

BELONGING IN MONTHLY INSTALLMENTS: FACTORS IN THE CHOICE TO SEND
REMITTANCES AMONG CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS

by

Kevin Lee Terry

(Under the Direction of Christopher S. Allen)

ABSTRACT:

In this thesis, I explore the unexpected tendency among adult children of immigrants to send remittances to their parents' countries of origin, even in instances where they have had limited contact with that country. I propose an explanation that depends on socialization by parents and communities who I argue, are responsible for helping to create an "imagined community" to which the subjects of the study perceive themselves belonging. Using Levitt and Glick Schiller's understanding of 'ways of belonging' as it relates to transnational activity, I assert that remittances represent an attempt to put the sense of belonging that children of immigrants experience as a result of their socialization into action. My findings indicate that socialization factors, as well as variables from two other hypotheses, are all relevant in determining whether or not respondents in the dataset chose to send money home. I conclude by recommending future avenues for research into remittance behavior by non-first-generation migrants and its implications for future interaction with settled immigrant families in receiving countries.

INDEX WORDS: Remittances, children of immigrants, diasporas, transnationalism, immigrant integration

BELONGING IN MONTHLY INSTALLMENTS: FACTORS IN THE CHOICE TO SEND
REMITTANCES AMONG CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS

by

KEVIN LEE TERRY

B.A., University of Minnesota, (Twin Cities), 2008

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ARTS

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2010

© 2010

Kevin Lee Terry

All Rights Reserved

BELONGING IN MONTHLY INSTALLMENTS: FACTORS IN THE CHOICE TO SEND
REMITTANCES AMONG CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS

by

KEVIN LEE TERRY

Major Professor: Christopher S. Allen

Committee: Markus L. Crepaz
Andrew Herod

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2010

DEDICATION

To my mother, my stepfather, my sister, and Emily. Without their persistent inspiration and encouragement I would not have had the strength to complete this project.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the members of my thesis committee, Dr Christopher Allen and Dr Markus Crepaz from the Department of International Affairs, and Dr Andrew Herod from the Department of Geography, for their guidance throughout the process of preparing this thesis and in my time at the University of Georgia. Each of these men has challenged me to grow both in my intellectual pursuits and in the way that I consider the world around me. I am grateful to have had access to their breadth of knowledge and to their skills as educators as a graduate student. I would also like to thank the clerical staff in the Department of International Affairs for their ongoing support of graduate students, specifically Kathryn Johnson. It is largely thanks to her help that I managed to stay on top of this project. Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr Alejandro Portes and to Dr Ruben Rumbaut for providing public access to the *Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey*. Their spirit of academic cooperation exemplifies an invaluable quality in scholarship. Thanks very much to each of you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
LIST OF TABLES.....	viii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	ix
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
What's the puzzle?.....	4
2 LITERATURE REVIEW.....	8
Fitting In: The assimilation process.....	9
Reaching Out: Transnationalism among immigrants.....	13
But what of the children?: Transnationalism in the second-generation.....	18
The Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey.....	21
3 THEORY AND METHODS OF INVESTIGATION.....	24
Hypotheses and unit of analysis.....	27
Data and methods.....	30
Operationalization of concepts.....	31
Causal Mechanism: Socialization as creation of community.....	32
4 FINDINGS.....	34
Qualitative depictions of main findings.....	39
Socialization.....	40
Material Wellbeing.....	42
Political Integration.....	43

	Contact	45
	Connections.....	47
5	CONCLUSIONS.....	48
	REFERENCES.....	52
	APPENDIX.....	56

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Frequency of Remittances by Adult Children of Immigrants by National Origin (Percentage)....	5
Table 2: Modes of Assimilation and Transnationalism Among Immigrants.....	16
Table 3: Determinants of decision to remit to parent home country among children of immigrants: binomial logistic regressions.....	35
Table 4: Changes in Predicted Probabilities of Remitting.....	37

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: In sample predicted probabilities of remitting, by variable.....	38
--	----

CHAPTER 1:

Introduction

“In the first place, we should insist that if the immigrant who comes here in good faith becomes an American and assimilates himself to us, he shall be treated on an exact equality with everyone else, for it is an outrage to discriminate against any such man because of creed, or birthplace, or origin. But this is predicated upon the person’s becoming in every facet an American, and nothing but an American... There can be no divided allegiance here. Any man who says he is an American, but something else also, isn’t an American at all. We have room for but one flag, the American flag... We have room for but one language here, and that is the English language... and we have room for but one sole loyalty and that is a loyalty to the American people. “

Theodore Roosevelt (1919)

Globalization and our ever-shrinking planet have both done a great deal to reshape the way that the concepts of ‘nation’ and ‘national’ are understood over the course of recent history. Technology has made physically traversing great distances and communication with remote places a decreasingly arduous ordeal. This ease of contact, coupled with increasing disparities in wealth between the world’s richest and poorest countries, has led to dramatic growth in international migration. For some, the move to a new country represents an opportunity to temporarily pursue improved employment prospects and then return to their country having earned more than they could have earned in the same amount of time working at home. For others, either intentionally or due to circumstance, it offers an occasion to settle down and begin new lives. It is these latter immigrants that Theodore Roosevelt held up as having an obligation

to fully conform to an American language and American values; that is to say to assimilate. For this to occur, it would be necessary for an immigrant to sever ties with his or her prior country, to forge connections with new compatriots, and to expect the same of his or her family. Among contemporary immigration experts, Mark Krikorian, a researcher with the Center for Immigration Studies, argues, that globalization however, has inhibited full integration by migrants into American society: “Assimilation is really a psychological process where you come to identify with a new country as yours. The ease of overseas travel and information access interferes with that” (CIS 2002). For immigration activists such as Krikorian and for many people around the world who take a hard-line stance on immigration, continued contact with people at home, continued investment in civic causes in their sending country, and refusal to give up a previous national identity among settled immigrants represent a failure to completely fulfill the requirements of becoming a part of their new country.

Over the past decade, researchers focusing on migration have come to accept that the sentiments expressed by Roosevelt, Krikorian, and others who have touted the inevitability of assimilation are not only inconsistent with reality but that they are an impossible expectation to have of populations leaving their homes. Subsequent attempts by migrants to balance their personal attachments to countries that they have left with new attachments to the countries in which they have chosen to settle have come to be known by interested academics as “transnationalism,” which Peggy Levitt and Mary Waters define as “...the multilevel social, economic, and religious ties and practices that link migrants and nonmigrants to one another across borders” (2002, pp 5).

Within the broad spectrum of transnational activities, one practice has emerged as a special subject of interest in research across disciplines. Economists, anthropologists, and

specialists in international policy have placed an emphasis on global migrants' choice to send money earned in their settlement country back to their home countries. Recent estimates indicate that migrant remittances account for *\$145 billion* being sent to developing countries annually (Hudson Institute, 2009). For some countries, remittances represent over a quarter of gross domestic product, rendering governments and local communities highly dependent on privately sent money from abroad (Migration Policy Institute, 2003). They have also inspired partnerships with national governments in countries sending emigrants to other nations, with such efforts intended to bolster directed remittances from expatriates (Orozco and Welle, 2005). For many family members and friends of those who leave to pursue opportunities for material betterment abroad, remittances represent the only consistent source of household income.

Clearly, given the large number of loved ones left behind by international migrants, it is not surprising that they would continue to send material support to friends and family in their country of origin. Outside of sending money internationally as an isolated incident, i.e. in the case of a natural disaster, instances where immigrants consistently send earnings generated by the wealth available to them in a new country back for the betterment of the lives of others in the old country seems to sharply contrast the expectation that they should fully focus their attentions on building a life in their 'new home.' Still, how could one expect an immigrant to fulfill the lofty ideals expressed by Roosevelt when most of what they know and value is in their country of origin? Despite these valid questions and ongoing remittances by immigrants, those who see transnationalism as a threat to the well-being of a cohesive, unified nation take heart in the fact that only the *first-generation* of migrants should be afflicted with this "double-allegiance," as their children will have had no direct contact with another home and will have been thoroughly

socialized as “American,” or “British,” or any other nationality. But is this perception of transnationalism as a “first-generation-only” characteristic totally accurate?

What’s the Puzzle?

Data from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey, compiled by Alejandro Portes and Rubén Rumbaut at the Center for Migration and Development, indicates that roughly 18% of a sample of 3000+ respondents continue to send money to the country in which their parents were born, despite being U.S. citizens by birth or naturalization or having lived most of their lives in the United States. Some of the sample sent money back as often as once a month, even though they had never visited their parents’ homeland, as did others who had made fewer than 10 trips in their lifetime to their parents’ country of origin. This activity confirms findings from other investigations using smaller samples of children of immigrants in cities like New York, which also show a moderate percentage of respondents sending remittances to their parents’ home countries (Kasinitz et al. 2008). Other studies indicate that remittances in diasporic communities continue even beyond the second generation (Sander and Maimbo, 2005). The puzzle, then, is that we see children of immigrants who were born and/or raised in the United States, who have limited contact with their parents’ home countries, and who are integrated into American society by a variety of metrics (mastery of English, professional status, education, etc) continuing to engage in activities intended to improve the quality of life for communities in their parents’ home countries.

The magnitude of this reality should not be underestimated. In 1993, Portes and Zhou estimated that there were 24.8 million second-generation immigrants living in the United States

in 1990. Given continued high levels of immigration and high birth rates among immigrants, this number has undoubtedly grown. Assuming that the sample in the CILS indicating that a notable percentage of children of immigrants regularly sent remittances to a parent's home country is representative of the larger population of the United States, this would indicate that a considerable amount of money is being sent by children of immigrants to destinations worldwide, even as the majority refrain from doing so.

Interestingly, simple descriptive tabulation of nationalities indicates that children of immigrants from a broad spectrum of national backgrounds send remittances to another country, a trait they share with first-generation migrants (Orozco 2000). Percentages who send money home from the five largest immigrant groups in the CILS (which are also five of the largest immigrant groups in the United States) are shown in Table 1. This table demonstrates the wide array of countries that continue to receive remittances from the progeny of emigrants, which does not seem to be limited to a particular continent or other regional constraints.

Table 1: Frequency of Remittances by Adult Children of Immigrants by National Origin (Percentage)¹

Frequency of Sending Remittances	Country							
	Mexico	Philippines	Vietnam	Cambodia, Laos	China	Asia (Other)	Latin America	Total Sample
Never	79.5	67.2	73.2	65.3	89.3	93.9	91.7	95.6
Less than once a year	4.5	10.6	5.8	16.5	7.1	3.0	2.8	8.5
Once or twice a year	7.1	13.2	11.6	9.9	0	6.1	5.6	10.2
Several times a year	8.9	9.0	9.4	8.3	3.6	0	22.2	9.0

¹ : Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey, 2001.

Unfortunately, the CILS does not include a significant sample of African immigrants, although other literature has indicated that this group has shown strong evidence of continued remittance behavior in the U.S. and in other developed countries (Haas 2005; Fowale 2009).

This thesis is an attempt to answer the following question: What explains international remittances sent by second-generation immigrants in the United States to their parents' country of origin? A number of possible answers could reasonably be offered to this question. The most obvious initial possibility would be that children of immigrants have a significant number of direct personal ties to their parents' countries of origin, so their natural, rational inclination would be to see these areas thrive for the benefit of people whom they value. This answer seems suspect, however, considering that children of immigrants tend to spend the entirety of their lives in their parents' country of settlement and the opportunities to visit their parents' home countries tend to be limited by time, finances, and other considerations. Another potential explanation is that as individuals reach a certain threshold of income, they begin to have the capacity to engage in philanthropic activity, where the beneficiaries who are most likely to be selected are communities with which the remitter is familiar, due to his or her knowledge of a parent's origin, and is therefore more likely to choose to send money there. This explanation also is questionable, given observed instances where even the poorest groups of second-generation immigrants will send meager amounts to ancestral countries. In the worst possible scenario for those who are of the mind that fractures amongst subgroups in a society weaken it, insufficient incorporation of immigrants, either due to lack of information, negative experiences, or any number of other variables, could leave immigrants wary of participating in the institutions of a new society, such that they opt instead to focus their energy and their money on making change in their home

communities. Finally, remittances amongst second-generation immigrants could be explained by enduring cultural memory, cultivated by how they are brought up as children. If this is the case, then those children whose parents bring them up with a strong sense of connection to the land that they left behind should send money there, regardless of who they know there, how much money they have, or the amount of connection they feel to their country of residence.

Answering my research question has implications in a variety of political and social arenas. Two areas of interest that immediately come to mind are: 1) whether children of migrants in the United States are able to fully identify as American, and 2) whether the source of international remittances extends significantly beyond first generation immigrants. Despite important differences in patterns of migration, integration, and assimilation worldwide, these observations may also yield some generalizable conclusions regarding the settlement of new immigrants internationally. This investigation also deals directly with the question of whether answers to the first question posed might be important factors in explaining the second.

CHAPTER 2:
Literature Review

Scholarly attempts to explain the processes by which two social groups come into contact, interact, and either meld over time or remain separated, have given rise to a rich collection of academic literature. Given humanity's propensity toward movement and the ascriptive importance of national boundaries, these investigations have naturally gravitated toward studying international migrants settling in new countries. Especially as European immigrants flooded United States cities in the early 20th Century, American authors were pressed to describe the sociological traits that made them different from native-born citizens and to suggest ways in which these new arrivals could become "more like us" (Park and Burgess 1924; Park 1928; Warner and Srole 1945). These initial efforts were suited to the public demand of increasing homogeneity in the face of rapid ethnic diversification. As such, they portrayed "Americanization" as a necessary and inevitable consequence of settling in the United States.

Shifting demographics, policies, and norms related to immigrants have produced a slew of new paradigms, each with different understandings of present realities and with different intended outcomes. The most recent immigrant groups have defied much of what was expected of new arrivals in early waves of immigration, including, but not limited to, phenotypic ethnic

markers, shared continental history, and certainty in their intention to permanently settle in their new country. These differences have led to different expectations of how immigrant groups should interact with dominant social groups. In order to fully understand the theoretical basis for explaining transnational activity as a possible outcome for migrants, it is necessary to detail the changes that the study of immigrant integration in new societies has undergone. As with much inquiry in social science, the key to creation of new and useful academic work is in reconciling previous theoretical foundations with seemingly incongruous realities.

Fitting In: The assimilation process

In its earliest incarnations, the study of assimilation among immigrants largely reflected the agenda expressed by Theodore Roosevelt in this thesis's opening section, i.e. finding the most effective ways to encourage immigrants to forego their home culture in favor of adopting a new one. These models of what is generally referred to as "linear assimilation" illustrates how immigrants follow a direct path toward integration in a society while steadily losing the traits that make them "foreigners." The most complete example of this sort of thinking was Milton Gordon's 1964 book *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins*. In the book, Gordon created the first systematic approach to assimilation, breaking the process of integrating into seven categories. According to Gordon, the first step in integration is the adoption of "cultural patterns." This process of becoming culturally assimilated consists of more than simply mastering host country language(s). Instead, Gordon insists that immigrants should also adopt characteristics such as country of settlement appropriate style of dress,

emotional expression and personal values (Gordon 1964, 79). He argues that without this process, acculturation will not occur.

Through adoption of new culture, alongside a set of other assimilation processes, the desired outcome would be an immigrant population reflecting the “middle-class cultural patterns of largely, white Protestant, Anglo-Saxon origins.” (Gordon 1964, 79). According to Gordon, the concretizing stage of assimilation occurs in “structural assimilation,” which is defined as “entrance of the minority group into the social cliques, clubs, and institutions of the core society at the primary group level” (Gordon 1964, 80). Of particular interest in this literature are the motivating factors for immigrants to engage in formal political participation in a receiving country (Lee *et al* 2006). Findings have indicated that lack of information about methods of participation, as well as cultural and linguistic barriers, are the primary reasons that first-generation immigrants give for choosing not to participate in American civic activity. Gordon argued that these obstacles should be relatively easy for immigrants to overcome. The ongoing development of the process of joining in American social groups and participatory forms of inclusion, according to Gordon, should culminate in decreased discrimination, intermarriage between groups, and, ultimately, the dissipation of features distinguishing the members of an immigrant minority from the society around them.

The weakness of Gordon’s theory stems from several essential assumptions he makes. The first of these is that “American” culture is homogenous to the point of a single group controlling that to which immigrants will naturally aspire; this has been hotly debated in terms of its truth and its desirability as a normative idea. Second, he does not account for the intervening variable of continued migrant inflows, which would presumably serve to reinforce the differing cultural characteristics alienating immigrant groups in the first place. Finally, Gordon assumes

that immigrants cannot take on the traits of a new culture *while at the same time* maintaining cultural ties and customs of their own. Despite a large set of more recent works that critique the ideas detailed above and offer alternative suggestions regarding immigrant integration, Gordon's ideas are still noteworthy, especially given their reflection of many prevailing ideas of assimilation held by dominant populations in migrant receiving countries.

Outside of Milton Gordon, a number of other authors have approached the topic of assimilation using a variety of lenses. One important perspective that is omitted in Gordon's analysis is that of socioeconomic assimilation, which can be viewed generally as two separate analyses. The first, which is more common, measures "assimilation" as educational attainment, higher amounts of income, and occupational prestige (Warner and Srole 1945; Neidert and Farley 1985). The second uses measures of whether the frequency of success in the labor market and educational systems of a society are equal amongst immigrants and the native born (Gans 1992; Portes and Zhou 1993). The second version is highly contingent on the question of whether ethnic distinction appears to have lost its importance for the process of educational and professional success. Both views hold that it is impossible for immigrants to become "integrated" without greater rates of participation at higher strata of employment.

Another variant in explaining assimilation among immigrants stems from the "supply side" of ethnicity, i.e., where opportunities for cultural expression in immigrant communities are scarce or those expressions are deemed inappropriate, immigrants may not be able to maintain their ethnic identity (Alba 1997; Breton 1964; Portes and Rumbaut 1996). This approach accounts for Gordon's weakness in failing to account for the effects of a new stream of immigrants into settled communities by including influxes of new arrivals as an important variable in whether or not cultural patterns dissipate in immigrant communities. According to

Portes, Rumbaut, and others, new immigrants arriving in neighborhoods with shared national backgrounds facilitate group reinforcement of cultural patterns, assuring their continuity.

Conversely, if patterns of assimilation emerge at a group level and newly arrived immigrants do not provide a cultural “push back,” this theory predicts that the immigrants in question will be subsumed by a majority culture.

Tracing the genealogy of academic work focusing on assimilation reveals a bumpy, splintered path, especially given changes to prevailing views of the subject of interest. Recent work has focused more on its history, detailing the competing schools, their uses and shortcomings. This work places assimilation theory in a newer context of immigration situated amidst the changes that have been brought about by globalization, suggesting adjustments to the research agenda that account for demographic, technological, and political changes affecting the international movement of people (Alba 1997). One change in particular has altered the shape of research by calling into question the inevitability of assimilation. A decrease in the difficulty of travel and increasing ease of communicating and sending or receiving goods due to technology, coupled with decreases in the rigidity of national borders, have created contexts in which migrants are able to live “dual lives” as they reside and conduct business in one country but continue to communicate with, visit, participate in, and identify with the society in another country. This arrangement, known in formal academia as transnationalism, has tremendous implications regarding whether and how individuals change their behaviors in order to “fit in” to a new society or if they are able to fulfill a sense of community by maintaining ties with others who are in some cases thousands of miles away.

Reaching Out: Transnationalism among immigrants

Literature more attuned to the complexity of transnational lives among migrants has grown dramatically over the past decade, with most of this work directed toward critiquing notions of linear assimilation. According to José Itzigsohn and Silvia Saucedo (2002), academic work on transnationalism can be broken into four major sets of work: How immigrants construct identities that transcend national barriers, how immigrant communities abroad participate in the life of their place of origin, how transnational immigrants abroad participate in the politics of their place of origin, and how immigrants conduct business in both their country of origin while at the same time doing business in their country of reception. Although there is significant overlap among these groupings, each outcome represents different motivations among immigrants connecting with their home country in order to achieve different ends.

The “identity formation” approach to transnationalism has been the site of most excitement for sociologists and anthropologists who have taken an interest in the subject (Vertovec, 1999). On an individual level, authors have suggested that transnationalism produces consciousness among migrants where, rather than adhering to the traditional binary understandings of ‘home and away’ that require a single national affinity, the majority of migrants “seem to maintain several identities that link them simultaneously to more than one nation” (Glick-Schiller *et al* 1992, 11). On a group level, transnationalism represents a new evolution in social grouping where identification is defined both by and against spatial parameters. Through this lens, ethnic identification exists regardless of country of residence, but is generally based on a shared national background (Safran 1991). Studies of how this shared consciousness is disseminated and maintained have placed special emphasis on the existence of

networks across national borders and how these networks serve to foster individual and group identities among migrants (Gupta and Ferguson 1992).

The second grouping of literature, which outlines the scope of transnational activity, attempts to take on the major task of identifying exactly what ‘counts’ when defining expressions of ethnic identity beyond borders. This broad spectrum includes everything from consistent communication with friends and family in the home country (Appadurai and Breckenridge 1989) to instances of cultural diffusion where visits home by relatives result in cultural knowledge of diaspora countries among individuals who have never left sending countries (Levitt 1998). These phenomena are most heavily focused on the creation and re-creation of culture across space and national boundaries, with technology allowing migrants to retain some semblance of a ‘presence’ in their home country, thereby influencing day-to-day life. Remittances also fall into this category (as well as the political and business classes of transnationalism), with money being sent home harboring the potential to transform community life as a result of increases in individual wealth and development projects (Lowell and de la Garza 2000; Simmons *et al* 2005).

The political lens of examining transnational activity is based on observed instances where politics in an immigrant’s home country take on a great deal of personal importance, even if that individual has permanently settled in another country. For immigrants who have retained citizenship in their sending country, transnational political activities might include absentee voting, contributions to political campaigns, and/or encouraging family back home to support a particular cause or candidate (Castells 1996; Glick Schiller, Basch, and Szanton-Blanc 1992). Others who have gained citizenship in a new country or have settled permanently there without citizenship also appear to continue to take an interest and participate in politics using other, less formal methods, such as the creation of clubs and associations as an institutional means of

generating collective action in the interest of a home country among compatriots (Itzigsohn 2000; Glick Schiller, Basch, and Szanton-Blanc 1994). It is worth noting that studies have not found a significant tradeoff between transnational activities such as absentee participation in elections, membership in clubs focused on political activities in countries of origin, or remittances and participation in politics in their country of settlement (Portes, Escobar and Arana 2009). An outcome that illustrates the magnitude of political transnationalism among immigrants is the lengths to which national governments have gone in recognizing the importance of their diasporas. For instance, in Haiti, a country divided into nine departments, during President Aristide's regime overseas Haitians were recognized as the Tenth Department, complete with its own ministry (Glick Schiller, Basch, and Szanton-Blanc 1994).

The last major category defining research on transnationalism has to do with economic activities undertaken by immigrants in two or more countries. Monetary contributions sent by migrants to individuals and communities in the home country (remittances) are fascinating for much for the same reason that transnational corporations have caught the interest of economists, sociologists, and geographers (Sklair 1995; Castells 1996), namely that decreased constraints on moving money from country to country have resulted in massive increases in capital flow worldwide (Martin 1994). These increases have, in turn, transformed development prospects for home communities as well as national governments (Guarnizo and Smith 1998). Another notable aspect of remittances is that the money and resources involved do not move in only one direction. In a global diaspora, migrants may use their transnational network in favor of trade, using loans and credit extended from relatives to earn profits, which will in turn be sent back. Individuals may also send family abroad to gain access to methods of increasing human capital, such as education or job training, and these skills will be put to use either in the sending country

or the receiving country (Cohen 1997). Remittances represent the most tangible and consequential expression of transnational activity among the world’s migrants, with thousands of families depending on the money that their relatives are sending home and a growing number of governments creating policies that are intended to account for remittances and funnel them toward projects for the public good. In many countries, these policies represent the first concerted attempts to account for large populations of emigrants and to reach out to them. Unfortunately, even with remittances and other transnational activities occurring at an unprecedented scale, explanations as to *why* these activities occur are still lacking.

Table 2: Modes of Assimilation and Transnationalism Among Immigrants

	“Linear Assimilation”	“Linear Transnationalism”	“Resource-Based”	“Incorporation-Resistant”
Motivating Factor	Natural process. Desire to fit new society and	Natural extension of preexisting ties to home country	Sufficient socioeconomic status to travel; send money to home country.	Fails to socialize with members of dominant groups in society
Outcomes of Interest	Total erasure of original cultural characteristics, replaced by those dominant group	Ongoing contact with family and friends left in the country of origin as primary social outlet.	Transnational outcomes that occur only at a certain income threshold.	Continued participation in civic organizations and projects centered around influencing country of origin

To this point, reasons for why migrants choose to participate in transnational behaviors have been explained via three different hypothesis: (1) the stronger emotional ties are to an immigrant's country of origin, the more likely he/she is to engage in transnational practice; (2) the greater the amount of economic resources, the more likely an immigrant is to engage in transnational practices; and, (3) the less incorporated into a new society an immigrant is, the more likely he or she will be to engage in transnational activities (Itzigsohn and Saucedo 2002).

Continued engagement in transnational activities by first-generation immigrants, then, should make sense, especially given the number of explanations that have been offered surrounding the phenomenon. Surprisingly, though, even amidst presumably mitigating factors, such as American citizenship, participation in United States institutions such as schools, and relative immersion in American popular culture, the *progeny* of these immigrants have retained many of the cultural characteristics whose gradual disappearance in their parents has been a topic of interest for assimilation theorists. Despite short memories among today's commentators on immigration politics (whose ancestral history likely points to a relatively recent arrival from Europe), questions about the potential for assimilation among youth in Irish, German, Russian, and other European ethnic enclaves during waves of immigration in the early 20th century were common. For some, there was serious doubt regarding whether young people from these communities in cities in the United States would ever become fully "American" (Karpathakis 1999; Jiménez and Waters 2005)

But what of the children?: Transnationalism in the second-generation

Given that many children of immigrants continue to have ties with their parents' homelands, a body of work has emerged that focuses specifically on acculturation patterns of second-generation immigrants. Several theories have been generated focusing on the determinants of incorporation into host country for children of immigrants. Authors have strongly deemphasized the linear assimilation hypotheses that were applied to new immigrants, arguing that immigrants since World War II have defied the "inevitable" assimilation predictions of Gordon and others (Becker 1963; Gans 1992; Zhou 1997). The three most prominent lenses that have been used to examine adaptation among second-generation immigrants are the pluralist model of integration, the structural model of integration, and the theory of segmented assimilation (Vertovec, 2004). Subcategories within these theories range from arguing that ascriptive conditions in a host society are critical in shaping the lives of the second generation (Vertovec 2004), to highlighting the institutions in which children of immigrants find themselves participating as the most essential factor in their cultural development (Menjivar 1999; Inzigsohn 2001). This subject has provided a consistent puzzle for researchers as outcomes for children of immigrants in empirically based integration literature vary widely between "smooth acceptance" and "traumatic confrontation" (Zhou 1997, 90).

In the pluralist model of integration among children of immigrants, several authors have attempted to account for the homogeneity weakness of analysts like Gordon by arguing that societies are composed of an amalgam of subcultures whose diversity is continually fed by the arrival of new immigrants (Conzen 1991). This model has advanced the powerful and innovative idea that in a society that is not strictly composed of an "in-group" and an "out-

group,” cultural difference can serve as an asset to integration and other forms of success for children of immigrants. Among first-generation immigrants, it is argued, cultural attributes brought from the homeland are selected in or out, based on surroundings. As a result, children of immigrants are socialized with those cultural traits that their parents and other influential parties in their upbringing have found to be useful (Garcia 1996).

While this approach is initially appealing, given its capacity to open up more possible explanations for why cultural markers from countries of origin continue to appear in second-and third-generation immigrants, it suffers from a few important flaws. First, the theory does not account for what might inspire children of immigrants to rebel against the cultural traits passed down to them by their parents, rejecting their immigrant identity outright. Also, it fails to consider the impact on cultural outlook that institutions such as schools might have on how well immigrant identities are maintained. Finally, the fluidity of culture makes the details of what qualifies as cultural characteristics that are passed on and how this takes place difficult to identify. As such, the aspects of an individual’s outlook that are “immigrant characteristics” are difficult to know for certain.

The structural perspective holds that stratifications within a society present an inherently limited set of opportunities for populations in a country. Within this framework, new arrivals are prone to placement in subordinate strata based on ethnic and racial discrimination, limiting their access to successful “integration” (Barth and Noel 1972; Wilson 1987). This conflict-based theory implicitly denies the inevitability of assimilation suggested in other theories as it holds that the hierarchical nature of the job market, education, and other resource-based activities necessitates a group to be at the “bottom,” which means that children of immigrants might continue to occupy this rung even after acculturating successfully. This framework’s greatest

asset is its acknowledgement that there are larger systems at play in the integration process of migrants, especially capitalism. Unfortunately, this also doubles as its greatest weakness, with structuralists failing to pursue more detailed analysis of the nuances of cultural intermingling among groups. It also fails to consider where immigrants and their children might fit in systems outside of the country of settlement, including hierarchies that may exist in the diaspora.

The third framework, segmented assimilation applied to children of immigrants, holds that outcomes among the second generation are varied and that “either confinement to permanent underclass memberships or rapid economic advancement with deliberate preservation of the immigrant community’s values and solidarity is equally possible for the new second generation.” (Zhou 1997, 75). This theory acknowledges that children of immigrants are not a homogenous group, with some finding themselves settled in suburban, affluent communities made up primarily of native-born Anglos and others settled in urban immigrant communities, which can vary dramatically in relative prosperity. The theory’s primary authors, Portes and Zhou, argue that whether children of immigrants follow an “upward” or a “downward” path depends on a number of factors, including racial stratification, economic opportunities, the transfer of human capital, family structure, and several others.

While segmented assimilation theory likely represents the most complete theory of successful integration among children of immigrants, it, like many other integration theories, suffers from a strong bias toward socioeconomic and educational indicators as a complete illustration of how “integrated” second-generation immigrants are, ignoring issues like transnational practices in favor of what appear to be matters of greater importance in receiving countries (Zhou 1997; Portes and Rumbaut 1996). Literature highlighting segmented assimilation among children of immigrants also suffers from a tendency to deny immigrant

populations agency in their ability to integrate or their choice to do so by arguing that the most important factors in determining integration are those extrinsic to the populations of interest, such as racial stratification, economic climate, or spatial segregation, or that there are preexisting descriptors of the group in question, like human capital or financial assets. These explanations leave little to no room for the role of personal choices of children of immigrants over their life span in helping or hindering integration, nor do they provide a great deal of explanatory power for more dynamic outcomes, such as engaging in transnational practices.

According to the existing literature, successful integration by children of immigrants means many things, ranging from strong markers of ethnic identification in some instances to totally embracing “American” culture, depending mainly on context (Levitt and Glick-Schiller 2004, Portes and Rumbaut 2005, Zhou 1997). At present, however, there is very little academic work that considers the importance of how children of immigrants are situated socially in a world that extends *beyond* the country where they grew up. Given substantial evidence that first-generation immigrants are not the only group engaging communities on a transnational scale, theoretical models that limit social interaction based on national residence seem woefully inadequate to fully explain how and where children of immigrants come to understand themselves in relation to larger social groups.

The Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey

With the release of the CILS data in 2004 and two similar datasets describing children of immigrants in New York City and Los Angeles, respectively, more quantitative work has emerged describing factors that influence the lives of children of immigrants in developed

countries. Early examples of this literature focused heavily on simply describing the lives of this group or examining variables that were correlated with educational and professional success in their adult lives (Portes 2003; Kasinitz *et al* 2008). A small number of new works have taken on the task of examining factors that influence transnationalism among children of immigrants. Most of these have focused on general attachments to parents' home countries (Rumbaut 2002; Wolf 1997). Using the Los Angeles data, David Le (2009) narrowed his study to remittances in work similar to that presented in this thesis. He focuses primarily on whether the respondent considers the United States to be "home" and how often the respondent has visited his or her parents' country of origin, finding that income, education, visits abroad, and family abroad are significant items in an individual's decision to remit. While the results of the study represent an important contribution to the literature, the fact that the survey does not include survey questions regarding the early lives of respondents means that it misses out on the socializing variables that I argue to be critical in this paper.

Among the most important theoretical frameworks advanced to explain the transnational practices among second-generation immigrants highlighted in the CILS is that of Levitt and Glick-Schiller in 2004, two of the most prominent authors in this area of study. Based on what appears in the survey, they argue that transnationalism among children of immigrants depends heavily on *ways of being* and *ways of belonging*. The authors argue that many children of immigrants exist in a space between being fully "American" and living the immigrant lives of their parents. In this space, the individual seeks access to social membership in groups with which they have little contact through another person who occupies a 'nodal point.' This person plays an integral role in the socialization process for people in the community who have not had contact with the group's country of origin but nonetheless feel as though they are a part of it. For

the child of immigrant parents, their day-to-day interactions with others around them (those in their “social field”) represent *ways of being*, simply acting as a part of the group that is around. These everyday activities are distinct from *ways of belonging*, which are actions intended to function explicitly as expressions of membership in a community (Levitt and Glick-Schiller 2004). Ways of belonging might include anything from flying a national flag outside of an immigrant family’s home, to joining a social club based on shared national origin, to sending remittances to family in the home country.

The wealth of knowledge that has been created through the efforts of scholars in many fields has set an extremely valuable foundation for future studies of transnational practices among children of immigrants. This thesis is an effort to draw upon this important descriptive and theoretical work in order to present a more thorough examination of the most concrete example of transnational activity that has been taken up by second-generation immigrants: sending remittances. This activity represents a direct implication of socialization of immigrant children and children of immigrants as it relates to globalization and international development (Orozco 2000; de la Garza 2002). Hopefully my thesis will contribute to the existing literature by identifying some of the trends that will hinder or facilitate remittance activity as the number of children of immigrants continues to grow.

CHAPTER 3:

Theory and Methods of Investigation

In Benedict Anderson's seminal work *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, he notes: "In an age when it is so common for progressive, cosmopolitan intellectuals to insist on the near-pathological character of nationalism, its roots in fear and hatred...it is useful to remind ourselves that nations inspire love, and often profoundly self-sacrificing love" (Anderson 1991, pp. 141). Remittances appear to exemplify this "self-sacrifice" that Anderson makes it a point to laud as a redeeming factor of nationalism. For first-generation migrants, Anderson's explanation of nationalism and its implications make perfect sense. Early in life, these individuals are immersed in national and cultural systems, which thereby construct the communities of which they perceive themselves to be members. The isolated act of traveling to a new location is by no means enough to erase their personal histories, especially as most of the people with whom migrants are in direct contact remain in their sending country. Even in the receiving country, the first neighborhood where migrants settle is generally predominantly made up of immigrants from the same region. Hence, the 'imagination' of home and patria remain firmly intact. For the children of immigrants, however, any direct connection to the spatial notion of a country is *purely* imaginary. Just as it would seem odd for someone who had lived for a few years in a country or had merely visited to believe that he or she owed their allegiance to that country, so it is for children of immigrants firmly rooted in a new country; and yet, the remittances continue.

Anderson argues that it is essential that nationalism be understood "...by aligning it, not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with the large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which – as well as against which – it came into being" (Anderson 1991, pp. 12). My argument depends on transnationalism among second-generation migrants representing a poignant example of the continuity of these cultural systems in immigrant enclaves. In these enclaves individuals belong to an extended illustration of a "limited and sovereign" political community that is not based on everyday interaction with actual nationals but is instead based on a perception of interests that is generated within families, neighborhoods, and institutions (Anderson, 1991). Through continued interactions with friends, neighbors, and other individuals who share a cultural and national background, children of immigrants forge a "national" identity, identifying with a society in another country, regardless of the amount of contact they have had with this society or their actual citizenship. Because of this identification, children of immigrants are willing to make serious personal investments on behalf of this community with limited opportunities for personal benefit.

Children of immigrants acting on a perceived national identity via visits to parents' countries, extended stays in those countries, and remitting goods and money has been touted by Rubén Rumbaut (2002) as an example of the intergenerational resiliency of cultural patterns, in spite of pressures to assimilate and forget family histories of migration. He argues that ethnic enclaves in major urban areas preserve these identities among immigrants and their families through a constant barrage of cultural and linguistic reminders of home. These initial surroundings for children of immigrants, such as family, friends and community, seem to be excellent candidates to be the foundations of groups that allow them to visualize a larger community. As Flore Zephir (2001, 192) notes, "The experiences of the second

generation...highlight the primordial role that the entire social context (familial and environmental) plays in shaping the identity and choices of youth and their prospects for the future.”

In contexts where adult children of immigrants are searching for an outlet to express the sense of connection they learned as children through their parents and through other socializing agents, Levitt and Glick Schiller’s understandings of *ways of being* and *ways of belonging* are extremely useful. For children of immigrants, the *ways of belonging* to a home country are inherently limited. Travel is costly and sometimes impeded by a lack of citizenship. Political participation is generally out of the question due to limited information about ongoing events and limited means by which to participate. For individuals who already understand themselves to belong to another society, the opportunity to send remittances represents one of the few ways of expressing that belonging. Sending money may also be an opportunity to fulfill perceived parental representation of maintaining cultural values taught at an early age.

Extending Rumbaut’s notion of transnationalism arising through socialization and Levitt and Glick-Schiller’s conception of remittances as a “way of belonging,” I expect that through cultural immersion and socialization in immigrant communities, the size of the group of which second-generation immigrants consider themselves to be a part expands far beyond their neighborhood. As a result, these individuals may extend philanthropic activity to people that they have never met in places they have never been (or have only visited a handful of times) in order to express their solidarity. As migrant hubs become community networks, “imagined communities” expand beyond immediate family and dominant notions of nationality and second-generation remitters may become personally invested in projects with no direct benefit to themselves. Socialization in communities with a common national origin eliminates the need for

common rational motivations associated with remittances by immigrants, such as immediate family members or a personal investment in their home country (like constructing a house or a financing a business).

Hypotheses and Unit of Analysis

Exploring causal factors concerning why children of migrants send remittances is a challenging prospect, considering the wide array of possible motivations for an individual to send money to a country to which they have no direct attachment, outside of family history. As is the case with many other inquiries in the social sciences, isolating a single, complete causal variable is an unrealistic endeavor. Still, it should be possible to investigate several possible contributing factors in order to reveal which, if any, consistently contribute to the choice to remit among children of immigrants. This thesis tests a few of the most reasonable assumptions about why an individual might choose to remit, both directly and indirectly.

H1: Socialization in communities made up of individuals with shared cultural/national backgrounds increases the likelihood of remittances among children of immigrants.

Based on the theories advanced by Anderson, Rumbaut, and others above, my preferred hypothesis posits that the most important catalyst in producing remittances among children of immigrants is a socializing environment that encourages them to identify as a member of an extended diaspora from their parents' country of origin. This identification may matter as much as, if not more than, their identification as a member of the society in the country where they have lived the majority of their lives. One key aspect of this hypothesis is that parents' home countries and the country in which children of immigrants live now should not compete for their

interest. Rather, both countries should be able to inspire participation, possibly to the point of being mutually beneficial. The variables of interest in this hypothesis are the circumstances under which the person of interest was raised as a child and/or young adult. This environment is largely responsible for creating foundational patterns of understanding and behavior for the individual of interest and should therefore coincide with his or her motivations to engage in philanthropic behavior or in failing to do so.

H2: Material security/well-being increase the likelihood of remittances among children of immigrants.

The most obvious possible contributor to the choice to send money to a parent's country among children of immigrants is that they simply have more money to give. This hypothesis depends on the idea that philanthropic activities depend on some amount of "excess income" which, in turn, allows for spending outside of personal necessities. This hypothesis might reflect children of immigrants who see their newfound status and wealth in the United States as an avenue to being a kind of benefactor for less fortunate individuals in their parents' countries of origin with whom they feel loosely affiliated. Conversely, in financially unstable cases where giving away money trades off directly with personal necessities, remittances would not be expected.

H3: Markers of American integration decrease the likelihood of remittances among children of immigrants.

Conventional wisdom on assimilation processes (especially among those with strong assimilationist agendas) asserts that there is a "zero-sum" relationship between integration in a new country and commitment to a sending country. This hypothesis tests that idea. By this mode

of thinking, being “American” means that politics in a home country no longer matter. Support for this hypothesis would give some indication that migrants who remain withdrawn from societies in settlement countries are likely to continue remitting, even if they cannot be involved in civic life in another country by other means. If we accept this premise, we should expect that children of immigrants who are U.S. citizens, who are registered to vote, and who participate in other civic activities will be less likely to send money to their parents’ home countries since their interest is already occupied by American activities.

H4: Contact with home country increases remittances among children of immigrants.

Like the material wellbeing hypothesis, the idea that more contact with a society makes an individual more willing to contribute financially to others in that society is largely intuitive. Findings that supported this hypothesis would largely undermine the puzzle of children of immigrants as we could largely explain their choice to remit along the same lines as their parents; i.e. personal emotional connection to the people and places that are receiving their money. Confirming this hypothesis would also be an important strike against my preferred hypothesis that “imagined communities” are enough to support consistent giving at a personal expense from strangers.

While the contact hypothesis is initially attractive as an explanatory factor in remittances, its primary weakness comes as trips and extended stays in home country are not necessarily *early* factors of socialization for children of immigrants. For instance, vacations to countries of origin prompted by parents who believe that their children have become too “Americanized” are unlikely to reverse assimilation processes that those children have undergone and will continue to undergo in American society.

Data and Methods:

The data that I use are from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey, gathered by Alejandro Portes and Rubén Rumbaut and published in 2004. The survey was originally conducted in 1992, using a sample of 8th and 9th graders from South Florida and Southern California with at least one foreign-born parent and who had either been born into the U.S. or were brought to the country at an early age (defined as having lived in the United States for more than five years at the time the survey was conducted) (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). The first round also included a parent survey, which was intended to collect immigration history, living situation, and how immigrant parents intended to raise their children. Two follow-up surveys were conducted with the original sample, first in 1995 and 1996, as the students were graduating from high school, and again in 2002 and 2003. The units of analysis in my study are the individual children of immigrants from over 70 different countries who were issued surveys at three separate times by the original collectors of the data.

I tested my hypotheses using binary logit regression of whether or not children of immigrants chose to remit² based upon four sets of independent variables, which are grouped according to my hypotheses. The remittance item was only asked in the third round of surveys and should therefore be indicative of all previous remittance activity undertaken by the respondent. The variables found to be significant in the binary logit regression were then tested for their effect on the simulated probability of remitting using Rodney King's "Clarify" program (King *et al* 2000).

² Remittances among children of immigrants were originally coded in the survey as an ordinal response, ranging from "Never" (1) to "Once a week" (5). This was recoded as a binary variable, grouping "Never" and "Less than once a year" as "no remittance" and "Once a year" "Once a month" and "Once a week" as "remittance."

Operationalization of Concepts:

The CILS provides a quality set of survey items for operationalizing the concepts explored in my hypotheses with several questions focusing on the social environment of the respondent as a child, his or her employment and income, et cetera. For the socialization hypothesis, variables are composed of both items from the initial round of surveys of children of immigrants and the parent survey. From the first survey distributed to children of immigrants, an item asking whether ‘many’ of the respondent’s friends had parents from another country was used as a variable. Items from the parent survey included a question as to whether the parent spoke with their child often about their home country, whether parents socialized with others from their home country, and whether the majority of the family’s neighbors were from the same country as the respondent’s parents.

The material security hypothesis is more straightforward. Items were drawn from the third round of surveys relating to the amount of income earned annually, occupational prestige, and whether or not the respondent owned his or her home. Income was indicated in a question grouping levels of income into eight responses where tiers of income were set at levels of \$20,000. Occupational prestige of each respondent was calculated using the Treiman Prestige Index³. Finally, home ownership was included in order to gauge whether asset stability was correlated with remittances.

Operationalizing the ‘markers of American integration’ hypothesis was somewhat difficult, given that ‘integration’ could take on a variety of meanings. I attempted to measure a general, static marker of integration using an item that asked whether the respondent was a citizen. An item asking whether the respondent was registered to vote was used to gauge

³ Treiman, Donald J. 1977

political investment in the United States. Unfortunately, the survey did not include items that could have been used to gauge other, less formal, kinds of integration into American civil society, such as involvement with a parent teacher association or membership in other clubs among the second-generation immigrants in the sample.

The hypothesis relating the amount of contact that children of immigrants had with their parents' home country was well documented in the last iteration of the survey. There were two items that were most relevant to the 'contact' hypothesis. The first was a question asking how many times the respondent had ever been to their parents' country of origin. This question is a good indication of whether brief, repeated contact with a place is sufficient to inspire consistent remittances. The second question dealt with whether a respondent had lived in their parents' country of origin for more than six months in his or her lifetime, which could suggest that more prolonged contact with a country is a necessary component in the decision to remit.

Causal Mechanism: Socialization as creation of community

I attribute causality to the idea that without immersion in groups that identify as extensions of a national community, children of immigrants are likely to be socialized through institutions (schools, social clubs, etc) that encourage identification with the dominant discourse of the settlement country. As a result, second-generation immigrants will have no motivation to remit to a parent's country of origin, given that they have little to no personal affinity for this place aside from the superficial understandings they have gleaned from their parents. In cases where children of immigrants have had little to no socialization that reinforces their connection to a parent's home country, there should be no impetus to send money home whatsoever. One of

the strengths of the CILS data set is that its longitudinal questions about community makeup were asked decades prior to questions about remittance behavior. This time-lag gives a clear causal arrow to my preferred hypothesis that early family life is critical to whether a second-generation immigrant chooses to remit. The income hypothesis also has a relatively clear causal chain, as sending money back to a parent's home country seems unlikely to generate any money-making capability for the sender. Causality for the contact hypothesis is somewhat less clear. In these instances, migrants may be visiting in order to assure that their remittances are being put to good use, for example.

CHAPTER 4:

Findings

The results of the binomial logistic regression shown in Table 3 illustrate a few interesting conclusions. First and foremost, it should be noted that at least one variable from each hypothesis except “contact” was significant. This would seem to suggest that the process of building a transnational identity is influenced by a myriad of factors, which several authors have suggested. Unfortunately, this indicates that motivations to engage in transnational activity among children are not reducible to a single explanatory theme. Nonetheless, the significant variables do provide some clues as the specific factors associated with remittances, as well as some puzzling outcomes that are worth future investigation.

The variables from my primary hypothesis that were significant were both drawn from the parent survey. The first, indicating whether or not the parent(s) spoke frequently with the child about their country of origin, reinforces the notion that socialization in a family environment is critical to shaping future attitudes and activity among children. The second significant variable, indicating whether or not parents socialized with compatriots, serves as an extension to this idea, as parents were again responsible for creating an environment of continued contact with others from their home country. Surprisingly, neither the variable relating to other friends who were children of immigrants, nor whether their neighborhood contained many individuals from the same country as the respondent’s parents, was significant.

Table 3: Determinants of decision to remit to parent home country among children of immigrants: binomial logistic regressions.

<i>Choice to Remit</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
<u><i>Socialization</i></u>			
Most friends' parents are immigrants	.1062098	.1628577	.514
Parents talk to child about their home country	.5253388	.2394082	.028
Parents socialize with compatriots	.2016364	.1737723	.024
Majority of neighbors are from parents' country	.0523799	.1549754	.735
<u><i>Material Security</i></u>			
Income	.0719759	.0295369	.015
Employed	-.2795038	.2481704	.026
Homeowner	.352338	.1804682	.051
<u><i>Integration Markers</i></u>			
Registered to vote	-.33127	.1570896	.035
Citizenship	.5021609	.1585863	.002
<u><i>Contact with parents' country</i></u>			
# of visits to a parent's home country	.5021609	.0046785	.072
Has lived in a parent's home country for more than 6 months	.471965	.3044906	.121
Constant	-2.466648	.4103782	.000

This could mean that surroundings are less consequential for behavioral outcomes of adult children of immigrants, as they are removed from the primacy of a family setting.

All three of the variables grouped under the material hypothesis were significant. Unsurprisingly, greater income was associated with a greater likelihood of remitting. Perhaps the most unexpected of all of the signs associated with any variable in the model was that the “employment” variable was negatively correlated with likelihood of remittances. One possible explanation of this interesting result is that experiencing unemployment creates more empathy with individuals suffering in a country of origin. It could also be that respondents who have reported themselves unemployed are working in an informal economy, which still allows for income to be sent home, or that some qualify for unemployment benefits, which provide more adequate money to be sent as remittances than wages. That both income and home ownership seem to matter may suggest that some sort of financial baseline exists in order for children of immigrants to be willing to send money home to their parent country.

For the integration hypothesis, two variables were significant, but with different signs. Children of immigrants who were citizens were more likely to send money home than non-citizens. This result indicates that a marker of affiliation in U.S. society does not negatively impact the propensity of migrants to send money home. It may also suggest that the difficulties associated with a lack of citizenship make finding avenues to send money home more difficult. The variable indicating whether or not the respondent was registered to vote was negatively correlated with sending remittances. This result does yield some support for the idea of a participation “tradeoff,” where second-generation immigrants whose attention is occupied by events in the United States are no longer interested in their parents’ country of origin. However,

more tests of whether the respondent was civically involved in other ways are needed provide more thorough proof of this idea.

By the standard measure of a .05 p-value, neither visits to parents' home country nor extended stays in that home country were significant, thus failing to provide evidence for the contact hypothesis. This result supports my original assertion that affinity that is constructed through contact with other immigrants is sufficient to support remittance behavior without contact with the country receiving remittances. However, firm conclusions on the connection between the visits and stays in a parent's home country and willingness to send money there requires further investigation.

Table 4. Changes in Predicted Probabilities of Remitting⁴

<i>Independent Variable</i>	<i>Sample</i>
Parents talk about home country	.04
Parents socialize with compatriots	.02
Increase in income from \$15,000 to \$50,000	.06
Employed	-.03
Homeowner	.04
Registered to vote	-.03
Citizen	.06
Visits to home country 0 to 25	.02
Visits to home country 0 to 75	.08
Has lived in a parent's home country for more than 6 months	.06

⁴ Reports the average change across respondents in the probability of remitting when the independent variable of interest is increased from its minimum value, holding all other independent variables at their means.

Table 4 provides greater detail of how each significant variable affects the propensity to remit among children of immigrants, showing the change predicted probabilities for each. Respondents' visits to a parent's home country and extended stays in each were included as both were close to being significant and both are important in relation to the theory advanced in this thesis. All of the values of interest presented in the table indicate that changes to probability of remitting due to changes in one variable and holding the others at their mean are relatively small.

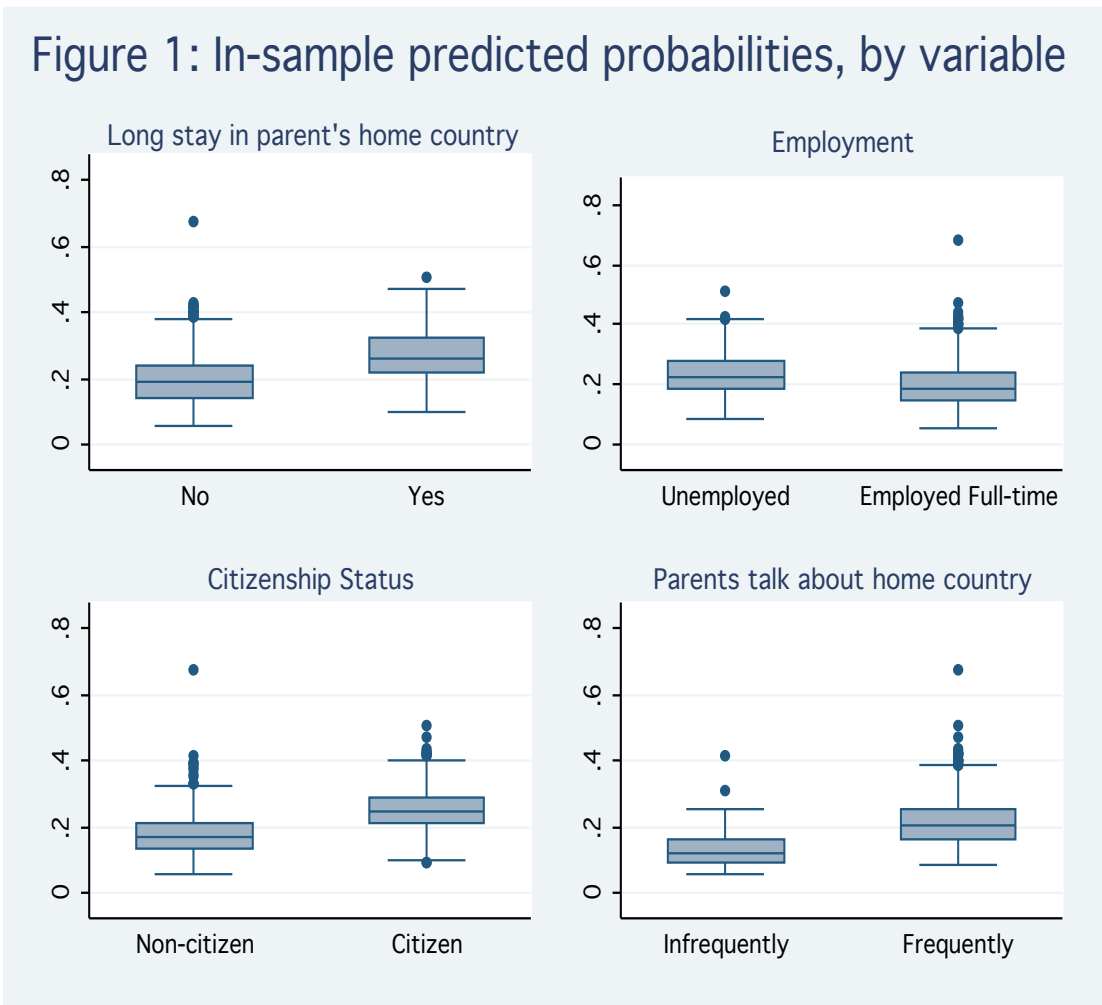


Figure 1: In-sample predicted probabilities of remitting, by variable

The results from the model support the assertion that construction of a transnational identity can be understood as the sum of a variety of indicators within an individual's life. For instance, my results would suggest that a second-generation immigrant with citizenship who was raised around many adults from his or her parents' country and was taught a great deal about their home country, makes a good salary, and owns a home would be much more likely to send remittances consistently than an individual who was only representative of one of these qualities.

Qualitative depictions of main findings:

Case studies in isolated communities by various authors attest to the fact that no single variable can completely explain differences in remittance activity among children of immigrants. Using different frameworks, methodologies, and studying different immigrant groups, investigators have come to a wide array of conclusions about what "matters" with regard to remittances, both among first-and second-generation immigrants. Along with these qualitative case studies, historical and quantitative analyses indicate that immigrant groups from Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America share a great deal in common in their immigrant experiences in new countries, which might explain part of why we see consistency across these groups in their propensity to send remittances. However, several background qualities and differences in how they have been received as immigrants also make these groups different from one another. The diversity that appears in case study literature regarding transnationalism among children of immigrants lends support to my findings, which also suggest the importance of several factors in transnational outcomes within this group.

Socialization

In ethnic enclaves throughout the United States and elsewhere, investigations into the determinants of remittances sent by adult children of immigrants have often rested on the presumption that sending money to another country is a behavior learned from parents (Wolf 1997; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Yeboah 2007). Min Zhou, a prominent author in describing acculturation patterns among children of immigrants, argues that "...the family is the most important institutional environment outside of school for socialization, adaptation, and the future activities of children" (Zhou 1997).

In her investigations of 'Haitianness,' Flore Zephir sought to identify markers of Haitian identification among children of immigrants from Haiti living in New York City. She found strong evidence of family and neighborhood socialization providing a strong influence on transnational identity among children of Haitian immigrants. For example, when asked about her ethnic identity, one interviewee justified her choice to identify as Haitian by saying "To be Haitian does not mean that you were born in Haiti, it means that you are of Haitian descent. Although I was born here, I am Haitian because both my parents were born in Haiti" (Zephir 2001). Another teenage respondent gives strong anecdotal evidence regarding the necessity of contact with their parents' home country as it relates to feeling like a member of that society: "Haiti means a lot to me. Although I have never been there, it represents the ideal place. This is where my family came from. This is where my roots are. It's the home of my ancestors. It's a little paradise." Although Zephir's work does not speak to remittances directly, it does indicate that affinity for a particular country, which serves as a requisite for sending money there, seems to stem from what an individual has learned from those around him/her.

A work that illustrates the importance of socialization as it pertains to children of immigrants actually sending remittances is Yen Le Espiritu and Thom Tran's (2002) case study of Vietnamese neighborhoods in San Diego. In the study, the factors that were most salient to second-generation Vietnamese participants' choice to send money or goods to Vietnam was having seen parents or older relatives send remittances and hearing why those remittances were needed back home. Those who sent remittances felt that their contributions were necessary to improve the lives of recipients, usually due to family depictions of Vietnam as a poor and dirty country. One interviewee related this perfectly in her observations of shopping for items to send back: "...I remember going to Chinatown in L.A. and buying so many things to send home...I remember they sent portable radios. Sometimes I would ask, 'Why do you need to send this stuff?' and she would say 'They don't have this stuff there.' I was like, oh my God, they don't have pens, you know?" (Espiritu and Tran 2002, 392). Another participant described similar feelings of wanting to help those in need from their parents' homeland because of a sense of connection. "Vietnam is not my country because I don't live there. But the people are my people. ...the Americans, they are not my people. The people in Vietnam are also Vietnamese. They are Vietnamese with me and there is a connection. I want to help the people. They need help" (Espiritu and Tran 2002, 393). The quotes both establish socialization as a motivating factor in remittances among children of immigrants, with both observed activities and construction of a sense of place playing a role in the decision to remit. An interesting aspect of the second response is that it belies an understanding that, as an American citizen, the respondent is not connected to the nation of Vietnam, but rather to the people with whom she feels she is connected due to her relationships with other immigrants in the United States.

Material wellbeing

The importance of material wellbeing as it relates to transnationalism has been held up in a variety of qualitative investigations of remittances in different contexts. The vast majority of this work has focused on first-generation immigrants, showing how philanthropic endeavors targeted toward a sending country were much more likely to occur when a migrant had sufficient means to support him or herself (Goldring 1998; Landolt *et al* 1999; Mahler 1995). As José Itzigsohn puts it: "...this work provides evidence that transnationalism emerges when immigrants have enough resources to engage in philanthropic or business projects in the country of origin" (Itzigsohn and Saucedo 2000; 771). The most telling of these studies is an article focused on El Salvadoran transnational activities in various cities in the United States by Landolt *et al* (1999). In the study, the authors found that the size and scope of projects intended to send money abroad undertaken by El Salvadorans were directly correlated with the income of individual members. Moreover, they show how new arrivals were encouraged to participate in the projects in very marginal ways until their income was sufficient to make meaningful contributions to the group's cause. These outcomes indicate that the tendency to delay remittances based on personal wealth may come not only from the individual, but also from those in his or her community.

One work that speaks specifically to the adult lives of children of immigrants is a study by Christiane Timmerman, Else Vanderwaeren and Maurice Crul (2003), which details the transnational lives of Moroccan and Turkish communities in Belgium. In the study, Timmerman *et al* find that aspiring to transnational engagement, especially sending money home, actually *inspires* adult children to seek educational attainment and increased income. The authors discuss

how transnational outcomes are facilitated by an attraction to Islam in the second-generation groups they study. Often, the extra income that is sent home is directed toward religious groups and movements in the home country. Timmerman, Vanderwaeren, and Crul argue that these remittances fulfill a sense of belonging among the children of immigrants studied that they could not achieve via other avenues in Belgium. Again, the results in Timmerman's study speak to the level of interaction between variables involved in transnationalism as it relates to immigrant settlement in a new country

Interestingly, a study of mixed first-and second-generation Jamaican and Haitian households in Canada found that while increased income in those households up to around \$40,000 per year was correlated with an increase in remittances sent, above this level remittances begin to decline (Simmons *et al* 2005). This finding adds another wrinkle to the already-complex relationship between wealth and remittances by suggesting that there is not a direct linear relationship between income and remittances, as my model might have you believe. One intuitive explanation for this would be that as migrants become more comfortable in their receiving country, they become detached from the problems that they have either experienced directly or have been told of in their country of origin. This empirical observation, along with many others related to transnationalism, calls for more detailed inquiry.

Political integration

Aside from brief questions regarding how children of immigrants feel about their national citizenship in relation to their identity overall, there has been little systematic inquiry into how official national belonging affects transnational outcomes. One source of interesting evidence is

a French study in which Patrick Simon (2003) attempted to explain the effects of the *code de la nationalité* (law on French citizenship), which grants citizenship to all children of immigrants in France once they come of age, on patterns of personal ethnic identification among this group. The intention of this law, coupled with strong national cultural messages regarding the importance of national character, is to assure that new immigrant arrivals do not produce more “foreigners” by having children. In studies of Turkish, Portuguese, and Moroccan children of immigrants, Simon found little evidence that having the title of French citizenship bestowed upon them affected how those studied chose to identify. In short, second-generation immigrants in the study felt no less Turkish, Portuguese, or Moroccan than their first-generation counterparts. This result supports the indications from my quantitative model that citizens are no less likely than non-citizens to send remittances and are, in fact, *more* likely to do so. Most explanations to this end rest on the idea that simply labeling an individual as a member of a group is less a less powerful influence on their identity than the extensive processes involved with full socialization.

While the results of my model indicate that the population surveyed in the CILS who registered to vote was less likely to send remittances home, other work indicates that this need not always be the case. A study of the incorporation of Greek immigrants and their children into American politics by Anna Karpathakis (1999) indicates that the primary motivating factor for their involvement, ranging from voting to political contributions, was their concern regarding the United States’ involvement in international events related to Greece. Karpathakis argues that the evidence presented in her study suggests that the process of shifting focus away from home country and toward political events in a new country favored by linear assimilationists is not sufficient to fully explain the complexities of political consciousness and activity within

immigrant communities. These results echo findings by Portes, Escobar, and Arana, that immigrants who participate in politics in their country of settlement were no less likely to participate in political activities related to their home country. Despite suggestions that findings involving transnational activities among first-and-second generation immigrants are often related, the descriptions of political engagement among first generation immigrants in the literature above and the results of my model may present an instance where the effects of a given variable (country of settlement political participation, in this instance) diverge.

Contact

In 2003, Kaitlin Killian and Karen Hegtvedt published a study on the maintenance of cultural behaviors among Vietnamese second-generation immigrants. Using interview evidence, the authors argue that parents' insistence on communication with relatives in Vietnam, as well as regular trips home, effectively act as 'assimilation blockers' that prevent total acculturation among the children. They find that the children often continue these transnational practices into adulthood, maintaining contact with relatives in their parents' home country, even as they are distant cousins or other remote family. Although Killian and Hegtvedt do not speak to remittances directly, their work suggests that direct contact with country of origin is essential to creating a sense of connection to that country, which is an integral aspect of motivation to send remittances.

A study by Ian Yeboah of Ghanaians in Ohio draws similar conclusions regarding the importance of how "...connections to different places and times shape their (Ghanaian second-generation immigrant) identities" in establishing transnational activity (2008, 156). A chapter

focusing on the importance of socialization in influencing assimilation and transnational outcomes among Ghanaian immigrant children emphasizes the intensity of first-hand knowledge of parents' home country as a conduit toward transnational awareness and activity. In this work, the input of consistent communication with family still living in Ghana, which was prevalent both among first-and second-generation immigrants, was largely associated with the output of sending money back to those individuals. One basic illustration offered by Yeboah in which friends and extended family at home in Ghana take the time to call an immigrant's child on his or her birthday or graduation is connected to money being sent to those individuals when they are in need, initially by the parent and eventually by his or her children (Yeboah 2008, 189).

In contrast to the evidence presented among Vietnamese and Ghanaian immigrants in the United States, an informal analysis of Indian-American teenagers' written responses to visiting their parents homeland by Ramesh Rao (1999) indicates that direct contact with a parent's country of origin is sometimes enough to drive children *away* from wanting to create or maintain transnational contact. As one subject in the study wrote regarding his time in Bombay, "I am very disappointed with my visit...The buildings were run down and the entire city looked like a slum...(people) were loud, argumentative...and I was shocked at their unhygienic ways. I personally see no future for that country and now understand why my parents...wanted so badly to leave. I went to India as an Indo-American but I have returned as a proud American" (Rao 1999). These sentiments, echoed by other Indo-American teenagers in the article, suggest that visits home can be positive *or* negative influences on the attachment children of immigrants have to their parents' home country, depending on timing and other important variables. As illustrated by the Haitian-Americans in Zephir's work, an idealized conception of ancestral country can be a powerful influence on personal identification with that country. In instances where these ideals

are contrasted with unpleasant contact, it would not come as a surprise should an individual deemphasize his or her connection to that country.

Connections

Within the qualitative literature, there appear to be indications that authors investigating how particular variables affect remittances among children of immigrants tend to find what they are looking for. This is not to say that the research done thus far has been flawed. Rather, the presence of a multitude of factors that “matter” in outcomes related to transnationalism mean that it is possible to isolate a particular aspect of the immigrant experience and then to create a compelling case for it, based on interviews and other qualitative methods. Seemingly contradictory evidence that appears in descriptive accounts from qualitative works provides more support for the notion that multiple factors influence remittance behavior in highly complex ways.

While the CILS data does a very good job of giving multiple “snapshots” of a large-*N* survey of children of immigrants using several variables, and ongoing case study work provides a more complete portrait of transnational identity formation in individual immigrant communities, the breadth of explanations suggested by statistical and oral investigations calls for more work to be done. Among the most obvious gaps in the literature is the absence of a theoretical model that accounts for the interaction of variables such as socioeconomic status, socialization, contact with home, and integration into dominant society. Portes, Rumbaut, and others have shown us that children of immigrants from a multitude of backgrounds follow wildly divergent paths into adulthood and with regard to their parents’ country of origin. The results of this study call for a clearer depiction of why this occurs.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusions

“America is coming to be, not a nationality but a trans-nationality, a weaving back and forth, with the other lands, of many threads of all sizes and colors.”

-Randolph S. Bourne, “Trans-National America” (1916)

History has shown us that Theodore Roosevelt’s expectation for new immigrants in the United States was far too ambitious in its assumption that individuals could abandon their culture, their history, and their homeland immediately upon arrival in America. Viewed as its inverse, conventional wisdom dictates that it is among the most natural reactions for United States citizens who have emigrated abroad to seek out communities where they can meet fellow Americans, speak English, and engage in the activities and customs with which they are most familiar. In the interest of preserving their children’s sense of national identity, parents go so far as to enroll them in international schools, ensuring that they are aware of U.S. history and the English language, in case the family ever return to the United States. Given these inclinations among Americans, it seems that it would also be naïve to expect immigrants from countries in Africa, Latin America, Asia, or elsewhere to abandon essential facets of their identities as they

raise their children and interact with their neighbors in the U.S. or Canada or in an EU member state.

The results of this thesis indicate that there are no “complete” explanations for why children of immigrants send remittances to their parents’ countries. Several contributing factors affect whether or not a child who was born in the United States or brought here at a very young age will grow up to feel an obligation to their parents’ homeland, such that they are compelled to send money there. Child-rearing practices by immigrant parents, the neighborhoods in which immigrant children grow up, and the circumstances in which they find themselves during adult life all appear to influence whether children of immigrants will simply give up the allegiances that were so essential to the identities of their parents or whether they will choose to enact their own feelings of belonging to a diasporic community through remittances and other means.

Qualitative literature that has been published in international migration journals indicates that questions of second-generation immigrant integration and transnationalism are not limited to the United States. Major concerns have emerged in native-born populations regarding the lives and integration patterns of immigrant communities such as Sri Lankans in Britain, Turkish immigrants in Germany, Senegalese immigrants in France, and many others. Early quantitative and qualitative work cited in this study that has emerged from the United States may serve as a foundation for future investigations of remittance patterns and immigrant identity elsewhere. These new international studies are needed to develop a fuller understanding of transnationalism, as they have the potential to provide some insight into the influence that receiving environments have on transnational outcomes among children of immigrants, which is virtually non-existent at present.

Several other avenues for future research exist in studying transnationalism among children of immigrants worldwide. First, questions about whether results from this and other studies of children of immigrants can be generalized are still up in the air. Comparative studies of immigrants from the same area who have settled in different locales, such as rural or urban areas or different receiving countries, would likely provide help to resolve this. Another interesting question involves changes in remitting tendencies at different stages of an individual's life. Does the tendency to remit decrease as the sample population ages? Do changes in income or relocation to neighborhoods with a smaller population of compatriots have an effect on whether or not remittances occur? The ability to answer these and other questions will be largely dependent on efforts to increase the available amount of survey data in the future. The CILS dataset was largely designed to provide an initial look at the general characteristics of children of immigrants. Future surveys focused more specifically on transnational activity would be extremely helpful in asking and answering more complex questions about the lives of children of immigrants. National and international samples would also help to illuminate some of the similarities and differences among national diasporas as they are spread across the globe and interact with different policies and institutions in different places.

As remittances continue to play a major role in the world economy, the ever-growing number of children of immigrants in developed countries will likely have an ongoing influence on world politics. This population also provides critical insights into understanding shifting dynamics with regard to the importance of the nation-state and the changes that have been brought about by globalization. Distance and time are less and less obstacles in maintaining contact between people living far from one another. Children of immigrants provide an excellent test of examining what elements are most essential to forging a devoted polity. Should

transnational tendencies among this population continue to grow worldwide, the concerns expressed by Roosevelt may be manifested in policies intended to discourage investment in other countries by its citizens. Whether more insistent encouragement of immigrants and children of immigrants to abandon their culture and history in the future would have any great effect or whether the “transnational” character described by Bourne that has appeared in immigrants and their children is inherent in an age of mass human movement and will therefore continue into the future, remains to be seen.

REFERENCES:

- Alba, R and V Nee. 1997. "Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration." *International Migration Review*. 31(4): 826-874.
- Anderson, B. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso Press.
- Appadurai, A and C Breckenridge. 1989. "On moving targets." *Public Culture*, 2:i-iv.
- Barth E and D Noel. 1972. "Conceptual framework for the analysis of race relations: an evaluation." *Social Forces*. 50:333-348
- Becker, H. 1995. *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. New York: Free Press.
- Bourne, R S. "Trans-National America," *Atlantic Monthly*, 118 (1916) 86-97 .
- Calstells, M. 1996. *The Power of Identity*. Oxford: Blackwell Press.
- Cohen, R. 1997. *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*. London: University College London Press.
- Conzen, K. 1991. "Mainstreams and side channels: the localization of immigrant cultures." *Journal of American Ethnic History*. 10: 3-41
- de Haas, H. 2005. "Morocco: From Emigration Country to Africa's Migration Passage to Europe." *Migration Policy Institute: Country Profiles*.
<http://www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?ID=339>
- de la Garza R and L Lowell. 2000. "The Developmental Role of Remittances in U.S. Latino Communities and in Latin American Countries." Report for the Tomás Rivera Policy Institute and the Inter American Dialogue. June.
- Espirtu, Y L and T Tran. 2002. "Viet Nam, Nuoc Toi (Vietnam, My Country): Vietnamese Americans and Transnationalism." In Peggy Levitt and Mary C. Waters, eds. *The Changing Face of Home: The Transnational Lives of the Second Generation*. pp. 43-95. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Fowale, T J. 2009. "Migration and Africa's Future: African Migrants and the Struggle for Survival." *International Affairs*.
- Gans, H. 1992 "Second Generation Decline: Scenarios for the Economic and Ethnic Futures of Post-1965 American Immigrants," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 15:173-192.

Garcia, M. 1996. *Havana USA: Cuban Exiles and Cuban Americans in South Florida, 1959-1994*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Glick Schiller, L Basch and C Szanton-Blanc. 1992. "Transnationalism: a new analytic framework for understanding migration." In N Glick Schiller, L Basch and C Szanton-Blanc, eds. *Toward a Transnational Perspective on Migration*. New York: New York Academy of Sciences: 1-24.

Goldring, L. 1998. "The Power of Status in Transnational Social Fields," *Comparative Urban and Community Research*, 6:165-195.

Gupta, A and J Ferguson. 1992. "Beyond 'culture': space, identity, and the politics of difference", *Cultural Anthropology*, 7: 6-23.

Hall, S. 1990. "Cultural identity and diaspora." in Jonathan Rutherford ed. *Identity: Community Culture, Difference*, London: Lawrence and Wishart: 222-237.

Hudson Institute. 2009. "Fourth Annual *Index of Global Philanthropy and Remittances* Shows Private Philanthropy, Remittances Provide Lifeline to Developing Countries During Recession." *Index of Global Philanthropy and Remittances*. www.global-prosperity.org

Itzigsohn, J and S G Saucedo. 2002. "Immigrant Incorporation and Sociocultural Transnationalism." *International Migration Review* 36(3): 766-798.

Kapathakis, A. 1999. "Home Society Politics and Immigrant Political Incorporation: The Case of Greek Immigrants in New York City." *International Migration Review*. 33(1): 55-78.

Kasinitz, P, J Mollenkopf, M C. Waters and J Holdaway. 2008. *Inheriting the City: The Children of Immigrants Come of Age*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

Killian, C and K. Hegtvedt. 2003. "The Role of Parents in the Maintenance of Second Generation Vietnamese Cultural Behaviors." *Sociological Spectrum* 23: 213-245.

King, G, M Tomz and J Wittenberg. 2000. "Making the Most of Statistical Analyses: Improving Interpretation and Presentation." *American Journal of Political Science*, 44(April): 341-55.

Krikorian, M. 2004. "Post Americans: They've just 'grown' beyond their country." *National Review Online*. June, 22.

Landolt, P, L Autler and S Baires. 1999. "From Hermano Lejano to Hermano Mayor: the dialectics of Salvadoran transnationalism", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2): 290-315

Le, D (2009). "Divided Loyalties? A Study of Remittances Beyond the 1st Generation." Presented at the Center for the Study of Democracy Conference.

Levitt, P and N Glick Schiller. 2004. "Conceptualizing Simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society." *International Migration Review*, 38(145): 565-629.

Levitt, P. 1998. "Social Remittances: Migration Driven Local-Level Forms of Cultural Diffusion." *International Migration Review*. 32(4): 926-948.

Migration Policy Institute. 2003. "Remittance Data Report, 2003."
<http://www.migrationinformation.org/feature/display.cfm?ID=137#2>

Neidert, L. and R. Farley. 1985. "Assimilation in the United States: An Analysis of Ethnic and Generation Differences in Status and Achievement." *American Sociological Review*. 50:840-850. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Orozco, M and K Welle. 2006. "Hometown Association and Development: A look at Ownership, Sustainability, Correspondence and Replicability." *Inter-American Dialogue*:16

Park R. E. and E. W. Burgess. 1924. *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Park, R. E, 1928. "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, 33(6):881-893.

Portes, A 2005. "The Second Generation and the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28 (November): 983-999.

Portes, A and R G. Rumbaut. 2001. *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Portes, A and R L. Bach. 1985. *Latin Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Portes, A, C Escobar and R Arana. 2009. "Divided or Convergent Loyalties?: The Political Incorporation Process of Latin American Immigrants in the United States." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*. 50: 103-136.

Ramakrishnan, K. 2006. "But do they Bowl? Race, Immigrant Incorporation, and Civic Voluntarism" In Lee, et. al., eds. "Transforming politics, transforming America." p. 243-60. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

Rao, R. 1999. "Disjunctured Identity of Indian Americans: Part-II." Accessed via Personal Website, 3/11/10. <http://www.rameshnao.com/culture-disjunctured-2.html>

Rumbaut, R G. 2002. "Severed or Sustained Attachments? Language, Identity, and the Imagined Communities in the Post-Immigrant Generation." In Peggy Levitt and Mary C. Waters, eds. *The Changing Face of Home: The Transnational Lives of the Second Generation*. pp. 43-95. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

- Safran, W. 1991 "Diasporas in modern societies: myths of homeland and Return." *Diaspora*, 1:83-99.
- Sander, C and S M Maimbo. 2005. "Migrant Remittances in Africa: A Regional Perspective." In Samuel Munzele Maimbo and Dilip Ratha, eds. *Remittances Development Impact and Future Prospects*. pp. 53-81. The World Bank.
- Schans, D. "Transnational family ties of immigrants in the Netherlands," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 32: 7 1164-1182.
- Simmons, A, D Plaza and V Piché. 2005. "The Remittance Sending Practices of Haitians and Jamaicans in Canada." Presented at the Expert Group Meeting on International Migration and Development in Latin American and the Caribbean, 2 December 2005.
- Simon, P. 2003. "France and the Unknown Second Generation: Preliminary Results on Social Mobility." *International Migration Review*. 37(4):1091-1119.
- Sklair, L. 1995. *Sociology of the Global System*. London: Prentice Hall.
- Suro, R. 2005. "A Survey of Remittance Senders and Receivers." In Donald Terry and Steven Wilson, eds. *Beyond Small Change Making Migrant Remittances Count* pp. 21-40. Washington, D.C.: Inter-American Development Bank.
- Timmerman, C, E Vanderwaeren and M Crul. 2003. "The Second Generation in Belgium." *International Migration Review*. 37(4): 1065-1090.
- Vertovec, S. 1999. "Conceiving and researching transnationalism", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2): 447 — 462
- Warner W. and L. Stole. 1945. *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups*. CT: Yale University Press.
- Wilson, W. 1987. *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Wolf, D. 1997. "Family Secrets: Transnational Struggles among Children of Filipino Immigrants." *Sociological Perspectives*, 40(3): 457-482.
- Yeboah, I E.A. 2008. *Black African Neo-Diaspora: Ghanaian Immigrant Experiences in the Greater Cincinnati, Ohio, Area*. Landham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Zephir, F. 2001. *Trends in Ethnic Identification Among Second-Generation Haitian Immigrants in New York City*. Westport, CT: Bergen and Garvey Press.
- Zhou, M. 1997. "Growing Up American: The Challenge Confronting Immigrant Children and Children of Immigrants." *Annual Review of Sociology*. 23:63-95

APPENDIX:

Survey questions drawn from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey

First Iteration of Child Survey

V273 number of close friends whose parents are foreign born 246

Measurement Level: Ordinal

Column Width: 8 Alignment: Right

Print Format: F12

Write Format: F12

Missing Values: 9

Value Label

1 none

2 some

3 many or most

Parent Survey

P92A p socializes with compatriots 442

Measurement Level: Ordinal

Column Width: 8 Alignment: Right

Print Format: F8

Write Format: F8

Value Label

0 no

1 yes

P93A most neighbors are compatriots 449

Measurement Level: Ordinal

Column Width: 8 Alignment: Right

Print Format: F8

Write Format: F8

Value Label

0 no

1 yes

P98 how often p talks to child about p's country? 460

Measurement Level: Ordinal

Column Width: 8 Alignment: Right

Print Format: F10

Write Format: F10

Value Label

- 1 not at all
- 2 a little
- 3 somewhat

Third Iteration of Child Survey

v411 Present work situation?

- 1 Employed full-time
- 2 Employed part-time
- 3 Unemployed and looking for work
- 4 Laid off and not looking for work
- 5 Unemployed and not looking for work
- 6 On maternity/parental leave
- 7 Attending school full-time and not working
- 8 Full-time homemaker and not working 9 Disabled and not able to work

v415e Treiman prestige score for v415

v422 Total family income last year

- 1 less than \$5,000
- 2 \$5,000 - \$9,999
- 3 \$10,000 - \$14,999
- 4 \$15,000 - \$19,999
- 5 \$20,000 - \$24,999
- 6 \$25,000 - \$29,999
- 7 \$30,000 - \$34,999
- 8 \$35,000 - \$49,999
- 9 \$50,000 - \$74,999
- 10 \$75,000 - \$99,999
- 11 \$100,000 - \$199,999
- 12 \$200,000 or more
- 13 refused/no answer

v425 Does R own or rent the house or apartment where he/she lives at present?

- 1 Own
- 2 Rent
- 3 Parents own it

4 Other

v441 What is R's citizenship status?

- 1 US citizen by birth
- 2 US citizen by naturalization
- 3 not a US citizen
- 4 dual citizenship or nationality

v442 Is R currently registered to vote?

- 0 No
- 1 Yes

v444 Visits to parents' country

--Actual number

v445 Lived there more than 6 months

- 0 No
- 1 Yes

v446 How often does R send money to anyone there?

- 1 Never
- 2 Less than once a year
- 3 About once or twice a year
- 4 Several times a year
- 5 About once or twice a month
- 6 About once a week