complex and layered but when it comes to defining ethnic identity, the processes of “self-labeling” as Phinney would call it defines much of who we are.

Figure 3.2: Bar Plot of Identity Choice Distribution



So far these data show strong evidence for the multiplicity of identities that Latinos develop and hold. The perennial-situational model builds from this notion and further argues that while immigrants from Latin America are capable of developing multiple identities they see identity in an instrumental way. As I explain in Chapter 2, according to the perennial-situational model (PSM) immigrants from Latin America go through through different stages modifying their identity as a response to different agents of categorization. In order to explore the dynamics that the PSM proposes the main piece missing is time in the US. In the following section I introduce the element

Figure 3.3: Identity Choice Distribution by American ID Responses



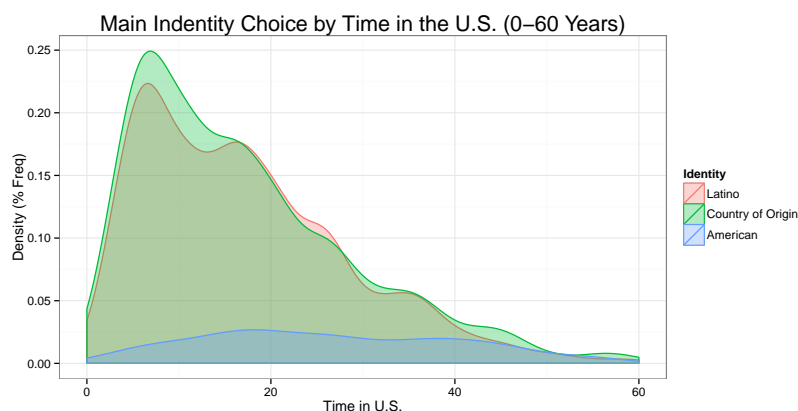
of time to the exploration of identity in the LNS.

Identity and Time in the US: Exploring Transformations

The LNS does not include a direct question about time in the U.S. but they did ask the year of arrival which allows me to construct a *time in the US* variable using the year of interview. The distribution of this variable is shown in Table 3.2 in the Appendix along with summary statics for other variables used in this chapter.

I begin by visualizing the distribution of identity choice using a density kernel to show *both* the distribution of time in the US and the distribution of preferred identity across time. In Figure 3.4 we can see that, initially, immigrants prefer to identify with their COO. Eventually, once they have been in the country longer there seems to be a shift and while country of origin still represents a big share of the distribution, and there is a big level of overlap, it is Latino identity what takes the greater share of the distribution for those who have been in the country about 20 and more. Since

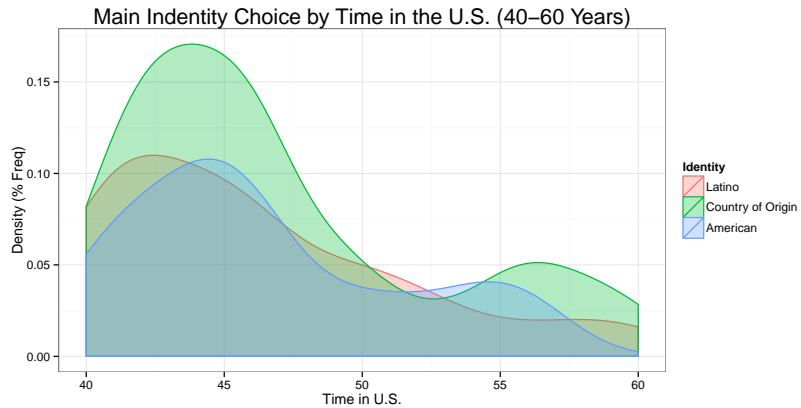
Figure 3.4: Density Plot of identity Choice by Time in the US



this is a density plot, the fact that American identity maintains a consistent area under the curve despite the global drop on the left, indicates an increase in the share of respondents choosing American as their main identity. Because respondents' time in the US is clustered on one tail I have created a separate plot zooming in years 40. Figure 3.5 shows density curves for this cluster. It is important to highlight that while this tail represents only a fraction of the entire sample, there are 339 observation in this cluster. Unlike the 20-40 year cluster the overlap here is between American and Latino Identity and, for the most part, COO holds the greater share in the distribution.

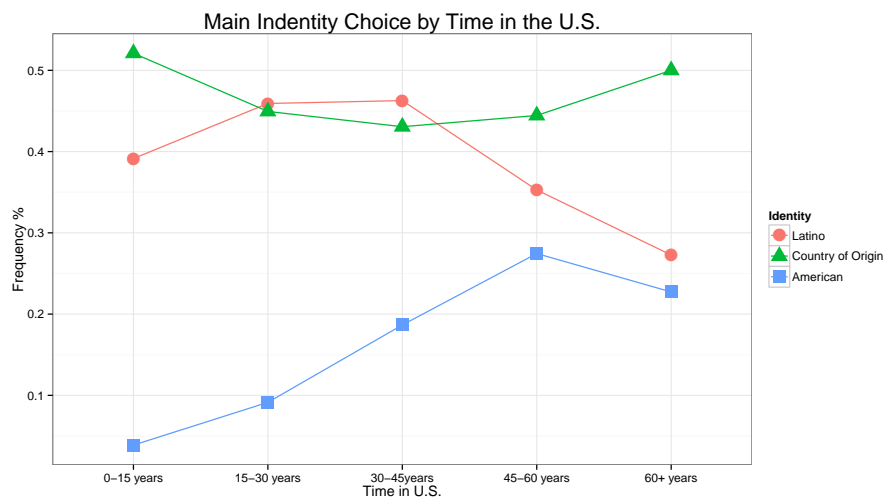
Finally, I explore these relationships by clustering time in the US to look at percent frequencies. Figure 3.6 shows these frequencies comparison graphically. While this graph does not show the overall distribution of observation it does show the relative comparison of identity by time cluster. Similar to previous charts in which time in the US has been introduced as modifying variable we find that preliminary support for the perennial-situational model. Specifically we see that recently arrived immigrants hold strong COO identities. We also see that those that are on what I call transition period tend to choose a pan ethnic identity. Finally those in the permanent stage

Figure 3.5: Density Plot of identity Choice by Time in the US



seem to prefer a COO identity. That is, after being replaced by a pan-ethnic identity COO returns as the main identity.

Figure 3.6: Density Plot of identity Choice by Time in the US



While these are interesting findings it is important to be aware of the cross-sectional nature of the LNS. For reasons I explain in more detail in Chapter 5 cross sectional data is not the best data to explore time changes. However, in this chap-

ter, in the sections that follow, I use the LNS to fully model these transformations observed in the preliminary exploration for two reasons: Given the lack of panel data researchers have relied on cross-sectional data. My goal is to challenge notions of linearity previously assumed, notions of linearity that the PSM challenges. Thus, I begin using the same type of data others have used to model identity. Second, the LNS is still the gold standard when it comes to survey data on Latinos and a full exploration using the LNS allows me to place my study *on par* with a very significant number of recent studies on Latinos.

3.2 Modeling Identity

In order to explore how immigrants identities are shaped throughout time I use all the identity variables in the LNS. First, I use to the non-forced choice variables where respondents were asked to report how strongly or not they identified as 1) American 2) Latino or Hispanic 3) With country of origin (i.e. Mexican, Colombian, etc) . These variables have been used as outcome variable in three separate ordered probit models. It is important to note that these variables are not mutually exclusive. Fraga et al. (2010) argue that because of multiplicity of identities speaking English or intermarriage does not necessarily indicate that an immigrant no longer identifies with his or her country of origin. In other words, strongly identifying as American does not mean that one cannot also strongly identify as Mexican as it is shown in Figure 3.1.

Then, I use the forced choice identity question. In this question, after they have been allowed to choose strength of identity on all three different identities they were asked to pick their primary or dominant identity. I also modeled this variable in a multinomial logit regression with the same covariates used on the three previous models.

3.2.1 *Covariates*

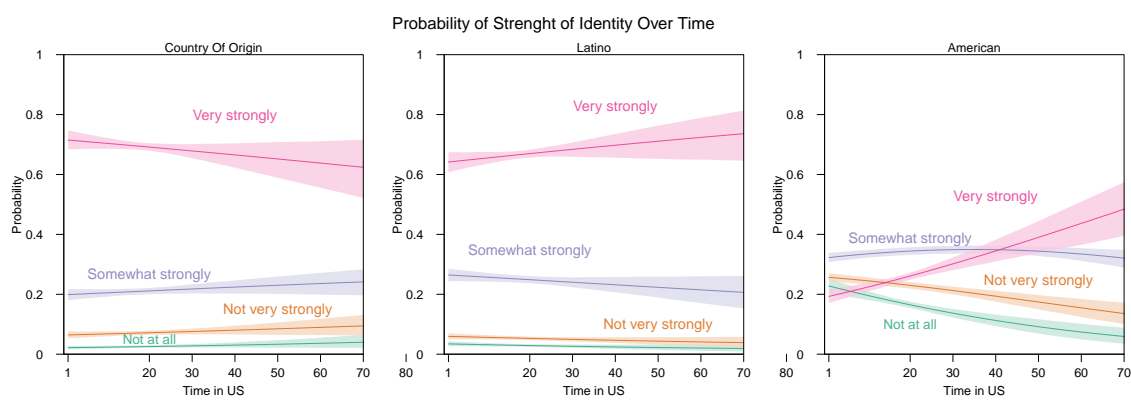
While the LNS is the most comprehensive survey on Latinos currently available it only provides a snapshot on the life of respondents. Since the main purpose of this paper is to explore the development of identity over time I use the year of arrival to the US as reported by the respondent to create a covariate to account for time in the US. The models also control for: level of transnational contact, frequency of return to home country, whether the respondent owns land or a house in the home country, whether the respondent owns a house in US, how frequently the respondent remits money to the home country, whether the respondent is Mexican, the desire to keep Spanish, the desire learn English, whether the respondent is catholic, frequency of church attendance, whether the respondent has naturalized, whether the respondent has perceived decriminalization and generation. Additionally the four models control for traditional measures such as income, age, gender, education and partisanship and ideology. Descriptive statistics for all the covariates used can be found in 3.2

3.2.2 *Findings*

I begin by using ordered probit models on the three different identities with the covariates mentioned above. Full model is specified in Appendix, 3.3. Figure 3.7 shows predicted probabilities of these three models. Each panel presents the strength of identity across time in the US for country of origin, Latino and American respectively with the rest of the covariates held at its mean. By focusing on those who responded “very strongly” on either identity we can see several interesting patterns. First, it can be seen that respondents are more likely to identify very strongly with their country of origin and as Latinos and there is not much variation of such probability across time. Second, the only identity likely to decrease is country of origin; this drop however is not statistically significant as shown by the confidence band associated with this line. Third the only significant change caused by time in the US is the

strength in which immigrants identify as American. Thus, these models tend to support the multiple identities theory; after seventy year in the US, holding everything else constant, Latinos are practically as likely.

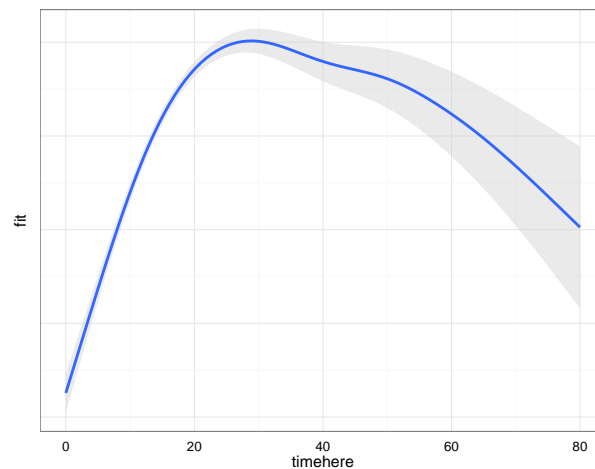
Figure 3.7: Ordered Probit Predicted Probabilities for Country of Origin, Latino and American.



While these linear models show a picture that tends to support the theory of multiple identities these models are exploring the possibility of a more complicated picture. What I propose is that as we modify linear theoretical assumptions, we also have to relax linear assumption at the quantitative level. As it was shown in the preliminary exploration of the data, the distribution of identity preference is not linear. In order to further explore how time in the US behaves I use a general additive model (GAM) with smoothing spline for time in the US. Linear models assume that covariates have a linear effect on some intermediate quantity. To avoid this, we need a flexible model which will allow the data to choose either a straight line, or an arbitrary curve. GAMs use smoothing splines to introduce this flexibility; looking at a GAM result may immediately suggest, based on the data, the appropriate curvature to introduce into our linear model. Figure 3.8 shows a graphic representation of the spline of time in the U.S. for Latino identity. While scholars have pointed out that

GAM models tend to overfit (Wood, 2008), we can use the GAM model to corroborate the appropriate use of polynomials for the following models. What Figure 3.8 clearly shows is that time in the U.S. has in fact a quadratic form rather than linear. Thus, for the second half of the quantitative analysis we will be allowing the models to fit a more complex form for time in the U.S., specifically a quadratic form.

Figure 3.8: General Additive Models for Latino ID with Smoothing Spline for Time in The U.S.

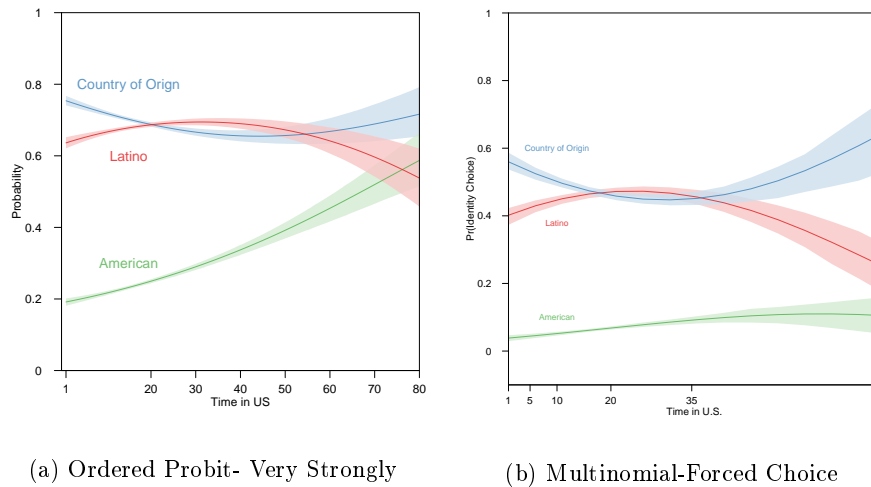


As a result, in the second part of the analysis I incorporate a quadratic element for time in the U.S. The fully specified model can be seen in Appendix A. I also present predicted probabilities across time in the U.S. in Figure 3.9-a with a 95% confidence interval. Even though all options have been modeled, in this figure I am only including those who chose very strongly. While a strong level of overlap was observed in figure 3.1 I still expect that observing identity strength over time once I allow for a curvilinear transformation will show trends that are indicative of the patterns suggested by the PSM, that is that there will a dynamic exchange of identities during the different stages of the immigrants stay in the U.S. It can be seen that COO decreases and eventually the likelihood increases. Latino identity, on the

other hand, shows the opposite trend. Finally, we see that American identity keeps a monotonic increase throughout time. These results begin to show that in fact, among immigrants the COO represents their perennial identity and Latino represents only a situational identity as the PSM suggests to deal with agents of categorization.

Thus, despite the high level of overlap this model shows evidence that is suggestive of patterns that align with the PSM. In addition, when respondents are forced to choose only one identity we can have more certainty that the answer is their prime identity. It is true that individuals could and do hold multiple identities, when comparing overlapping identities usually one is the dominant identity. For instance, one could think of what happens in a mentor/mentee/friend dynamic. Many individuals could be in a position where two of these things happen simultaneously. That is, mentees could and do develop close relationships with their mentors to the extent that a friendship is developed. However their identity as friends has to be relegated in order to maintain the mentor and mentee relationship. Thus, while an individual could potentially be a mentee and friend of a mentor being a mentee will usually prevail. In order to better observe the dominant identity among Latin American immigrants I use the forced choice question Figure ?? shows predicted probabilities for a multinomial model including a quadratic element for time in the U.S. and a 95% confidence interval using the forced choice identity question as the outcome variable and the rest of the covariates mentioned above held at their mean, fully specified model can also be seen in the Appendix. This figure shows strong support for the PSM. It can be seen that COO certainly drops as the main identity and is replaced by a buffer identity to suit demands. Eventually, what persists is the perennial identity of COO and H-L and AM remain strong but not as strong as COO. Furthermore, the models show that after living in the US long enough, immigrants generally have enough resources of all kinds to uphold positive views of their COO and therefore embrace it as their main identity.

Figure 3.9: Multinomial Predicted Probabilities of Forced Choice Identity with Quadratic Transformation.



3.3 Identifying Patterns, Suggestive Evidence

The identity transformations that I have shown here using cross-sectional data are informative and present strong quantitative support for the perennial-situational model. However, while the LNS is certainly the largest and most comprehensive Latino focused data-set, it is only a one-time snapshot making it difficult to assess an overarching theory of identity transformation. Several Latino focused surveys have included questions about identity since the 1960's; in fact these questions are highly consistent. The consistency in the wording of these questions opens the door to further investigate the patterns presented in this chapter. One possibility is to replicate the type of analysis presented in this here using those surveys, however, as I argue in chapter 4, we need to re-conceptualize our understanding of identity formation. Specifically, I suggest that in order to properly study identity formation and transformation we have to conceptualize it as an Age-Period-Cohort analysis.

The assumption is simple: The experiences of immigrants today might be different to the experiences of those who lived in the country 50 years ago. Recently arrived immigrants today have a different experience from those who arrived in the U.S in the 60's. The problem with using cross-sectional data gathered at one point in time to study time-related phenomena is the confounding of time and cohort changes. Specifically, estimating the preferred identity of an immigrant who arrived in the year 2000 and surveyed in 2010 would give us a sense of the identity of an immigrants who has been in the US for $t = 10$ but that would not necessary be true for an immigrant who arrived in 1960 and was surveyed in 1970.

Thus, while an APC analysis is the most appropriate way to study the formation and transformation of identity using cross sectional data gathered at one point in time results in what is known as the APC conundrum, that is, the confounding of time and cohort. Finally, even panel data would be limited since it does not account for new cohorts, making it difficult to assess the behavior of recently arrived immigrants at different points time. Since the same cohort is followed the effects of external shocks cannot be evaluated on newly arrived immigrants. Fortunately, the availability of surveys since the 1960's and the high levels of consistency in the wording of the variables of interest allows me construct a repeated cross-sectional data set and a analyze it using and use a Hierarchical Age, Period, Cohort model as introduced by Yang and Land (2006, 2008, 2013; Yang 2006) which has been used to estimate Age, Period, and Cohort effects. I rely on a repeated cross-sectional sample from studies taken over five decades, which allows me to better estimate APC effects than prior studies, which were limited to a either a single cohort or a single period.

Despite the limitations of cross-sectional data and linear models, the evidence I found this chapter is suggestive of trends that support the dynamic nature of Latino identity as introduced by the perennial situational model presented in previous chapters. However in order to in properly estimate these effect quantitatively, the most appropriate research design is one that allows me to distinguish changes across time

in the US independently from chronological time as well as different periods in which immigrants were surveyed. I take this task in Chapter 4.

Appendix

Table 3.2: Descriptive Statistics for Covariates Used

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Time in U.S.	3,588	18.185	12.387	1	79
Age	3,588	39.071	13.608	18	89
Republican	3,588	0.099	0.299	0	1
Catholic	3,588	0.754	0.430	0	1
Church Attendance	3,588	2.407	1.195	0	4
Income	3,588	3.042	1.827	1	7
Contact with C of O	3,588	2.258	0.959	0	3
Returned C of O	3,588	3.823	1.834	1	7
Owns Home in C of O	3,588	0.346	0.476	0	1
Owns Home in U.S.	3,588	0.474	0.499	0	1
Remits Money	3,588	2.355	1.892	0	5
Mexican	3,588	0.676	0.468	0	1
Liberal	3,588	0.126	0.332	0	1
Education	3,588	1.848	0.833	1	3
US Citizen	3,588	0.343	0.475	0	1
Keep Sapanish	3,588	3.873	0.397	1	4
Learn English	3,588	3.938	0.284	1	4
Perceivend Discrimination	3,588	0.306	0.461	0	1
Generation	3,588	1.061	0.164	1	1.5

Table 3.3: Ordered Probit Models for Identities with No Transformations

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Country of Origin ID	Latino ID	American ID
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Time in U.S.	-0.006* (0.003)	0.002 (0.003)	0.012*** (0.003)
Age	0.003 (0.003)	-0.002 (0.003)	0.001 (0.002)
Republican	0.168** (0.074)	0.024 (0.072)	0.397*** (0.065)
Catholic	0.199*** (0.049)	0.140*** (0.048)	0.066 (0.043)
Church Attendance	-0.009 (0.018)	-0.0004 (0.018)	0.020 (0.016)
Income < 45000	-0.006 (0.014)	-0.014 (0.014)	0.024** (0.012)
Contact with C of O	0.115*** (0.026)	0.085*** (0.026)	-0.057** (0.023)
Returned C of O	-0.022* (0.013)	-0.012 (0.013)	0.009 (0.011)
Owns Home in C of O	0.066 (0.047)	0.003 (0.046)	-0.016 (0.040)
Owns Home in U.S.	-0.011 (0.049)	0.058 (0.048)	-0.023 (0.042)
Remits Money	0.005 (0.013)	0.024* (0.013)	0.002 (0.011)
Mexican	0.007 (0.050)	-0.165*** (0.050)	-0.221*** (0.043)
Liberal	0.031 (0.065)	0.020 (0.064)	0.092* (0.055)
Education	0.039 (0.029)	0.060** (0.028)	0.097*** (0.025)
US Citizen	-0.030 (0.055)	0.038 (0.055)	0.323*** (0.048)
Keep Spanish	0.371*** (0.049)	0.323*** (0.048)	-0.086* (0.047)
Learn English	-0.077 (0.076)	0.112 (0.071)	0.083 (0.064)
Perceived Discrimination	0.003 (0.046)	0.061 (0.046)	0.034 (0.040)
1.5 Gen	0.283* (0.162)	0.112 (0.161)	0.362** (0.142)
Observations	3,588	3,588	3,588

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 3.4: Ordered Probit Models for Identities with Trasfromations

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Country of Origin ID	Latino ID	American ID
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Time in U.S.	-0.014** (0.006)	0.011* (0.006)	0.009* (0.005)
Time in U.S. ²	0.0002 (0.0001)	-0.0002 (0.0001)	0.0001 (0.0001)
Age	0.002 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	0.001 (0.002)
Republican	0.167** (0.074)	0.025 (0.072)	0.398*** (0.065)
Catholic	0.200*** (0.049)	0.139*** (0.048)	0.067 (0.043)
Church Attendance	-0.009 (0.018)	-0.002 (0.018)	0.020 (0.015)
Income < 45000	-0.005 (0.014)	-0.016 (0.014)	0.025** (0.012)
Contact with C of O	0.113*** (0.026)	0.087*** (0.026)	-0.058** (0.023)
Returned C of O	-0.026** (0.013)	-0.009 (0.012)	0.008 (0.011)
Owns Home in C of O	0.064 (0.047)	0.005 (0.046)	-0.016 (0.040)
Owns Home in U.S.	-0.004 (0.049)	0.051 (0.048)	-0.020 (0.042)
Remits Money	0.005 (0.013)	0.024* (0.013)	0.002 (0.011)
Mexican	0.005 (0.049)	-0.163*** (0.049)	-0.221*** (0.042)
Liberal	0.026 (0.065)	0.025 (0.064)	0.091 (0.056)
Education	0.035 (0.029)	0.065** (0.028)	0.095*** (0.025)
US Citizen	-0.021 (0.056)	0.030 (0.055)	0.326*** (0.048)
Keep Sarnish	0.373*** (0.046)	0.321*** (0.045)	-0.085** (0.043)
Learn English	-0.076 (0.058)	0.111** (0.055)	0.083* (0.050)
Perceivend Discrimination	0.007 (0.046)	0.057 (0.046)	0.036 (0.040)
1.5 Gen	0.279** (0.135)	0.115 (0.132)	0.362*** (0.119)
Observations	3,588	3,588	3,588

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 3.5: Multinomial Logistic Model: Forced Identity Choice

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Country of Origin	American
	(1)	(2)
Time in U.S.	-0.026** (0.011)	0.024 (0.019)
Time in U.S. ²	0.0005** (0.0002)	-0.0002 (0.0003)
Age	0.006 (0.004)	0.019*** (0.006)
Republican	0.174 (0.132)	0.926*** (0.173)
Catholic	0.173** (0.084)	-0.163 (0.143)
Church Attendance	-0.022 (0.030)	0.070 (0.054)
Income < 45000	0.022 (0.024)	0.056 (0.040)
Contact with C of O	0.172*** (0.045)	-0.054 (0.076)
Returned C of O	-0.016 (0.021)	0.051 (0.040)
Owns Home in C of O	-0.006 (0.078)	-0.167 (0.156)
Owns Home in U.S.	-0.199** (0.082)	-0.101 (0.153)
Remits Money	-0.066*** (0.022)	-0.024 (0.043)
Mexican	0.182** (0.082)	-0.388*** (0.143)
Liberal	0.163 (0.110)	0.518*** (0.182)
Education	0.066 (0.048)	0.133 (0.087)
US Citizen	0.025 (0.094)	0.662*** (0.167)
Keep Sarnish	0.124 (0.085)	-0.301** (0.130)
Learn English	-0.012 (0.097)	-0.004 (0.148)
Perceivend Discrimination	0.013 (0.078)	0.380*** (0.137)
1.5 Gen	-0.008 (0.206)	0.697*** (0.065)
Constant	-0.819*** (0.037)	-3.237*** (0.018)
Akaike Inf. Crit.	6,399.380	6,399.380

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Chapter 4

ASSESSING THE AGE PERIOD COHORT CONUNDRUM-[RE]ASSESSING LATINO IDENTITY

The study of identity has been an essential part of political science. Comparativist as well as IR scholars have seen identity as one the most important foundations of their studies, most notably in the form of national identity or nationalism identity has been a key component in the understanding of political behavior. In the American politics context identity is often seen as an ideological or partisan trait. Several studies have investigated the formation and development of ethnic identity. These studies have provided a foundation to the understanding of identity, its fluidity and multiplicity (e.g. Zinn, 1980; Barvosa, 2008; Beltran, 2010). However, the theoretical writing outweighs the empirical research. In addition, most of the empirical work focuses on cross generation comparisons or early childhood identity acquisition (López and Stanton-Salazar 2001; Portes and Rumbaut 2001), far less work has been done to investigate the transformations of identity. The primary goal of this chapter is to shed some light on the understanding of the complex dynamics of Latino employing quantitative methods. Furthermore, I seek to present a different approach to examining identity changes across time. While several scholars scholars have noted that the topic is of sufficient importance to warrant serious research attention (e.g. Phinney, 1990; 2007; Jimenez, 2010), in their attempt of employing quantitative analysis to yield useful and meaningful results, researchers have faced both a data availability and a methodological challenge.

Scholars interested in the study of ethnic identification have certainly speculated that identity develops and changes. In particular, those studying immigrant iden-

tity have identified time in the host country as a key element in the understanding those developments. Thus, by studying ethnic identity of immigrants, scholars are effectively dealing with temporally ordered phenomena. As a result, scholars rely on temporally ordered data sets, that is, population or sample survey data in the form of observations or measurements on individuals that are repeated or ordered along a time dimension. Because of the lack of panel data availability, studies documenting identity development and identity changes have relied on survey data and use a measure of arrival to the host country to estimate time in the US. While this is the approach that I take in Chapter 3 and show significant effect across time and type of identity in this chapter I show that using a single cross section to estimate these effect is not the most efficient approach.

4.1 Conceptualizing Identity Formation and Transformation as an Age-Period-Cohort

I suggest that in order to properly study identity formation and transformation we have to conceptualize it as an Age-Period-Cohort analysis. The assumption is simple: The experiences of immigrants today might be different to the experiences of those who lived in the country 50 years ago. Recently arrived immigrants today have a different experience from those who arrived in the U.S in the 60's. The problem with using cross-sectional data gathered at one point in time to study time-related phenomena is the confounding of time and cohort changes. Specifically, estimating the preferred identity of an immigrant who arrived in the year 2000 and surveyed in 2010 would give us a sense of the identity of an immigrants who has been in the US for $t = 10$ but that would not necessary be true for an immigrant who arrived in 1960 and was surveyed in 1970. However, while an APC analysis is the most appropriate way to study the formation and transformation of identity a problem arises when attempting to model all three of these effects simultaneously, because the three terms are exactly mathematically dependent (Bell & Jones 2014).

Studies of time-related change have long existed in the history of science. Descriptive analyses of nineteenth century English death rates clearly indicated stronger regularities in birth cohort changes relative to period variations (Derrick 1927; Ker-mack, McKendrick, and McKinlay 1934). The usefulness of cohort analysis demonstrated by these early studies and the convenience of using simple indicators that are widely available in many kinds of data facilitated the quick spread of cohort analysis in demography and epidemiology.

The applicability of APC analysis relies on the substantive importance of cohort influences (Hobcraft, Menken, and Preston 1982). APC analysis is, in this sense, synonymous with cohort analysis (Smith 2008). Norman Ryder, in a seminal article published in 1965, articulated the conceptual relevance of birth cohort to the study of social historical change. First, a birth cohort moves through life together and encounters the same historical and social events at the same ages. Cohort effects then reflect formative experiences resulting from the intersection of individual biographies and macrosocial influences. Second, the succession of birth cohorts with different life experiences, termed demographic metabolism by Ryder, constantly changes the composition of the population and transforms the society. Therefore, cohorts can be conceived as the essence of social change. Third, cohort membership could be considered as a social structural category that has an analytic utility similar to that of social class. “They both have explanatory power because they are surrogate indices of common characteristics of individuals in each category” (Yang et al, 2013, p. 23).

In this context, a long-standing analytic problem is the conceptualization, estimation, and interpretation of the differential contributions of three time-related changes to the phenomena of interest, namely, the effects of differences in the ages of the individuals at the time of observation on an outcome of interest, termed time (A) effects; the effects of differences in the time periods of observation or measurement of the outcome, termed period (P) effects; and the effects of differences in the year of birth or some other shared life events for a set of individuals, termed cohort (C) effects. To

address this problem, researchers need to compare specific data recorded at different points in time *and from different cohorts*. A systematic study of such data is termed age-period-cohort (APC) analysis.

Among various cohorts defined by different initial events (such as marriage and college entrance), birth cohorts are the most commonly examined unit of analysis. I suggest that in the case of immigrant and the study of their identity, rather than birth cohort we have to account for year of entry which would group immigrant into the same formative experiences in relation to chronological time. Additionally, if entry to the country is taken as the initial cohort, the posterior time lapse would not necessarily be age but rather time in the US. Thus, in this context, the challenges posed by APC for this type of analysis are whether observed changes can be separated into time in the US [A], period [P] (year of survey) and cohort [C] (year of entry). This challenge constitutes a question usually deemed conceptually important but empirically intractable. This conundrum is also known as the “identification problem” and while several methods have been proposed to solve the identification problem (Firebaugh 1989; Mason et al. 1973; Osmond and Gardner 1989; Robertson and Boyle 1986; Sasaki and Suzuki 1987; Yang, Fu and Land 2004) the reality is that the separation of the three elements continues to be a difficult task called by some as “futile quest” or attempting to do the “logically impossible” (Glenn 1976, 2005).

It has been termed the “conundrum” of APC analysis (Glenn 2005) for two reasons. The first is data limitations. Using cross-sectional data at one point in time, for example, A and C are intermingled and confounded. Using longitudinal panel data for a single cohort, on the other hand, A and P effects are intermingled and confounded, that is, the same cohort is followed across different points in time which does not allow to observe newly arrived cohorts at different points in time. The second reason is the use of conventional linear regression models that suffer from either specification errors or an identification problem and consequently are incapable of distinguishing A, P, and C effects. Figure 4.1 shows the classical cross-sectional

structure in which at a unique survey period [Pu] different lengths of time in the US [A1...An] are observed. Most importantly, Figure 4.1 also shows that given that cross sectional surveys are conducted at a unique point in time A effects are confounded with C effects.

Figure 4.1: Corss sectional (P by A) Data Structure

	A1	A2	A3	A4
Pu	C1	C2	C3	C4

4.2 Repeated Cross-Sectional Data Designs

As illustrated above, A and C changes are confounded in cross-sectional data collected at one point in time and therefore difficult cohort analysis. Yang and Land (2013), propose that cross-sectional data collected repeatedly across time are well suited for APC analysis. Figure 4.2 shows how by pooling data of all years, one can formulate a rectangular A-by-P array of observations, where columns correspond to P-specific observations in each year, and rows are observations from each A across years. Linking the diagonal cells of the array yields the observations belonging to people entering the country during the same calendar years.

Figure 4.2: A by P Data Structure

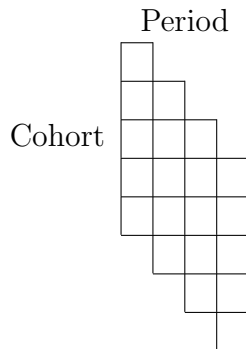
	P1	P2	P3	P4
A1	C1			
A2		C1		
A3			C1	
A4				C1

Although only a longitudinal panel study design provides data from true birth cohorts that follow *identical* individuals over time, the design mentioned above, if

based on complete population data or repeated representative sample surveys thereof, could allow for a classic demographic analysis using the synthetic cohort approach (Mason and Fienberg, 1985; Preston, Heuveline, and Guillot, 2001; Yang and Land, 2013) that traces essentially the same groups of people from the same birth cohorts over a large segment of the life span.

According to Yang and Land (2013) the usefulness of repeated cross-sectional data designs have not been fully exploited because they have largely been analyzed as age-by-time period arrays in which age, time period, and birth cohort are considered same-level factors affecting the outcome of interest. Furthermore, when the data used to construct the age-by-time period data structure of Figure 4.2 are in such a form that different temporal intervals can be used for the age, time period, and cohort groupings, the same design can be considered alternatively as a multilevel data as shown in Table 4.3; each row is a cohort, and each column is a time period. In this design, individual-level age-specific observations are nested in and cross-classified simultaneously by two higher-level social contexts defined by time period and entry cohort. This multilevel data structure then motivates the employment of a different modeling approach that could avoid the model identification problem of classical linear APC models given certain assumptions (Bell & Jones 2014).

Figure 4.3: Cohort by period cross-classification data structure



4.3 Linear Regression Models and the Identification Problem

In many previous applications of linear models to age-period-cohort (APC) analysis, the identification problem cannot not be avoided. First, because most of these applications are focused on aggregate population data using the first research design, the three variables relate to one another in an exact linear fashion. For example, for each age and calendar year, there is a unique birth cohort. The linear models fit to the APC data in this form, namely, APC accounting models, induce this problem by imposing the assumption of additivity and treating the three temporal variables as fixed effects that are independent of each other. Since the formalization of accounting multiple classification models for APC analysis in the early 1970s (Mason et al. 1973), the voluminous literature in social sciences and biostatistics has focused on the resulting under identification “conundrum” as a methodological problem. However, the problem is also a theoretical one. That is, a linear APC model may not accurately describe age-, period-, and cohort-related phenomena. It should be noted that additivity of the effects of these three temporal dimensions is only one simple approximation to the process generating time-related changes. Some cohort or period phenomena involve problems that can hardly be handled by any version of APC accounting models (Hobcraft, Menken, and Preston 1982; Smith 2004). Yang and Land (2006, 2008, 2013; Yang 2006) have suggested the use of a hierarchical APC (HAPC) which they claim conceptualizes time periods and cohort memberships as social historical contexts within which individuals are embedded and ordered by age and models them as random as opposed to fixed effects additive to that of age.

4.4 HAPC Model Specification

The simplest form of model specification of the HAPC model as introduced by Yang and Land (2006) is a member of the class of linear mixed models (LMMs). This model specification is the most widely used form of hierarchical or multilevel linear

models as presented in such standard expositions as those of Raudenbush and Bryk (2002) and Snijders and Bosker (1999). It consists of a two-component model: The level 1 component is a regression of an individual-level outcome variable on a set of individual-level explanatory variables (regressors, covariates) with an intercept term, fixed regression slope coefficients, and an individual-level random error term. Level 2 models use level 1 regression coefficients as outcomes and contain intercepts and specification of random effect coefficients for the effects of each cohort and time period distinguished in the model. The level 2 model may also contain cohort or time period explanatory variables with fixed effect coefficients that are hypothesized to explain, at least in part, the cohort or period effects (Yang 2006). While the conceptual structure that underlies the HAPC model can be valuable, APC are confounded in the population, not just in the sample; the confounding is mathematical or logical, and as such cannot simply be solved by manipulation of the data or the model ((Bell & Jones 2014; Goldstein 1979). While the HACP is not fool proof and works only under specific assumptions rarely present Bell and Jones (2014) point out that this does not mean that the conceptual distinction between age, period could not be of use in a number of situations in finding substantive conclusions.

I use this theoretical and methodological framework to test the perennial-situational model employing a unique repeated cross-sectional data set: The Latin American Immigrant Survey Composite (LAISC) combines over 9,500 survey observations, from five different surveys into a single repeated cross-sectional data set. Certainly, the APC dependency lies not with a model that is fitted to the data, nor with the data itself, but with the underlying processes that created the data. Aware of this my expectation in using these models is that by combining cross-sections from studies taken over several decades, I can better estimate APC effects, given identifying assumptions, than prior studies, which were limited to a either a single cohort or a single period. the cumulative evidence is suggestive of support for the perennial-situational model

4.5 *The Latin American Immigrant Survey Composite (LAISC)*

As mentioned above cross-sectional data collected repeatedly across time are well suited for APC analysis if based on complete population data or repeated representative sample surveys. To this end I have created a unique repeated cross-sectional sample survey comprised by Latino focused surveys ranging from 1965 to 2006, which I call the Latin American Immigrant Survey Composite (LAISC). This dataset combines over 9,500 survey observations, from five different surveys into a single archive. The consistency in the wording of the identity questions across these surveys allows me to construct a repeated cross-sectional sample survey which has been shown to appropriately estimate age-period-cohort (APC) effects (Caplan, 1995; Land & Yang, 2013) for the first ever cohort analysis of Latino identity. The LAISC is comprised by five different data sets: the Mexican American Study Project (MASP), 1965; the Mexican Origin People in the United States: the Chicano Survey (Chicano Survey), 1979; the Latino National Political Survey (LNPS), 1990; the Pew Hispanic Center/Kaiser Family Foundation National Survey of Latinos (Kaiser Survey), 1999 and the Latino National Survey (LNS), 2006. Specific coding and variable questions can be found in Appendix B.

Table 4.1 shows percent frequency distributions of each identity (Country of origin, Latino, American) by time in the U.S. These tables show interesting patterns even at the bi-variate level; each row represents the distribution of a that identity observed in each one of the surveys comprising the LAISC. As mentioned above this data structure allows us to re-structure it into a CxP which allows us to observe cohort trends; these patterns are observed Figure??. For instance, assuming representative random sampling we can suppose that respondents who recently arrived to the US around 1965 when the MASP was conducted were then 15-24 years by the time the Chicano study was conducted and 25-34 by the time the LNPS was conducted, 35-44 for the Kaiser and over 45 for the LNS. Thus, following the 1960 cohort we

can observe a decrease in the distribution of Country of Origin choice from 61.2 to 54.6 and 39.2 then a steady increase to 44.5 and 54.2. Conversely, Latino identity shows the opposite trend with a steady increase from 33.7 to 37.7 and 44.21 and then decreases to 36.1 and 20. Moreover, American identity shows a steady and constant increase going from 4.9, 8.6, 16.3, 19.7, and ending in 26.9. These patterns are similar to those observed in Chapter 3 and suggested by the perennial situational model. A final element that these contingency tables is the steady increase in the American identity for the oldest groups (those with 45+ year in the US. This is an interesting trend that also points to the fact that other immigrant groups could have observed a similar pattern but intermediate transformation could not be observed, at least not statistically. that suggest a steady Americanization even within immigrants across history. This trend is While these are only bi-variate cross tabulations they present patterns that suggestive of an overarching trend that are suggestive of strong patterns which could also be observed in a HAPC with mixed effects. In the following section such a model is presented.

4.6 Models and Results
















While my response variable a factor containing the preferred identity of respondents I estimate logit regressions separating the factored data. Allison (1984, p.46-47) writes:

[...] the likelihood function [...] for the data can be factored into a separate likelihood function for each kind of event [e.g., contrasts in a multinomial model]. Moreover, those factors look exactly like likelihood functions for single kinds of events with all other events treated as censored. Thus maximum likelihood or partial likelihood estimation can be done separately for each event type[...].

Table 4.1: LAISC Identity Frequency Distribution by Time in the US

	Country of Origin				
	0-14 Years	15-24 Years	25-34 Years	35-44 Years	45+ Years
MASP (1965)	61.2	54.7	45.8	51.4	63.9
Chicano (1979)	62.1	54.6	44.4	48.7	59.9
LNPS (1989)	58.1	49.0	39.2	46.3	53.2
Kaiser (1999)	61.1	50.0	41.0	44.5	65.0
LNS (2006)	52.7	46.1	37.9	48.2	54.2
	Latino				
MASP (1965)	33.7	36.5	39.5	32.7	21.3
Chicano (1979)	33.2	37.7	41.1	33.4	22.0
LNPS (1989)	34.4	42.6	44.1	32.4	26.1
Kaiser (1999)	37.0	46.2	47.1	36.1	14.8
LNS (2006)	41.8	45.5	45.3	28.9	20.0
	American				
MASP (1965)	4.9	9.1	14.2	15.0	15.2
Chicano (1979)	4.1	8.6	15.4	17.6	17.9
LNPS (1989)	6.8	9.0	16.3	22.1	21.2
Kaiser (1999)	2.2	4.1	12.4	19.7	21.0
LNS (2006)	5.2	9.1	17.7	22.3	26.9

Figure 4.4: LAISC Cohort Trends

	0-14 Years	15-24 Years	25-34 Years	35-44 Years	45+ Years	
Country of Origin						
Cohort 1965	61.18	54.62	39.15	44.54	54.21	
Cohort 1979	62.05	49.05	41.03	48.15		
Cohort 1989	58.08	50.03	37.89			
Cohort 1999	61.07	46.06				
Cohort 2006	52.73					
Latino						
Cohort 1965	33.65	37.70	44.12	36.10	20.02	
Cohort 1979	33.17	42.60	47.13	28.90		
Cohort 1989	34.42	46.18	45.30			
Cohort 1999	37.02	45.46				
Cohort 2006	41.82					
American						
Cohort 1965	4.91	8.59	16.33	19.72	26.86	
Cohort 1979	4.13	9.02	12.35	22.25		
Cohort 1989	6.79	4.14	17.66			
Cohort 1999	2.15	9.14				
Cohort 2006	5.15					

Running separate models encourages examining contrasts that might be ignored (rather than using a single reference category) otherwise. Finally this facilitates individual simulation for graphical representations.

Model

Formally the combined model (Level 1 and Level 2) is specified as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{Logit Pr}(Identity_{ijk} = 1) = & \gamma_0 + \beta_1 Time_{ijk} + \beta_2 Time_{ijk}^2 \\
 & + \beta_3 Income_{ijk} + \beta_3 Gender_{ijk} + \beta_4 Generation_{ijk} \\
 & + \beta_5 Citizenship_{ijk} + \beta_6 Mexican_{ijk} + \beta_7 Catholic_{ijk} \\
 & + \beta_8 Age_{ijk} + \beta_9 MaritalStatus_{ijk} + \beta_{10} Ideology_{ijk} \\
 & + \beta_{11} Education_{ijk} + \beta_{11} Souht_{ijk} + u_{0j} + v_{0k}
 \end{aligned} \tag{4.1}$$

for

$i = 1, 2, \dots, n_{jk}$ individuals within cohort j and period k ;

$j = 1, \dots$, entry cohorts;

$k = 1, \dots, 5$ survey years.

where, within each entry cohort j and survey year k , respondent is preferred identity is modeled as a function of his or her time in the US, time in the US-squared, and other controls that have been found in previous research to be related to the preference of a given identity. This random intercepts model specification allows only the level 1 intercept to vary randomly from cohort to cohort and period to period, but not the level 1 slopes.

Results

For ease of interpretation I present the estimated period and cohort effect in a graphical form as well as the effect of time for each identity. Figures 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7 present the effect of period, cohort and time in the US for country of origin identity, Latino, and American respectively with a 90% confidence envelop around the point estimates.

It is worth noting the similarity of the time effect across the three models when

compared to those of Chapter 3 and what the two way cross tabulations of Figure 4.4 shows. This is in part explained period and cohort effect. We see, that the net change from one point to another is only marginal and for the most part statistically indistinguishable. This means that regardless of the time of entry or the time of survey the expected time effect should not vary drastically. There are two important observed expectations: First, the 2000+ plus cohort observed drastic differences. Specifically their likelihood of observing a COO or Latino identity is greater than any other entry cohort; this is expected since this cohort has only been interviewed once and they were recent immigrants. Similarly their probability of choosing an American identity is lower than any other cohort. Second, there is an important period effect observed around 1990. This effect shows that those interviewed around this year were less likely to identify as COO and more likely to identify as American or Latino. This is an important finding that can be observed for the first time quantitatively; this change in probability of choosing these identities is the result of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986.

Thus, this important immigration policy change had also an echo in the way immigrants see themselves. this conveys political implications, namely on the political participation of these immigrants, I explore these dynamics in the following chapter. what this chapter has achieved is not only to present important support to the perennial-situational model but also presented a methodological re-conceptualization to the study of identity. The framework presented here allows for the continuous incorporation of new survey years. Given the expectation of future immigration policy changes, it is encouraging to think of future comparison to the effect observed after IRCA.

Furthermore, the trends are consistent even within different counterfactuals. For instance, Figure 4.8 shows predicted probabilities of choosing COO identity for time in the U.S. by country of origin, that is whether the respondents is Mexican or not. One possibility is that given the large number of Mexicans in the LAISC the model

could be driven by Mexicans. The figure shows that the trend is statistically similar. Moreover Figure 4.9 shows predicted probabilities for those who arrive as adults and those who arrive as children. As expected 1.5ers are more likely to embrace a Latino identity however the trend is similar and consistent with the PSM.

Establishing the dynamic nature of Latino identity invites political scientist to further explore how these dynamics affect political outcomes. One of the elements introduced by the perennial-situational model is the unreceptive agents of categorization which pushes immigrants to modify their identity. Immigrants face these agents as they move away from the myth of return. The evidence presented thus far, qualitatively and quantitatively supports those changes of identity. Social identity theorists suggest that ethnic identification is one of the prime bases for participation in social movements (Simon et. al 1998).

As mentioned in previous chapters SIT suggests that individuals are strongly driven to maintain a positive self-image (Tajfel and Turner 1979). One way people achieve this is by upholding a positive distinctiveness of groups they belong to by ensuring one's in-group compares favorably against an out-group. For this reason, threats to a group's worth elicit specific reactions from group members, reactions that depend on one's level of identification with that group (Ethier and Deaux 1994; Doosje et al. 1995; Ellemers et al. 1997; Spears et al. 1997). For this reason, when immigrants are confronted with unreceptive agents of categorization they feel inclined to modify their identity to a pan-ethnic identity. In the next chapter I use these dynamics to observe the way in which those changing identities are reflected in political outcomes.

Figure 4.5: Estimated Time, Cohort and Period Effects for Country of Origin Identity

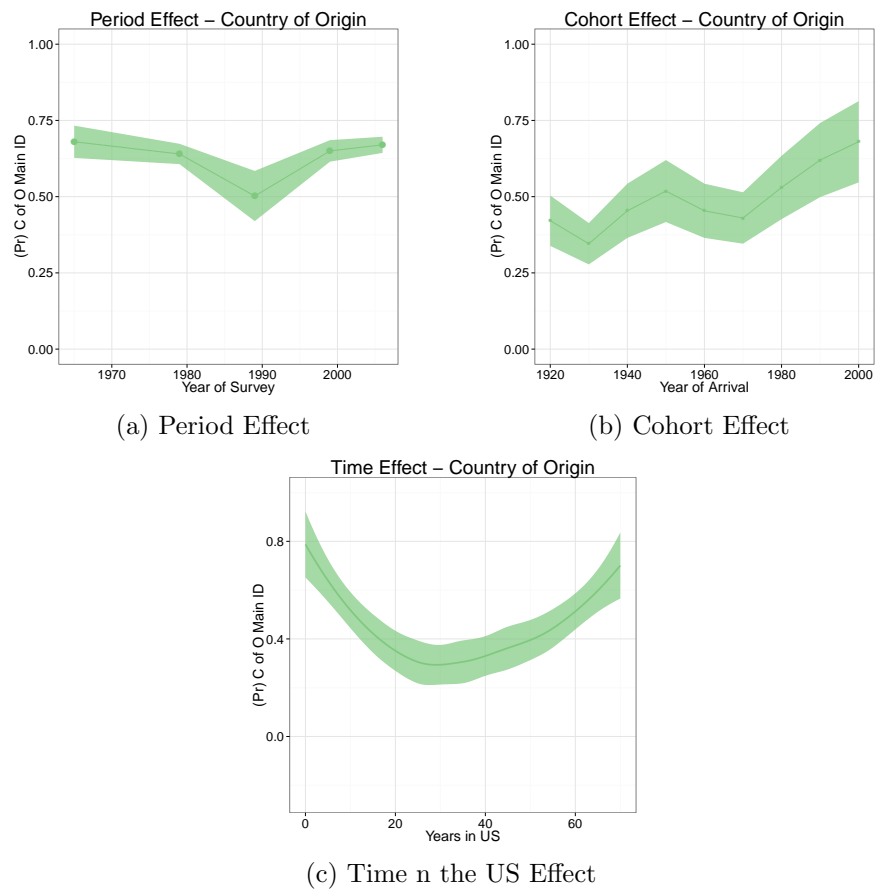


Figure 4.6: Estimated Time, Cohort and Period Effects for Latino Identity

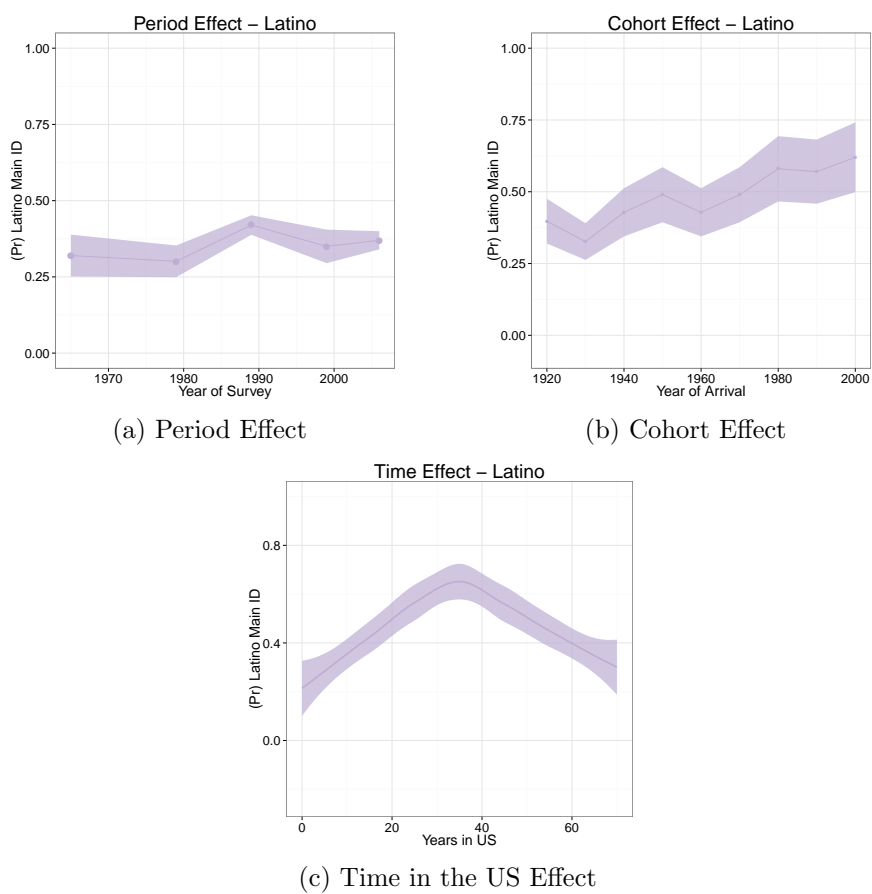


Figure 4.7: Estimated Time, Cohort and Period Effects for American Identity

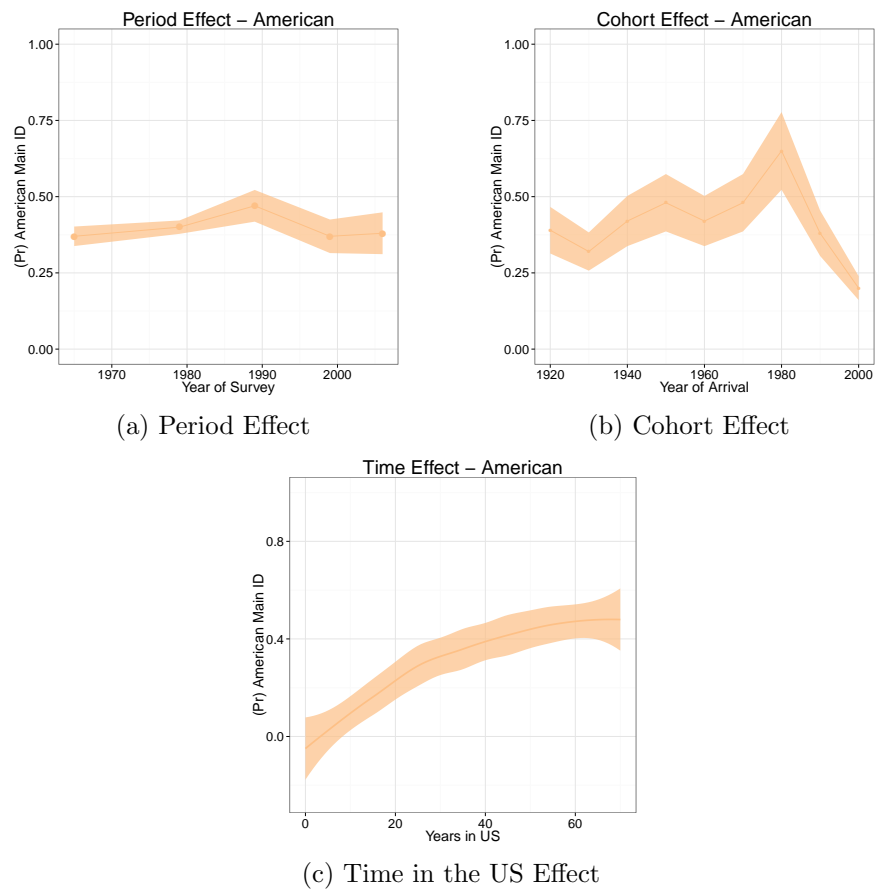


Figure 4.8: Time effect by Country of Origin

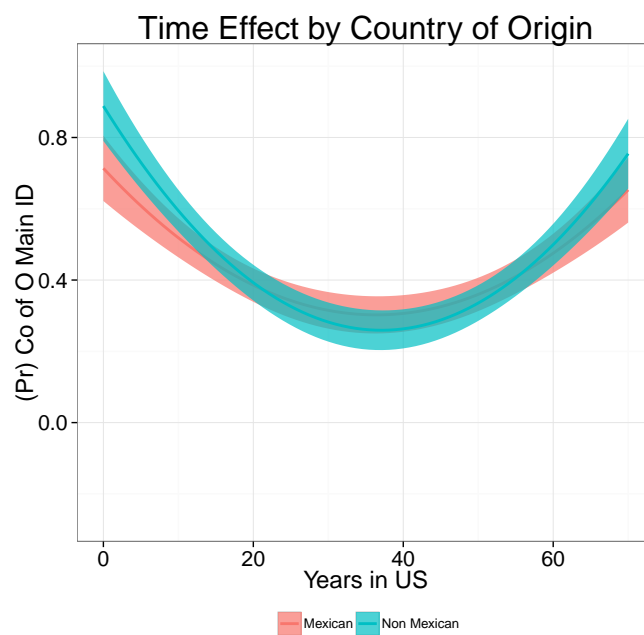
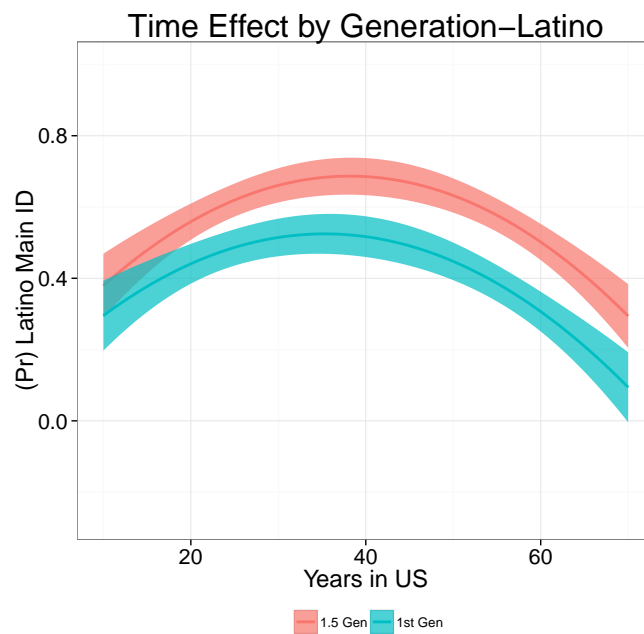


Figure 4.9: Time effect by Country of Origin



Chapter 5

**ESTABLISHING THE WHEN AND HOW OF IDENTITY
AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**

Scholars working in the field of political participation have expressed a growing interest in the dynamics affecting political participation in Latino/a communities. It is clear that Latinos continue to grow not only in numbers but also in political influence. The most recent census data show that Latinos are the largest and fastest growing minority group at over 50 million strong, which represents about 16.3 % of the U.S. population (US Census data 2010). In light of the growth of Latino influence, different opinions have emerged. On the one hand, an important contemporary political question asks about the factors that mobilize Latino populations to participate in politics. Among other factors, assimilation has been broadly accepted as a strategy to increasing civic capacity. On the other hand, the presence of Latino/a communities and their growing sphere of influence has led scholars to question the extent to which such presence might put in jeopardy the core of "American values" based on the supposition that Latinos have failed to assimilate. Moreover, as discussed in previous chapters, extant literature shows that immigrants choose to maintain their positions outside the traditional political sphere as a way of balancing the demands by the host country and the country of origin or develop multiple identities (Jones-Correa 1998, Fraga et al 2010.)

While it is a fact that Latinos are the fastest growing community, at least in numbers, participation using conventional but narrow indicators appears to be lower than expected. Political scientists have argued that in order to increase political participation, policymakers have to provide channels that allow them to assimilate (see Nelson

1982, de la Garza et al 1996). While assimilation and acculturation are usually used to mean the same thing, Gordon (1964) provided a systematic dissection of these terms warning that assimilation in fact covers a variety of sub-processes constituting a particular stage of the process of assimilation being identificational assimilation the culmination of such process which refers to the development of sense of peoplehood based on the host society. As a result of this assimilationist tradition pluralist assumptions show that openness of American politics works best when individuals and groups assimilate to prevailing cultural and societal norms (Fraga et al. 2006, p. 518.) Using the perennial-situational model (PSM) I depart from this tradition to show that identity has to be accounted for not as a monolithic or constant effect but rather as dynamic element. In this chapter I use the Latino National Survey to assess not only whether identity affect political participation but rather when and under which circumstances.

5.1 Research on Political Participation

Political scientists have extensively researched various dimensions of voter turnout, party identification and non-electoral participation. As Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995) have demonstrated, community associations and civic volunteerism are important building blocks for political incorporation and participation. In their study, the authors found that this civic involvement is low for Latinos and even lower for foreign-born Latinos and leads them to conclude, in part, that this deficit of civic skills is partially responsible for the low levels of political participation among foreign-born Latinos. Additionally, most scholars concur that socioeconomic status (SES) corresponds directly with higher political participation; however, some have shown that SES variables do not explain by themselves why Latino immigrants do (or do not) naturalize (Jones-Correa,1998), cast a vote (Tam, 1999), or participate in nonelectoral activity (Garcia-Bedolla, 2000). The theories behind the SES variables have been described as overly general. This is not to say that SES is not important. There is, of

course, substantial literature that shows how socioeconomic variables are significant with political participation among Latinos (Garcia,1997), although typically SES best accounts for participation among native-born Latinos.

Given what has been accounted for thus far, most scholars might expect that immigrants with higher levels of education are more likely to participate than those with lower levels of education; immigrants with higher income levels are more likely to participate than those with lower income; and older immigrants are more likely to be politically involved than younger immigrants. However, Jones-Correa (1998) pointed out that the relationship between citizen/noncitizen immigrants and SES level exist as a positive relationship but that those relationships are rather weak. Furthermore, SES status is likely to be a stronger predictor among native-born Latinos. Tam (1999) states that the reasoning behind SES and political participation assumes that it applies equally across various segments of the population. She noted that participation among these communities may be further understood once we realize that there are segments of the population that are socialized through different mechanisms or networks that change how political participation works in America.

Thus, in his case study of Latin American immigrants in New York City, Jones-Correa (1998) noted that many immigrants who came to the city with a significant amount of educational and human capital did not participate in formal political life, mostly because of the constant need to balance demands from the country of origin and the host country. Jones-Correa described this process as the practice of the "politics of in-between," whereby the political participation is negotiated on the immigrants' own terms. This, Jones-Correa notes, is done by keeping some distance and ties to both polities. Therefore, it is important to define and/or redefine how holding ties with one country or another means for Latino political participation. Furthermore, Jones-Correa notes that although Latin American immigrant organizations are primarily "oriented toward the home country, the autonomous space they create here leads itself (perhaps unintentionally) to the expression of multiple identities that al-

low them to avoid the closure demanded by formal politics” (Jones- Correa, 1998, p. 132).

The differences in socialization among Latinos are attributable to the characteristics of the communities they are a part of. Jones-Correa (1998) wrote of another kind of cost to participating in political life. In reference to Latin American immigrants in Queens, he stated that socioeconomic or bureaucratic hurdles do not explain why this community is on the fringes of political life, and that there are further costs that this community deals with that do not affect the average voter. These costs, which can be both social and psychological, are found within their communities. By acquiring full membership within the American polity, immigrants would lose rights, privileges, and forgo obligations to their home country. These concerns are reinforced by a community that can be hostile to full political incorporation. This hostility is attributable to the fact that the new immigrant in Jones-Correa’s analysis still clings to what he called the ”myth of return,” whereby some immigrants feel that one day, they will return to their home country.

Whether Jones-Correa’s analysis of Queens, New York, is consistent across the nation, there seems to be a huge burden on the part of immigrants to deal with pressure from within their own community. It is compounded by the fact that these communities are often ignored by politicians and their political machines. Although Latin American immigrant organizations are primarily oriented ”toward the home country, the autonomous space they create here lends itself (perhaps unintentionally) to the expression of multiple identities that allow them to avoid the closure demanded by formal politics” (Jones- Correa, 1998, p. 132). Those hurdles, Jones Correa argues, are mostly reflected on the low rates of naturalization. While length of life lived in the United States is a key predictor for explaining why someone would naturalize, it would not necessarily explain why someone would attend a rally or volunteer for a political campaign. If anything, new immigrants may be more optimistic and less apathetic about political participation (Barreto and Muñoz, 2003). However, they

would also have less resources which, according to the resource model would make it more difficult for the to engage in political activities. In addition, a "politics of in-between" makes it difficult for immigrants holding strong ties with the country of origin to incorporate to the political arena. I propose that such claims have to be revisited. The PSM relies on social identity theory to suggest that length of life in US would actually affect not only how immigrants see themselves (i.e how they identify) but also how this affects their levels of political participation.

5.2 SIT and PSM Linking Identities and Political Participation among Latinos/as

Social identity theorists suggest that ethnic identification is one of the prime bases for participation in social movements (Simon et. al 1998). As mentioned in previous chapters SIT suggests that individuals are strongly driven to maintain a positive self-image (Tajfel and Turner 1979). One way people achieve this is by upholding a positive distinctiveness of groups they belong to by ensuring one's in-group compares favorably against an out-group. For this reason, threats to a group's worth elicit specific reactions from group members, reactions that depend on one's level of identification with that group (Ethier and Deaux 1994; Doosje et al. 1995; Ellemers et al. 1997; Spears et al. 1997). For this reason, when immigrants are confronted with unreceptive agents of categorization they feel inclined to modify their identity to a pan-ethnic identity.

Mario my interviewee from El Salvador clearly exemplified this desire when he says that at work he identifies as Latino: "[...] because when you say that you are from El Salvador they start looking at you in a different way [...]". How does this identity shifting affect political participation? Extant literature has not fully explored the ethnic identity and political participation link. In fact, for the most part, identity has been relegated to be a control variable and, at best, scholars have focused on the relationship between group consciousness and linked fate.

The central claims that researchers have on group consciousness range from finding no consistent relationship between participation and group consciousness to finding a strong relationship between group consciousness and political participation (Leighley and Vedlitz 1999; Leighley 1996; Snchez 2006; Stokes 2003). The idea of a ‘linked fate’ among African-Americans is posited to explain the political behavior of the African American community (Dawson 1994; McClain & Stewart. 2006). Dawson (1994) describes ‘linked fate’ as the perception that what happens to the group happens to the individual. Therefore, through group consciousness, the individual experiences a sense of belonging to the group as well as a conscious commitment to the goals and betterment of the group which stimulates not only “individual awareness of the group’s status in society relative to other groups but also an overall commitment to act collectively to satisfy group interests” (Stokes 2003, 363). Though group cohesion/consciousness is more broadly described than linked fate in much of the literature as it refers to the realization of commonality among groups than a perception of direct impact, the theoretical foundation is still relevant to understanding the role of group consciousness on the Latino community.

I claim that the notion of linked fate and group consciousness is only advancing the understanding of the identity-participation link partially. If pan-ethnic identities are embraced not only as a way to balance demands but also as a way to uphold positive distinctiveness, I advance that during transition periods, that is –when more unreceptive agents of categorization are perceived, immigrants who strongly identify pan-ethnically would have greater levels of participation. Consequently, those embracing perennial identities (e.g. COO) during the Permanent stage would have higher levels of participation given that not only would they have more resources but as the PSM indicates they would be better situated to embrace a Country of Origin Identity and as Rodolfo, my interviewee from Kenewik puts it “[.] now I know I am more Mexican than them, they do nothing for Mexico, they are just there... Here we have to make an effort to keep [Mexican traditions] alive”. Thus, if situational identities

differ from perennial identities in terms of when and under which circumstances they are embraced I posit that the question to be asked is not only whether there is a sense of linked fate but rather *with whom*, when and under which circumstances immigrants identify. This paradigm shift allows me to observe how identity transformations as catalyst of political participation.

5.3 *Latino Identities and Political Participation*

In order to examine the effect of identity on the levels of political participation among Latinos I turn back to Latino National Survey 2006 (LNS). A repeated cross sectional sample survey, such as the LAISC would be the ideal data set to model political participation across time and cohorts. Unfortunately, given the lack of consistency in response rates and questions wording across the different data sets in the LAISC I am unable to use it to model political participation. However, as I have demonstrated in Chapter 4, identity transformations across cohorts and survey are consistent and allows me to rely on the large number of first generation Latinos surveyed in the LNS to observe the effect of Identity on Political participation across time in the US.

One of the advantages of the LNS is that it asked several questions about political participation; I take full advantage of this fact and model traditional and non-traditional forms of participation. Specifically, I model whether the respondent has registered to vote, and whether the respondent voted in the most recent election. As it is usually the case, these questions were only asked to those who had already naturalized. In addition, I also model non-traditional forms of participation. Including non traditional forms of participation is a key component of this chapter. The main motivation is that immigrants from Latin America would and do participate even outside of the electoral arena. This allows immigrants to influence the polity even when access to vote is not possible. The specific variable I use asked the following question: “Do you participate in the activities of one social, cultural, civic or political group, more than one such group, or do you not participate in the activities of

any such groups?” This question was asked to all respondents independently of their naturalization status.

Covariates

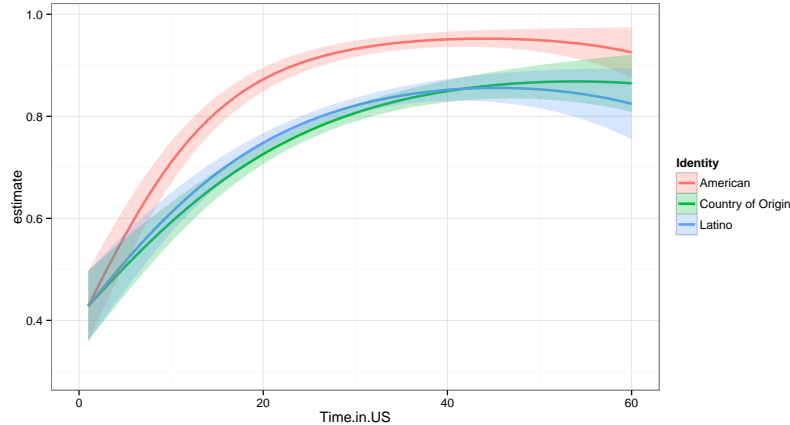
Similar to the models in previous chapters, I include time in the US as a main variable of interest. Again, in these model I do not assume linearity when in relation to time in the U.S. In addition, for this set of model I include identity as a covariate. I also include controls level of transnational contact, frequency of return to home country, whether the respondent owns land or a house in the home country, whether the respondent owns a house in US, how frequently the respondent remits money to the home country, whether the respondent is Mexican, the desire to keep Spanish, the desire learn English, whether the respondent is catholic, frequency of church attendance, whether the respondent has naturalized, whether the respondent has perceived decriminalization and generation. Additionally the three models control for traditional measures such as income, age, gender, education, partisanship and ideology. Descriptive statistics for all the covariates used can be seen in Table ??.

Models and Findings

To asses the effect of time and identity on political participation I model logistic regressions using registration, vote, and community participation. As mentioned above I do not assume linearity for time in the US. Additionally, in order estiamte the joint effect of identity and time I intercat preferred identity with time. Table ?? show the fully specified models for registration and vote. However, since I am more interested in the marginal effects of identity across time on political participation I have also estimated predicted probabilities and produced plots to visualize the effects. Figure 5.1 shows the probability of registering to vote across different lengths of time in US. It can be seen that there is an overall trend of progressive increase of the probability of of registering as time in the US increases. These results are consistent with the

resource model, showing that as immigrant become more resourceful the probability that they will register increases. Moreover, the graph show that, as Jones-Correa, suggests, those who have less attachment to their country of origin, that is, prefer to identify as Americans tend to register at higher rates. It is worth noting that these models include only those who have naturalized and thus are able to register.

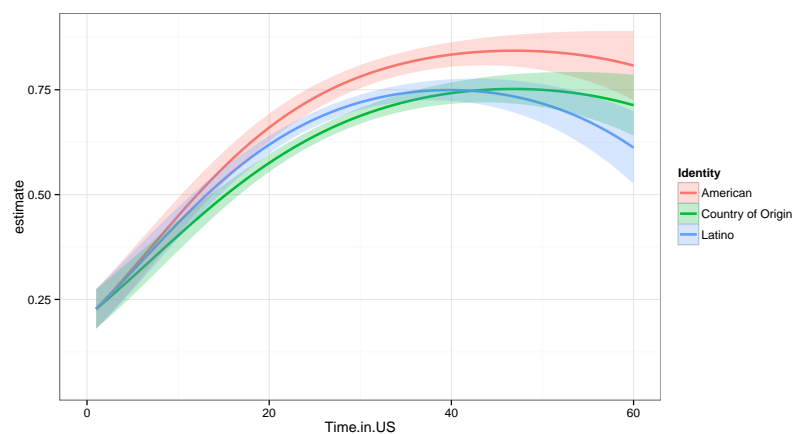
Figure 5.1: Predicted Probabilities of Registering to
Vote by Time in the US and Identity



A similar trend can be seen in relation to the probability of voting. Figure 5.2 shows predicted probabilities of voting across time and . An interesting difference to note between registering and voting is that while the probability to vote increases immigrants live in the US longer the trends across identities are very similar and statistically indistinguishably for the most part. This is consistent with the claim that registration is one of the biggest hurdles to get Latinos to vote.

So far, the picture presented by these models is very consistent with traditional models of political participation; as Latinos live longer in the US, the more likely they are to turn out. There is however, an additional layer to account for which is the fact that Latino immigrants are not always able to vote or register as soon as they arrive to the country. This of course, does not mean that they will remain

Figure 5.2: Predicted Probabilities of Voting
by Time in the US and Identity



apathetic members of the community. In fact, there seems to be a process by which immigrants evaluate their efficacy and deem easier to incorporate to the political arena by remaining outside the electoral life. Carlos, a 60 year old El Pasoan who was born in Mexico and volunteers at the *Centro de Trabajadores Agricolas Fronterizos*¹- CTAF illustrates some of these dynamics:

I always considered my self an active member of my community, always very ‘Grillo.’² But up to day, I have never voted. Never really seen the need for it. I try to stay informed about the political parties and all that but at the end what we do here at the center is more important

In talking to Carlos I could see that he was pessimistic and cynical about voting and political parties in general categorizing as being the same he also revealed another important aspect of the political life of Latin American immigrant; I asked him whether he always felt disenchanting with the political system or if there was

¹Center for Agrarian Workers of the Border.

²Literally, cricket. A common way to call people who seem enjoy talking and debating about politics

something in specific that made him feel that way. My suspicion was that being from Mexico would make him cynical towards democracy in general. His response alluded to something very different:

Well, what happens is that when you are still in the process of getting your papers in order the only people that give you a space to express politically is in places like here at the center. We not only open the door to everyone, regardless of their status, we actually need them, we are constantly trying to bring more people in to fight for the rights [of agrarian workers]

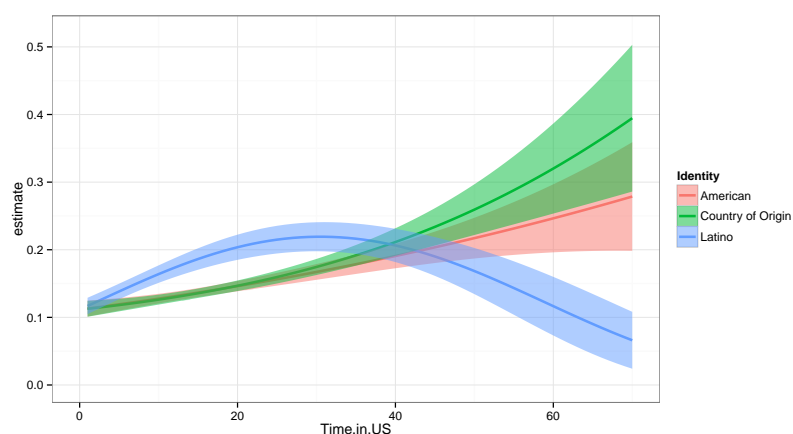
While Carlos' words show that recruitment is a key component to participating, he also shows that working at the community level gives immigrants a sense of efficacy, a feeling that their actions is bringing about change. Carlos feels he can directly affect and improve farmers rights. This notion of being able to positively affect your community is at the hearth of SIT and the PSM.

As noted above, based on SIT, I advance that during transition periods, that is –when more unreceptive agents of categorization are perceived, immigrants who strongly identify pan-ethnically would have greater levels of participation. Consequently, those embracing perennial identities (e.g. COO) during the Permanent stage would have higher levels of participation given that not only would they have more resources but as the PSM indicates they would be better situated to embrace a Country of Origin Identity.

Figure 5.3 shows predicted probabilities for community engagement across time and preferred identity. This figure shows some interesting patterns. As we would expect, it can be seen that recently arrived immigrants begin with low levels of participation regardless of their identity. Interestingly, in subsequent years immigrants with higher levels of participation chose to identify as Latinos. the perennial situational model suggests that during these periods, immigrants chose to identify with a situational identity to deal with agents of categorization. In addition, using SIT it

suggests that immigrants from will react to threats by acting politically. Finally, as the PSM notes, after this period perennial identities rreturn as the main predictor of participation.

Figure 5.3: Predicted Probabilities of Community Participation by Time in the US and Identity



It is not surprising that the greater amount of variance within identities was observed in the non-electoral forms of political participation. Scholars have documented that it is in the informal arena where minority groups find a niche to not only to participate but also to develop civic skills (Verba et al, 1995). This raises an important question: If Latino immigrants join and participate in community based groups at different rates depending on their identity and those groups help develop skills that translate into other forms of participation; would those skills be translated into electoral participation at different rates given different identities? In following section I look at particular form of group meeting attending identified by Verba and colleagues as an important civic capacity builder: church attendance.

5.4 Religion and Politics

Verba et al. posit that the differences in participation rates between ethnic groups, while related to socioeconomic disparities, are derived from the acquisition of civic skills through associational memberships, particularly experiences in church. Catholic and Protestant churches were hypothesized to develop different levels of such skills, and Verba et al. suggest that the relatively low level of Latino political participation was explained by a predominantly Catholic affiliation (1995). Gaston Espinosa's work with the Hispanic Churches in American Public Life survey (HCAPL) supports Verba et al.'s findings that Latino Catholic participate less, though Espinosa attributes such disparities to the percentage of immigrants, lower income and education levels, and larger congregation sizes within the Catholic Church rather than denominationally dependent civic skill development (Espinosa 2005). conversely, Jones-Correa and Leal (2001) found that increased church attendance (rather than denomination) positively affects Latino political participation rates. Churches are the primary socializing institutions for immigrant groups, and so greater participation in church either correlates to or leads to greater participation in social and political arenas.

Church participation has another important effect relevant to our discussion of Latino political participation: its role in cultural retention versus assimilation. The Church is where recent immigrants can go to find "people like me," meaning others from the same country or at least from a similar culture. Because of this, church involvement reinforces Latinos' identity, as well as an attachment to their country of origin, specifically (as opposed to an American or Latino identification). This is on account of the mutually constitutive nature of religion and national culture (Gordon 1964; Dunn 1989; Haddad et al 2003; Putnam and Campbell 2010; Jacobson and Wadsworth 2012; Wilson 2008; Wald 2007). This effect on self-identification can last well beyond the first and second generations, effectively mitigating assimilation pressures as demonstrated by the PSM.

Finally, churches also encourage political participation by developing a sense of community, which is a necessary prerequisite to political action, per Djupe and Neiheisel (2012). This is because political activity inherently considers the public good, though it is difficult (if not impossible) to motivate both public and private interest simultaneously (Mansbridge 1990). The most effective way to overcome self interest and motivate political (public) action is through triggering empathy (concern for others), morality, or community (trigger one’s primary identity with the collective group rather than one’s self; Jencks 1990). Strong ethnic identities are one type of community identity that encourages political participation on issues that affect the group (versus becoming involved in order to improve one’s individual circumstance).

control for traditional socio-economic measures such as income, education level, marital status, age, and gender. I also included a control for party affiliation (listed as “republican”) as well as Latino specific variables including generation. Finally, I have two independent variables of interest: religious denomination and frequency of church attendance. For denomination, we use a dummy variable where 1 indicates a catholic affiliation with 0 represents all other denominations (including “none”). Church attendance is a numeric variable where 0 indicates never attending, 1 only major religious holidays, 2 once a month, 3 once a week and 4 is more than once a week. We treat the five levels of attendance as individual factors as opposed to treating it as a continuous variable because the change from one level to the other is not necessarily equidistant or linear.

Prior scholars have debated the simple effect of denomination or church attendance. Based on the PSM I suggest that there is a “joint” effect between cultural identification and church attendance which has not been previously addressed, and that mobilization will have a greater impact on those with a stronger country of origin identification. As such these models include an interaction term between strength of identity and church attendance.

Tables 5.4 and 5.5 show the fully specified models. However, I present min-max

changes in predicted probabilities in a graphical form to better visualize the effects. Figure 5.4 illustrates how a change from the minimum (no attendance) to the maximum (weekly or more) interacted with different identities affect the probability of being registered for Catholic respondents. We see that interacting an American identification with church attendance increases predicted probability of registering to vote by 3.9%; for Latino identifiers the predicted change is 5.7%; in contrast country of origin identifiers who attend church frequently is greatest at 6.4% - a difference that is statistically significant at the .95 confidence level.

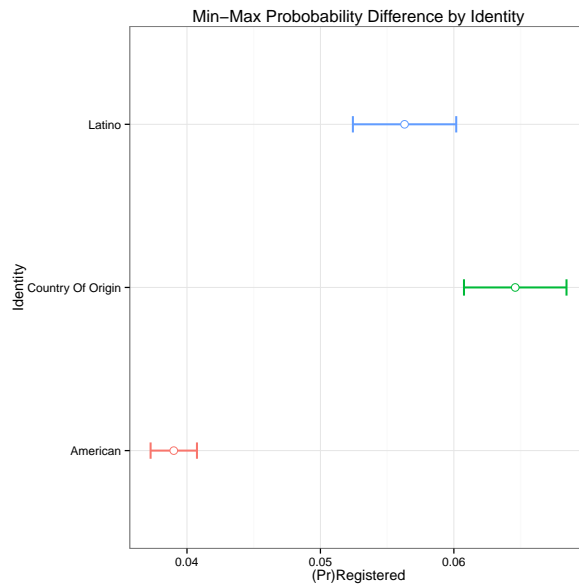


Figure 5.4: Change in Predicted Probability for Catholics by Identity - Registered

We see the same pattern when examining probability of voting in Figure 5.5, where the country of origin identifiers who attend church frequently increase their probability of voting the most (8.5% as compared to 7.9% for American identifiers and 7.5 % for Latino). Again, the predicted change is statistically significant only for country of origin identifiers.

The results presented in this chapter add to the claim presented by the perennial

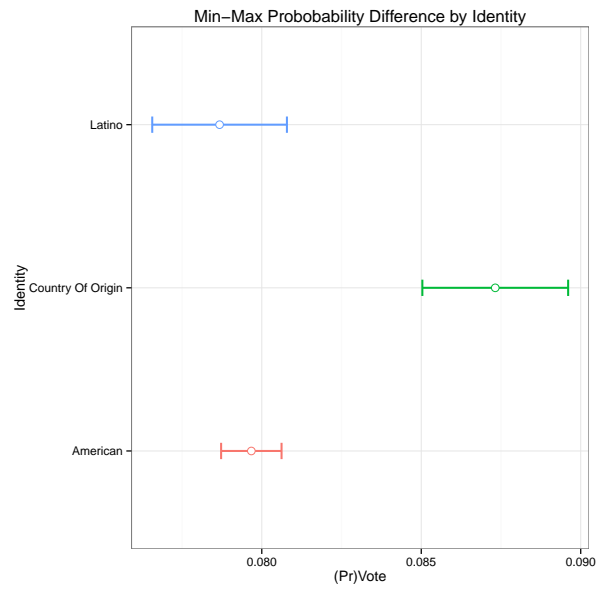


Figure 5.5: Change in Predicted Probability for Catholics by Identity - Voted

situationl model that identity should not be taken as a monolithic and constant effect. All in all, what this chapter has demonstrated is that our approach towards identity and political participation should not only be whether identity affects political participation but rather *when and under which circumstances*

Table 5.1

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Time in US	5,311	17.980	12.661	1	85
Age	5,012	39.497	14.326	18	97
Republican	5,311	0.092	0.289	0	1
Catholic	5,311	0.749	0.434	0	1
Church Attendance	5,242	2.406	1.207	0	4
Income	4,207	3.023	1.827	1	7
Contact with COO	5,250	2.241	0.969	0	3
Ownership in COO	5,311	0.330	0.470	0	1
Own Home in US	5,311	0.452	0.498	0	1
Frequ. of Remittance	5,176	2.287	1.914	0	5
Mexican	5,311	0.672	0.470	0	1
Liberal	5,311	0.113	0.317	0	1
Education	5,311	1.798	0.826	1	3
Citizen	5,311	0.330	0.470	0	1
Perceive Discrimination	5,311	0.278	0.448	0	1
Generation	5,311	1.054	0.155	1.000	1.500

Table 5.2: Summary Statistics for Relevant Variables

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Time in US	5,311	17.980	12.661	1	85
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Perceive Discrimination	5,311	0.278	0.448	0	1
Generation	5,311	1.054	0.155	1.000	1.500

Table 5.3: Logistic Models for Registered and Vote

	Registered	S.E.	Voted	SE
Time in US	0.107***	(0.0356)	0.119***	(0.0323)
Time in US ²	-0.00119**	(0.000578)	-0.00150***	(0.000500)
Country of Origin	-0.402	(0.639)	-0.887	(0.630)
Latino	1.967*	(1.132)	0.573	(0.938)
CofO ID X Time in US	0.0153	(0.0472)	0.0378	(0.0434)
Latino ID X time in US	-0.0611	(0.0816)	-0.0256	(0.0621)
CofO ID X Time in US ²	-9.82e-05	(0.000783)	-0.000319	(0.000676)
Latino ID X time in US ²	0.000874	(0.00138)	0.000608	(0.000955)
Age	0.0218**	(0.0101)	0.0281***	(0.00900)
Republican	0.325	(0.228)	0.208	(0.190)
Catholic	0.492***	(0.171)	0.468***	(0.152)
Church Attendance	-0.115*	(0.0653)	-0.0365	(0.0568)
Income	0.145***	(0.0467)	0.155***	(0.0405)
Contact with COO	0.0899	(0.0871)	0.0246	(0.0773)
Return to COO	-0.0867*	(0.0524)	-0.0496	(0.0471)
Ownership in COO	-0.0840	(0.179)	-0.120	(0.159)
Owens home in US	0.141	(0.168)	-0.00793	(0.153)
Frequ of Remittance	-0.0369	(0.0467)	-0.0409	(0.0414)
Mexican	-0.455**	(0.179)	-0.531***	(0.156)
Liberal	-0.129	(0.232)	0.249	(0.208)
Education	0.465***	(0.101)	0.458***	(0.0897)
Keep Spanish	0.0589	(0.193)	-0.260	(0.175)
Learn English	0.456**	(0.228)	0.253	(0.212)
Perceive Discrimination	-0.0787	(0.164)	-0.0855	(0.144)
Generation	0.0437	(0.509)	-0.462	(0.445)
Constant	-4.742***	(1.592)	-3.248**	(1.409)
Observations	1,298		1,298	

Standard errors in parentheses

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

Table 5.4: Logistic Models

	Dependent Variable: Registered		
	(Contry Of Origin)	(Latino)	(American)
Identity	-0.15 (0.26)	0.15 (0.31)	0.91*** (0.22)
Catholic	0.07 (0.08)	0.07 (0.08)	0.10 (0.08)
Church Attendance 1	-0.16 (0.35)	-0.08 (0.41)	-0.06 (0.28)
Church Attendance 2	-0.27 (0.35)	0.17 (0.40)	-0.14 (0.25)
Church Attendance 3	-0.20 (0.30)	-0.07 (0.36)	-0.01 (0.22)
Church Attendance 4	-0.74** (0.33)	-0.20 (0.39)	0.23 (0.24)
Identity:Church Attendance 1	0.26 (0.38)	0.18 (0.43)	0.11 (0.32)
Identity:Church Attendance 2	0.34 (0.37)	-0.13 (0.42)	0.20 (0.29)
Identity:Church Attendance 3	0.29 (0.32)	0.17 (0.38)	0.06 (0.25)
Identity:Church Attendance 4	0.92** (0.36)	0.31 (0.41)	-0.26 (0.28)
Generation	1.39*** (0.06)	1.39*** (0.06)	1.23*** (0.05)
Income	0.29*** (0.02)	0.28*** (0.02)	0.28*** (0.02)
Female	0.22*** (0.07)	0.20*** (0.07)	0.28*** (0.07)
Single	0.12 (0.09)	0.11 (0.09)	0.09 (0.09)
Age	0.06*** (0.003)	0.06*** (0.003)	0.06*** (0.003)
Education	0.63*** (0.04)	0.64*** (0.04)	0.59*** (0.04)
Republican	0.79*** (0.11)	0.78*** (0.11)	0.66*** (0.11)
Constant	-7.22*** (0.32)	-7.48*** (0.36)	-7.54*** (0.28)
N	6,365	6,363	6,333
Log likelihood	-2,762.13	-2,765.64	-2,688.45
AIC	5,560.25	5,567.29	5,412.91

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Table 5.5: Logistic Models

	Dependent Variable: Vote		
	(Country of Origin)	(Latino)	(American)
Identity	-0.42*	0.03	0.87***
	(0.24)	(0.29)	(0.23)
Catholic	0.13	0.12	0.16*
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Church Attendance 1	-0.17	-0.07	0.25
	(0.32)	(0.38)	(0.29)
Church Attendance 2	-0.59*	0.10	-0.08
	(0.33)	(0.38)	(0.27)
Church Attendance 3	-0.26	0.10	0.04
	(0.27)	(0.34)	(0.24)
Church Attendance 4	-0.85***	-0.29	0.31
	(0.31)	(0.38)	(0.26)
Identity:Church Attendance 1	0.21	0.09	-0.35
	(0.35)	(0.40)	(0.32)
Identity:Church Attendance 2	0.65*	-0.12	0.05
	(0.35)	(0.40)	(0.30)
Identity:Church Attendance 3	0.41	0.01	0.04
	(0.30)	(0.36)	(0.26)
Identity:Church Attendance 4	1.15***	0.48	-0.21
	(0.34)	(0.40)	(0.29)
Generation	0.88***	0.88***	0.78***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Income	0.30***	0.30***	0.29***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Female	0.17**	0.16**	0.21***
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Single	0.09	0.08	0.06
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Age	0.07***	0.07***	0.06***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Education	0.67***	0.68***	0.64***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Republican	0.68***	0.68***	0.59***
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Constant	-7.06***	-7.43***	-7.69***
	(0.30)	(0.34)	(0.28)
N	6,365	6,363	6,333
Log likelihood	-2,826.37	-2,833.65	-2,777.50
AIC	5,688.74	5,703.29	5,590.99

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

The United States has long been considered a nation of immigrants. Despite the hardening of the US border and the toughness of laws being enacted at the state level, the reality is that immigration and its implications will continue to be an essential part of race and ethnic politics. The department of homeland security reports, in its 2007 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, that from 2000 to 2007 more than three million Latino immigrants obtained legal permanent resident status. That is, 3 million Latino immigrants whose children will most likely be U.S. citizens with the right to vote. Thus, understanding the formation and transformation of immigrant identity as well as their political implication is an important challenge for American politics in general. Even if the immigration influx is reduced, technology will play an important part in providing opportunities to replenish their immigrant identity and reinforce the perennial identity of country of origin.

It is important to reiterate, as I have noted in previous chapters, that identity formation is a dynamic and multidimensional process. Assimilation is not a new topic but it is likely that both academics and non-academics will continue to debate whether Latinos and Latinas are assimilating. I have presented the argument that assimilationist theories hardly apply to Latinos given their unique characteristics. In fact, technological advances allow immigrants from more distant countries to observe an identity replenishment, similar to Latinos. This could be pointing to a new era in which the understanding of immigration, assimilation, and acculturation would have to be re-conceptualized. Social identity theorists have for a long time studied identity as one of the prime determinants of behavior. However, in trying to find the link

between politically relevant outcomes and identity, scientists have had a hard time identifying consistent patterns.

What I have shown here is that we should not see identity as a dichotomy where we study whether one, or many, are present. Rather what I suggest is that we should be asking when, how strongly and under which conditions they are present. Thus, while a more complex approach to the study of identity presents new opportunities for the study of Latino behavior this dissertation is one of the first attempt to study identity in a systematic and empirical way. As I pointed out in previous chapters, among those investigating the formation and development of ethnic identity the theoretical writing outweighs the empirical research and most of the empirical work focuses on cross generation comparisons or early childhood identity acquisition, far less work has been done to investigate the transformations of identity.

Certainly, the topic is of sufficient importance to warrant serious research attention, but in order for the research to yield useful and meaningful results, greater conceptual and methodological clarity is needed. I suggest that in order to properly study identity formation and transformation we have to conceptualize it as an Age-Period-Cohort analysis using the the hierarchical-age-period-cohort (HAPC) approach which conceptualizes time periods and cohort memberships as social historical contexts within which individuals are embedded and ordered by age and models them as random as opposed to fixed effects additive to that of age.

Thus, the primary goal of this dissertation has been to shed some light on the understanding of the complex dynamics of Latino identity. In short, what I propose with the perennial-situational model is that immigrants from Latin America arrive to the U.S. with a strong country of origin identity to then observe a series of transformations and exchanges between country of origin, Latino and American Identities product of what I call “agents of categorization”.

The life experiences shared by Rodolfo in conversation reflect much of what the perennial-situational model proposes. He migrated from Mexico when he was a

teenager and while trying to make enough money to send to his then pregnant girlfriend, he remembers how, perhaps because he was melancholic, he felt very attached to Mexico; the most he has ever felt. He said:

I remember how listening to the old corridos would almost make me cry, I didn't even like them before but I remember wanting to hear more they reminded me of Mexico and I was always looking for ways to remember Mexico.

While this is a feeling that very well would be associated with simple nostalgia, Rodolfo also noted how being away made him aware of his identity as Mexican, it was perhaps (or despite) of that nostalgia that he realized that there was such thing as a Mexican identity. Being away from home created the need to create a diasporic link, a need to be there while being here, a subconscious attachment that translates into a form of identity.

However, this attachment is then compromised by as immigrants live longer in the US. In our conversation, Rodolfo reflected on the way in which re-marrying changed a lot of the things he perceived as part of his identity. Among all the things that change when any individual marries (such as a new sense of responsibility) he also noted how he re-conceptualized his own stand as immigrant. mainly, the return home now seemed less possible and the prospect of staying in the U.S. now seemed like the most viable and logical alternative. As I mentioned in previous chapters, moving away from the *homo economicus* puts immigrants in contact with agents of categorization that pushes them to question and modify their identity.

In the particular case of Rodolfo a clear negotiation of identity happened during the times that he had to embrace the fact that his children did not speak Spanish “*they called us Chichanos*” he said and while this was something he initially perceived a negative, he then realized that such a transitional identity was instrumentally better

at that point in his life; “*better than Gringo*” he said. At the same time, he pointed out that the negotiation with language would go both ways:

Well, is not that I didn't want them to learn Spanish but for one, my wife always preferred English and then I also started to mix words, you know... at work and with the boys at school you have to use English. There are many things I don't even know how to say in Spanish, like 'raspberry', I don't even know if those exist in Mexico

This is the type of transition that the perennial-sititational model observes. As Figure 6.1 shows, as immigrants move from the arrival stage to the transition stage they will shift their identity and use one that that would be more instrumental, as Laitin (1998) would call it, in dealing with those agents. These specific instances are what I call receptive agents of categorization.

In addition to the receptive agents of categorization described above, immigrants also face unreceptive agents of categorization. For Latinos then, in a societal context in which maintaining a positive distinctiveness as immigrants is difficult, Latino immigrants are confronted with the need to shift identities. I call all of these episodes agents of unreceptive categorization. This negative perception is also confronted as immigrants move away from the identity of “*homo economicus*.” Thus, with more societal resources, immigrants who have lived in the US longer face a new challenge: upholding positive views of their ethnic identity in comparison to the out-group is now more difficult.

Finally, what I propose in the perennial situational model is that after this transition stage immigrants move into a “Long Term” stage in which perennial identities are embraced again. In the particular case of Rodolfo he understands that although his kids do not speak Spanish very well and even himself has lost some of it; he can reflect on how much he has done to keep traditions alive. In a way he feels even

more Mexican and embraces such identity again. These transformations shared by Rodolfo show the way in which different identities are embraced at different point and with different purposes. Therefore, identity is dynamic, multiple, and instrumental.

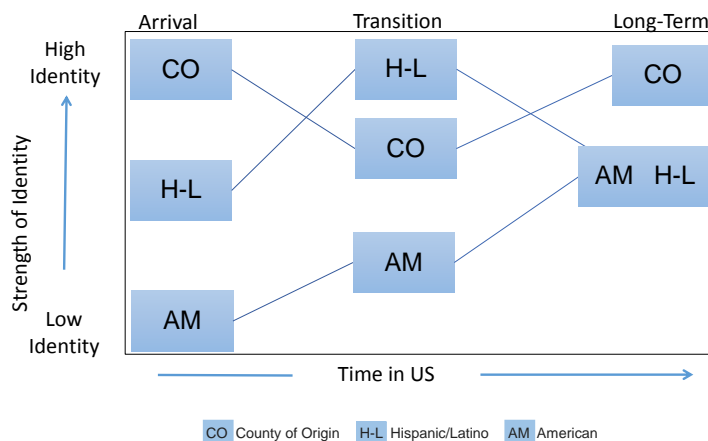


Figure 6.1: Identity typologies and Life in the US among Latino Immigrants

Social identity theorists suggest that these transformations have implications for political action. However, for the most part, identity has been relegated to be a control variable. Most of the empirical efforts have focused on the relationship between group consciousness and/or linked fate, with political participation. As I have pointed out, the idea of linked fate and group consciousness is only advancing the understanding of the identity-participation link partially, particularly among Latinos. However, if situational identities differ from perennial identities in terms of when and under which circumstances they are embraced I posit that the question to be asked is not only whether there is a sense of linked fate but rather with whom, when and under which circumstances. If pan-ethnic identities are embraced not only as a way to balance demands but also as a way to uphold positive distinctiveness, I showed that during transition periods, that is - when more unreceptive agents of categorization are perceived, immigrants who strongly identify pan-ethnically would have greater levels of participation. Consecutively, those embracing perennial identities (e.g. COO)

during the Arrival or Permanent stages would have higher levels of participation. The models presented in Chapter 5 show that when a dynamic interaction between identity, time in the U.S. and different forms of political activity are assumed we can observe patterns that are novel and deserve even further investigation.

Similarly, while I have shown that Latin American Immigrants are more likely to see Latino identity as a situational identity rather than as a perennial, it is also true that the efforts by Spanish speaking media and campaigns such as “We are America” will eventually contribute the efforts of community leaders to create a cohesive group. Identities are formed by multiple angles and as the immigration influx continues and as Latino influence continues to grow, Latino identity is prone to evolve into a perennial identity.

A recent study found that, in addition to significant change in ethnic self-identities over time and generations in the United States (as measured by open-ended questions), the children of Latin American immigrants were by far the most likely to define their racial identities in sharp contrast to their own parents (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Rumbaut, 2005). During the 1990s, in South Florida and Southern California, the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) surveyed a sample of more than 5,200 1.5 and second generation youths, representing 77 different nationalities, including all of the main Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America. Their immigrant parents were also interviewed separately. In one survey (conducted when the youths were seventeen to eighteen years old), respondents were asked to answer a semi-structured question about their “race” and were given the option to check one of five categories; “white,” “black,” “Asian,” “multiracial,” or “other”; if the latter was checked, they had to specify what that “other race.” Among Latino youths, fewer than a fourth of the total sample checked the conventional categories of white, black, or Asian; 12 percent reported being multiracial; and more than 65 percent checked other. When those “other” self-reports were coded, two-fifths of the sample (41 percent) wrote down “Hispanic” or “Latino” as their “race,” and another fifth (19.6

percent) gave their nationality as their “race” (Rumbaut, 2006)

The explicit racialization of the “Hispanic- Latino” category as well as the substantial proportion of youths who conceived of their nationality of origin as a racial category is noteworthy and deserves a deeper understanding. However, given the parental influence of in identity formation such a study would have to account for cross generational identity transformations. It is my hope that future research on both, first a later generations, will embrace the dynamic nature of identity presented by the perennial situational model. This reconceptulization has to happen not only at the theoretical level but also methodologically. Specifically, the patterns shown in this dissertation show the need to account for separate levels of time, period and age. Studying Latino identity in terms of *when, and under which circumstances* allows us to understand the true dynamic nature of their transformations.

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