

From Too Visible to Invisible

A Comparative Analysis of Latina Youth in the US and UK

PhD Thesis

Veronica Elizabeth Cano

University of Sheffield

School of Law

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...identity is not only a story, a narrative which we tell ourselves about ourselves, it is stories which change with historical circumstances. And identity shifts with the way in which we think and hear them and experience them (Hall, 1995:8)

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Abstract

Sampson's (1998) 'Latino Paradox' has provided an alternate perspective to the anecdotal claims linking immigrants and crime. However Latina youth of first and second generation not only encounter different barriers, but interpret these barriers differently based on their own experiences with the majority culture. Pressures on Latinos from prevailing social attitudes influence Latino/a youth's experiences and life choices. This study addresses the relevance of culture on ethnic identity formation and its protective elements against offending behaviour among young Latina women in the US and UK. I explore issues around culture, ethnic identity and mother-daughter relationships; however, this study is not about the narrow question of delinquency but larger social processes of which delinquency is part. As such I apply general strain theory and ecological systems theory to set the theoretical framework and contextualize the effects of socio-environmental factors on Latin American girls' youth identity. In addition, the model of acculturation is used to expound on the influence of environmental factors on Latina youth identity in western nations like the US and UK.

My research aims were explored through questionnaires and semi-structured interviews with both youth and parents. For the Latina girls in my study family, specifically the mother-daughter bond was influential in their life choices and pathways. Mothers' level of acculturation was indicative of the degree of culture transfer in the home and of the mother-daughter bond, a bond that maintained traditional Latin American values of *familismo* and *respeto*. As such for the Latina girls in my study culture, passed through the mother-daughter bond, functioned as a protective factor against risk taking behaviours and a pathway to delinquency across American and British contexts. The comparative element highlighted the importance of family support in Latina youths' lives against the backdrop of negative prevailing social attitudes of Latin Americans in the US.

Chapter One: Why are Latina Girls Important?

Introduction

This study addresses the relevance of culture on ethnic identity formation and its protective elements against offending behaviour among young Latina women. The complex nature of the study requires a multi-faceted approach incorporating a number of specific aims.

Specifically, the study will explore the relationship between Latinas ethnic identity formation through the process of acculturation and the effects of environmental interactions (e.g., perceive discrimination, marginalization and parental acculturation) on their acculturation process. This introductory chapter provides an overview of my research, including my selection of research locations, theoretical perspectives, research questions, and contributions to knowledge, definitions of key terms and the overall structure of the thesis.

The intersection of race, ethnicity and crime has long held the interest of criminological research. Arguments on race and crime have a longstanding assertion that immigrant populations contribute disproportionately to crime and disorder and since Latin Americans have become the largest US minority ethnic group (Massey, 2014) this places them front and centre to this debate. Recent trends in crime rates, however, have surprised criminologists. Beginning in the 1990s, in the US and UK, crime rates fell for the first time since WWII (Tonry, 2014). As criminologists began to search for an explanation, Harvard's Robert Sampson suggested an intriguing possibility. In a *New York Times* opinion editorial piece, the preeminent sociologist suggested that the key was to be found in understanding the experience of Latino immigrants. He argued that despite the pressures leading Latinos toward crime and disorder-lower socio-economic standing, and so on—they actually brought about the decline in crime, consequently naming it the 'Latino Paradox' (Sampson, 2008:29).

This study is not addressing Sampson's specific propositions but more the larger question about Latinos' ethnic identity and family that he suggested were important factors for protecting first generation Latinos from crime and disorder. Earlier research on ethnic minority youth has historically focused on risks that lead to deviancy, identity confusion, assimilation efforts and academic failure, and for girls' premature sexuality (Spencer et al, 1991). The popular research focus on identifying risks to reduce youth offending has contributed to criminology research and policy development in the US and UK (Farrington, 2007). However despite the many contributions this research focus has made to youth justice policy and practice it has also inadvertently pushed criminal justice frameworks towards the racialization¹ of Latinos and other ethnic minorities by unwittingly highlighting their marginalized status among the dominant society and criminalizing poverty and social exclusion (Armstrong, 2004). These limitations in the research suggest linkages between ethnicity and pathology, leading to the assumption that cultural difference implies cultural deviance.

My doctoral research is framed around the racialization and pathologizing of Latin American youth, in which I examine the effects of the socio-cultural environment and the negative characterisation of Latin Americans in the US, to provide a more holistic view of the central problematic of the race and delinquency debate in America. Furthermore, by examining the experiences of Latin American girls and their mothers in the UK, measured against those of Latinos in America, I provide a contrasting perspective highlighting the relevance of studying Latina girls in two national contexts.

¹Racialization refers to the oppressive actions of society through policy and social stigma of non-white, ethnic minority groups (Massey, 2014).

Adult male offending studies have taken centre stage for many years in criminology research; juvenile delinquency has gained somewhat equal footing in large part to Farrington's (1996) Cambridge Study. Farrington focused on the identification of risk factors for offending among adolescent males in the UK, making youth offending a foundational issue in criminological research. However, most of the literature on race, delinquency and youth revolve around male offenders. Already a minority within the youth justice system, girls are treated as a homogenous group, when recognised at all in criminology research (Feilzer & Hood, 2004; Gelsthorpe, 2005). Studies on adolescent development suggest emotional, psychological, social and cultural differences by gender, indicating that the life experiences of young women within a male centred society are central to understanding the causes for offending behaviours (Ellis & Garber, 2000).

The pathways that bring adolescents to delinquent behaviour are thought to differ considerably by gender, where abuse and disruptions in the family affect male and female offenders differently (Belknap & Holsinger, 2006; Chesney-Lind & Sheldon, 2004; Dornfield & Kruttshmitt, 1992). Female offenders have been found to experience higher incidences of physical, sexual and psychological abuse (Broidy & Agnew, 1997). For instance, research conducted by Chesney-Lind & Sheldon (2004) focused on incidences of abuse in the home and the subsequent criminalization of coping strategies to those traumatic events.

Furthermore, findings associated to family-related problems of female offenders suggest higher incidences of running away, substance use and domestic violence as a means of coping with the effects of family related trauma (Chesney-Lind & Sheldon, 1997). Of the overall juvenile justice population in the US and UK, girls represent a smaller percentage than boys and the severity of their offences is lower than that for boys (Office of Juvenile

Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 2013; Youth Ministry of Justice and Youth Justice Board for England and Wales, 2013). Despite this trend girls' arrest rates appear to be rising in the US, suggesting that girls' are treated more harshly by the justice system (Federle, 2000; Nanda, 2012).

Ethnic minority female youth offenders are dually burdened through formal practices within the justice system that view black and Latin American girls as social problems, rather than young girls affected by social problems (Nanda, 2012). For instance, Acoca (1999) found that two-thirds of the girls in the juvenile justice system in the US are black and Latin American. Belknap & Holsinger (2006) found that ethnic minority girls are subject to harsher punishment for status offences and more vulnerable to discrimination by the youth justice system. These findings highlight the need to identify protective factors in the lives of ethnic minority girls' in order to prevent their entrée into the youth justice system and are the reason for addressing Latin American girls' in my research.

However race, gender and delinquency are only part of the bigger questions examined and discussed in Chapter 4. Issues around culture, ethnic identity and mother-daughter relationships all contribute to the discussion. Hence the study is not about the narrow question of delinquency as such, but larger social processes of which delinquency is part. For this reason I chose Robert Agnew's general strain theory (GST) and Urie Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (EST) to set the theoretical framework as both standpoints work together to contextualize the effects of socio-environmental factors on Latin American girls' youth identity. Berry's (1997) model of acculturation or culture transfer expounds on EST to illustrate the dynamic nature of culture transfer and integration practices of Latin Americans in western nations like the US and the UK.

The comparative element of this study will contribute to the ongoing dialogue around Latin Americans in the US by examining the social milieu of Latin American girls in the UK and assessing the impacts of the socio-environmental factors, if any, on delinquent behaviours. Very little is known about Latin Americans living in the UK, even less is known about Latin American girls growing up in a culture that does not officially (Census categories) recognize their ethnic background. This comparison is relevant to criminology as it provides a transcontinental perspective to the existing literature on Latin American youth in the US. Yet although, comparative research is extremely valuable, it remains quite difficult to conduct given the potential expense, time and contextual barriers that may arise (see Chapter 5). For this reason, even small samples studies can make a significant contribution to the limited field of comparative research, particularly when the data is qualitative and rich in context and meaning.

Research Sites

The research locations in the US and UK were selected on the basis of access and target population density. An in-depth discussion of both sites can be found in chapter 5. The US site is located in Tucson Arizona, the second largest city in the state. Located in the southwestern region of the US, Tucson is less than 100 miles from the US/Mexico border with an ethnic demographic of 42% of the population identifying as Hispanic or Latin American (census.gov).² As such there is a high density of Latin Americans across the state.

Recruitment locations within the US site included Pima County Juvenile Court Centre (PCJCC) in Tucson and various community and religious organizations throughout the city that had strong Latin American representation. PCJCC was selected as a result of established

² Hispanic is a term developed by the US government to characterize members with roots in Spanish speaking nations for census data collection purposes. It is used synonymously with Latin American and/or Latino.

professional links with the organization (see Chapter 5) which facilitated my access to youth and parents and youth court records. As a former resident of the state I had established connections with many local non-profit organisations working for Latin Americans in the community. Based on the favourable demographic and established access to potential study participants I chose PCJCC to recruit the girls in the participant or court involved group and a Latin American community organisation and two religious, non-profit organisations, for the comparison or non-court involved girls.

The UK sites included London and Sheffield in Northern England. London was selected as a result of a higher than average representation of Latin Americans, with 61% of the population, compared to the rest of the UK (McIlwaine et al., 2010). Latin Americans in London primarily reside in Inner London and in boroughs such as Southwark, Lambeth, Newham, Haringey, Islington, Hackney and Tower Hamlets; areas described as low income with high rates of ethnic minorities and council housing estates (McIlwain & Linneker, 2011). Study interviews were conducted in Lambeth, Southwark and Islington as well as Enfield a wealthier area in North London. The growing concentration of Latin Americans in London has resulted in the development of a series of Latino shopping areas in Elephant and Castle garnering the nickname of the Latin Elephant (see Chapter 5). This area has become a cornerstone for Latin American representation in the city, suggesting that despite the lack of recognition in official government records, this area does represent what is a relatively invisible ethnic group across the rest of the UK. As a result I chose London as the most efficacious location to begin recruit of study participants.

As discussed in detail in Chapter 5, Northern England also has a growing number of Latin American communities that have gone unrecognized. I linked in with these communities

through social networking sites and word of mouth at ethnic community events, spanning the geographic setting of my research from London to Sheffield. The sub-cultural representation across the country and between countries is quite diverse ranging from primarily Mexicans in the US site to Colombians, Peruvians and Ecuadorians in the UK site (see Chapter 5). The sub-cultural diversity made for contextually rich and meaningful data exploring norms, traditions and migration trajectories that link back to the ethnic identities of the young women interviewed.

Social Environments and Youth Identity

Bronfenbrenner's EST can be used to examine the effects of social environments as a criminological issue; his work reveals how daily interactions leave an imprint on youth identity. Identity development in adolescence has significant implications for youth outcomes, in particular ethnic identity for Latino/a youth (Guyll et al., 2010). As such negative interactions between Latino/a youth and their environment can lead to self-fulfilling prophecies and ethnic threat (see Chapter 4) which increase their vulnerability to risk-taking behaviours. Sociologists like Bronfenbrenner (1994) invite us to consider that the distinctions made between people and groups are socially manufactured; bound up with cultural assumptions rather than facts. The study of culture, gender and delinquency requires a more comprehensive approach to understanding the intersection of multiple influences on youth identity. Intersectionality research frameworks and analyses have generally been neglected within conventional criminology research (Parmar, 2014). In the context of criminal justice, the interplay between race, gender, identity and culture has only recently received attention from criminologists concerned with women, crime and justice (see Chapter 4).

Nonetheless the inclusion of intersectionality within criminal justice has expanded the canon of criminological research by exploring how the axis of gender interacts with race, ethnicity and class to shape identities, social problems and power relations (Crenshaw, 1991; Burgess-Proctor, 2006). Within my research intersectionality, in conjunction with EST, sets an innovative theoretical framework for exploring the relative position of Latin American girls within the context of the majority culture. In addition, general strain theory delves into the effects of strain that arise from belonging to a multiply burdened socio-cultural group.

Social science research in the US has established a theoretical approach to help explain the interaction of multiple identities and explore socio-cultural influences on Latin American girls' identity formation. Studies using the acculturation model (see Chapter 3) highlight the processes by which members of ethnic minority groups shape their ethnic identity and negotiate between the influences of the majority, western culture, and their ancestral culture (Berry, 2001). Previous sociological studies have supported an empirical link between acculturation status and delinquency among Latino adolescents (Loukas & Prelow, 2004; Portes & Rumbaut, 2005; Parsai et al., 2009). Berry's (2001) acculturation model examines how individuals who have developed in one cultural context manage to adapt to new contexts that stem from migration. The acculturation model characterizes the process of acculturation through the four-fold stages of *Assimilation*, *Separation*, *Marginalization* and *Biculturalism* (see Chapter 3). The process of acculturation has been found to contribute significantly to ethnic identity formation (Buriel et al., 1982; Phinney et al., 2001; Guyll et al., 2010), suggesting that individuals act in ways that correspond to cultural influences and expectations stemming from their interactions with their environment.

Ethnic minority youths' cultural influences and expectations are shaped by dual sources: parents' ancestral culture and the majority culture (Spencer, 1991). Acculturation studies have used generation status or language use as markers for differences in acculturation. Findings suggest that later generations and diminished mastery of native tongue are strongly linked to high acculturation and consequently higher delinquency involvement, than less acculturated ethnic minority youth (Buriel et al, 1982; Romero & Roberts, 1998; Chavez & Guido-DeBrito, 1999). While there is some debate on the effects of acculturation on ethnic minorities' healthy child adjustment an ample amount of studies support the application of the acculturation model in Latino youth identity development research (see Berry, 1997,2001; Cuellar et al., 2004; Bacallo & Smokowski, 2005; Gonzales et al., 2006; Rumbaut, 2008; Jarkowsky, 2009; Gyull et al., 2010).

Acculturation theory has been primarily applied in racial and ethnic studies in North America, while research on Latin Americans and acculturation has been concentrated in the US. Moreover most of the research on acculturation among Latin Americans has been on adults or young males due to their greater representation in the youth justice system. This study will expand the application of acculturation to Latina young women in the US and UK and contribute further, to the current body of research on Latinos and generation level in America, by examining the effects of acculturation between generations of Latinos in the UK.

The synergy between culture and human behaviour derives from Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (EST) which defines complex 'layers' of environment, each having an effect on an individual's development (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). EST holds that the ecological environment is conceived as a set of nested structures, each inside the next. Bronfenbrenner (1979) argued that the interconnections between these nested structures can be significant for

youth development as the individual interacts with each environmental layer regularly absorbing the messages from each one and assigning significance to those interactions (see Chapter 3). Consequently, changes or conflict in any one layer will ripple throughout others impacting every aspect of a person's environment. Sociologists have adopted this theoretical approach to study individual human development by examining the person and her interactions in her immediate environment in conjunction with the interactions of the larger environment to help explain emotional and behavioural issues (Ashford et al., 2006).

In terms of examining the impact of culture on delinquency EST can be utilized to determine the variance on environmental changes (e.g., socio-cultural perceptions and treatment of Latin Americans) between Latin American girls growing up in the US and UK and how this impacts their life experiences. According to Berry (2001) societal perceptions of Latin Americans and how these perceptions are manifested have an impact on the individual's sense of self. The divergence in density of the Latin American population in both countries has affected their recognition (UK) and the social reactions and attitudes (US) towards their ethnic group. The issues of interactive cultural influences on identity and healthy emotional and psychological adjustment during adolescence have been frequently misunderstood, where ethnic divisions have generally remained unnoticed reinforcing the assumption that societies are homogenous and 'unitary' (Spencer et al., 1991:367). Therefore the exploration of interactive influences on the identity development of Latin American girls within differing cultures can expand on the significance of effects from social, economic and political landscapes' on ethnic identity.

A comparative analysis of the life experiences of Latino families in the US and UK in relation to female youth delinquency has not been attempted before. The variance in Latin

American visibility in the US and UK can provide a rich and contextualized view of the acculturation processes of Latin American families in two countries who share similar political and economic perspectives but currently still enforce two different approaches towards immigrant settlement.

The US' assimilation strategies, characterised by the image of a melting pot, promotes the rejection of all cultures other than the American culture, unifying the nation through immigrants' internalization of an American national identity (Rumbaut, 2008). The United Kingdom has adopted multiculturalism, combining a reduction in racial tensions and encouraging cultural diversity, while promoting the notion of British national unity (Favell, 2001). Multiculturalism however has been put into question in recent years as a result of violent attacks across British cities where the assailants have claimed affiliation with Islamic terrorist groups (Brighton, 2007).

Moreover, it is important to recognize trends in policy transfer between the US and UK. As both countries experience similar fluctuations in migration and crime, albeit at different times and to a lesser degree in England, Wales and Scotland (Tonry, 2014), the potential for adopting similar integration and assimilation policies exists. Exploring the ramifications of these policies on generations of ethnic minorities can help inform policy development and criminal justice processes in order to avoid any potentially harmful outcomes of existing integration policy.

Ethnic Identity

EST is fundamental to understanding the effects of stigmatizing discourse on identity development. Previous studies addressing problem behaviours among ethnic minority youth have interpreted their ethnic and cultural differences as an indication of socialization and

cultural deficits within their families (Buriel et al., 1982; Bronfenbrenner, 1986; Gyll, 2010). These studies have focused on three general approaches: (1) outcome-oriented approach which ignores the mechanisms and mediating processes, such as culture conflicts, discrimination and racism, experienced by ethnic minority youth; (2) developmental processes, without incorporating socio-environmental factors and (3) reporting phenomena, without explaining the underlying mechanisms that have direct implications to prevention and intervention programs (Spencer et al., 1991).

Ignoring the mechanisms and mediating processes and the effect of socio-environmental factors of identity development problematizes race and ethnicity by failing to account for the variance in their experiences and social milieu. In addition, labelling ethnic minority youth as ‘at-risk’ without consideration of the mechanisms embedded in social institutions that marginalize members of these ethnic groups criminalizes race and ethnicity. Problematizing race and ethnicity is often referred to as the ‘damaging culture’ theory (Yasui & Dishion, 2007; Buriel, et al., 1982:42), which pathologizes ethnic minority cultures for being different than the majority culture. Damaged identities of most Latin American sub-cultures are often criminalized, where the more ‘Mexican’ the greater the risk of offending (Buriel et al., 1982). This theory conflicts with sociological studies conducted in the US on Latin American youths’ ethnic identity that underscore the significance of a strong ethnic identity as a protective resource for preventing and reducing problem behaviours (Barrera et al., 2004).

A strong ethnic identity has demonstrated positive outcomes for male and female Latin American youth. However considering females’ greater investment in relationships and social networks (see Chapter 4) a strong bond with their families’ ancestral culture enhances family relationships and promotes a strong ethnic identity. Scholars contend that for Latin American

girls, ethnic identity is supported by the transfer of cultural practices from mother to daughter, as women are the carriers of culture (Phinney, 1990; Cervantes & Sweatt, 2004). Studies have reported on the significance of the mother-daughter relationship in Latin American families characterizing it as a stabilising feature in the family (Dumka et al., 1997; Gonzales et al, 2000). As such, I explore the mother-daughter bond in terms of examining the effects of culture transfer on Latin American girls' ethnic identity and problem behaviours. I argue that the forced assimilation on immigrant groups in the US and the deconstruction of Latin American identity have considerable negative effects on youth ethnic identity.

For that reason, I examine how a multicultural approach towards ethnic minorities in the UK affects Latin American girls' ethnic identity and measure these experiences against those of Latin American girls in the US to determine the significance of social environments on Latina youth ethnic identity. Environmental influences and the stressors stemming from systemic barriers within the environment (e.g., marginalization, discrimination) highlight the relevance of a more intersectional approach towards race and gender studies. Central to intersectionality is the concept that gender, race, generation level and class converge to produce distinct outcomes for individuals (Crenshaw, 1993). For instance, Crenshaw (1993) points out that feminist studies account for the experiences of white, middle class women's issues with patriarchy, yet fail to address how the experiences of ethnic minority women are characterised by their race, socio-economic status and immigration level. The intersectionality of these characteristics then becomes a useful lens to examine the effects of distinct outcomes on problem behaviours among ethnic minority girls. Feminist scholars contend that when talking about race and class the effects of gender also need to be considered and that when talking about gender the effects of race and class are equally important (Hooks, 1989; Daly, 1993; Hunter, 1996; Brush, 2001). In light of the multiple

identities that many minority ethnic young women relate with this study explores the impact of socially constructed barriers for young Latin American girls with samples from the UK and US.

Research Questions

This study will address three specific research questions exploring the relationship between ethnic identity formation, acculturation and environmental influences via an ecological framework (Bronfenbrenner, 1994).

1. To what extent is the Acculturative process of Latinas in the UK and the US influenced by the social and political landscapes of their environment?
2. To what degree does the Acculturative process function as a protective factor for youth offending among Latinas living in the UK and US? This question will be answered by exploring youth and parents' level of Acculturation and the parent-child relationship.
3. To what extent does parental Acculturation function as a risk or protective factor for youth offending among Latinas living in the UK and US?

The comparative nature of the study between the US and UK makes an original contribution to the limited but growing field of empirically-based literature on Latin Americans living in non-native Western nations. As such, my research strategy takes a two pronged approach; individually by nation and comparatively between the US and the UK. The aim is to capture the contextual (e.g., social and political) differences of each country, as well as Latin American sub-cultures, and then compare them between nations.

Comparing the experiences of different ethnic minority populations within a society is a valuable approach; however I focus on Latinos due to their invisibility in the UK and their high visibility in the US. Moreover one of the central aims of this study is to compare the environments of the US and UK. In order to avoid convoluting the comparative process I do not compare Latinos with other ethnic populations prominent in both nations (e.g., Asians in the UK and Blacks in the US).

Research Contributions

My study of Latinos using a comparative methodology, informed by sociological theories, yielded a number of contributions to criminology.

- In the US and UK cohorts findings on maternal acculturation mirrored those of US studies suggesting that low maternal acculturation is indicative of greater parental control, consistent disciplinary practices and a strong mother-daughter bond.
- As a result a strong mother-daughter bond was suggestive of reducing problem behaviours among Latina girls. My findings add to the literature sponsoring a strong mother-daughter relationship, as a protective element, for preventing and reducing problem behaviours.
- In both cohorts the degree of cultural adherence and culture transfer was related to the mother's generation level. Generation level, as referred to in the literature, suggests that first generations are non-native born migrants who arrived into their host country under the age of 18 years of age. The second generation is composed of the children of migrants who were born in the parent's host nation and so forth. This is a novel finding as the comparative literature on Latin Americans in the UK has not explored the relationship between culture transfer and generation level.

Findings between US and UK cohorts:

- Degrees of perceived discrimination affected parents' assimilation into the dominant culture. For instance, US parents were less likely to partake in American traditions and befriend white Americans if they reported high levels of perceived discrimination in society. However, UK mothers balanced activities and their social networks between Latino communities and white-British communities. The limited availability of Latino communities in the UK may also contribute to this perceived balance of cultures.
- Degrees of perceived discrimination affected the youth's integration into the dominant culture. The Latinas in the US sample were less likely to embrace white social networks and interact with white communities if they reported high levels of perceived discrimination either towards their own race or other ethnic minorities. Latinas in the UK developed primarily white British social networks from school but also maintained ties to their Latino communities through their mother's social connections. This finding points to the significance of societal acceptance of acculturation practices, among marginalized populations, suggesting that social influences can prevent ethnic minorities from integrating into non-ethnic societies. The primary goal of assimilation policy, compared to a more multicultural approach, is to promote one national culture. My findings illustrate how assimilation practices can hinder the integration of ethnic minority group members in my study.

Concepts and Definitions

This next section is intended to provide some detail or clarity on common terms and concepts used throughout this thesis. Latin Americans are referred to as descendents of countries within Latin America and its dependencies. Latin America is used to define the region of the Americas where Romance languages (i.e., derived from Latin) are primarily spoken, including North America (Mexico), Central America, South America and the Caribbean (The New Oxford Dictionary of English, 2001). Due to the term's wide span of Spanish speaking geographic regions in the Americas I have used this term to refer to any members of the Americas who speak Spanish.

In the US however, there are many social and official terms used to describe Latin Americans. A review of previous data collection instruments used with Latin American populations yielded the term Latino (Marin et. al., 1987). As Latino is a more commonly used term among social groups of Latin Americans, I use the term Latino and Latin American interchangeably. Latino is a gender neutral term and Latina is used when solely referring to female Latin Americans hence they are used as such throughout the text.

Race and ethnicity are used interchangeably in many US studies. However, I make a distinction between race as a phenotypic marker and ethnicity as a cultural marker. The reason for this is twofold. First to make the distinction that while some Latina girls may identify with the culture they do not necessarily exhibit the common phenotypic markers associated with Latin Americans (e.g., darker skin). Second, many later generations of Latinos, while exhibiting Latin American physical traits, do not necessarily engage with their ancestral Latin American culture making this distinction necessary.

Thesis Structure

In Chapter 2, I aim to provide an overview of the migration trajectories of Latin Americans to the US and UK. ‘A Tale of Two Migrations’ focuses not only on the economic and social causes for Latin American migration to western nations but takes a particular interest in how the political and social environments of the host countries have reacted to Latin Americans, not only as migrants but as an established ethnic group within those countries. This approach sets the stage for the study’s theoretical framework examining the effects of socio-political discourse on Latin American identity.

In Chapter 3, I establish the theoretical approach utilizing the ecological systems theory (EST) and general strain theory (GST) in context to the historical marginalization and oppression of Latinos in western societies. In this chapter I discuss the specific elements of EST and the layers of interaction an individual comes into contact with on a regular basis. It further explores how EST links into GST within the Latino context, examining how strain is augmented for members of this ethnic minority group who have been historically marginalized and socially excluded as a result of their perceived inferiority to the white majority culture. I also explore how these messages of inferiority affect the integration process of Latin American youth across generations, utilizing Berry’s Acculturation model.

In Chapter 4, I highlight the intersection of race, ethnicity, gender and crime illustrating the challenges and barriers facing young Latina women who are confronted with bifurcated notions of identity influenced by cultural and gendered expectations from their Latino culture and western culture. In this chapter I explore the intersection of the multiple identities of Latina young women as a vehicle for understanding their experiences. In Chapter 5, I delineate the methodological approach of the study detailing the study sites, recruitment

practices and sampling methods, and sample characteristics. I also include a discussion of the data collection methods and data analysis.

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 detail the study findings. In Chapter 6, I focus on my findings from the US site exclusively. Participant and comparison group findings are discussed along with parent findings. I also discuss the interaction between white-American culture and Latin American culture and how the intersection of the two affects the ethnic identity of the young women and their parents. In Chapter 7, I focus on the UK sample findings discussing the invisibility of Latinos in the UK and the effects of this invisibility on Latina youth ethnic identity and healthy social adjustment. Specifically I address the different experiences of bi-racial, white-Latinas and how they compare to the experiences of mono-racial Latinas. In this chapter I also explore the relevance of phenotypic markers in the experiences of the young women and their Latina mothers.

In Chapter 8, I discuss the findings from my comparative analysis. I delineate the demographic and social differences between both cohorts (e.g., sub-culture, social class, education level, income and migration trajectories). In this chapter I also highlight how the differing policies and integration practices (assimilation and multiculturalism) from the US and UK impact the lives and ethnic identity of Latina youth and how these differences have potentially facilitated or protected Latina girls from delinquency involvement. I also focus on the differences between both cohorts as well as the similarities. My discussion highlights the protective elements in Latin American culture and refutes the claims of assimilation models, which promote the adoption of western culture at the expense of a youth's ancestral culture. In Chapter 9, I conclude with a discussion on my findings in terms of the life pathways available to Latina young women in the US and UK and the role culture, family and the

mother-daughter relationship have on the girls' pathway selection. I also discuss my theoretical contributions and future research.

Conclusion

My study did not set out to examine the Latino paradox as articulated by Sampson, or investigate the relationship between Latin American immigration and crime trends. Rather, it is the first study to examine Latina ethnic identity, family structure and risk and protective factors in the UK. Additionally, it is also the first to comparatively analyze the life experiences of Latina girls living in the US and UK, two countries with contradictory approaches towards immigrants and ethnic minorities. I analyze the experiences and 'family stories' of my participants using a unique theoretical framework that combines theories from sociology and criminology to holistically interpret what it is like to be Latina.

Chapter Two: A Tale of Two Migrations

America was indebted to immigration for her settlement and prosperity. That part of America which had encouraged them most had advanced most rapidly in population, agriculture and the arts (James Madison (1751-1836), Fourth President of the United States).

Introduction

In this chapter I begin by discussing the historical patterns of migration, of Latin Americans, to the US and the UK. Additionally I explore the migration trajectories to Spain as an initial port of entry into Europe. This will be followed by a discussion of the political reactions to the waves of migration manifested through the racialized policies and socialization practices of each nation. I will follow with a discussion of the implications these policies have had on first and second generation Latin Americans in light of literature findings that suggest later generations fare worse in all aspects of well-being (Tonry, 2014). The consequences of these policies on generations of Latinos will be examined through Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory (EST) and Berry's acculturation model. I continue with a critical discussion of some of the motives mentioned in the literature for developing integration policies that systemically limit the successful integration of Latin American immigrants into Anglo-European societies. Lastly, I conclude by relating this discussion back to Agnew's GST.

The issues of migration and integration have been discussed for some time, with evidence dating back to the Roman and Ottoman empires (Vertovec, 2010). However, with the global increase of immigration there have been issues of much debate, starting from the second half of the 20th century. At the centre of the discussion have been issues around pluralism, assimilation, and as of recent, integration approaches (McIlwaine & Linneker, 2011).

Immigration studies have become more relevant to the social sciences with the realization that the long-term effects of immigration on society will be less determined by the first than by the second generation. Based on past trends in the US, the prognosis for second and later

generations is not as rosy as the dominant assimilation perspective would lead us to believe (Gans, 1992). Research on the overall outcomes of second and later generations point to the dire conditions of settled generations of ethnic minorities, primarily Latin Americans, reporting low educational attainment, low social and economic mobility, and poor health outcomes (Jarkowsky, 2009).

While scholars contend that over the last few decades there has been a shift across Europe and the US, towards acceptance and differentialism³ (Brubaker, 2010), there is evidence that points to the stronghold of assimilation practices. Policies such as Arizona's SB 1070⁴ illustrate the new direction of criminalizing those that are not only undocumented but all members of society that appear illegal, as critics argue that the act is a brazen attempt at legitimizing racial profiling (Campbell, 2011). In addition, the policies initiated in Germany in the 1990's rationalize and justify a kind of 'benevolent, paternalistic, and egalitarian apartheid' approach to othering immigrants by enforcing the education of foreigners in segregated settings, extending foreigner's political rights *sans* actual German citizenship and providing social services by allocating foreigners to a particular charitable organization on the basis of their national origin. The policies in these three domains justify the institutionalized separateness illustrated by the phrase 'our foreign fellow citizens' (Brubaker, 2001:538). Hence, the decisions of governments to support such policies contradicts the notion that Europe and the US are moving away from *Assimilation* and towards more integrative or even multicultural societies.

³ Differentialism refers to the processes a society goes through when its members become more sensitive to and supportive of racial, ethnic and cultural differences among its members than perhaps it was in the period between the two world wars (Brubaker, 2009).

⁴ Arizona's SB 1070 Act was signed into law in 2010 providing state and local law enforcement officials the responsibility to detain persons whom they have 'reasonable suspicion' to believe are unlawfully in the country (Campbell, 2011).

Moreover, there is as much to be said about peoples' migratory routes as their ethnic 'roots' when discussing where they 'came from' and understanding how best to facilitate their integration. Recent migration patterns are important to decipher within the context of criminal justice as there has been a growing body of literature suggesting that border crossing is becoming increasingly criminalized and the enforcement of immigration law can be used as a form of punishment (Bosworth, 2011; Bowling, 2013).

Stereotypical and pejorative messages regarding immigrants and ethnic minorities; conveyed by the media and politicians, carry substantial weight with regards to the development of integration policies and the effect these policies have on second and later generations. This cannot be more clearly illustrated than in the case of Latin Americans in the US. Studies indicate that Latin American migrants tend to be the most poor on arrival and have fared worse on social and economic mobility compared to other ethnic groups. For instance, Asian⁵ populations demonstrate greater assimilation to American norms and an improved socio-economic status. Jarkowsky (2009) found that children of Latin American migrants tend to remain in impoverished neighborhoods and demonstrate low educational attainment, poor health outcomes and high involvement in crime compared to other ethnic minority youth. The unique opportunity structures that racial and ethnic groups face in society, such as 'parental human capital', the modes of incorporation, family and neighborhood (Bucierus, 2011:394) may play a role in explaining the variance between social and economic outcomes and criminal involvement for migrant ethnic groups (Berardi & Bucierus, 2014).

⁵ Asian refers to a person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent. It includes people who indicated their race(s) as "Asian" or reported entries such as "Chinese", "Filipino", "Indian", "Vietnamese", "Korean", "Japanese", and "Other Asian" or provided other detailed Asian responses (US Census Bureau).

Portes et al. (1993, 2006) describe the pattern of deteriorating social and economic status of second and later generations as the downward assimilation thesis, which contends that later generations remain stagnant rather than succeeding on socioeconomic, health and crime related indicators which tend to deteriorate. One explanation for this trend is the length of stay in the host country, where the longer the immigrant remains, the greater the likelihood they are to mimic the patterns of crime and health status of the native born poor from their neighborhoods, exposing them to the oppositional subculture developed by marginalized native youth (Jarkowsky, 2009). Stagnated social mobility in conjunction with limited access to education, employment and improved housing ensnare later generations of immigrant families into a cycle of poverty and crime.

The History of Latin Americans in the US and UK

Latin Americans did not exist in significant numbers in the US until 1848, when the US annexed northern portions of Mexico in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Prior to the annexation, the representation was small and generally isolated to specific regions of Arizona, New Mexico, California and Texas (Jaffe et al., 1980). The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo not only ceded many Mexican territories but also the people residing in them to the US. It is estimated that in 1848 around 50,000 Mexicans suddenly became US citizens (Jaffe et al., 1980). In addition, the Gadsden Purchase of 1853 added an additional 250,000 square miles of what is now Southern Arizona and New Mexico, along with an unknown number of Mexicans to the population.

In the 1960s, an omnibus term of Hispanics⁶ for people who originated from Latin American countries was developed for purposes of representation and securing parity. The civil rights movement of the 1960's propelled activists to seek and consolidate power, attempt to gain influence and facilitate civil rights enforcement through the addition of a unifying pan-ethnic identifier for government census and surveys (Bean & Tienda, 1987). In 1977, the US government required an item on Hispanic origin be included in all federally collected data. From that point on the terms Hispanic and Latino have been increasingly used to identify people whose ancestry originated in Latin America as a separate category in 'American social cognition' (Massey, 2014:24).

However, through the years pan-ethnic identifiers have taken on different meanings and for some later generation Latinos they have come to symbolize the distance between their Latina/o identity and their western identity (Song, 2010). Pan-ethnic identifiers are not officially recognized in the UK or Western Europe, however, identifiers such as 'British-Colombian' have been introduced in unofficial networks in cities such as London, where the first generation of Latin Americans is reaching adulthood and perhaps beginning to express a desire for official recognition (McIlwaine & Linneker, 2011).

Currently, Hispanics make up the largest immigrant group in America, with US census data estimating their representation at 50.5 million or 16 percent of the overall population, whereas people of Mexican origin make up the largest Latin American sub-culture with an estimated 31.8 million (75%), residing primarily throughout the western and southern states (Ennis et. al., 2011). However, since the economic crisis of 2008, a number of Latinos have migrated to less traditionally ethnically diverse states across the Midwest and Deep South

⁶ Hispanic refers to any person whose origins can be traced to a country in South and Central America, the island of Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, Cuba and Spain (U.S Census, 2011).

(Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, North and South Carolina, Mississippi and Tennessee) (Ennis et. al., 2011). Estimates from the PEW Research Center (2008) project that by 2050 Latin Americans will be the second largest ethnic group in the US at 29 percent or 128 million of the overall population, just 79 million short of the non-Hispanic, White population (Passel & Cohn, 2008).

Migrants from Latin America did not begin to arrive in the UK in significant numbers until the 1970s. For many their migration resulted from fleeing civil conflicts in their homeland or seeking work permits, when work vouchers for people from Commonwealth countries were removed and the number of work permits for unskilled jobs was greatly reduced and restricted to quotas for domestic workers of public buildings (McIlwaine & Linneker, 2011). While immigration continued into the 1980s, it was largely attributed to family reunions, students arriving to complete their studies and in some cases refugees. With the decline of transport costs and an established Latin American community emerging in London, employment for new arrivals was facilitated (Ardill & Cross, 1988), easing the settlement process for many Latino migrants.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, the Latin American population in London grew significantly with some of the major source countries of origin, Colombia, Ecuador and Bolivia, experiencing complex political and economic upheavals (McIlwaine et al., 2010). Simultaneously in the US border policies intensified as a result of September 11th, 2001. During this period work permits in the UK became extremely difficult to obtain and most migrants claimed asylum, especially from Colombia and Ecuador (McIlwaine & Linneker, 2011).

Obtaining accurate estimates of the Latin American population in the UK has presented researchers with many issues centred on the design of official data sources, the working definitions of relevant concepts and differentiation between citizenship and country of origin (McIlwaine & Linneker, 2011). Census data records across Europe and the UK fail to collect data based on race and ethnicity as it remains unlawful in continental Europe. Only data on nationality and national origins is reported. This can be fundamentally misleading as most countries today are multi-ethnic, hence recording an individual's nationality would not necessarily capture the individual's race and ethnicity.

Census data sources in the UK collect selected race and ethnicity data, but it is limited to those ethnic groups who represent a larger proportion of the population (e.g., Asians, Blacks, Caribbean, etc.), therefore Latin Americans being a small section of the ethnicity pie are not accounted for individually but aggregated into an 'other' category. Despite these challenges, McIlwaine and Linneker (2011) have managed to create a relatively accurate composite of the Latin American population in London and across the UK. Data stemming from the Annual Population Survey (APS), considered the most robust data source available, estimated the Latin American population in the UK in 2008 at 130,186, with 61 percent of the population residing in London. The greatest representation of Latin American sub-cultures in London originated from Brazil, Colombia and Argentina, respectively.

A shortcoming of the APS official data however, is that it is not adjusted for undocumented (irregular)⁷ migrant populations, which were estimated at 618,000 in 2006. An additional issue with the Office of National Statistics (ONS) is that it does not collect data by race and ethnicity, only citizenship. This does not accurately capture the representation of Latin

⁷ Irregular migrants are generally those evading formal controls or presenting false papers, or having overstayed their visas and the children born to irregular migrants (McIlwaine & Linneker, 2011).

Americans in the UK as for many Latino migrants it was their second port of migration, first arriving to Europe and establishing citizenship in the European Union prior to resettling in the UK (McIlwaine & Linnekar, 2011). Recording migratory patterns is not without challenges. However these data can provide a snapshot of the most transient populations and the geographic spaces they occupy. More important aspects of migration than population size are the causes and the uprooting of familial, cultural, political and social ties. The next section will discuss the economic and social causes of migration.

Migration is a complex phenomenon, often driven by push and pull factors. Latin Americans have historically migrated to America in pursuit of employment and improved economic and social futures for their offspring. Typically isolated to low-wage, menial work, that American citizens have increasingly avoided (Portes & DeWind, 2008), Latino/a migrants have become significant contributors to the labour market. Despite this, common depictions of immigrants taking over American jobs have continually been disseminated, neglecting the fact that ‘migrants in general, and unauthorized ones in particular, come not only because they want to but because they are wanted’ (Portes & DeWind, 2008:13).

There are a variety of reasons why Latin Americans immigrate to the UK, some to seek work, to study, to join existing family members, and some seeking protection from persecution. While most enter the country legally, some enter illegally, becoming invisible to formal controls, and as mentioned previously, presenting serious estimation problems for official data sources. In terms of who is migrating from Latin America to Europe (including UK), this population is largely young with high employment and education levels, most having completed secondary school or attended university (McIlwaine et al., 2010). The migratory patterns of Latin Americans to Europe reflect the intersection of a wide range of factors from

the macro-structural position of Latin America in the world economy, to the micro-level decisions of individual migrants.

Restrictions to the U.S. after September 11th combined with the appeal of Europe resulting from historical ties forged through colonialism increased the number of immigrants from Latin America to the European continent. According to 2005 data, Spain displayed the highest number of Latin American and Caribbean⁸ nationals totalling 1.1 million (McIlwaine & Linnekar, 2011). Moreover in the early 20th century many immigrant communities from Latin America originated in southern Europe as it seemed like a logical move for Latin Americans of Italian or Spanish origin to return to their ancestral country, especially if there was an opportunity of asserting citizenship rights (Pellegrino, 2004).

Also extremely important, especially in the case of Spain, were the preferential immigration legislation arrangements that favoured Latin Americans as a result of their intertwined loyalties, history of colonization and linguistic legacies (Peixoto, 2009). Beyond southern Europe, Latin American migration to the UK has been influenced by a range of economic factors. Historically however an economic yet informal connection exists between many Latin American countries and Britain. This relationship dates back to the late 17th century with Britain's informal empire in the continent where Britain did not have a sustained direct rule of Latin America and depended on economic and political pressures (Peixoto, 2009) to maintain trade negotiations that benefitted the empire.

The effects of migration to the US and Europe involve a range of economic and integration issues. While most immigrants face barriers and challenges in their host countries,

⁸ Demographic data in Europe has grouped Caribbean nationals with Latin Americans as many Caribbean nations (Cuba, Dominican Republic) have ties to Spain through colonisation (McIlwaine & Linnekar, 2011).

historically, Latin Americans have been at a further disadvantage as a result of the trifecta of weakened economies in their home countries, historical exploitative practices from their host countries and educational disadvantages and discriminate practices that prevent them from settling into well-paid employment (Guo, 2009). Despite the advanced educational degrees that some Latin American migrants have obtained in their country of origin, foreign government institutions in the US and Europe fail to legitimately recognize their professional skills, propelling them towards low-wage, menial labour (Reitz, 2001). The next section will provide an overview of the patterns of racialization of Latin Americans in the US and Spain, as both have become the main ports of entry for many Latin Americans to North America and Europe.

Legitimizing Racialization

The racialization of Latinos in the US dates back to the mid-19th century. According to Massey (2014), racialization is a process that takes place socially through boundary reaffirmation, where members of society act upon these boundaries and create social structures between people of different social categories. As a result, racialization is manifested onto a group over time as framing and boundary reifying mechanisms, mechanisms that work to promote exploitation and exclusion on the basis of inherited characteristics that differ from the dominant white society (Massey, 2014). In the US, the principle objects of racial formation and the main targets of racialization have been persons of Mexican origin, who constitute three quarters of the Latino population (Ennis et.al, 2011). Statistics suggest that approximately one-fifth of all Latinos in the US lack legal papers, making them exceedingly vulnerable to processes of exclusion and exploitation (Massey, 2014). As a result in the last 70 years wages have fallen, poverty rates have risen, discrimination has spread and segregation has increased among the Latino population, propelling second and later generations into a perpetual cycle of poverty.

The racialization of Latin Americans in the US can be traced to the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo signed in 1848 and the Gadsden Purchase of 1853 where Mexican citizens residing in those areas became US citizens. Despite the change in nationality, through a series of political processes by the US government during the latter half of the 1800s, Mexican-Americans in the new territory of Texas were systemically stripped of their property and liberties, becoming landless labourers for white land and business owners (Zamora, 1993). Texas was a slave state and relegated Mexican-Americans to a racialized status. While not enslaved like African Americans they were certainly denied the rights and privileges shared by white European settlers (Gutierrez, 1995).

As the Latino populations grew across the southwest of the US the degree of subjugation intensified (Gutierrez, 1995). By the end of the 19th century, Latin Americans had been transformed socially and economically into a subordinate class subject to widespread discrimination and systemic exclusion by whites (Grebler et al., 1970). The degree to which Latin Americans had been transformed into a racialized source of cheap labour for whites is indicated by the US Senate's Dillingham Commission report of 1911, which described Mexicans as 'notoriously indolent and unprogressive in all matters of education and culture' doing work fit only for 'the lowest grade of non-assimilable native-born races'. Where their 'usefulness is, however, much impaired by [their] lack of ambition and [their] proneness to the constant use of intoxicating liquor' (US Commission on Immigration, 1911:59, 94, 110).

Despite their reported inherent deficiencies the US government continued to seek Mexican migrants to replenish their unskilled labour force, resulting in mass migration from almost zero to 16,000 between 1907 and 1909. Additionally, with the start of World War One in 1914 US employers were cut off from European and Asian workers, inducing further recruitment

from the south of the border, until about the mid-1920s (Cordoso, 1980). In 1924 however, Congress created the US Border Patrol Agency, establishing a new category of Mexican making it illegal for Mexicans to be in the US without legal residency. With the crash of the American stock market in 1929 the surge in recruitment of Mexican immigrants ended and once again politically motivated racialized discourse against Latin Americans took centre stage discouraging Mexicans from migrating to the US.

In keeping with the ideologies presented by the Dillingham Commission, ‘Mexicans were considered expendable as workers and inassimilable as citizens’ (Massey, 2014:26) and therefore were no longer welcomed in America. In an era of rising austerity, whites framed Mexicans as taking jobs that rightfully belonged to ‘real’ Americans and simultaneously burdening taxpayers with relief payments that rewarded their natural ‘indolence’ (Hoffman, 1974). This rhetoric is evocative of current political discourse against Latin Americans, not only in the US, but in southern European countries including Spain, that have experienced mass migration from Latin America in the past 20 years (Massey, 2014; Peixoto, 2009).

The mass migrations have led to mass deportations based on widespread stereotyping of drug use, where many US born children of Latin American descent were deported (Massey, 2014). Those few that remained were pushed to the margins of society, isolated in dilapidated barrios⁹, where they attended segregated schools and received inferior services (Grebler et. al., 1970). In these ethnic enclaves, second and later generation Mexican-Americans were transformed from aspiring descendants of immigrants into a self-conscious national minority, increasingly calling themselves not Mexicans but Chicanos (Sanchez, 1995; Gutierrez, 1995). The degree to which Mexican-Americans were racialized during this period is demarcated by

⁹ *Barrios* within the US imply a low-income neighbourhood in which the dominant language is Spanish (Jarkowsky, 2009).

the fact that in 1930 for the first and only time in US history they were enumerated in census data as a separate race, alongside African Americans (Bean & Tienda, 1987).

While these historical accounts illustrate the economic exploitation of Latinos, the events of the 1940's *Pachuco* 'zoot suit' era explained below depict the inherent racial superiority internalized by white America and projected against Latin Americans (Mazon, 1984). With the US entry into World War II American industry began to mobilize and full employment resumed. Amid the labour shortages, attributed to the war, authorities set aside deportations and negotiated a bi-national treaty for the temporary importation of Mexican workers which became known as the *Bracero* programme (Calavita, 1992). Within urban areas, second generation Mexicans took advantage of the return to full time employment and moved upward economically in unionized jobs, assuming the assimilationist model promoted by the American government. This new found prosperity translated into a flashy style known as the *pachuco*, whose insignia was a baggy ensemble known as the 'zoot suit' (Massey, 2014:27). This was not gang style, but one that signified affluence and wealth (Mazon, 1984), an illustration of how material culture was gaining significance in the US, as Mexican-Americans were also becoming concerned with materiality.

However, despite successfully integrating themselves into the American economy Latinos were still expected to know their place below white Americans. For instance the 'zoot suit' riots conducted by white Californians in the 1940s illustrated how they 'resented racial inferiors rising above their assigned station' (Massey, 2014:27). In a charged war time atmosphere anti-Mexican rioting broke out in Los Angeles between sailors and Mexican residents. The attacks only ceased when military authorities declared Los Angeles off limits to service personnel. This event sent a strong message to Latin Americans. Despite their

attempts to successfully integrate into American culture, Latin Americans were not going to be accepted as equals, 'no matter where they were born, how much they earned, or how stylishly they dressed' (Massey, 2014:28).

The racialization of Latin Americans in Europe is not as clearly documented as in the US. While foreign immigration to Europe is mainly acknowledged to have begun after the Second World War, many western and northern nation states already had a multi-ethnic character (Koslowski, 2002). However, for many southern European countries immigration began in the 1980's, rapidly transforming the population profiles of these countries. Countries across Europe have taken varying political approaches to immigration and settlement processes.

Scholars contend that there has been a nuanced shift from assimilationist views to a more differentialist perspective across Europe (Brubaker, 2001). In light of these differing policy approaches and the systemic barriers preventing accurate demographic data collection by race and ethnicity across Europe, empirical work on the actual perceptions of Europeans towards Latin Americans has been problematic (McIlwaine et.al, 2010). However, recent studies conducted in the UK with Latin American immigrants, who migrated from a southern European country, illustrate a similar account of racialization as in America; one centred on issues of oppression and exploitation at their first port of entry (Calavita, 2004; Cornelius, 2004).

As mentioned, Spain hosts the largest number of Latin American immigrants in southern Europe, followed by Italy and Portugal. The initial integration process to Spain in the 1970s did not seem to create problems, perhaps due to their low numbers; hence Latinos were not seen as a disruption to social or economic processes (Peixoto, 2009). In addition, their shared linguistic and cultural attributes allowed them to appear to native Spaniards as more

assimilable (Cornelius, 2004). Hence with the continuous rise in immigration, from the 1970s to the 1980s, a large majority of immigrants were incorporated into the low-skilled and low status segments of the labour market. As a result, the demands of the post industrialized societies were being met with the immigrant labour force occupying segments of the labour market that were shunned by native citizens, as occurred in America, thus leading native Spaniards to regard immigrants as a non-competitive factor in the labour market.

Many southern European countries, however, had numerous influences, aside from economic, determining their degree of tolerance and acceptance of inclusion and the concession of rights to foreign nationals (Arrango, 2000). In fact, several groups such as the civil societies, trade unions, the Catholic Church and several non-governmental organisations adopted a pro-immigrant stance and in some cases employers also lobbied in favour of increased immigration (Peixoto, 2009). These events provide one explanation as to why public opinion of immigration has displayed a considerable degree of tolerance. Furthermore it might also provide insight as to why the extreme right-wing anti-immigrant political parties of some neighbouring states were absent in countries such as Spain for many years (King, 2000).

Despite this somewhat optimistic reception of Latin American immigrants in the mid-20th century it is important to recognize that objective discrimination frequently occurs and that the degree of public acceptance has been decreasing since the late 1990s (Calvita, 2004; Cornelius, 2004). Many empirical accounts of Latin Americans arriving to the UK from Spain support these findings, claiming ethnic and racial discrimination due to their alleged deviation of European national identity and culture (King, 2000).

Moreover, the rhetoric stemming from European countries echo that of previous decades in the US. For instance, assertions that immigrants are depriving the residents of their jobs,

despite research that disproves this claim, and fears of increased criminality with high migration rates have resulted in biased policing (Baldwin-Edwards, 2002) and illustrate a more critical view of Latin Americans. In fact among the public, policy makers and some academics there is an expectation that the greater the concentration of immigrants, the greater the crime rates, resulting from the immigrants' assumed propensity to settle in impoverished and disorganized communities; leading to criminal behaviour (Sampson, 2008). However, studies have disproved this hypothesis explaining the Latino Paradox, where findings point that immigrants are typically underrepresented in criminal statistics and demonstrate a lower rate of violence than native ethnic minorities and whites (Martinez & Lee, 2000; Sampson, 2008). Despite the preponderance of evidence indicating a weak relationship between immigrants and crime, pundits and politicians continue to promote stereotypes.

Migrants' integration experiences vary widely according to their nationality, time of arrival and country of reception. For instance, the first wave of Latin Americans that arrived in Spain enjoyed high levels of acceptance and in some cases acquired local citizenship quickly (Arrango, 2000). Most recent waves of Latin American immigrants have experienced something quite different, often remaining undocumented for long periods and confronted with poor housing and low-wage or unemployment issues (Peixoto, 2009). As a result, many Latin Americans have moved on to the UK in hopes of gaining employment and a better future for their children. While most Latin American immigrants settled in London, some families have moved to northern cities such as Sheffield, Leeds, and Manchester or to Glasgow and Edinburgh in Scotland. The relatively new growth of Latin Americans in the UK and their sparse numbers across the country, with the exception of London, has made them a somewhat invisible ethnic group (McIlwaine & Linneker, 2011).

For many immigrants who lack professional credentials, are de-credentialed by the institutions of the host country, or have limited command of the dominant language, the type of employment available to them is low-waged, low-skilled and physically demanding (Guo, 2009). For many Latin Americans migrating from Spain these are the types of positions they are considered qualified for and become employed in once they arrive in the UK (McIlwaine et. al., 2010), relegating them to poor housing, low-economic and educational mobility and health issues.

Ethnic enclaves have been known to provide shelter for many newly immigrated families, buffering the ‘ill effects that nativist activities may have on their lives’ (Emeka, 2006:7). Additionally, it has been found that within ethnic communities new immigrants learn about industries and firms which have welcomed previous immigrants providing valuable referrals, resources and advice (Jarkowsky, 2009). Moreover these ethnic enclaves provide an extended sense of family for recent migrants. For Latin Americans the focus on family or *familismo* is the basis of family functioning. Ethnic silos provide a makeshift extended family that provides support.

However, while ethnic communities have proven to be helpful for adult Latinos who migrated from Latin America, the offspring in these families the cultural and geographical shifts more difficult. Some Latino immigrant children, who were either born in the first host country or were quite young when they immigrated to the host country may consider that to be their home nation. Consequently the shift away from familiarity to a new and different social and cultural environment may have countervailing effects on the integration practices of this generation. This aspect has yet to be explored in the literature within a European framework however it is discussed within the context of my findings in chapter seven.

Segmented assimilation issues and the economic and social barriers surrounding immigrant families inevitably impact their successful integration into the host society. The socio-economic implications of low human and social capital, the processes of entry and the treatment received from the host country affect the transition into a new society and the future of later generations (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Perlmann, 2005). The next section will discuss the implications of racialization on later generations of Latin Americans in the US and UK, highlighting the significance of generation level on delinquency and crime.

Critical view of Latin Americans' integration in the US and UK

As has been discussed the circumstances of Latin American populations migrating to the US and the UK are historically different. While migrants who arrived in Spain as their first port of entry are mainly university or secondary school educated, some have professional degrees. The migrant population that crosses the border into the US is economically, academically and professionally more diverse with the majority lacking any formal training and professional skills. In America, Latin American migrants with limited human capital primarily rely on their physical abilities to earn a living, at times working multiple jobs in construction or in the domestic sphere (Portes et al., 2009).

Nevertheless, despite the difference in education and skills Latino migrants from the US and UK inevitably end up working in the same jobs in the US, Spain and the UK. Deskilling or decredentializing immigrants' previous academic and work experience is common among migrants originating from less economically developed countries. Scholars argue that one of the hurdles preventing western, democratic societies from fully recognizing immigrants' educational qualifications and professional expertise is the prevailing attitudes towards difference (Guo, 2009). Negative attitudes and behaviours towards immigrants exist within

societies who hold the democratic principles of justice, equality and fairness. Hence scholars term the coexistence of these conflicting ideologies democratic racism. They argue that democratic racism prevents the government from fully embracing differences and supporting policies and practices that might improve the low status of immigrants; as such policies would conflict with the economic freedoms that liberal democracy bestows (Henry et al., 2006).

Hence, the criteria set for measuring the skill sets of Latino migrants is by far neutral; as it is developed by the receiving nation and disguises itself under the cloak of professional standard and quality and excellence. This is done without questioning whose standards are put in place, and more importantly, whose interests the standards represent. As Krahn et al. (2000) argued, the real purpose of implementing such standards is not to ensure equanimity in credentialing, but to restrict competition and sustain the interests of the dominant groups. This point links back to the motives for the historical racialization of Latin Americans: as their representation grows and becomes more visible in the host nation the threat of competition becomes more tangible. As evidenced by the 'zoot-suit' riots and the recent backlash against Latinos in US immigration policy, significant representation of any ethnic minority group prompts a negative reaction from the dominant ethnic group resulting in stricter guidelines for immigrants than for native born citizens. Hence, Latinos are not necessarily 'unassimilable', 'indolent', 'unprogressive', criminal and 'impaired by lack of ambition' but are more likely to pose an economic and cultural threat to the economic interests of the white majority.

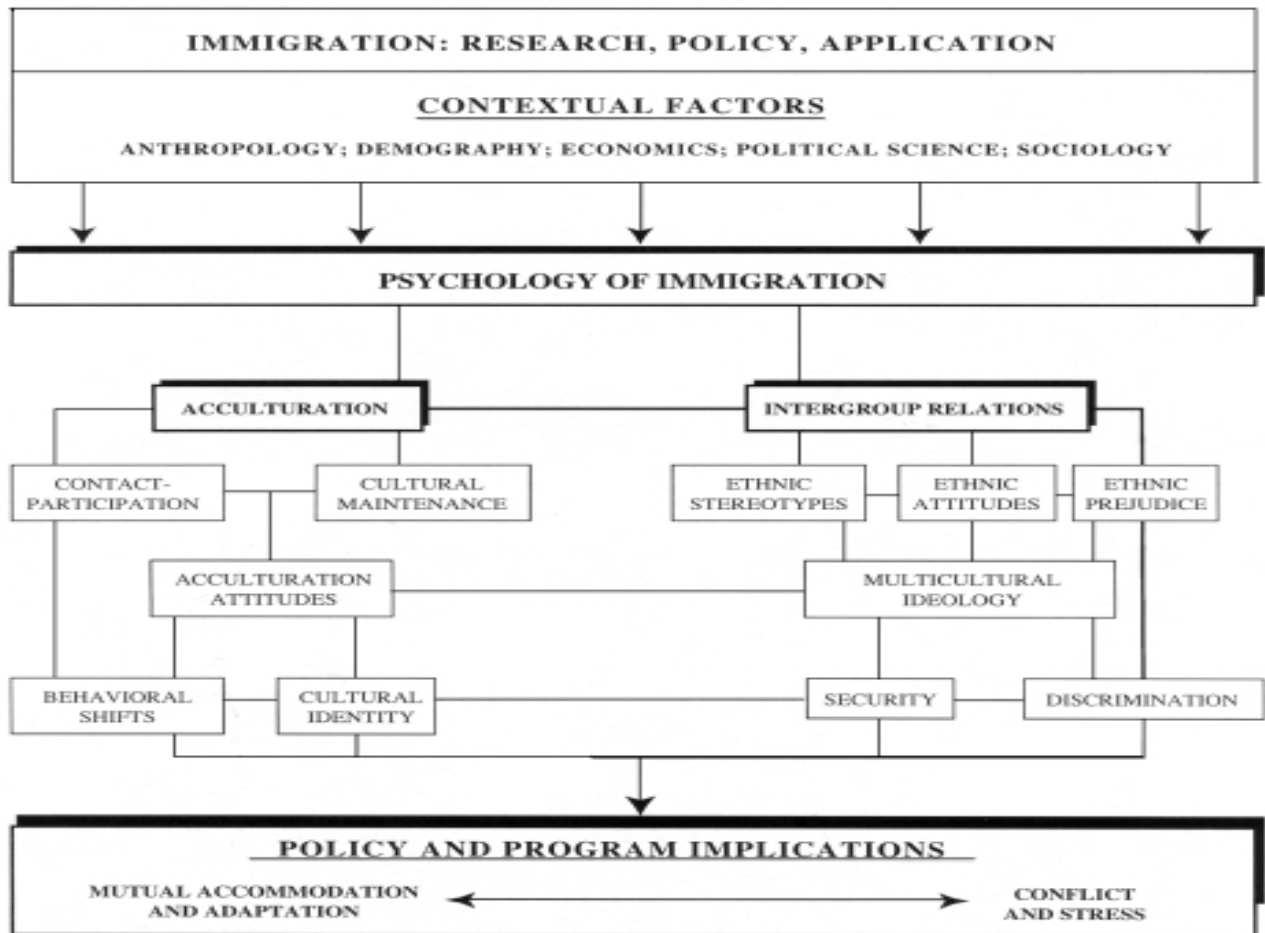
Historically policies on immigration and integration have waxed and waned depending on the economic needs of developed nations with little or no regard for the ramifications of these

policies on the ethnic migrant groups recruited to fill the labour market gaps. Furthermore, while the notion of assimilation is well known, the literature indicates that the actual process required to successfully assimilate is not delineated nor is it standard for all races and ethnicities. Figure 1 illustrates the social and psychological processes by which migrants must navigate through in their journey towards re-settlement.

Berry's (1997) model of acculturation illustrates the contextual and psychological factors working on individuals as they attempt to integrate into the host nation. The contextual or environmental factors (e.g., immigration policy, systemic racism, socio-political views towards integration practices and economic trends) represent the outer layers of Bronfenbrenner's EST. The messages emanating from these outer layers have a distinct effect on the process of acculturation. As the acculturation model suggests, the nature of the interactions between the immigrant culture and native culture influence the immigrant groups' ability to maintain their culture, such that societal pressures towards a specific integration method (i.e., assimilation) can affect the psychological well-being of members of that immigrant group. The emotional and psychological stress is linked to Agnew's GST.

Negative messages from society cloaked in ethnic stereotypes and prejudice and perceived institutional racism undermine the sense of security among immigrant groups. Moreover, if these stereotypes and institutional barriers are extended to native members of those same ethnic groups, such as in the case of later generations of Latin Americans in the US, longstanding conflict between these ethnic minority groups and the dominant white culture result; creating a cycle of strain and conflict for the generations of Latinos that follow.

Figure 1 A framework for understanding psychology of immigration, linking acculturation and intergroup relations research to background context variables and outcomes (Berry, 1997).



Conclusion

As immigrants have attempted to forge a better economic future for themselves and their families in their host country, social structures have historically created barriers that marginalize members of these ethnic groups stifling the advancement of future generations of ethnic minorities. Immigration policies of developed nations are created under the premise of streamlining society. For some countries, like the US, the assimilationist approach is preferred, the ‘melting pot’ illustration envisioning all races and ethnicities becoming one American nation. While this approach may appear optimal for creating a unified nation, the same government that promotes assimilation creates policies that ostracise and single out members of ethnic minority groups who attempt to achieve assimilation through upward financial mobility. Scaling effects of mass migration and the deportation of Latin Americans of primarily Mexican heritage have transpired throughout the last 100 years. The use of discriminate language towards Latin Americans in official government documentation and the criminalizing of Latinos for ‘daring to rise above their station’ in society all illustrate the racialization of Latin Americans in the US.

Latinos who migrated to Spain and southern Europe have not fared much better regarding their educational and social mobility. Socially they are still perceived as foreigners, job stealers, welfare scroungers and criminals. Despite the professional credentials of a significant proportion of Latin Americans who migrate to Spain, they continue to be relegated to low-skilled, low-waged menial labour, inhibiting their economic mobility and that of the second generation. In a country that sought out Latin Americans for their labour contributions and perceived ease of assimilation, resulting from a shared language and culture, it would be expected that Latin Americans would have achieved greater economic and social growth. However, the same systemic barriers erected in the US are enforced in Spain and many other

southern European countries. During this time of austerity Latin American migrants, like most migrants, are viewed as *persona non grata*. However due to the increased number of Latin Americans in Spain their profile stands out as the immigrant problem.

The UK has historically been a country of immigrants, albeit isolated to areas of the country where the labour markets could benefit from the migrant labour force. With England's history of colonization many nationals from colonized nations made their way towards Britain's shores to make a better life. England has also had its share of issues with the race/ethnicity problem yet it has been primarily centred on Blacks and East Asians (Palmer, 2014) as more visible ethnic groups in British society. Latin Americans do not officially exist in the UK's ethnic landscape but they are growing in numbers, particularly as of recent, as many are migrating from southern European countries with struggling economies and a weak labour market. The question around the acceptance and integration of Latinos in the UK begs to be explored when the Latino presence is imperceptible thereby ascertaining what impact this invisibility has had, not only Latino migrants but their children as well. These experiences paired with those of Latin American families in the UK can provide a contextualized illustration of the effects environments have on youth identity.

In the next chapter I expand on my theoretical framework forming a thread through Bronfenbrenner's environmental systems theory and Agnew's general strain theory. The chapter will explore the utility of applying EST to illustrate the proposed relationship between environmental factors and Latino youth identity. It will examine how direct and indirect interactions with the environment, at times resulting in strain, can affect the youth's sense of self and their successful integration into the dominant culture.

Chapter Three – An Analysis of Racialization Utilizing the Ecological Systems Theory, Acculturation Model & General Strain Theory

What matters for behaviours and development is the environment as it is perceived rather than as it may exist in objective reality (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:4)

Introduction

This chapter will explore the utility of applying Bronfenbrenner's Ecological systems theory to help explain the influence environmental contexts have on first and second generation immigrants' success. An examination of direct and indirect experiences and the effect these experiences have on Latina youth's sense of self and integration into the dominant culture will be examined. In this chapter I also discuss the relationship between environmental barriers, integration practices and problem behaviours among Latina youth through the application of Agnew's general strain theory (GST). My theoretical framework is taking a novel approach of combining three theories to address my research aims compared to more traditional methods for research on Latin American youth that tend to apply said theories separately. This approach highlights the most notable aspects of each theory to theorize Latino culture.

For Young (1999:449) the concentration of deprivation and isolation of some immigrant groups has a particular effect on the second generation who may achieve citizenship status in legal terms, but because of social exclusion, low educational and occupational attainment and diminished economic rights, experience marginalization and in effect have citizenship "thwarted". Evidence suggests that the process of underclass creation in America is underway. On virtually every measure of socioeconomic well-being, Latinos in general, but Mexicans in particular, have fallen from their historical position in the middle of the

American socioeconomic distribution somewhere between blacks and whites-to a new position at or near the very bottom (Massey, 2007).

A study conducted by Rumbaut (2008) indicates that second generation Mexicans in the US exhibit the lowest level of educational and occupational attainment among all immigrant nationalities; a legacy of their history as the largest and longest-running labour migration in the contemporary world. Gans (1992) notes that many immigrants arrive into the host country with modest class backgrounds, bringing low human capital, such as formal education and occupational skills, which fail to equip them with the skills necessary to steer their offspring around the complexities of the American educational system.

The consequences of ill equipped human capital, in an increasingly knowledge-based economy, leaves children of immigrants without an advanced education unable to access the jobs that would facilitate their upward mobility leaving them stagnated into manual labour and low-wage work, not too different from that performed by their parents. Those unwilling to replicate their parents' life of economic scarcity and hard physical labour, perhaps a result of heightened American-style, consumerist aspirations, may turn to gangs and the drug culture to obtain a better material life (Portes et al., 2009). Other scholars contend that if Latino youth integration were to be examined through Agnew's (1992) GST, outcomes would suggest that the stress of not being able to achieve the positively valued goals set by parents and western culture coupled with the inability to escape from poverty, stigmatization, oppression and crime ridden neighbourhoods may well offer another explanation for crime (Kam et al., 2010).

The theory of segmented assimilation has been used to explain the stagnation of limited success among second generation Latin Americans in the US and to partially link the

relationship between Latinos and crime (Portes & Zhou, 1993). Assimilation in its basic form is one of the four stages of Berry's (1997) acculturation model. As a stage of integration into the host society assimilation sanctions the rejection of the ethnic culture and adoption of the current dominant society's norms, values and customs.

Portes and Zhou (1993) describe the process of segmented assimilation as a departure from earlier waves of European immigrants. For instance, newer immigrants have a non-white racial identity and are typically concentrated in urban areas with a high concentration of other immigrants, but also in close contact with poor, native-born minorities. Furthermore, changes in the labour market restrict the upward mobility of many immigrant groups by reducing the proportion of mid-level jobs available to lower educated workers (Jarkowsky, 2009).

Segmented assimilation consists of three parts: a) an identification of the protective factors involved in the child's life, b) a description of the principal barriers confronting today's children of immigrants and c) a prediction of the distinct paths expected from the interplay of these factors (Portes et al, 2009).

Protective factors can be conceptualized as the principal resources that immigrant families possess to help protect their children from the challenges they face in society. These factors involve the human and social capital that immigrant parents hold, the social context that receives them in their host country and the composition or structure of the family. Hence, the greater the human and social capital of the family the greater the likelihood their children will integrate successfully into the host country's social structures eventually becoming more competitive in the host labour market and increasing their potential for achieving desirable positions in the hierarchies of status and wealth (Portes et al., 2009). The transformation of this potential into a reality however depends on the context into which immigrants are incorporated by their external environment; inclusive of social structures (Bronfenbrenner &

Ceci, 1994). This section discusses the pathways of influence from the environment to the individual utilizing EST.

Ecological Influences

Urie Bronfenbrenner (1917-1988) was an American developmental psychologist best known for his advancement of the ecological systems theory of child development (Lang, 2005). His research centred around informing child psychology on a large number of environmental and societal influences on child development. He helped form the Head Start Program in the US in 1965 promoting a focus on parent-child interactions within the larger social structures.¹⁰

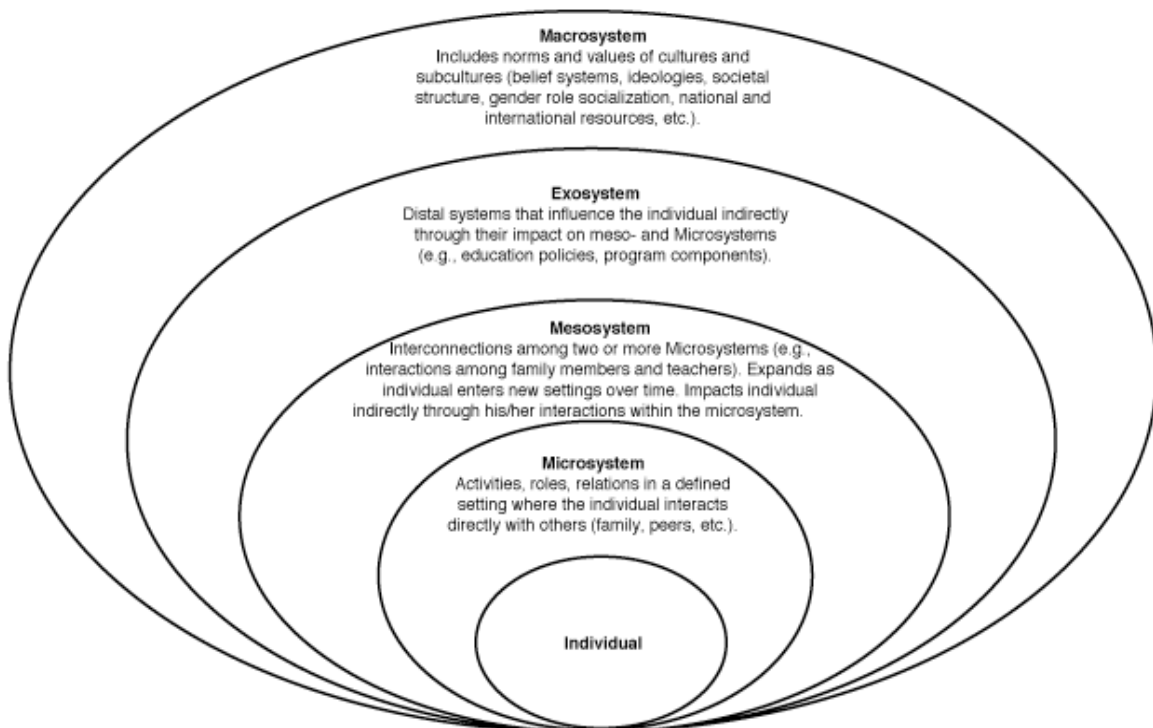
Bronfenbrenner (1979) argued that the interaction between an individual and his or her environment shaped that individual's development. Hence the specific path of development was a result of the influences present in the person's surroundings (e.g., parents, friends, school, culture, etc.).

In 1964 scholars and social service providers viewed child development as purely biological. Bronfenbrenner also helped inform US policy towards poverty stating that government measures should be directed towards children in order to reduce the effects of poverty (e.g., poor education, unemployment, crime, etc.) on the child's development (Ceci, 2005). While this perspective may be popular among contemporary sociology scholars it was contrary to the predominant view at the time. Since Bronfenbrenner's introduction of the theory in 1977 (see *Toward an Experimental Ecology of Human Development*) EST has been widely used among child development, psychology and ethnic scholars to examine the effects that a child's interactions has on their development, actions and decision-making abilities (Tudge et al., 2009).

¹⁰ Head Start is akin to the UK's Sure Start family assistance program.

EST holds that the ecological environment is a set of nested structures, each inside the next. The model illustrated in Figure 2 depicts the individual at the centre of a series of concentric circles with each circle representing a layer of environmental influence on the person's identity. Bronfenbrenner (1979) argued that the interconnections between these nested structures can be significant for youth development as the individual interacts with each environmental layer regularly taking in the messages from each one and assigning significance to those interactions.

Figure 2 Ecological Systems Model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979)



EST not only takes into account direct interactions with members of society but also the influence of less direct systems (e.g., ideologies, societal structures, etc.) on identity development. These indirect or distal systems impact the individual by influencing the policies and attitudes of the social institutions the child and her family come into contact with

on a regular basis, such as schools, work and government. Bronfenbrenner suggested that among the most powerful influences affecting the development of young children in post industrialized societies are the conditions of parental employment and economic status in the home. Consequently, the development and futures of Latino youth are inevitably linked to the occupational and economic circumstances of their parents. According to EST, the underclass creation of Latin Americans in the US can very well be linked to a culture of poverty where the first and second generation youth have a propensity for low educational and occupational attainment resulting in limited social and economic mobility and potential problem behaviours or criminal activity.

EST extends beyond the immediate situation directly affecting the developing person by accounting for the significance in the interactions between the distal and proximal concentric layers of the model. The *microsystem* level refers to the most proximal or direct points of contact for the individual such as family and peers and accounts for the influence that close interpersonal relationships have on youth behaviours across other levels of contact (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Hence the parent-child relationship has a significant effect on the developing child's behaviours not only in the home but in other social settings like school or neighbourhood, illustrating how influences in one system can affect the child's interactions with other systems.

The principle connecting these multilevel interactions puts forward that exchanges within systems are just as influential to the child whether she is a part of the interaction or simply observing it as in the *meso-* and *exosystems*. The *mesosystem* level consists of the interactions between two or more systems in which the individual actively engages, such as home and school or peers and community. This system is an extension of the individual's direct interactions where other individuals can actively participate with the person be it directly or

indirectly. For instance, the child's teacher interacts with the child's parents on school performance resulting in events that affect the child either positively or negatively.

The *exosystem* level refers to one or more settings that do not directly involve the individual as an active participant yet are affected by the events that occur in the setting. For instance, a child's *exosystem* may consist of the parent's work place, parent's social network, child's school board or local governing bodies. In this instance a parent's stressful work environment may result in increased tension between the parent and the child at home. The most distal system in the ecological model is the *macrosystem* level referring to the overall ideological and structural patterns of social institutions. *Macrosystems* can describe the cultural or social context of varying social categories such as social class and ethnic or religious groups. The effects of larger principles, defined by the *macrosystem*, cascade throughout the inner layers. For example public policy, as a larger principle, determines specific properties of *exo-*, *meso-* and *microsystems* that can steer the course of development and behaviour.

Bronfenbrenner (1979) notes that even within the structures of the same country or culture intra-social contrasts exist between societies of high and low socio-economic status. Hence the *macrosystems* schemas differ by socio-economic, ethnic, religious and cultural characteristics reflecting contrasting belief systems and lifestyles which directly affect the ecological environments specific to members of these groups. Hence EST provides a wider lens for examining Latino youth outcomes in western cultures. As the variance between social groups and cultures, such as between Latin American and US culture, can create conflict at the *Macrosystem* level (e.g., stereotypes of Latinos) and trickle down to the developing child.

These multilevel systems can create barriers for immigrant and ethnic minority families. Through assimilation practices immigrants and their children are expected to interact with all the systems in their ecology in the same fashion as native born whites yet may be unfamiliar with how these systems function or face barriers when attempting to interact with these systems due to established stereotypes. Moreover migrant parents teach their children how to function under the same systems they were raised in their home country not those of the host country, putting their children at a disadvantage for successfully integrating into established social structures. First and second generation Latin Americans are faced with the need to learn how the US systems function for themselves and their parents. The ideological differences that exist between the systems of Latino and US cultures can complicate the negotiation process for all involved (e.g., parents, youth and society).

While EST has gained prominence in the field of social work more recently ethnic studies research has begun to apply EST in studies of Latino youth outcomes (Loukas et al., 2007; Eamon & Mulder, 2005; Garcia Coll et al., 1996). In addition the field of social psychology has achieved some degree of specificity in the analysis of environments and human behaviour focusing on how the environment affects behaviour and development in relation to processes of interpersonal relations within small groups (Garcia Coll et al., 1996). This approach is limiting however as it restricts the individual to a single immediate setting. Ethnic studies research is the recognition that environmental events and conditions outside immediate settings can have a profound influence on behaviour and development. For example, negative messages perpetuated by the media about Latin American migrants may affect immigrant Latino youths' perception of themselves and their culture, but they also influence how the rest of society perceives and depicts all Latin Americans.

Family and peer group bonds have been researched extensively as indicators of healthy childhood adjustment (Loukas et al., 2007). However, researching the impact of societal pressures on Latino youths' ethnic identity is starting to gain ground in the US. This focus helps explain the intricacies of adaptation and integration unique to minority ethnic groups in Anglo-European societies (Holleran, 2003; Quintana et al., 2010).

Since its inception in 1977, EST has evolved considerably from its original focus on the influence of the interactions between contextual factors and human development.

Bronfenbrenner emphasized the role that processes in human development have on explaining the effect the individual has on the environment. From the 1990's until his death in 2005 Bronfenbrenner focused on the Process-Person-Context-Time model which is considered the mature version of the ecological model (Tudge et. al., 2009).

The theoretical framework and aims of my study were best served by the original version of EST as it facilitates the illustration of how interactions between the individual and her surrounding systems influence identity and behaviours in relation to delinquency. The Process-Person-Context-Time model would be an interesting element to explore in relation to how Latinos shape their ecology and consequently how this affects societal perceptions of this ethnic group. However this angle of inquiry is tangential to the current research goals set out and would require a different methodological approach therefore was not pursued in my study.

Ecology and Acculturation

The framework of the ecological theory starts from the predisposition that development never takes place in a vacuum; it is always embedded and expressed through interactions within a particular environmental context. Thus, human development is the process through which the

individual acquires a more extended, differentiated and valid conception of the ecological environment and becomes motivated and able to engage in activities that reveal the properties of that environment. In this thesis I argue that Bronfenbrenner's definition of human development within the environment is consistent with Berry's concept of acculturation as they both address the change or acquisition of an extended conception of the environment that occurs as a result of the interactions between minority groups and the dominant group resulting in varying degrees of interpersonal change. The acculturation model however compliments EST as it illustrates the degrees of interpersonal change within minority group members through stages that conceptualize the effects of the multilevel systems on a Latina child's development.

John W. Berry is a professor emeritus in the department of psychology at Queen's University in Ontario Canada¹¹. He was born in Montreal Canada in 1939 receiving his Bachelor in Arts in Psychology in 1963 from Sir George William University and his PhD in 1966 from the University of Edinburgh. Berry's interests in the psychology of intercultural relations (including acculturation, immigration and multiculturalism) led to the development of the four-fold stages of acculturation in 1980. Berry's stages of acculturation have been widely used with immigrant populations in the US and Canada across the academic fields of child development, psychology and sociological research.

Acculturation tends to refer to the cultural changes resulting from intergroup contact. While the concept is neutral by definition studies have found that the change in culture predominantly occurs among the migrant group (Berry, 1990). The process of acculturation has been documented as a significant contributor to ethnic identity formation (Buriel et al.,

¹¹ Department of Psychology at Queens University, Canada (www.queensu.ca)

1982; Phinney et al., 2001; Guyll et al., 2010). The study of acculturation focuses on how individuals who have developed in one cultural context manage to adapt to new contexts that stem from migration (Berry, 1997).

The acculturation process is characterized by four strategies. However, it is important to note that an individual may shift between strategies as a result of their interactions with their ecology. The four strategies of change are: 1) *Assimilation*; 2) *Separation*; 3) *Marginalization*; and 4) *Biculturalism* (Berry, 1997). The first strategy, *assimilation*, refers to an individual who does not wish to maintain their ancestral cultural identity, seeking interaction with other cultures, primarily the dominant culture. In contrast, *separation* takes place when the individual values holding on to their original culture or ancestral culture, while simultaneously avoiding interaction with members of the dominant culture. *Separation* is most common among adult migrants who have left their country of origin for either political or economic reasons.

Biculturalism refers to an interest of maintaining and integrating the culture of origin and the dominant culture. Of the four stages of the acculturation model *Biculturalism* among Latin American youth has been found to have the most positive outcomes regarding healthy emotional adjustment. The last strategy is *Marginalisation*, defined as the rejection of the culture of origin and the dominant culture. *Marginalisation* has been found to be the most damaging to Latin American youth as it can propel them towards delinquent subcultures such as gangs and other delinquent peers (Phinney et al., 2001). The internalization of any one of these acculturation strategies is not entirely the individual's prerogative. Berry (1997) contends that influences and pressure from the dominant society can have a direct impact on the strategies available to the individual. For instance, adult Latino migrants may exhibit *Separation* when they settle into ethnic silos, as they offer the benefit of a shared language

with other community members but these ethnic communities tend to be the most affordable or accessible to individuals of limited means and consequently the only realistic option available to immigrant families.

The psychological implications of acculturation have been widely documented ranging from pathologizing the behaviours of ethnic minorities to the normalization of behavioural shifting or culture learning (Berry, 1997). Psychological adaptation to acculturation involves a clear sense of personal and cultural identity resulting in a sense of achievement and personal satisfaction in the new cultural context. When levels of conflict between the individual's cultural identity and acceptance by the dominant society are experienced, acculturative stress takes hold. Acculturative stress is a response to conflicts between individual's ethnic culture and the dominant culture that arise during the process of acculturation (Berry, 1997).

Acculturative stress has been found to affect the psychological and emotional well-being of Latin American migrants and their families as there are a number of significant stressors that are likely to be pervasive and long-term, such as poverty, discrimination and oppression (Smart & Smart, 1995).

There are several hypotheses to explain the relationship between acculturation status and delinquency. While there are some stressors, such as language acquisition, that are expected to decrease with successive generations, others are more prevalent for more acculturated youths. For instance, studies suggest that adolescents who assimilate to the dominant culture may be more vulnerable to the effects of discrimination as they become less aligned with their traditional culture and more sensitive to the negative attitudes and stereotypes attributed to their ethnic group (Buriel et al., 1982). The degree of exposure to pressures of social inequalities, blocked opportunities and injustices may lead them to internalize these negative

messages and reject the mainstream culture (Conchas, 2001), shifting towards the *Marginalization* stage of the acculturation model.

Scholars suggest that the resulting feelings of marginalization, perceived discrimination and racial mistrust are associated with deviant behaviour for Latino and African American youths (Biafora et al., 1993). Furthermore, Vega et al. (1993) found that perceived discrimination was strongly correlated with delinquency for US born adolescents who tend to be more acculturated than their foreign-born counterparts. This can be measured through the increased participation of acculturated youth in social structures outside the family as non-traditional influences and peer networks promote more independent and defiant attitudes that conflict with traditional Latin American values and practices (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980).

Furthermore, child management strategies have been associated with theories of anti-social development suggesting that as parents acculturate and become more assimilated they tend to be less consistent in their use of discipline or less stringent in monitoring their children's whereabouts as a means of promoting western parenting practices of autonomy and exploration. It is suggested that these changes in parenting practices, in combination with increased exposure to antisocial influences, account for the higher rates of delinquency within more acculturated Latino youth (Samaniego & Gonzales, 1999).

This process is complicated even further in terms of gender and acculturation. There is considerable evidence suggesting that females are more at risk for experiencing acculturative stress than males (Carballo, 1994), yet report lower participation in delinquency. Many analyses of the gender gap in rates of delinquency focus on females' stronger connections to family and the effect these connections have on their psychological and emotional well-being (Gecas & Seff, 1990; Gilligan, 1982). Berry (1997) contends that females' greater risk for

acculturative stress may be dependent on the relative status and differential treatment of females in the two cultures.

The Latin American culture generally views females as more passive, vulnerable and in need of paternalistic supervision. The traditional norms and values of Latinos oppose the western parenting styles of adolescents (e.g., exploration and independence) creating conflict when second and later generation young Latinas attempt to take on roles that conflict with the expected roles of their families and culture (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). Studies have found that gender role conflict is more likely in homes where there is pre-existing strain in the parent-child relationship (Kruttschnitt & Giordano, 2009), suggesting that discord is not necessarily a direct result of conflicting parenting styles associated with acculturation, but perhaps in combination with other familial issues.

Ecology and Crime

Agnew (1992) is well known for his revision of Merton's strain theory to develop general strain theory. Robert Agnew is a criminologist and sociology professor at Emory University in the US. Agnew's specialty areas of research are criminology, juvenile delinquency, social problems and criminological research making significant contributions to the study of social issues and youth crime. In 1997 Agnew extended his GST perspective to focus on gender differences on types of strain and the reaction to strain. Agnew and Broidy (1997) specifically focused on how several types of strain may lead to female offending under specific circumstances; broadening the understanding of gendered criminology.

The combination of GST, EST and the acculturation model facilitate the explanation of delinquent behaviour among Latino youth. The three theoretical principles complement each other with respect to their limitations as standalone theories. Bronfenbrenner's ecological

systems theory focuses on the effect that many internal and external layers of interaction have on an individual's cognitive and emotional development. While the theory illustrates the process of influence from negative and positive stimuli on human development it does not address the direct implications of the stimuli on cultural adherence and ethnic identity. Instead it focuses more on how the individual perceives said stimuli and the significance she attributes it.

Acculturation theory combines the effects of intergroup contact between the individual and her interactions with other ethnic groups. The stages in the model link the effects of an individual's interactions with her environment in terms of her integration into society and cultural adaptation accounting for the effects that social norms, expectations and ecological barriers have on ethnic youth identity development. This is particularly relevant for members of minoritized ethnic groups, such as Latinos, who are already at a disadvantage, often living in families with low social and human capital and who have been historically the focus of negative socio-political discourse around immigration.

GST, on the other hand, maintains that stress may result not only from the failure to achieve positively valued goals, but also from the inability to legally escape from painful situations (Agnew, 1992), such as oppression, exclusion and marginalization. It identifies the impact the disjunction between dominant cultural norms and traditional norms have on the achievement outcomes of ethnic minority youth. Additionally, it identifies the types of strain stemming from their ecology and the range of emotions they experience that may negatively influence their ethnic identity and potentially lead to delinquent behaviour. Table 1 illustrates the relationship between the three theories that frame the novel theoretical approach to this research.

Table 1 Theoretical Framework in Relation to the Latin American Experience

Theory	Positive Stimuli	Negative Stimuli
<p><i>Ecological System Theory</i></p> <p>Displays how individuals' interaction with their environment shape their development-products of the series of interactions between the individual and the systems levels.</p>	<p>If interactions are positive and supportive the individual thrives, meeting societal expectations.</p>	<p>If interactions are negative and/or hostile the individual's emotional health declines and either fails to develop the skills required to meet societal roles and expectations or lacks the motivation to internalize these roles.</p>
<p><i>Acculturation Theory</i></p> <p>A process that displays how individuals adapt from one cultural context to another.</p>	<p>Individuals feel integrated into society; internalizing societal roles and expectations. Individuals accept the norms and values of the dominant culture while simultaneously exploring the values and norms of their parents' culture; consequently negotiating a balance between the two.</p>	<p>Individual feels unable to integrate into society and to meet societal expectations. She either separates from the dominant culture, surrounding herself with members of her ethnic group or rejects both values from dominant and ethnic groups and marginalizing herself.</p>
<p><i>General Strain Theory</i></p> <p>Explains the effect of interactions between the individual and her ecology. Accounts for multiple causes of strain 1) attributed to an inability to achieve dominant cultural norms and 2) the loss of positive stimuli from one of the systems in the youth's ecology (society).</p>	<p>Feelings of belonging and support result in a high degree of internalization of Western dominant norms and confidence in meeting expected goals.</p>	<p>Separated or marginalized individuals become distressed over their inability to achieve expected goals and through legitimate means-resort to delinquent sub-cultures to obtain the material wealth that escaped them through legitimate means. In addition for females the loss of positive stimuli can result in decreased levels of self-esteem and in problem behaviours.</p>

Gender & Crime According to GST

One of the central concerns of feminist criminology is the question of how to explain female offending. More specifically, how, if at all, can the dominant theories of crime, developed principally to explain male offending behaviour, explain female offending? (see Chesney-Lind & Sheldon, 1992; Canter, 1982; Steffensmeier & Allen, 1995) Scholars have argued that GST can offer insight into the gender differences in types of strain and the reaction to strain in order to help explain the gender gap in crime (Agnew, 1992; Messerschmidt, 1993). For instance, Broidy & Agnew (1997) contend that several types of female strain (loss of relationships, loss of positive stimuli and the presentation of negative stimuli) may lead to crime if other support systems are lacking.

GST recognizes that there are a wide range of adaptations to strain, such as cognitive, behavioural and emotional. This places the theory in an optimal position for developing further the argument that females suffer from a range of oppressive conditions and that this oppression may potentially be at the root of their criminal behaviour. As GST examines a broad range of goals that derive from the cultural system as well as those that are existentially based it includes types of strain that extend beyond Merton's strain theory of goal blockage. It considers strain resulting from the loss of positive stimuli involving social relationships, as well as the presentation of negative stimuli in the shape of unrealistic gender-related expectations and verbal, sexual and physical abuse.

Research conducted with girls involved in the youth justice system describes narratives centred on negative stimuli and high degrees of loss of positive stimuli (e.g., parental alienation, parent and partner abuse, homelessness) as well as pressures related to gender role expectations, such as being the carer or nurturer of parents, younger siblings and/or partners (Sharpe, 2011; Shaffner, 2006). The literature finds that adult and adolescent females

experience as much or more strain than males (see Kohn & Milrose, 1993; Mirowsky & Ross, 1995; Turner, Wheaton & Loyd, 1995). These findings are particularly relevant when considering that the study of gender and crime has typically overlooked stressors that have special relevance to females, such as sexual abuse, intimate partner violence, abortion, gender-based discrimination, childcare problems and the burdens of nurturing others (Aneshensel & Pearlin, 1987; Makosky, 1980).

The stressors commonly experienced among females can be grouped into three categories identified by GST (Agnew & Broidy, 1997). Some of these stressors involve the failure to achieve positively valued goals, including economic and relational goals, as well as the failure to be treated in a just or equitable manner by others. Other stressors involve the loss of positively valued stimuli such as romantic relationships, friendships and loss of social freedoms. Additionally there are other stressors that involve the range of abusive behaviours such as verbal, sexual and physical or being the object of excessive demands by family members or others.

The stress literature suggests that different types of stress/strain have considerably different effects on emotional well-being and other outcome variables. It has been suggested that there are gender differences in the three types of strain identified in GST surrounding distinctive goals and conceptions of fairness (Agnew & Broidy, 1997). Males are considered to be more concerned with material success and extrinsic achievement, whereas females are more concerned with the establishment and maintenance of close relationships and with a meaning and purpose in life (Cernkovich & Giordano, 1979; Gilligan et al., 1989; Jordan, 1995). In addition in terms of youth, the stress literature suggests that young males are more likely to report financial problems and tend to experience high levels of stress when they are undergoing financial and work problems. Young females on the other hand are more likely to

report network related stressors involving family and friends and tend to experience more stress when there are network or interpersonal problems (Turner et al, 1995).

Furthermore, gender differences have been identified in the evaluation of fairness where females are more likely to report gender and ethnic discrimination, low prestige in work and family roles, excessive demands from family members and restrictions on their behaviour- where females are judged by their peers more readily for not exhibiting expected gender role behaviours. The different types of strain may help explain gender differences in types of crime as the greater emphasis on material considerations for males may explain their higher rates of property crime. Females on the other hand may steal in order to finance their social activities or to provide assistance to their families (Chesney-Lind & Sheldon, 1992).

The emphasis of females on ties to others and meeting the needs of others places social pressure to avoid aggressive behaviours because of their role as a mother, wife, daughter, caretaker, etc. These types of strain are conducive however for self-destructive behaviours like drug use and criminal behaviours which are compatible with gender roles like shoplifting. Agnew & Broidy (1997) argue that these types of strain actually foster such criminal behaviour, such that drug use facilitates a means of managing negative emotions without harming others directly. Stress literature states that the actual or anticipated removal of positively valued stimuli from the individual can result in strain. The actual or anticipated loss of positively valued stimuli may lead to problem behaviours ranging from delinquency to self-harm, as the individual tries to prevent the loss of the positive stimuli, retrieve the lost stimuli or obtain substitute stimuli or manage the negative effect caused by the loss by taking illicit drugs. Positively valued stimuli for Latinas can be characterized as a strong bond with their mothers or maternal figure (Eamon & Mulder, 2005). When this bond weakens they

may try to manage the effects by transferring their emotional needs to a substitute, such as boyfriend, or other groups of peers that are also lacking that emotional support.

While the types of strain discussed are theoretically distinct from one another, they may sometimes overlap in practice. Each type of strain increases the likelihood that individuals will experience one or more of a range of negative emotions; including disappointment, depression and fear. For instance, research on female delinquency suggests that anger is not the main motivating factor for deviant behaviour but other emotions such as despair, frustration and depression can lead to delinquency (Agnew, 1992). However such individuals may engage in inner directed deviancy, such as drug use to mitigate the impacts of strain or develop mental and emotional problems. Accordingly general strain theory can be explained as a theory of both criminality or criminal propensity and crime where strain creates a predisposition for delinquency in cases where it is chronic and repetitive. For instance cases where there is a continuing gap between expectations and achievements and/or continual patterns of ridicule and pejorative discourse against gender, ethnicity and race.

Agnew (1992) contends that adolescents subject to repetitive strain of this nature are predisposed to delinquency because: 1) they lack non-delinquent strategies for coping with strain; 2) have a lower threshold for adversity due to chronic strain; and 3) will often adopt a hostile attitude-a general dislike and/or suspicion of others such as distrust in whites who represent those imposing the strain. This may lead to a high degree of defensiveness towards the white majority and according to Berry's acculturation model shift the individual's stage of integration towards *separation* or *marginalisation*; increasing their vulnerability to the effects of environmental strain and propelling them towards deviant coping strategies.

Strain from the Environment

When considering the oppression and marginalization of Latin American migrants (see Chapter 2) coupled with the negative stereotypes in media reports describing Latinos as job stealers, lazy, welfare scroungers and criminals (Dovodio, 2010). It is not surprising that members of this minority ethnic group experience greater mental health strain than members of the white majority (Araujo & Borrell, 2006). Particularly in terms of second generation Latinos whose personal experiences often consist of witnessing hardworking parents, subjugated to low-wage and physically demanding jobs that native born workers reject.

In addition to these first hand experiences with oppression, exploitation and disparate treatment young Latinos are faced with politically and socially constructed barriers that promote assimilation or the complete abandonment of ethnic roots and the internalization of the dominant culture. While assimilation has been the primary integration approach endorsed by the US the promotion of assimilation and the actions of the US government and society contradict the overall aim of treating all members of American society the same. Critics contend that while western society promotes assimilation and the rejection of ethnic roots on the one hand, they also freely employ pejorative and racist practices against the same groups they are encouraging to become more like them (Buriel et al., 1982; Quintana et al., 2010). The contradiction lies in that members of these ethnic groups are not encouraged to maintain a link with their ethnic roots but are simultaneously being sent a message that they are not as good or equal to members of the dominant racial group.

The option offered to ethnic minorities through assimilation practices is to strip their ethnic identity and embrace a foreign and unfamiliar culture in order to become more American. A weak ethnic identity however has been known to leave young Latinos vulnerable to the negative external influences disseminated by the media, society and social institutions (Vega

et al., 1993). Moreover the barriers for Latinos of low social and human capital in achieving success through legitimate means, disparate treatment and limited opportunities for social and economic mobility remains to be addressed by proponents of assimilation theory. Critics of acculturation contend that the immigrant groups of today are no different than those of the early 20th century in the US. I argue however that the immigrant groups of today do not look like the immigrants of the early 1900s they are not Anglo-European descendants nor can they claim origins in Europe. Moreover the factory work that propelled many European immigrants of the early 1900s towards economic stability has been eradicated with industrialization. Contemporary labour markets require skilled immigrants with educational degrees in order to succeed in the US of today.

Agnew (1992) tackles this issue through the ‘expectations and achievements hypotheses. He contends that the disjunction between expectations and actual achievements can be quite distressing and lead to unhealthy adjustment of ethnic minority youth. Even further this disconnect is particularly problematic for first and second generation Latin Americans as the expectations and future goals promoted by the dominant west are not readily available for youth with limited social and human capital. Even more problematic is the realisation that even when some minority youth manage to rise above the barriers they are still devalued or not viewed as good enough as their white peers (Hill & Torres, 2010).

The chief symbol of success in western nations is increased financial capital through legitimate means (Portes & DeWind, 2008). The means to acquire this success is characterised by a university degree, a professional occupation, and an array of expensive material objects displayed across ubiquitous advertising and the media; representing a certain level of economic achievement. The legitimate pathways to success in western nations involve obtaining access to resources (e.g., university degree, career) in order to reap the

benefits that follow. However, access to this pathway can be problematic for many youth of ethnic minority backgrounds, but currently even more difficult for Latino youth (Dovidio et al., 2010).

The disadvantaged point at which Latinos start in relation to education, language and economic indicators present social, psychological, cognitive and developmental challenges that are rarely addressed by the institutions that these youth interact with regularly (Guyull et al., 2010; Hill & Torres, 2010). Therefore, when Latino youth fail to obtain academic achievement they are labelled as not being university bound and set on a different occupational track. Parental intervention in these cases is pivotal to changing the trajectory of the youth. However when parents have little to no command of the language and are not familiar with how to navigate the educational and welfare systems in their host country the youth may fall through the gaps between systems.

The failure of Latino youth to achieve expected societal and parental goals regarding education and economic stability increases their strain, more so than if these goals were based on aspirations, as they are rooted in reality and their failure to achieve this reality becomes internalized (Agnew, 1992). Moreover, strain can be the disjunction between just and fair outcomes and actual outcomes. If the 'outcome/input ratio' is not considered equal individuals will feel that the outcomes are unjust, resulting in distress. While this notion applies to both genders females' focus on procedural justice may heighten the feelings of injustice and marginalization. Societal perceptions may aggravate the sense of injustice when Latino youth are exposed to over-inflated media reports characterising all Latinos, including their families, as lazy, criminal and welfare dependent (Dovidio, 2010). The inability to achieve expected outcomes coupled with the sense of injustice from systemic barriers and stereotypes may lead some Latino youth to reject legitimate means of wealth accumulation.

Perceived discrimination is strongly correlated to strain, however subtle expressions of bias, such as resource disparity, can also have negative consequences as insidious as blatant discrimination (Dovidio & Gartner, 2004). The greater the degree of perceived discrimination and injustice the more likely youth are to entertain the notion of engaging in delinquent behaviours (Parmar, 2014) be it to mitigate the strain through self-harm or by shoplifting or stealing to gain financial means. Linksy and Straus (1986:17) speak to the impact of negative relations as ‘accumulation theory’, which asserts that ‘it is not so much the unique quality of any single event but the accumulation of several stressful events within a relatively short time span’ that is consequential. As prior stressors can aggravate the negative effect of subsequent stressors, scholars contend that positive events or factors can mitigate the impact of this strain (Loukas et al., 2007). However, most of the literature on risk and protective factors of ethnic minority youth has emphasized the impact of risk with less attention to the protective elements that may exist in the lives of these youth; highlighting the need for evaluating the protective elements of culture (see Gilbert & Cervantes, 1988; Cheung, 1990-91; Felix-Ortiz & Newcomb, 1992; Flannery et al., 1994; Mariglia & Kulis, 2001; Fuligni et al., 2005).

Identity Theory and Ecological Systems Theory

Amidst racialized discourse Latin American youth must still develop their identity and try to adjust to their environment. EST proposes that the messages of inferiority, shaming and damaging culture will inevitably trickle down to the individual influencing their sense of self. Many studies have found a correlation between perceived discrimination and delinquency suggesting that racialized discourse and the promotion of the damaging culture theory are more than just political rhetoric but have tangible effects on Latin American youths’ healthy adjustment and integration into society.

Stuart Hall has made considerable contributions to the study of identity, ethnicity and crime. In *Policing the Crisis*, Hall, Crichton, Jefferson, Clarke and Roberts highlighted the effects of moral panics, fuelled by media and politicians, on the lives of young black and minority ethnic youth in the UK. Policing the crisis is just as relevant in contemporary criminology research and in the US as it was in 1974 when the first edition of the book was written. Hall (1995) maintained that identity is part of a narrative and that external experience is relevant for allowing us to understand who we are and the changes to our notions of self-identity:

...identity is not only a story, a narrative which we tell ourselves about ourselves, it is stories which change with historical circumstances. And identity shifts with the way in which we think and hear them and experience them. Far from only coming from the still small point of truth inside us, identities actually come from outside, they are the way in which we are recognized and then come to step into the place of the recognitions which others give us. Without the others there is no self, there is no self-recognition (Hall, 1995:8).

Parmar 's (2014) study of Asian young men in London in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks in the US and UK illustrates this point. Parmar found that participant feelings of injustice, or being unfairly labeled and singled out had a significant impact on their sense of ethnic identity and group belonging. Her findings suggest that as youth internalize these labels they begin to see 'no other option' than to live up to the assigned typecast (p.125). Hall's interpretation of the need for others' recognition and acknowledgement is aligned with Tajfel & Turner's (1979) social identity theory. Henry Tajfel and John Turner were the first social psychologists to develop a theory on identity formation. Social identity theory (1970, 1980) posits that the social category into which one falls and to which one feels a sense of belonging with provides a definition of the self in terms of the defining characteristics of the

category—a self-definition that is shared by the self-concept. This notion of incorporating others' perceptions or categorizations of the self (or group membership) into one's self-concept becomes highly relevant when examining the effects of bias and discrimination on members of stigmatized minority groups. This is particularly important for the youth of these ethnic groups who are still forming their identity, ethnic identity, and sense of worth in relation to members of the majority group. Moreover, social identities are not only descriptive and prescriptive but evaluative as well. They provide an evaluation which tends to be widely shared, of a social category and its members, compared to other relevant social categories (Hogg et al., 1995). This comparison endangers the opportunities of ethnic minority groups that are evaluated in a negative manner and categorized as damaged or criminals.

The process of categorization and the evaluation of identities are illustrated through the application of two underlying social-cognitive processes under social identity theory. The first is termed *Categorization* which emphasizes the boundaries between members of one group to another by creating group-distinctive characteristics and norms adhered to by intergroup members. The second process is *Self-enhancement* which guides the social categorization process through the creation of positively viewed characteristics and norms of that group. This is done in order to shed a positive light on members of the group and deflect a negative image of the self. Self-enhancement practices have also been used by the dominant groups in society to enhance their status by making comparisons between groups and depicting the norms and characteristics of other groups as less favourable (Hogg & Abrams, 1993). Such as was illustrated in the early 1900s when the US government depicted Mexican labourers as lazy, indolent and prone to vice (see Chapter 2) creating a stereotype that is still perpetuated in contemporary media discourse (Zarate & Shaw, 2010).

Social identity theory is critical to understanding ethnic identity such that in order to explain the behaviours of a group it is necessary to formally articulate the processes of categorization and self-enhancement within subjective belief structures (e.g., social institutions, society). So while categorization refers to people's beliefs about the nature of relations between their own group and relevant out-groups these beliefs, which are often ideological constructs with no real basis in reality, concern the stability and legitimacy of that groups' status and relations and potential social mobility. Hence, these subjective belief structures influence the bond and degree of identification of group members in their pursuit of self-enhancement. For instance, an individual who belongs to a stigmatized group and who conversely deems it viable to pass as a member of the majority group may choose to distance themselves from said group in order to gain psychological entry to the dominant group. In the same vein, if members of the stigmatized group do not see their categorization as legitimate and do not deem their passing to the dominant group as viable they may show marked solidarity with their ethnic group and potentially develop a sense of competition or resentment and distrust towards the majority group (Hogg et al, 1995).

For this reason, the social environment of the individual and the categorizations created by members of the dominant culture in that environment, have considerable influence on an individual's identity development. Tajfel and Turner's (1979) socio-cognitive processes are never more clearly illustrated than with issues of race and ethnic identity among members of the non-dominant group. The process of categorization of Latin Americans in the US and Spain, implicitly ascribes characteristics of inferiority to members of this ethnic group. However, these practices are not solely attributed to Latin Americans, othering and labelling are also reported among less desirable migrant groups in the UK (e.g., Bangladeshis and

Pakistanis) demonstrating a similar process of racialization and ethnic categorization (Parmar, 2014, Toor, 2009).

Social identity theory highlights how practices of supremacy, self-enhancement and the minimization of other cultures and races become normative habitual labelling systems; without consideration for the implications of these categorizations and labels on the young members of those ethnic groups who are still developing their sense of self and self-worth. Ethnic identity functions as a bridge between social identity and culture for youth of ethnic minority groups, linking the influences of their social environment to their ancestral culture and facilitating the integration of both influences towards a balanced bicultural identity.

Conclusion

Bronfenbrenner's EST has been applied in child development research to illustrate the effects that multilevel systems in society have on youth and identity development. Research on Latin American youth highlights the risks involved when integration policies from host nations make social goals prohibitive and limit the social and economic mobility of members of this group. GST effectively addresses the stress that arises from the inability to achieve expected academic and economic goals set by the dominant culture and family. Furthermore, GST can also provide insight into the relationship between gender and crime. In addition to addressing the barriers towards achieving societal goals it also considers strain resulting from the loss of positive stimuli involving social relationships in conjunction with the presentation of negative stimuli in the shape of unrealistic gender-related expectations and abuse. These are aspects of strain that are significant to female healthy adjustment and typically absent from research on female offending.

The literature has limited female offending to either issues of victimization or emancipation from typical gender stereotypes (e.g., gang involvement). Studies on ethnic minority girls in the US and UK have attempted to explore the relationship between race, ethnicity, gender and crime however the focus has primarily revolved around specific ethnic groups such as blacks and Asians, homogenizing all ethnic minority females. Studies in the US addressing Latino youth outcomes have highlighted the need for examining the effects of environment on youth identity. As such my study takes a novel theoretical approach in combining EST, GST and Acculturation model to illustrate the effect that negative stimuli, through stereotypes and labeling, can have on youth identity development potentially isolating ethnic minority youth at a time where their identity is most in need of positive reinforcement.

The next chapter will discuss the role of ethnic identity in Latina youth development and discuss how identity, ethnicity, culture and family can protect Latina youth from problem behaviours. While there are a dearth of studies exploring the relationship between Latinos and crime in the US the focus of this chapter is to bring to light empirical findings on Latina youth delinquency. Studies on Latina youth in the UK and Europe are either in their inception or ongoing hence findings from research on ethnic minority girls and offending in the UK context will be discussed in relation to explaining some of the empirical findings on ethnic minority female offending.

Chapter Four – Intersectionality of Ethnic Identity, Culture, Gender and Crime

Introduction

The previous two chapters have delineated the systemic processes by which host nations have exploited Latin Americans in the labour force segregating them to positions with little opportunity of upward mobility. Chapter 2 explored their history of labour migration, poor working conditions, low-pay, discrimination, typecasting and marginalization in the US and Spain, two countries who have experienced mass migration from Latin America in the past decades. Chapter 3 utilized EST and GST to examine the relationship between an individual's ecology and the strain resulting from negative and pejorative discourse about Latino culture. More notably chapter three linked the effects of negative stimuli on the individual's sense of self and identity. The chapter described how members of the majority culture have categorized Latin Americans as inferior in relation to their own dominant culture; leading to the othering of Latinos and other ethnic minority groups in order to maintain their cultural hegemony.

This chapter focuses on the importance of understanding the intersectionality of ethnic identity, culture, gender, family and generation and crime to provide a more accurate depiction of the experiences of Latina young women growing up in western cultures. It explores the effects of being doubly burdened in societies that place females and ethnic minorities in specific, unequal categories and the implications of endorsing western standards of societal success on minoritized groups (e.g., self-fulfilling prophecies). The chapter also delineates social reactions to female offending and relates these factors to gendered notions of femininity and ethnicity. I begin by discussing the significance of culture and ethnic

identity in terms of self-esteem and ethnic pride, emphasizing how negatives messages from a youth's environment can create strain challenging the process of ethnic identity formation during adolescence.

The Significance of Ethnic Socialization in Latino Youth Development

Culture is the first point of reference for the dissemination of values, customs and norms. An individual's culture functions as a lens through which she not only sees the world but makes sense of her role in it. For members of the majority culture the values endorsed in the home tend to be reflective of those promoted in society (Quintana & Scull, 2009). As such there is very little need for negotiation or culture transfer between the expectations set in the home and those set by society. This process is not as streamlined for members of ethnic minority groups; regardless of how many generations have passed, cultural differences remain.

Cultural values and norms vary by ethnicity and country of origin. However the one common thread that joins these ethnic groups together is the otherness assigned to their values, norms and customs in relation to those of the majority culture. As a result, if the individual is to retain their culture of origin and successfully integrate into mainstream society they must find a balance between the two worlds.

Belonging to an ethnic minority group with a history of marginalization and oppression carries implications to future generations. However being female and belonging to a minoritized ethnic group creates a double stigma. The challenges and barriers are multiplied for young women of ethnic minority backgrounds who are attempting to live up to bifurcated notions of identity, influenced by cultural and gendered expectations from their ancestral culture and the majority culture. The intersection of multiple identities and experiences of oppression and an increased awareness of how young Latina women respond to these

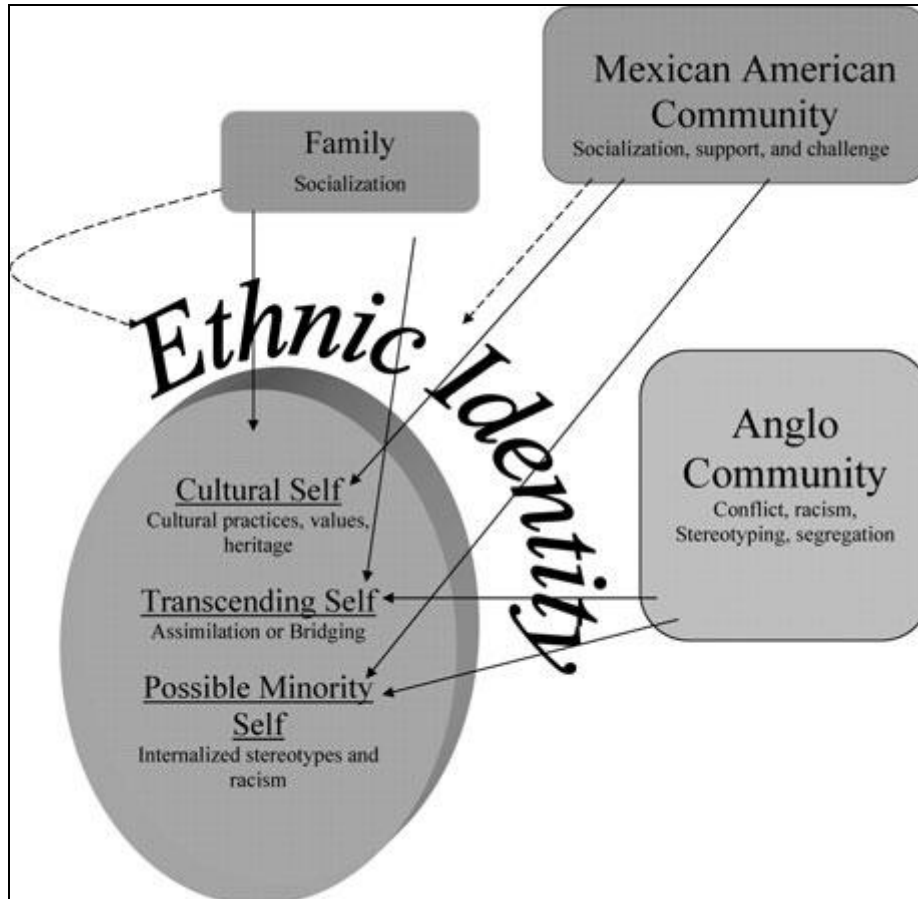
influences can enhance our understanding of their lives and the many factors affecting their behaviours.

At the centre of ethnic identity development is the process of sifting through the negative messages from the external environment and honing in on those traditional norms, values and practices that promote self-esteem and pride in one's ethnic group. The significance of developing a positive ethnic identity is highly relevant to ethnic minority youth's development as their heightened exposure to environmental risks (e.g., poverty, high crime neighbourhoods, negative peer influences) are greater than their white counter-parts (see Chapter 2). Ethnic minority youth must develop the skills required to navigate through systemic barriers (e.g., discrimination, racism, and marginalization) often with little assistance from their parents, in order to achieve the western standard of success. As children come into increased contact with the larger social world during adolescence they increasingly face the need to determine how they fit into the existing array of social groups and categories. A particular identity that is salient for ethnic minority adolescents is their identification with their ethnic or cultural ancestry (Fuglini et al. 2005).

As ethnic minority youth acculturate their ethnic identity and ethnic behaviours (customs and traditions) are shaped by the acculturation experiences of their family (e.g., immigration trajectories, parental ethnic identity and language acquisition) and their social ecology influencing their socialization. As such a youth's identity is shaped by parental and ecological socialization practices. Parental socialization involves teaching ethnic content and meanings, while ecological agents (e.g., teachers, neighbours and media) communicate views about ethnicity and ethnic group membership. Together these influence the ethnic identity and the ethnic behaviours or cultural practices of the individual. Figure 3 illustrates the process of

ethnic identity within parental and communal socialization practices and messages from the majority culture.

Figure 3 Model of Mexican American adolescents' ethnic-self concepts and identity



(Quintana et al., 2010).

Cognitive development is an overarching process that moderates the influence of various socialization agents and the extent to which said influences are manifested in the ethnic behaviours of the child. The stage of maturation of the child determines the degree of ethnic identity development. Studies have found that pre-schoolers have limited understanding of their ethnic identity whereas older children (7-10 yrs.) begin to demonstrate ethnic awareness and identification (Bernal et al, 1990). Adolescence is the most critical stage for ethnic identity formation (Phinney, 2001).

A critical aspect of ethnic identity formation is the development of a sense of continuity between the way others see the individual and the way the individual sees herself. In order to achieve identity status the individual must go through a series of exploratory stages triggered by an identity crisis. While no pivotal event is required to initiate the shift between stages the search process is necessary in order to complete the stages and become confident and comfortable with one's ethnic identity (Erikson, 1982).

A sense of ethnic identity is developed from shared culture, religion, geography and language of individuals who are often connected by strong loyalty and affinity (Torres, 1996). Culture is constructed through a compilation of learned cultural rituals, symbols and behaviours that manifest from fundamental values and beliefs (Chavez & Guido-DiBrito, 1999). Ethnic identity is particularly significant for youth of ethnic minority backgrounds because their minority status makes their ethnicity more prominent in the eyes of the dominant society (Phinney, 1990). Latinos' development of ethnic identity is complex as it reflects the socio-cultural milieu of Latin Americans, which involves rich and diverse origins and complex sociological processes. Latinos' socio-cultural contexts include diverse cultural, national, linguistic and racial origins, historically characterized as having an abounding mixed heritage (Quintana & Scull, 2009). So, while Latino subgroups may share many features, such as connections to the Spanish language and cultural values (e.g., *familismo*, *respeto*) there are important demographic differences based on their migration trajectories and the socio-cultural histories in their host country (e.g., US and Spain).

For instance, in the US Cuban migrants tend to relate most with the Anglo-European culture which reflects the dominant values in America. Cubans have a higher rate of assimilation and tend to demonstrate greater social and economic mobility than other Latin American sub-cultures (Tienda & Sanchez, 2013). According to 2011 data from the Pew Hispanic Research

Center Cuban-Americans are more politically active and more conservative than other Latino sub-cultures (Brown & Patten, 2013). In addition they are more educated and have a higher median annual income than the overall Latino population. These characteristics have been attributed in part to the consequences of the Cuban revolution of the island's elites where the first waves of Cuban immigrants who fled the Castro revolution came from the top echelons of society (Brown & Patten, 2013).

Since their mass migration to the US in 1959, Cuban immigrants have been categorized as refugees seeking asylum from the Castro regime. This categorization paints them in a different light than other Latin American sub-cultures. Labelling Cubans as victims escaping a well-known American enemy as opposed to criminals entering the country illegally in pursuit of wealth at the expense of US citizens has benefitted this sub-culture and their integration into US culture, society and politics (Monforti-Lavariega & Sanchez, 2010).

The previous example illustrates how socio-political views can have an influence on how Latin Americans are perceived and treated by the majority culture. Moreover it exemplifies how preferential treatments of particular ethnic groups by the dominant culture can reduce the strain experienced during the settlement process and facilitate the integration and assimilation of later generations. Monforti-Lavariega & Sanchez (2010) found that Cuban-Americans actively align themselves with the white majority and dispel any similarities with other Latin Americans in order to avoid the stereotypes and marginalization of Latinos in the US.

Ethnic identity develops from emerging self-labelling, evolving towards a more mature form of ethnic identification as the child reaches adolescence. For this reason ethnic labels such as

Latino, Hispanic, Spanish and pan-ethnic identifiers¹² have very different meanings to Latin Americans. As children mature they become more aware of the different connotations attached to these labels and begin to explore their ethnic identity in full, differentiating between a label and an identity that involves beliefs, values and norms (Quintana et al., 2010). Bernal et al (1993) discovered a relationship between parents' level of acculturation and their children's ethnic identification facilitated through parental teachings. They found that those parents who taught their children more about their ethnic background enhanced their children's ethnic identity. Research on parents suggests that those who are less acculturated to US or western culture tend to engage in more active ethnic socialization of their children (Romero et al., 2000).

However, there are social consequences in identifying as Latin American due to their stigmatized status in some western and European cultures. The racialization of Latinos by the majority culture can make ethnic identity development increasingly challenging for young Latinos. Scholars have investigated the effect of ethnic threat on Latino adolescents' self and ethnic esteem (Phinney et al., 1993; McCoy & Major, 2003). Implementing social identity theory they found that ethnic threat, threats to the individual's identity characterized by negative attitudes and discrimination on the part of the majority culture, has a negative effect on the way they rate their ethnic group. Overall findings suggest that experiencing threat and discrimination may positively influence the strength of ethnic identification while negatively influencing their attitudes toward their ethnicity (Pahl & Way, 2006). In other words a young Latina may identify more with Latin Americans yet not hold herself and her ethnic peers in high regard but mirror societal views of her ethnicity (e.g., lazy, criminal, under-achievers).

¹² Pan-ethnic identifiers refer to the combination of the parents' national origin and the youths' country of birth manifested as a hyphenated identity (e.g., Mexican-American, Chinese-American) (Song, 2010).

Consequently, Latinos face the dilemma of maintaining esteem in the context of discrimination and stigmatization. Research on ethnic adolescents reports a tendency to respond to discrimination by associating with other ethnic minorities (Brown et al., 2008; Weisskirch, 2005). However, the rejection of the majority culture has been found to have negative effects on youths' emotional and psychological adjustment (Berry, 1997). Despite some of the research highlighting the negative effects on self-esteem stemming from identifying with a stigmatized ethnic group, studies of Latino youth in America have found a positive correlation between ethnic identity and a positive self-concept (Atlshul et al., 2006; Bracey et al., 2004). Findings suggest that a strong regard for the individual's ethnic group functioned as a buffer against strain, neutralizing the psychological distress in the context of Latinos' strong ethnic identifications.

Parents also play a significant role in helping their children prepare for the social consequences of identifying with an ethnic minority group via positive racial and ethnic socialization (RES). RES is defined as 'the process by which families teach children the social meaning and consequence of ethnicity and race' (Brown et al, 2007:14). Positive racial and ethnic socialization (RES) places ethnic culture of origin in high esteem, leading to a strong sense of self (Fuligni, 2007; Oyserman et al., 2007). In studies on RES the focus is on the role of the family as a socializing agent for children and adolescence (Pizarro & Vera, 2001). Studies suggest that when parents provide strong RES youth fare better against discrimination and prejudice than those whose parents provide little or none (Hughes et al, 2006).

Immigrant parents tend to socialize their children in Latino culture more than parents of later generations whose links with their culture are farther removed, suggesting that second and later generation Latino youth are at greater risk for weak RES and ethnic identity (Chavez-

Reyes, 2010). Furthermore, Latino youth with a weak ethnic identity are more susceptible to the ecological strain of either identifying or being categorized with a stigmatized ethnic group, increasing their propensity for deviancy either by internalizing the strain resulting in poor self-esteem (e.g., drug use, shoplifting) or acting out those feelings of anger and frustration (e.g., property damage, assault) (Phinney, 2001). Hence, Latino youth with a weak ethnic identity are more likely to exhibit problem behaviours or becoming involved in delinquency as a result of increased strain over their identity.

Transnationalism and Generation

Many theoretical questions have been raised about the incorporation of children of immigrants in relation to that of their parents; about their coming of age in the United States, their modes of acculturation and ethnic identity formation, patterns of language use and mother-tongue shift, and their social, educational, occupational, economic, civic and political trajectories into adulthood (Rumbaut, 2008). Questions have arisen around transnational attachments of parents to children, particularly those born in host countries such as the United States and United Kingdom, who lack the memories and the symbolic birth connection of their parents. However, while some migration scholars agree on the importance of intergenerational analysis for the study of the long-term impact of migration, there is no real consensus on the meaning and measurement of generations as first generations have consistently included persons who migrated as children and who have also been regarded as the second generation (Oropesa & Landale, 1997, Rumbaut, 2008). The most common designation of generation levels referred to in the literature suggest that first generations are non-native born migrants who arrived into their host country under the age of 18 years of age (Rumbaut, 2008). The second generation is composed of the children of migrants who were born in the parent's host nation and so forth.

Literature on Latin Americans in the US suggests that cultural bonds, through norms, values and traditions weaken as generations pass (Jarkowsky, 2009). Several studies have shown that cultural bonds are maintained when there are direct connections to the ancestral culture either through gatherings with extended family, links to ethnic communities and/or maintaining a connection with the parents' country of origin (Portes et al., 2009; Itzigsohn & Giorguli-Saucedo, 2002). Hence, transnationalism provides a link for second and later generation Latinos to maintain connected to their ancestral roots. Transnationalism or transnational practices refer to a migrant's simultaneous entrenchment in more than one context, including the home and host countries (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). This connection not only fosters knowledge about culture but provides a context by which to translate parental norms, values and traditions. It provides children with a window into the lived experiences of their parents' identity that makes sense of their own lives as they develop their ethnic identity in the midst of differing cultural influences. When children are raised in a transnational social field they are not only socialised into the rules and institutions of the countries where they live, but also into those of their ancestral country where their culture originates.

Levitt (2001) contends that transnational children acquire social contacts and skills that are useful in both settings and master several cultural repertoires that they can selectively deploy through life. This contextual framework allows younger generations of Latin Americans to combine the demands of their heritage (e.g., *familismo*, *respeto*) with the demands of their host country (e.g., autonomy, individualism), facilitating a balance between the two cultural worlds, in turn leading to *Biculturalism*.

Gender Role Adherence in Latin American Culture

Literature on traditional Latin American values highlights the importance of family bonds, and respecting elders, not only in the family but in the community, as well as patriarchal gender roles that endorse male independence over female protection in the auspices of parental and male relative supervision (Flores-Niemann, 2004). While second and later generation Latin American families tend to relax many of these gendered norms, migrant families and relatives from the home country still endorse and impose these views on their children (Chavez-Reyes, 2010).

For families that migrate to western cultures the requirements of settlement and adjustment usually demand a shift in gender roles in the family from perhaps more traditional and patriarchal towards egalitarian. For instance, most women that migrate with their families to America find the need to gain employment in order to contribute to the family income; changing the roles and expectations of family members where both parents contribute to the family income. First and later generation girls grow up watching their mothers work and contribute this shift in gender roles between parents may lead to a more egalitarian relationship compared to that of their relatives back in Latin America. Changes in gender roles are more common among second and later generations however education level and income have also been found to contribute to gender role formation among Latin American families (Flores-Niemann, 2004).

These changes set a more Anglo-European example of gender roles for the young women in the family. Scholars argue that the evolution of gender roles for women can bring positive and negative consequences to the harmony of transnational Latin American families (Itzigsohn & Giorguli-Saucedo, 2005). One argument is that daughters of transnational

families who have adopted more western gender roles internalize these egalitarian practices and are empowered by their mother's independence, setting a positive example for their own independence. However, other scholars argue that Latina youth empowerment can create conflict when traditional values and norms limit their autonomy by enforcing greater parental control (Arredondo, 2004).

Family dynamics have been linked to females' healthy emotional adjustment and to influence youth delinquency involvement (Kruttschnitt & Giordano, 2009). However, family processes can be difficult to measure as most parents tend to agree that they care for their children. Yet studies on youth responses regarding parent child relationships suggest more variance (Apter, 2004). Despite the limitations with measurement studies do assert the critical importance of assessing the impacts of the parent-child dynamic on understanding the lived experiences of youth and providing a link to their behaviours outside the home (Condry, 2007).

For Latin Americans, family dynamics are central to the cohesion and success of the family unit (Ceballo, 2004). *Familismo* centres on the family bond and loyalty to parents, relatives and even extended kin (Flores-Niemann, 2004). As such, family processes are highly relevant to Latino youths' success in western cultures. Studies argue support for and against *familismo* with the former claiming improved parental monitoring and social control for youth of both genders, combined with greater respect (*respeto*) for traditional norms and values; functioning as a buffer for adversity and negative peer influences (Pahl & Way, 2006; Kiang et al., 2006). The latter view argues that a strict focus on the family and traditional practices interferes with a youth's acculturation and integration practices (Dumka et al., 1997; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993).

Maintaining roots in the ancestral culture and abiding by traditional norms may run against the norms of western society which promote individualism. This creates unnecessary barriers for second and later generation Latinos attempting to meet societal expectations of education and independence. For instance, Latinas who choose to pursue an education may experience hesitation from their parents as *familismo* endorses that children, especially daughters, stay close to home and provide support to the elderly women in the family (Gloria & Segura-Herrera, 2004).

While both views address the conflict between negotiating traditional values against the backdrop of differing western values, few studies have explored the dynamic nature of acculturation and the influence this process has on parenting practices (Jones, 1997; Ceballo, 2004). Instead the focus has been on the effects of low parental acculturation on youth adjustment to mainstream society and educational success and how high parental acculturation cancels out the protective elements of traditional Latin American parenting practices (e.g., parental monitoring and social control) (Loukas et al, 2007). However, many immigrant parents, particularly the mothers, explore the utility of traditional practices from the home country in a new cultural and social space.

Studies on transnationalism and gender suggest that in many instances women migrants prefer living in the host country despite the contradiction in values because it offers them more gender equality (Itzigsohn, & Giorguli-Saucedo, 2005) and as a result sets a more gender neutral example for their children. Yet many scholars caution against an overgeneralization of immigrant women's experiences, suggesting that gender relations are also mediated by class, ethnicity and gender ideologies (Tienda & Booth, 1991). For instance, upwardly mobile Dominican and Cuban women sometimes choose to withdraw

from the labour market and embrace the role of housewife as a means of marking success and middle-class status in the new country (Pessar & Mahler, 2003).

Hence, for ethnic minority groups and Latin Americans in particular, acculturation and integration practices vary by sub-culture, class and migration trajectories. These processes are dynamic and heavily influenced by social, economic and cultural demands, inevitably affecting the integration of the children in these families. Females, perhaps more markedly than males, put relationships in a central position (Cernkovich & Giordano, 1975; Broidy & Agnew, 1997). This increases their vulnerability to the acculturation and integration practices of their parents, as they are more likely to assess the quality of the parent-child bond on the day-to-day interactions with their parents. In particular, the mother-daughter relationship is key in detailing the experiences of young women as ‘both mothers and daughters change as a result of their daily interactions and they change each other’ (Apter, 2004: p.13), hence young women tend to locate their identity within their mother’s identity.

For young Latinas growing up between two cultural worlds this process can lead to the weakening of the mother-daughter bond, leaving them marginalized from one of the most important influences to their identity development. Additionally, young Latinas experience an added pressure of conforming to traditional gender norms, cultural practices and values that highlight their physical and cultural differences from the standard image of the white majority. This occurs at a time where being different and standing out from the crowd functions as one of the primary sources of strain for adolescents (Phinney, 2001). Hence, the mother-daughter relationship becomes a crucial factor in a young Latinas’ healthy emotional adjustment.

Studies have found that despite economic and cultural adversity, Latinas tend to overcome strain more effectively when a strong mother-daughter bond exists (Dumka et al., 1997; Zayas et al., 2009). Moreover, study findings suggest that when familial social support is maintained, Latina youths' susceptibility to negative influences outside the family decrease (Vega et al, 1993). As such a youth Latina's investment in maintaining positive relationships with family and friends can have positive influences on her behaviours, protecting her against negative influences via supportive networks. With this in mind the following section explores the relationship between gender, strain and delinquency.

Latina Girls: Victims, Deviants or just stressed-out?

Scholars in the US have examined the link between Latino adolescents' level of acculturation and their involvement in delinquent activities (Loukas & Prelow, 2004; Bacallo & Smokowski, 2006; Loukas et al., 2007; Jarkowsky, 2009; Gyull et al., 2010). Buriel et al. (1982) used generation status as a marker for measuring the differences in acculturation and found that third-generation Hispanic males engaged in significantly more delinquent behaviours than first or second-generation males. The bulk of studies on Latino youth offending and acculturation have been conducted in the US, focusing heavily on male offenders (Berardi & Bucerius, 2014). The few studies on Latina female youth offenders has primarily focused on either gang-involvement (Miller, 2001) or the sexualization of girls' delinquency (Schwartz et al., 2006; Sharpe, 2012). Research on female offending among ethnic minority youth in the UK has added complexities brought on by the youth justice system, as criminal statistics are generally not disaggregated by age, gender and ethnicity complicating ethnic monitoring for females and making it extremely difficult to obtain offending data (Gelsthorpe & Sharpe, 2006).

As such, studies on female offending have resulted in ‘a collection of policies and services for female offenders...propelled, as well as legitimated, by truncated theories and incorrect assumptions’ (Reitsma-Street & Offord, 1991:21). This has resulted in the creation of programs and services that either reinforce derogatory and stereotypical views on gender or attempt to fit girls into programs designed for boys’ rehabilitation (Chesney-Lind & Irwin, 2008). Contemporary research on gender and crime has begun to escape the narrow confines by integrating empirical research on girls’ development into the research model (Miller, 2014). In particular is the relevance of accounting for the growing body of evidence suggesting strong patterns between neighbourhood disadvantage, racial segregation, inequality and gendered violence (Lauritsen & White, 2001; Benson et al., 2004; Dugan & Castro, 2006). Agnew & Broidy (1997) highlight the significance of understanding gender differences in experiences of strain, suggesting that females internalized and processed strain differently than males leading to different coping strategies (e.g., violence and aggression for boys, drug use and depression for girls) (see Chapter 3).

One of the main concerns on girls’ offending revolves around the general lack of information, research and theories available about the causes and correlates of their offending. Studies suggest that delinquent young women experience higher rates of physical and sexual victimization, drug addiction, poor academic achievement and family conflict and abuse than boys (Daly, 1994; Corrado, et al., 2000; Hollin & Palmer, 2006), suggesting that females confront a different pathway into the youth justice system. Hence, young women seem to have unique needs resulting from strain and should be addressed within their engendered experiences and not as a subset of male offending. Gilligan (1991) notes that the inattention to female youth development in the literature has meant that the value of care, connection and relationships in the moral reasoning process tend to be slighted in favour of approaches that

draw upon more traditionally male domains like justice, with its emphasis on fairness, rationality, individuality, detachment and impersonality.

Major gaps in the literature and problematic conceptualizations of female youth violence and aggression fail to recognize the distinct needs of young women, in particular ethnic minorities, and risk criminalizing their vulnerabilities (Hannah-Moffat, 2005; Maurutto & Hannah-Moffat, 2006). Previous notions of female criminality have stigmatized female identities that exist outside of socially acceptable norms (e.g., chase-female) labelling them as hedonistic and violent '*ladettes*' or as promiscuous vixens (Chesney-Lind & Irwin, 2008; Sharpe, 2012). A fact commonly ignored however is that female criminal involvement is shorter and involves less severe types of offences than male offending across many western nations (Sharpe, 2012).¹³

Types of offences also vary by gender as Agnew & Broidy (1997) found females tend to focus more on maintaining relationships and are less focused on conceptions of fairness outcomes (distributive justice) as much as the process by which outcomes are allocated (procedural justice). Procedural justice emphasizes the quality of interactions between people whereas distributive justice focuses on the outcomes of the interaction (Gilligan, 1982). These conceptions of fairness may suggest that females are more inclined to internalize negative interactions (e.g., depression, self-harm) than pursuing justice (e.g., violence). While the literature has highlighted and this chapter reviewed the relationship between female victimization and youth justice involvement, contemporary types of female offending behaviours suggests a less direct relationship between violence and covert or relational aggression among young females.

¹³ Statistics represent data from England & Wales, Scotland, US and Canada (Ministry of Justice, 2011;DTZ Piedad Consulting, 2005; Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2009; Sprott & Doob, 2009)

Bullying has garnered considerable attention in the recent years with heightened media attention. Many states in the US have focused on prevention and intervention strategies including education on bullying targeting parents and youth (Chesney-Lind & Irwin, 2008). In the UK the combination of government concern and heightened media attention has resulted in initiatives against bullying (e.g., parent action groups) and the development of help-lines and training events by non-profit organisations such as the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (Sharp & Smith, 1991). Bullying has increasingly been connected to violence suggesting that this conflation has encouraged the public condemnation and increasingly harsh punishments against young women (Chesney-Lind & Irwin, 2008). This is mainly as a result of programs defining bullying as direct and indirect behaviours which the public assume lead bullies to become criminals. Contradicting this assumption however are studies where social or relational aggression was not found to be predictive of developmental maladjustment, suggesting that subtle aggressive behaviours may be normative in adolescent development (Xie et al., 2002).

The difficulty lies within the ‘mean girl’ epidemic of the 1990s, where a new breed of verbally and emotionally aggressive girls or female bullies emerged. The mean girl hype problematizes what were historically characteristics related to female development positioning them into a contemporary ‘poisoned girls’ theme (Simmons, 2002). This shift suggests that girls’ problems are less related to aspects of patriarchal institutions and more so within themselves; prompting school staff to take minor female youth misbehaviours in a much more serious manner. As scholars have noted, the increased reliance on law and order strategies to control crime and delinquency rests within the larger shift in the US from welfare state to penal state (Wacquant, 2001). Moreover, Feld (2009) contends that ‘at least

some of the perceived increase in girls' violence of the past decades is an artifact of justice system responses' (p.227).

The rate at which police arrest and refer youths to the juvenile court and the ways in which the justice system processes them vary by gender and race. Studies in the US on girls' assault cases referred to juvenile report that about half were related to family relationships and involved conduct that parents and the courts previously viewed as incorrigibility cases (Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2004). 'Upcriming' refers to policies that increase the severity of criminal penalties associated with particular offences. This get tough attitude suggests that less serious forms of violence are reported to the police; increasing female youth arrest rates (Chesney-Lind & Irwin, 2008).

Another factor contributing to the criminalization of adolescent behaviour is zero-tolerance policies in schools, stemming from public fears that schools are becoming unsafe. Zero-tolerance refers to intensive community policing strategies introduced in the mid-1990s in New York (Muncie, 2004). In part zero-tolerance is based on Wilson and Kelling's (1982) 'broken windows' theory which contends that if disorder (e.g., unrepaired broken windows) is allowed to develop, more serious crime will inevitably follow. Hence, by curbing juvenile misdemeanour offences (e.g., fighting in schools, truancy, curfew violations, burglary, under-age drinking) many of the more serious offences will be curtailed. As a result more female youth and ethnic minorities are propelled into the youth justice system as most offences committed by girls are minor and the application of discipline has historically indicated a heavier hand towards ethnic minorities (see Morris, 2005, 'Tuck in that shirt!' Race, class, gender and discipline in an urban school and Mirza, 1992, 'Young, Female and Black').

Increased security in schools was instilled in the 1990's in the US. While relatively rare these measures were disproportionately used in schools serving large numbers of minority and poor

students (Kaufman et al., 1998), suggesting that the most draconian approaches to school safety were disproportionately implemented in schools serving poor and predominantly minority youth. Students expelled under zero-tolerance policies have been perceived as either the ‘undeserving’ poor (welfare recipients) or ‘violent thugs’ (p.153), deserving of harsh sentencing or segregation in the name of public safety (Chesney-Lind & Irwin, 2008). While both of these characteristics have been used to evoke images of ethnic minorities in America it seems quite clear that the more covert intent of these policies was to control ethnic minority youth. Zero-tolerance policies are framed as race and gender neutral because in theory they are unilateral and unambiguous. However, studies suggest that these policies are clearly racialized and are used disproportionately to punish low-income, ethnic minority students, including young females (Chesney-Lind & Irwin, 2008). In the US, African-Americans and Latin Americans are criminalized for minor forms of violence that in previous years would have been ignored or addressed less formally, widening the net and pulling more marginalized youth into the justice system.

While the relationship between race and crime has been extensively documented in America European scholars are focusing more on disparate treatment from law enforcement and law makers towards Black and ethnic minority young people. Studies highlight how young black people were mistreated and criminalized in the 1970s and 1980s in Britain for suspected drug use (Phillips & Webster, 2014; Wolfgang & Cohen, 1970). Statistics from the Ministry of Justice (2011) indicate that black groups are consistently more likely to be stopped and searched by the police and more likely to be arrested for certain types of crime.

Contemporary studies on the criminalization of Asian people demonstrate a shift in earlier perceptions of Asian criminality from subservient, law-abiding and passive to those of drug

users (Alexander, 2000; Goodey, 2001). However, the main part of this research has been conducted on youth male offending with limited works on ethnic minority female offenders.

Despite efforts to improve the situation of girls in the youth justice system changes in policing in intimate contexts such as the family, peer groups and schools have resulted in dramatic increases in their referral to juvenile courts, particularly for violent offences, and the duration of their involvement in the justice system (Sharpe, 2012). More to the point, the social control of girls has transcended the private sphere of family on to the criminal justice agenda, justifying this interference into girls' lives as a result of their 'new' violent tendencies. The rising rate of girls' arrests has been attributed to the relabeling of behaviours that were once categorized as status offences¹⁴ into violent offences; particularly among cases of mother-daughter conflict (Steffensmeier et al., 2005; Sprott & Doob, 2009). Girls living in predominantly single-female headed households tend to be more at risk as mothers may lean towards law enforcement to assist them with the disciplining of their children in the absence of social service support. However, where in the past these issues were attributed to normal adolescent anxiety and part of healthy development (e.g., boundary testing, independence, etc.) now more and more parents are relying on the justice system to help them parent their daughters without careful consideration for the implications of introducing them into the youth justice system (Puzzanchera et al., 2003).

The relabeling and upcriming of girls' delinquency has also had a dramatic and negative effect on girls' detention trends in the US where more youth females are detained for status offences and technical violations or violating conditions of their probation. Moreover, female youth detained for violent offences are more likely than young males to be held on 'other

¹⁴ Status offences are behaviours that are considered unlawful for children, even though the same behaviour is legal for adults. What transforms the conduct into a public offence (e.g., running away, truancy, tobacco and alcohol use, driving a car, etc.) is the age of the actor (Steinhart, 1996).

person offences' like simple assault (Chesney-Lind & Irwin, 2008). In the UK, ministry of justice data (2010) indicated a decline between 1998 and 2008 in discharges and fines for female offenders, while referrals inclined steadily from 28% in 2002 to 42% in 2008.

Disparate treatment of ethnic minority girls compared to their white counterparts can be explained by examining how girls are processed by the youth justice system. Miller (1994) discovered that white girls in Los Angeles were more likely to be recommended for placement in treatment facilities than Latina and African American girls. A study on disproportionate minority contact in Arizona also found that while girls' rates of recidivism were lower than boys' the use of contempt proceedings and probation violations increased girls' detention rates without them committing a new offence (Canterbury, 2012). Another study on probation files in Arizona revealed blatant gender and cultural stereotypes that worked against young women in the system. Specifically findings suggest that girls were depicted as the evil manipulator, hard to work with, overly needy and riddled with mental and emotional health issues (Gaarder et al., 2004). In England, Baines and Adler (1996) explored how girls are perceived differently than boys by youth justice staff, where boys are considered honest and straightforward and girls as deceiving and dramatic.

The multiple labels attached to female offenders suggest a conflict between expected feminine social behaviour, grounded in patriarchal ideologies, and actual survival and coping mechanisms utilised by these young women to overcome socio-environmental strain. Sharpe (2009) contends that young women's welfare needs are reclassified as at-risk of offending, inevitably widening the net of the youth justice system in order to manage their needs.

Addressing female offending requires an understanding of the causes of female offending in relation to their status in society. For ethnic minority females their dual stigmatization in a white-male dominated society creates multiple layers of strain, prompting criminology

research to account for the systemic biases embedded in social institutions. The next section examines the confluence of ecological factors influencing young ethnic minority females' decision-making processes and involvement in offending behaviour.

Where social reactions to ethnicity, gender and crime intersect

Criminological research has long examined the influence of race/ethnicity, social class and geography to explore the contributing factors to criminal behaviour (Tonry, 2014; Sampson, 2008). Studies exploring how Latinos fare in the criminal justice system in America have examined how the colour line is drawn between whites and non-whites (Jacobson, 1998; Roediger, 2006). The over-representation of African American and Latino youth in the juvenile justice system, over policing of predominantly ethnic minority neighbourhoods and higher levels of security in schools with a predominantly ethnic minority student body all point to the need for examining the influence of not only demographic characteristics, but also the intolerant attitudes of law enforcement personnel and policy makers alike.

However, intersectionality frameworks of research and analysis have generally been neglected within mainstream criminology (Parmar, 2014) and the interplay between race, gender and culture in the context of criminal justice has only recently received attention from female scholars (see Miller, 2008, '*Getting Played*', Richie, 2012, '*Arrested Justice: Black Women, Violence, and America's Prison Nation*' and McCorkel, 2013, '*Breaking Women: Gender, Race, the New Politics of Imprisonment*'). Intersectionality has been more popular among feminist and sociological studies for explaining the effects of social, cultural, racial and political influences on female identity and oppression (Castiello et al., 2013). Examining the relationship between multiple systems more effectively addresses the issues that women are subjected to alongside gender discrimination. Characteristics such as race, skin colour, age, ethnicity, language, ancestry, sexual orientation, religion, socio-economic class, culture,

migrant status and geographic location determine the individual's status in society within the context of the majority culture.

Intersectionality allows for the examination of the experiences of ethnic minority women who are dually burdened by gendered and racialized expectations set by the dominant, white, patriarchal society (Crenshaw, 1993). It stems from the notion that people live multiple, layered identities derived from social relations, history and the processes of power structures. Intersectionality takes the view that people are members of more than one community at the same time, hence simultaneously experiencing oppression and privilege in context to the varying social spaces they inhabit. This type of analysis aims to reveal multiple identities in order to expose the different types of discrimination and disadvantage that occur as a result of the combination of identities. It also addresses the manner in which racism, patriarchy, class oppression and other systems of discrimination create inequalities that structure the relative position of women. An intersectional approach takes accounts of historical, social and political contexts while recognizing unique individual experiences resulting from the combination of different types of identities (Symington, 2004).

Intersectional analysis focuses on enhancing the understanding of women and vulnerable populations not by combining their identities, as additively increasing their burden, but as producing substantively distinct experiences that influence their behaviours. Hence, intersectionality is invaluable to effectively explore the experiences of young Latinas as they negotiate their identities amidst gender and ethnic discrimination and economic, social and political oppression. Intersectionality in conjunction with EST sets the stage for exploring the relative position of young Latina women in the context of the majority culture, while GST explores the effects of strain that arise from belonging to a multiply burdened social group and the implications of this strain on identity and self-esteem (e.g., low ethnic identity, self-

fulfilling prophecies, social strain, internalizing stereotypes); providing a more holistic depiction of what it is like to be Latina in a white, male dominated society.

Conclusion

Ethnic identity is shaped by multiple internal and external systems deriving from familial relationships and non-familial interactions within the social environment. For Latin American youth ethnic identity is strongly influenced by family through parental socialization practices however despite the considerable influence of family non-familial factors also have an effect on youth identity. Negative perceptions of Latin Americans, via stereotypes and labels, not only treats them as a homogenous group but has direct implications on youth identity. Latina youth must develop a sense of self in the midst of ethnic and gender discrimination, where they are dually burdened by a white, patriarchal system. In addition to the challenges demarcated by physical characteristics there are additional strains resulting from poverty, sexual orientation, religion, culture and geographic location that effect youth identity and healthy emotional adjustment.

American scholars have found the utility of EST identifying strain from systemic discrimination and relating it to identity development. EST has been applied more readily to ethnic studies and sociological research in America and has yet to be applied to criminology. In the UK, EST is a relatively new theoretical approach most commonly used in social work research, not yet seen in criminology studies. While EST identifies strain stemming from the many layers a youth interacts with, GST identifies the implications of strain and potential coping strategies by gender. GST has been used to illustrate the effects of strain on youth emotional and psychological adjustment processes. However, contemporary research on ethnic minorities and crime has not incorporated EST and GST to examine the effects of gender specific strain on Latina youths' ethnic identity development. This intersectional

approach attempts to first highlight how a Latina youth's many layers of interaction can produce strain, via stereotypes and negative perceptions. Secondly through GST it examines the manner in which Latina youth cope with these levels of strain and the manifestation of these coping skills (e.g., delinquency).

Latina girls are burdened with navigating through systemic barriers stemming from processes of power structures (e.g., patriarchy, racism) it is invaluable to gender and ethnic studies research to examine the processes of negotiation deployed by these young women but this study provides criminology research with a novel theoretical avenue for conducting delinquency research with Latin girls. My theoretical approach re-states the multi-systemic barriers present in the lives of Latina girls but improves on that by focusing on how these young women cope with the multiple levels of strain in terms of their ethnic identity and acculturation strategies. The next chapter will delineate the application of this methodological approach and provide a detailed description of the locations where the study sample was selected in order to contextualize the narratives and findings in chapters 6, 7 and 8.

Chapter Five- Methodology

Introduction

Comparative or cross-national research has functioned as a tool for developing classifications of social phenomena, establishing causation for shared phenomena and providing an analytical framework for examining, and potentially explaining, social and cultural differences between different societies' structures and institutions (Hantrais & Mangen, 1996). The aim of cross-national research is to explain similarities and differences between two contexts and to gain a greater awareness and understanding of social reality within different national perspectives. Yet, comparative studies are not commonly undertaken in the social sciences. The reluctance may be attributed to numerous logistical and methodological factors ranging from access to participants, financial resources, time allocation and linguistic and cultural levels of understanding by the researchers (Hantrais, 1995).

Ragin (1987) argues that comparative researchers and non-comparative researchers take different orientations and that these differences have methodological implications. He poses that the main distinctive orientation of comparative research involves 'large macrosocial units', referring to countries and political entities (Ragin, 1987:1-6). Although all social science research involves the study of societies, the point is that non-comparative research does not require definition of macrosocial units within the research, whereas for comparative researchers the macrosocial units are the main point of comparison.

At the very general level, comparativists are interested in identifying the similarities and differences among macrosocial units. This knowledge provides the key to understanding, explaining and interpreting diverse historical outcomes and processes and their significance on current institutional arrangements (Ragin, 1987:6).

As such, my study must implement a methodological approach that takes into account the properties within the social structures of US and UK societies, including their similarities and

differences in historical outcomes and processes and the significance of these histories (e.g., slavery, colonialism) on the current institutional arrangements (e.g., policies) within society. The logistical and methodological complexities of comparative research around access, resources and linguistic and cultural understanding have not gone undocumented (Hantrais, 2009; Pennings et al, 1999; Ragin, 1987). As such, small sample data sets of rich and detailed data can be just as worthwhile as large data sets when conducting comparative research because of the limited amount of comparative research available (Lijphart, 1975).

This chapter delineates the methodological processes taken in my comparative study. I begin by detailing the reasoning behind selecting the US and UK for a cross-national study on Latinas, providing a detailed description of the country sites and how my own professional experience helped determine the study site selection. This is followed by an explanation of my analytical approach, recruitment and sampling methods and a detailed description of the data collection tools. Throughout these sections I discuss how a comparative approach shaped the methodologies selected. I close with a discussion on methodological challenges and lessons learned from my comparative research.

The Old Pueblo

Tucson is the second largest city in the State of Arizona located in the south western region of America. Tucson is often referred to by natives as the ‘Old Pueblo’ due to its deep roots in Mexican culture. Arizona’s population has historically been comprised of Latin Americans of Mexican descent and Native Americans (Navajo and Tohono O’Odham are the largest tribes) (US Department of the Interior, 2014) and Latinos of Mexican descent due to the states’ historical ties to Mexico. Prior to 1848 the state of Arizona had been Mexican territory then with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo between the US and Mexican government, a series of states along the south-western US and Mexican border, including Arizona, were ceded to the

US (see Chapter 2). As a result of the state's annexation to America Mexican and Native American heritage is deeply rooted in all but the central region of the state. Maricopa County, located in the south-central region of the state, is the largest county in America with the largest population of any county in the country (US Census, 2014). It is comprised of 14 cities and 10 towns. Maricopa County is a relatively new region established in 1871, five years after the settlement of Pima County in 1864.

Arizona has historically voted conservatively in political elections, electing such well known Republicans as Barry Goldwater and John McCain. Maricopa County has become an amalgamation of relocated residents of the Midwestern region of the country (Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Nebraska, Ohio, Missouri, Michigan, and Minnesota) which has historically been a politically-conservative region. Therefore despite the state's history with Mexico and Mexicans, the dominant political views and policies of Arizona have mirrored conservative Republican views.

Each county in the state of Arizona corresponds with a judicial jurisdiction which means that local authorities possess considerable discretion on policy development and implementation. The judiciary is still required to abide by federal law where applicable. Within this discretion Pima County has separated itself from the accusations of human rights violations in Maricopa County, under the management of Sheriff Joseph Arpaio who has been under federal investigation for a number of violations, including abuse of power, misuse of funds, and unlawful enforcement of immigration laws, among others (US Dept. of Justice, 2010). His jails have twice been ruled unconstitutional, violating the human rights of prisoners. The US Department of Justice concluded that his jurisdiction oversaw the worst pattern of racial profiling against Mexicans in US history and subsequently filed a lawsuit against the unlawful discriminatory police conduct of his office (US Dept. of Justice, 2010). Arpaio

Mexican shoppers and benefits most economically from the commercial revolving door between the US and Mexico. Pima County has remained relatively progressive politically, voting strongly Democratic despite the growing conservative influence of Maricopa County. There are five districts within the county of which three have Democratic representatives, two of which are Latin Americans.

As a former resident of Tucson, Arizona I had lived in the state for over 15 years. I conducted my undergraduate and Master's education in Social Work (MSW) at two of the three state universities. My personal experience living in the state, as a Latina, and as an educated Social Worker in policy and community organizing provided me with a unique background from which to begin developing my research framework. Having experienced the effects of being Latina in a predominantly conservative state and learning about the history of oppression against native peoples in the region, through my MSW training, my own perceptions of being a member of a historically marginalized and oppressed ethnic group began to inform my personal views towards the origins of institutional racism. However as a privileged, educated Latina, I still struggled with comprehending how institutional racism could manifest itself early on in an individual's life, as such I placed most of the responsibility of Latino youth's success or failure on the shoulders of the parents. These preliminary reflections were expanded after I began to work for Pima County Juvenile Court Centre (PCJCC) as a Research Specialist.

Pima County Juvenile Centre

Pima County, while still conservative in comparison to other predominantly democratic neighbouring states like California and Oregon, has taken a more progressive approach to law enforcement (AZ Dept. of State, 2014; CA Secretary of State, 2014; Oregon Secretary of

State, 2014). For instance when SB 1070¹⁶ (see Chapter 2) was enacted by conservative Governor Brewer, the Tucson Police Department' (TPD) Chief, Roberto Villaseñor, expressed his concern for the implications on TPD resources and community relations considering the controversial elements of this law promoting the racial profiling of Latin Americans (Valdez, 2014).

Furthermore juvenile justice in Pima County has gone one step further on the progressive political track promoting, funding and implementing research that addresses disproportionate minority contact (DMC) at PCJCC. This initiative began in 2004 through the development of court community stakeholders and assistance from the W. Haywood Burns Institute in San Francisco. The DMC initiative was completed with community implementation recommendations finalized and approved by community stakeholder organisations in 2014. The recommendations stemmed from a six year state funded research grant from the Governor's Office of Children, Youth and Families, for which I was a researcher for the first three years. As a result of this initiative and other measures PCJCC has made considerable strides in becoming a more progressive juvenile court centre only below Multnomah County in Oregon and King County in Washington State (Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2015).

It was from my three years of working at PCJCC as a Research Specialist that I was able to fully appreciate the effects of institutional racism, marginalization and inequity on Latino/a youth outcomes. The mission of PCJCC and consequently of the research department I worked for was to develop research programs that would inform intervention strategies for high risk offending youth, of those African-Americans and Latinos were highly over-

¹⁶ Arizona's SB 1070 Act was signed into law in 2010 providing state and local law enforcement officials the responsibility to detain persons whom they have 'reasonable suspicion' to believe are unlawfully in the country (Campbell, 2011).

represented. Through a series of research studies I was able to interview youth at different stages of the youth justice system (e.g., diversion, standard probation and detention) and often times their parents. The studies explored mechanisms for ensuring youth and parents maintained compliance with court imposed consequences as well as diverting the youth out of the justice system on to more productive options for their future.

It was the data gathered from the youth and parents across these studies that helped shape the framework for my research. While the diverse range of studies I conducted while at the court addressed relevant risk factors, which according to the literature placed youth at greater risk for offending, in my view there was a gap in connecting the causes of offending (e.g., poverty, single-female headed household, high crime neighbourhoods) to ameliorative factors (e.g., special education services, bus passes for parents and youth, translators for monolingual parents). After interviewing many mothers and their sons and daughters it became clear that not all families approached parenting and the socialising of their children in the same way, therefore putting into question the adaptability of our research findings to all court involved families. In addition, while disproportionate minority contact in the youth court was vigorously addressed by court administrators and research staff, attempting to curb disparity with policy enforcement in my view was not addressing the root of the problem which is systemic discrimination of Latin Americans and other ethnic minorities across most social structures.

As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, Latin Americans have been racialized for no other reason than their phenotype and their visibility as a growing ethnic minority group in the US. Based on the interviews and data gathered during my employment at the juvenile court centre I decided to explore the effects of racism on the youths' perception of themselves. Many of the court involved youth I interviewed demonstrated low levels self-esteem, poor family

functioning and low levels of academic achievement. The Latino (male) youth had stronger bonds with their mothers, while the Latina youths' bond with their mothers was highly dependent on the degree of youth court involvement. For instance, in a detention program preparing youth from transition out of detention back into the community, staff reported that mothers of Latino boys attended weekly child visits regularly where visits from the mothers of the Latina girls were seldom or none at all.

Based on these observations I decided to explore the significance of culture on risk taking behaviours, transmitted from mother to daughter. While there is extensive literature on acculturation and offending among Latino boys, the literature on Latina girls is limited due to their limited involvement in the youth justice system and low degrees of re-offending (Chesney-Lind & Irwin, 2008). However, as potential mothers and transmitters of cultural practices I felt it was important to explore the implications of acculturation on Latinas youths' risk-taking behaviours. I wanted to assess how their attachment to their culture, through ethnic identity, affected their decision-making processes in the midst of adversity. More importantly, I wanted to focus on the protective factors in Latinas' lives as opposed to only the risk factors, hence discovering any protective elements of being Latino compared to problematizing ethnic minority cultures, which the literature on Latinos has consistently done (Martinez Jr. & Lee, 2001; Collins, 1995; Williams et al., 1994; Spencer et al., 1991).

Preliminary findings from the literature review highlighted the effects of institutional racism and systemic barriers for immigrant families in the US. As a result I wanted to assess the degree to which these institutional barriers affected ethnic identity and problem behaviours. In effect, is being Latino in America a self-fulfilling prophecy for low social, economic and professional mobility or are there stronger macrosocial factors at play hindering their healthy

integration into the majority culture, which is where the UK comparative element was introduced.

Latinos in Northern England

I selected the UK as a comparative macrosocial unit because of its' political similarities to the US. As two nations with historically similar approaches to law enforcement and policies and government systems I based the selection of the two countries on J.S. Mills' Most Similar Systems Design (MSSD), where the selected countries are very similar in all respects except in the case of the factor or variable being studied (Peninnings et al., 1999; Landman, 2008; Hantrais, 2009). In the case of the US and UK it is the effect of their differing approaches to the integration of immigrants of ethnic minority backgrounds that I wanted to study.

Particularly, how these differing approaches influenced the lives of Latin Americans in both nations, how they shaped their interactions with social institutions and the effect these interactions had on Latina youth's identity. As Pennings et al. (1999:50) argue, 'comparisons are made across political and social systems that are defined in relation to territorial space.'

The growth of Latin Americans in England and Wales has been accompanied by an increasing awareness of Latino children in schools across the UK (Mas-Giralt, 2011). As a result, numerous local education authorities have begun to use the 'other ethnic group' code in their annual school census. This new code captures ethnicities for students from Central and South America, Cuba and Belize (Department for Education and Skills, 2006:13). Data from the 2008 school Census indicated that approximately one percent of Latino students, out of 4,000 nationally, between the ages of 2 and 19 years, attend northern centres of education and care (Department for Children Schools and Families, 2008). Hence, while the Latin American population is growing the second generation is still relatively small and young in proportion to other ethnic groups across northern England. Data from the Office for National

Statistics indicated that in 2007 Colombians¹⁷ living in the north were primarily employed in professional positions; hence the financial capital of many migrants to the UK was more advantaged than those of the US.

The limited number of Latin Americans living in northern England amounts to a social invisibility manifesting itself in an absence of support groups and shared spaces for cultural reproduction and socialization. As a result many first and second generation Latinos have resorted to establishing social networks that transcend their country of origin to include other Latin Americans. For instance, a Peruvian mother from my sample reported having primarily Colombian friends since she did not know of any other Peruvians in the area. This, however, has implications for cohesiveness as migrants tend to relate to people of similar backgrounds (Rumbaut, 2008) and according to the Peruvian mother, ‘there is something we [Peruvians] have in common, I think that is what I seek, we know what we mean’.

Hence, despite the Latin American communities’ active engagement in forming formal and informal groups (e.g., Chilean Community in South Yorkshire and Latina women’s group in Sheffield) members of smaller Latino sub-cultures lack representation and socialization opportunities with people from their home country. This point was important to understanding the life experiences of the families I interviewed in northern England, as the invisibility of Latinos prompted the women from the Latina group to come together every month and try to re-establish some connection to their culture. However, Latin Americans are not a homogenous group. Cultural nuances between Latino sub-cultures vary and it is these nuances that make each sub-culture unique. Understanding the importance of sub-cultural

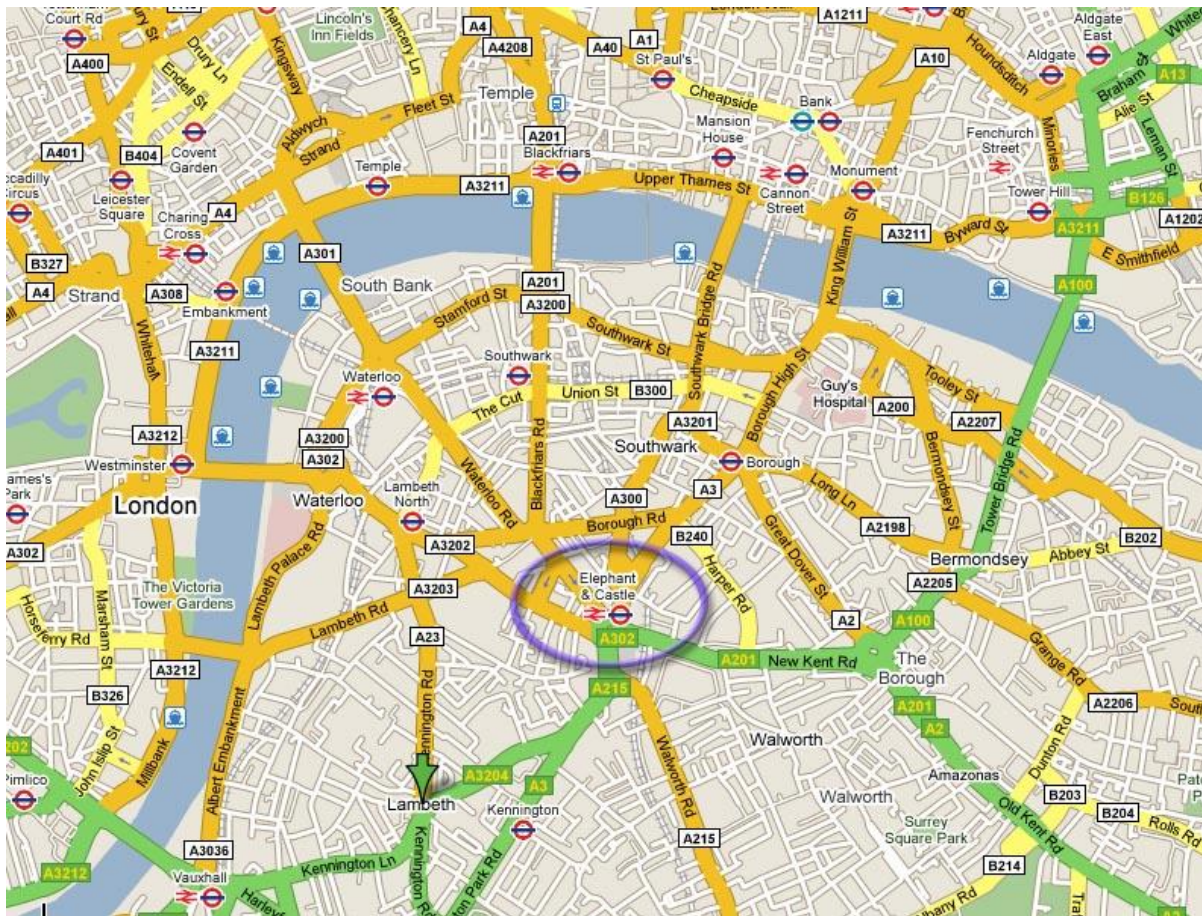
¹⁷ Data for other Latin American sub-cultures were not reported.

nuances and the absence of shared spaces for these sub-cultures became integral in providing meaning to the stories of the families in the north of England.

London and the 'Latin Elephant'

Data from the Annual Population Survey (APS) estimated the Latin American population in the UK in 2008 at around 130,186, with 61 percent of the population residing in London. The sub-cultural breakdown of Latinos in London indicates the largest groups as Colombians, Brazilians, Ecuadorians, Bolivians and Peruvians (McIlwaine et al., 2010). Latin Americans are dispersed throughout London with concentrations in Inner (Southwark, Islington, Lambeth), east (Hackney, Newham and Tower Hamlets) and north London (Haringey). Latino populations are more concentrated in some boroughs than others. The concentration of Latin Americans in London has resulted in the development of a series of Latino shopping areas in Elephant and Castle garnering the nickname of 'the Latin Elephant' (McIlwaine, et al., 2010) (see Figure 5).

Figure 5 Map of Inner London (including Elephant and Castle)



London A-Z, 2005

This area has become a cornerstone for Latin American representation in the city of London and is currently being threatened by the city's gentrification plan to remove local ethnic minority businesses and construct high rise luxury flats in their place (Roman-Velasquez, 2014). Local researchers contend that the drive for economic development and competition are placing small independent businesses at risk (Federation of Small Business, 2013). Moreover, they argue that current urban regeneration in deprived areas of London is focusing on black, Asian and minority ethnic businesses. Despite the efforts from local Latino residents to save the Latin Elephant Latin Americans in London have historically been an invisible population (Roman, 2014). With the exception of the annual *Carnaval Del Pueblo*

started in 2006¹⁸ the Latino community has gone unrecognized in the city and throughout the UK.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the UK Census does not provide a category for Latin Americans hence aggregating them into the ‘other’ category which does not allow for an accurate account of their growth in numbers and their need for representation. McIlwaine et al. (2010) in the first study of Latin Americans in London found that it is the second generation of Latinos that are mobilizing to gain recognition as not only Latinos but British-Latinos. This is an area that begs for further research in order to illustrate a comprehensive picture of being Latino in London not only from the migrant’s perspective but from the burgeoning second generation of Latinos native to the UK.

Mixed Methods

In recent years there has been a greater acceptance and use of methodological pluralism or mixed methods in comparative research (Lor, 2011). Hantrais (2009) identifies three specific methods in comparative social research: triangulation, facilitation and complementarity.

Triangulation deals with two or more research strategies applied to investigate the same issue so that findings from one strategy can be corroborated by the other, specifically quantitative and qualitative approaches. Facilitation involves the use of one or more approaches, where one of them is dominant. Complementarity integrates different approaches as opposed to using them in a parallel or sequential fashion.

In my study I chose a mixed methods approach, focusing on triangulation, in order to guide the youth participants through an interview and a questionnaire, to ensure specific themes were addressed. The use of questionnaires and semi-structured interviews has been found to

¹⁸ The Carnival was cancelled in 2011 due to public works, while in 2014 no official explanation was reported.

be more beneficial with specific populations and when addressing issues of a personal nature (Krysiak & Finn, 2007). For instance, youth tend to engage more in the interview process once they have gone through a series of descriptive questions that do not require them to think too deeply but help develop a rapport with the interviewer (Morrow, 2001).

While questionnaires were designed to be answered by the youth and parent alone, without guidance from the researcher, I chose to provide the participants a copy of the questionnaire to follow along while I asked the questions, making the questionnaire more of an interview schedule (Fowler, 2004). This allowed me to clarify any misinterpretation of the questions as well as establish rapport with the participant before we moved into the semi-structured interview. Additionally, going through the questionnaire first allowed me to mark questions that resulted in ambiguous responses, such as 'not sure' and 'neutral' for further follow up during the interview. Hence, the semi-structured interview functioned more as a guide where I made note of a list of topics that required more in-depth detail based on the participants' answers from the questionnaire. I selected a set of themes to be addressed further during the interview (e.g., mother-daughter relationship, cultural adherence and perceived discrimination) as these themes required a more idiographic approach since each individual's experiences with family, culture and discrimination can be perceived and internalized differently.

Other topics, however, required more explanation and were fleshed out during the interview process as well. For instance, during the questionnaire portion one of the US participant girls in detention consistently answered 'I don't know' to the parent-child relationship questions and was visibly getting upset. After the questionnaire portion and the semi-structured interview themes had been discussed I returned to that section and probed a bit further on those questions. The young woman informed me that she had not lived with her parents for

many years so her responses would be based on what she sees from her friends' families and not her personal experience. This discussion not only placed her previous answers regarding cultural adherence and protective factors in a wider context of her family interactions but also provided insight into her life choices and outcomes, providing a richer understanding of her environment. Hence, this method proved effective for addressing how interactions with each layer of Bronfenbrenner's concentric circles (e.g., family, school, community, government) shape the individual's life experiences (see Chapter 3).

In addition to facilitating rapport with youth participants qualitative and survey data have also been found to explain the relationship between strain and delinquency through the application of objective and subjective measures of strain (Agnew, 1992). General strain theory has been applied to assess the degree of strain in an individual's life and how said strain influences delinquent behaviour (see Chapter 4). Broidy and Agnew (1997) have elaborated on the gendered reactions to strain as a means of explaining types of offending for males and females. However, Agnew (2001) argues that those gendered nuances are a result of exploring not only objective strain (such as, 'Did you fail any classes?'), which provide basic answers of agreement or disagreement to experiences disliked by most people (e.g., assault and starvation), but also subjective strain which explore the individual's subjective evaluation of the experience (such as, 'Why do you think that happened to you?'). Applying both measures of strain is important because one of the key findings emerging from stress research is that individuals often vary in their subjective evaluation of the same event (Wheaton, 1990; Kaplan, 1996; Dohrenwend, 1998; Lazarus, 1999). Hence, applying both measures of strain through survey questions (objective) and interviews (subjective) supports general strain theory in a more substantive manner (providing richer data).

An additional qualitative method was used for the younger girls in the US sample. A vignette was designed to explore the girls' understanding of discriminatory actions (see Appendix C). Based on preliminary findings after piloting the questionnaire I realised that the younger girls in the US participant group (12-15 yrs.) did not report any perceived discrimination either towards themselves or members of their ethnic minority group. While this may have been attributed to their geographic location in the city, a Latino enclave, I wanted to eliminate any perceptible barriers regarding racism and discrimination that may have led to their responses. The vignette was purposely applied at the end of the interview to ensure that the participants were not influenced by the perceived discrimination questions in the survey.

The vignette described a scenario where a mother and daughter were shopping at a local department store in the shoe department. The mother, who is a monolingual Spanish speaker, asks the white, middle-aged female store clerk for a shoe in her size. The store clerk appears to ignore the woman and helps white patrons. As a result of waiting and not being helped the mother and daughter leave the store. I followed the vignette by asking the girls to tell me what they thought had happened in that story, without providing any leading terminology referencing discrimination. The vignette was designed to ensure that the girls were aware of what discrimination looked like to ensure that their disagreement to perceived discrimination was an accurate report of not having experienced any discrimination personally.

Other methods of data collection with youth and parents (e.g., focus groups, observations) were considered. However, due to time constraints, limited resources and challenges to participant access, which are commonly experienced in comparative research (travelling back and forth between countries) (Hatrais, 2009), these methods were not applied. Nevertheless, the participant samples had sufficient diversity within US and UK cohorts to provide contrast, making cases of families within each macrosocial unit, rather than simply stories from a

small sample of individuals. Furthermore the comparative element between US and UK cohorts, which grounds the study, is an ‘interpretative comparison’ which differs markedly from the factor analysis comparisons done in quantitative analysis (Yates, 2003).

Qualitative Methodology

According to Denzin & Lincoln (1994:3-4) qualitative researchers ‘are committed to the ...interpretive understanding of human experience.’ Qualitative methods are integral to the study of culture, ethnic socialization and culture transfer as it explains the process of culture transfer instead of treating it as a dichotomous variable that either does or does not take place (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Since most of the literature on Latino acculturation in the US is quantitative and has focused primarily on ethnicity as a risk factor I found it necessary to utilize a method that took into account the realities of this minority ethnic group within the context of their socially constructed status among the majority culture so as to reveal the significance and value of ethnic identity in their lives.

As Latino culture is the main element to my research, conducting interviews in Spanish when possible allowed me to interpret cultural nuances that may not translate when interviews are not conducted in the participants’ native tongue. As Smith (2005) points out, data collection requires the researcher to understand and interpret not only the words but the people speaking those words, the context in which they speak them and their physical reactions while speaking them, allowing for a more holistic interpretation of their narratives. The validity of the participants answers were primarily confirmed through the knowledge gained from published findings of previous studies with Latin American youth.

Recruitment

To conduct the comparative research for this thesis, I recruited participant samples from the US and UK. Participant groups for both sites were broken down into youth participants— young, self-identified Latina women between the ages of 14-17 and parent/guardian participants.¹⁹ The age range was chosen based on the high risk age category found in literature stating that girls' onset of offending starts at 14 and peaks at 17 (Hart et al., 2007). The parent samples consisted of one of the biological parents of the youth from participant and comparison groups. The research focused on recruiting the mother of the youth, as research suggests that maternal acculturation has more of an impact on youth risk taking behaviours than paternal acculturation (Loukas et al. 2007). However, to examine the presence of all protective factors in the girls' lives, fathers were recruited when a mother or maternal figure was not present in the young woman's life or was not available for interview.

The US participant sample was further stratified by participant and comparison groups. The participant group represented young women who had been involved with PCJCC in some capacity (e.g., referral, diversion, probation, detention). The comparison group represented young women who resided in the same communities or attended the same school districts as the young women in the participant group but did not have any involvement with PCJCC. An attempt was made to recruit families of diverse income and education levels, generation status and Latin American sub-cultures. However, as mentioned above, as a result of Tucson's proximity to Mexico most of the participants available for interview were Mexican. Generation levels ranged from second to fourth among the participant group families. With regard to income levels while some variance was present most of the families reported similar income levels. Moreover, since the comparison group was matched to reflect the

¹⁹ The age criteria were modified during the field work process to include young women as young as 12 years in order to enhance the recruitment process in both US and UK sites.

demographic characteristics of the participant group the comparison group sample also reflected similar income levels. There was some variation in education levels dependent on generation level between participant and comparison groups.

Sample Characteristics/Offending Histories

The youth sample characteristics of the US cohort consisted of young women between the ages of 11-17 years of age, who identified as Latin American, Latina, Mexican or Hispanic. Most of the girls in the US cohort, whether participant or comparison group, resided on the Southside of the city. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Southside is known as a Mexican enclave where the Latino culture is tangible through the languages spoken on the streets and at the local stores, in the school playgrounds and neighbourhoods. As a result, most of girls in this cohort befriended other Latino/a youth and other ethnic minority youth that resided in their neighbourhoods and attended the local school districts.

The link between these relationships with their peers and whether the girls had been involved in the youth justice system was clear. The literature on Latino/a youth risk taking behaviours highlights the importance of peer influences. For many of the girls in the US cohort their available social networks inevitably consisted of peers with youth justice involvement. In addition, there is greater access to activities and resources that can lead to delinquent and criminal behaviour in these communities. While to an extent this was true for all the girls in the US sample it rang especially true for the young women in the participant group sample.

The characteristics of the girls with youth justice histories touched on most of the characteristics of at-risk youth (Loukas & Prelow, 2004). Most of the girls lived in single headed households of low to moderate socio-economic means; their relationships with their mothers were either strained or did not have a current relationship. Their academic

performance was poor and either they demonstrated little interest in pursuing an education after high school or they did not have a plan for how to pursue a college education.

The degree of youth justice involvement ranged from diversion, where the youth is consequenced with trainings and community service on up to detention of up to 6-months.²⁰ The level of involvement in the youth justice system was directly proportional to their relationship with their mothers and family. For instance, Lisa a 16-year old, third generation Mexican, admitted having been in detention at least 7 times since she was 14 years old. She explained that she had no relationship with either of her parents as her father was in prison and did not want to communicate with her and her younger brother. Her mother left them with her maternal grandmother when she was 6 years old.

Lisa's grandmother was the head of household with some years of college education but working a service level job. Lisa's peers were directly related to her court involvement as it was with them that she would skip classes to smoke marijuana and drink. As a result she was referred to the court for truancy and drug use.

Marijuana use and truancy were the primary behaviours that led the girls into the youth justice system. However, for many of them these behaviours were a symptom of dysfunction in the home and served as a means of escaping the strain they were experiencing in their environments. In some instances, it was their own family that brought about their contact with the youth justice system. For instance, Rachel a 17 year-old Latina, was in detention because of a warrant out for her arrest as a result of not attending a court hearing. Her initial contact with the court was as a result of one of many arguments with her mother. Rachel left her home with her mother and moved in with her boyfriend (also involved with the youth

²⁰ A greater discussion of the girls in lower level of youth justice involvement is covered in Chapter 6.

justice system) and his mother on the tribal reservation, where local police have no jurisdiction. She went off the grid until her boyfriend was arrested, as she was months away from turning 18 she went to his court hearing to see him and turned herself in to authorities to stay in detention until her 18th birthday.

As such, most of the girls in the participant sample were lacking positive support systems in the home and among their peer networks. For all girls in detention or probation their relationships with their mothers were a contentious point of discussion where some either embraced the chance to complain about them during our interview or completely shut down when the topic arose. As such, they selected peers that were experiencing similar situations in order to find the support they were lacking in the home. For these reasons I selected a comparison group of Latinas in order to determine how significant the family supports were in the life pathways selected; Figure 8 in Chapter 6 illustrates this point.

US: Random / Snowball Sampling

In the initial research design I proposed the application of random or probability sampling for the US site, including participant (court involved) and comparison (not court involved) groups. Due to barriers and limitations regarding access and recruitment²¹, random sampling was only applied to the US participant youth group²²; the challenges for utilizing this method with the comparison group sample are discussed later in this chapter.

As a previous employee of PCJCC, access to the courts' database was obtained quickly and facilitated by the information technology staff. In order to access a list of all youth that fell

²¹ The comparison group sample was initially intended to derive from the two school districts assigned to the participant group girls, hence sampling from a population with similar demographics. However access to schools was delayed and only granted at the end of the school year. As a result I was not able to return to the US to sample from these school districts and had to rely on snowball sampling.

²² The parent group is a subset of the participant group (based on the youth sample) hence was not sampled separately.

under the study's eligibility criteria the state's case management database, Juvenile On-line Tracking System (JOLTS), was identified as the most efficient and comprehensive tool for obtaining participant names and contact details. The JOLTS database documents demographic, academic, and juvenile justice history data for all youth involved with PCJCC. I requested, from one of the court's data analysts, a list of all the names of active court cases from JOLTS where the young women fit the study eligibility criteria mentioned above. Active court cases were selected over closed cases as some youth may have had their court records erased after their court case was closed and may not be available for interview. Furthermore youth and parents still involved with the court would have more recent recollections of activities and events addressed in the questionnaire (e.g., risk-taking behaviours, perceived discrimination, academic goals and peer networks). This list yielded 371 active cases which were entered into SPSS utilizing the software's sampling options to avoid systematic error (Krysiak & Finn, 2007), such as including more girls with minor offences as opposed to a random selection of girls with a range of offence severity, yielding a sample of 50.

As previously mentioned, the study was initially designed to include quantitative and qualitative methods. Hence, randomized sampling was used to recruit the participant group participants. Randomized sampling is considered the most effective sampling method for conducting quantitative social science research as it provides the highest probability of recruiting a representative sample of the population being studied (Krysiak & Finn, 2007). This allows for generalizations to be made of the random sample to the rest of the population that sample is representing, hence improving the research's external validity. Of the 50 active cases selected I was able to gain access to 21 cases of youth and parents for the participant group, through their probation officers and by phone. As a result of the smaller sample size

than anticipated quantitative analysis was discarded, focusing primarily on qualitative methods.

As mentioned, the US comparison group sample was initially intended to also follow random sampling methods. The school district that served most of the young women in the participant group was contacted for access to students that fit the study criteria. After numerous attempts and delays due to conflicting academic term schedules and my travel schedule from the UK this recruitment site was abandoned. Several contacts were established at religious groups and Latino community groups within the same neighbourhoods of the participant group members and a snowball sampling method was employed.

Snowball sampling is defined as a technique for recruiting research subjects through the initial identification of one contact or participant who is used as a reference point to provide names of other potential participants. This sample method is primarily used for identifying concealed populations, such as the socially isolated (Faugier & Sargeant, 1997). However, due to time constraints with data collection timelines and access limitations within school districts, snowball sampling became an effective method for benefitting from established social networks in the Latino community, becoming an expedient strategy for recruitment (Atkinson & Flint, 2001).

Through snowball sampling 25 potential participant families were contacted and agreed to participate. Scheduling conflicts with participants for in-person interviews during the span of time I was back in America only allowed data collection completion for six youth and parent pairs. The remaining potential participants agreed to participate over the phone if required.

While phone interviews can be a method of data collection when all other methods have been exhausted (Frey, 1989) I opted to not follow up with phone interviews as my previous experience with conducting interviews of a personal nature (e.g., risk-taking behaviours,

discrimination, racism) with this specific population at PCJCC and with Latinos in the US tended to result in superficial data (e.g., shorter interview time, lack of detail, inability to observe verbal cues). Hence, the sample was not as large as intended. However, there are studies that suggest that too much 'emphasis on techniques of data-treatment and comparison' can undermine the significance of the interpretation process, yielding nothing more than a small sample (Yates, 2003:224). Therefore, the focus of the interviews was to obtain sound, rich and detailed data.

UK: Snowball/Convenience Sampling

Recruitment for the UK sample began with establishing contacts within Latin American community organisations in London and Sheffield (Northern England). London was selected as the primary site for recruitment as a high proportion of Latinos in the UK reside in London hence a greater diversity in Latino sub-cultures, income and education levels and generation level was available. Sheffield was selected because of its geographic location which would diversify the UK sample but also because the proportion of Latin Americans in Northern England is much smaller than in London, hence minimal interaction with other Latinos could potentially affect responses related to culture transfer and acculturation practices of youth and parents. In addition, being based in Sheffield also facilitated access to families.

The youth sample criteria were the same as for the US sample. Recruitment strategies for the UK sample however shifted from focusing on recruiting girls first and then their parent to focusing on obtaining parents first. The reason for this shift was related to access and generation level. Most of the young women eligible for the study fell on either end of the age spectrum at 11 and 12 years of age or 17 years of age. This meant I had to gain access to schools with sixth form and those without throughout the three boroughs in London and in Sheffield. Due to time limitations and my previous experience with delays in accessing

participants through schools in the US, I chose community organisations as the most efficient means of gaining contacts and then following up with these contacts. Connections with active researchers in Latin American communities in London were established early on in the study through the Institute of Latin American Studies (ILAS) at the University of London. These connections led to further contacts with community organisations that worked closely with Latin American women and their families.

A connection was established through two community organisations in the boroughs of Brixton and South London. The Sheffield sample was recruited through a Latina community group that met informally every month and through adverts on a Latin American social network site for the city. The challenges and limitations to recruitment ranged from gaining access to community organisation members as was the case with the South London organisation, cancellations of interview appointments in the Brixton site and the limited number of eligible participants in the cities of London and Sheffield. In the case of the South London community organisation management created barriers to recruitment and after six-months opted to not allow me access to their members because I did not live in London and was not available to volunteer consistently at their organisation. Scheduled interview cancellations were unavoidable at times as a few of the women participants were recent migrants to the UK and were highly dependent on hourly employment which provided them with little flexibility for scheduling other appointments. With regard to the limited number of eligible participants in the region, after months of recruitment efforts and combing over secondary population datasets it was discovered that most of the Latinas in the region were either foreign born or first generation and either over or under the age of eligibility. Moreover, estimations on age and gender data for Latinos suggest that there are more male first generation Latinos than females in London (McIlwaine et al., 2010), rendering a smaller pool of young Latinas to sample from than in the US.

In order to circumvent these issues a combination of snowball sampling and convenience sampling was conducted. In London I was able to gain access to an organisation that provides social and educational services to Latin Americans located in Brixton. The organisation offered English lessons in the evenings from which I was able to recruit three (eligible) participants. The connections made through ILAS placed me in contact with an established Latina in the community who provided a list of names of potential participants. From this list a snowball method was employed and yielded approximately 20 potential participants, after contacting all 20 people via phone, only one returned my call. This woman is an active member of the Colombian community in London and heads a community centre in Tower Hamlets. She recommended her co-worker, whom I met during one of my sessions at the community centre, and a close friend of hers, both contacts resulted in completed interviews. While many of my contacts in London seemed eager to assist with my recruitment the main barrier was the limited number of families they knew with daughters within the age range eligible for the study.

The remaining four participants from Sheffield were recruited using convenience sampling. Convenience sampling is defined as recruiting study participants that are easily accessible to the researcher (Krysiak & Finn, 2007). While this form of sampling has many limitations for quantitative research (e.g., low external validity, high sampling error, non-representative sample) because the sample size was too small for statistical analysis, my analytical approach shifted from quantitative and qualitative to solely qualitative as with the comparison sample in the US, hence nullifying the limitations of convenience sampling. The Sheffield sample then was created from the Latina community group that meet monthly (n=3) and one from a

social network site; resulting in an overall sample of nine parent interviews and 10 youth interviews.²³

Questionnaires

The questionnaires implemented at the beginning of the sessions with parents and daughters included the sections below. Overall the average length of time for the parent interviews was 90 minutes. The average length of time for the youth interviews was 60 minutes. Youth questionnaires for the US and UK were 10 pages in length and averaged about 20 minutes of the total interview time. The parent questionnaire was six pages in length and averaged about 15 minutes of the total interview time. The remaining time for each interview included follow up questions to the questionnaire and discussions on the youth and parents' views of being Latin American in the US and UK.

Measures & Scales for Youth Questionnaire

Cumulative Risk

Cumulative risk is the exploration of socio-environmental influences that have been identified in the literature as harmful to Latino youth's healthy adjustment and development (Portes & Zhou, 1996; Quintana et al., 2010). The measures used included socioeconomic status (household income), stressful life events (mental health), risky behaviours, deviant peers, school connectedness and academic achievement, ethnic identity and acculturation, perceived discrimination, and parent-child relationship. (See Appendix A)

Demographic data for adolescents included gender, age, race/ethnicity, family structure, geographic area of residence (SES)²⁴ and nativity (refers to country of birth). Stressful life

²³ One of the Sheffield mothers had two daughters of eligible age that wanted to participate in the study.

²⁴ Actual family income was addressed in the parent questionnaire (see Appendix B).

events or mental health, risky behaviour and deviant peer scales were taken from the Global Appraisal of Individual Needs (GAIN) semi-structured questionnaire (Dennis et al., 2008). The mental health measures addressed current emotional distress and past events of depression, anxiety, restlessness, anger, alcohol and drug use for self-medication and suicidal tendencies. Risky behaviours scales addressed alcohol and drug use, stealing, truancy, running away and assault. The deviant peer scales addressed social networks' weekly involvement with illegal activity, unlawful use of alcohol and drugs and histories of drug or alcohol treatment. School connectedness and academic achievement scales addressed perceptions of acceptance from staff and peers, perceptions of safety (bullying) and overall satisfaction with school environment. Academic achievement addressed school marks from the previous completed school year and existing, diagnosed, learning disabilities; including special education assistance.

The indices of acculturation processes included language usage, cultural practices (e.g., cultural traditions), social connection to and distance from cultural groups (e.g., social networks, intermarriage, neighbourhoods) and identification with cultural and ethnic labels (Quintana & Scull, 2009). The acculturation variable was defined as the maintenance of ethnic identity through language use at home, with peers and through media (e.g., radio, TV, movies) and the practice of Latin American traditions versus the dominant countries' traditions. Researchers have operationally defined acculturation status with a series of indicators including ethnic identity (loyalty), ethnic knowledge and ethnic values. However, language use and generation status are the two most frequent indicators used in the literature and previous studies have found a positive relationship between generation level and self-reported delinquency among a sample of Mexican American adolescents (Samaniego &

Gonzales, 1999; Sampson, 2008). While generation level was not directly addressed in the questionnaire it was discussed in the semi-structured interviews.

To assess for acculturation status and ethnic identity among the female youth participants, I adapted the Multi-dimensional Measure of Cultural Identity for Latino/a Adolescents (MMCIL). The MMCIL is a multidimensional measure of cultural identity that includes assessments of language, attitudes/values, behaviours and familiarity with American and Latino/a cultures. I borrowed scales from the MMCIL addressing bilingualism, familiarity with American/British and Latin American cultures (e.g., history, art, politics, traditions, legends), familiarity with Latin American cultural concepts (*Familismo*, *Respeto*) and values (patriarchy) and preferred ethnicity. The domains that addressed American culture were adapted to a British context for the UK cohort. The four stages of acculturation listed below were measured applying the criteria set by Berry's model of acculturation (1990) (see Chapter 3). It must be noted that the four stages are not mutually exclusive; hence an individual may shift between stages or experience multiple stages as they progress to their final level in the acculturation model.

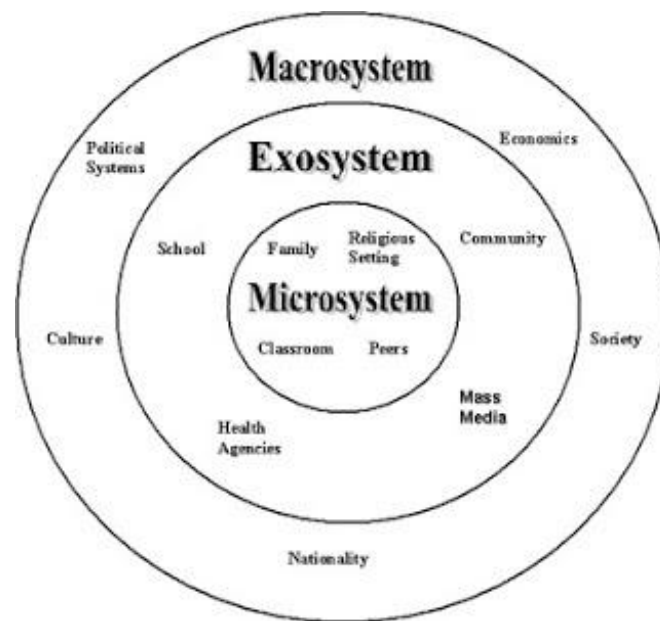
- *Assimilation*: This variable was defined as the absorption of the majority culture through language use, media language preferences, norms and traditions. Upon investigation of the demographic breakdown of the communities where some of the sampled Latino families reside it was evident that other ethnic influences (e.g., Black Caribbean, Asian, African American and Native American) may also be present however for the purpose of examining existing policies and practices the majority culture was defined as White, British or Anglo-Saxon in the US.
- *Biculturalism*: This variable was defined as the balance between the majority culture and ancestral culture through bilingualism, media, norms and traditions. *Biculturalism*

is deemed the most beneficial stage of acculturation for youth adjustment and positive self-esteem.

- *Marginalization*: This variable was defined as the rejection of the majority culture and ancestral culture; the most detrimental of the four stages for youth adjustment and delinquency avoidance.
- *Separation*: This variable described those participants that rejected the majority culture focusing on their ancestral culture's language, media, norms and traditions.

Examining perceived discrimination versus experiences of blatant racist behaviours was considered more relevant to the research as perceptions of othering and marginalization are just as damaging to self-esteem as blatant acts of discrimination (Kessler et al., 1999; Williams et al., 2003; Ruggiero & Taylor, 1995). The scale for perceived discrimination addressed discrimination in various environments that align themselves with Bronfenbrenner's (1979) Ecological Systems Theory (EST). For instance, situations where youth interact with others outside their family or ethnic enclaves such as shopping centres, movies and school (exo-system), as well as more distal interactions through media (macro-system) where political and social views of Latin Americans are portrayed in either a positive or negative light, as illustrated in Figure 6.

Figure 6 Bio-ecological Systems Model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979)



Parent child conflict has been found to contribute to a youth's cumulative risks for problem behaviours (Loukas et al, 2007). One of the aims of the study, however, was to assess the effect culture transfer practices, through parent-child interactions, have on youth behaviours. As such the parent-child scale was developed to address the protective elements of the parent-child relationship addressing youth perceptions of parental support (e.g., love, communication, family time). Previous studies suggest that family conflicts are exacerbated among Latin American families when there are notable discrepancies between the acculturation level of youth and parents (Szapocznik, 1986). In light of these findings and to clearly identify specific cultural conditions which may contribute to acculturation differences among families the parent acculturation level, along with parent-child relationships, were examined in the parent questionnaire and are discussed in more detail below.

Measures & Domains Parent Questionnaire

The measures used in the parent questionnaire included neighbourhood bonding and ethnic make-up, socioeconomic status (household income), ethnic identity and acculturation,

perceived discrimination, parent-child relationship and future academic, professional and relationship aspirations for their daughter (see Appendix B).

Demographic Variables

Demographic data for the parent questionnaire addressed nativity, parent(s) length of stay in host country, education level and household income. Perceptions of community safety, bonding and descriptions of ethnic make-up were addressed to contextualize the risk factors identified in previous literature as plaguing the development of Latino youth in the US (Loukas et al., 2007). These perceptions from parents in both cohorts provided a milieu for Latin Americans in the US and UK, facilitating the comparative analysis of both research cohorts.

Acculturation

This variable was defined as the maintenance of ethnic identity through language use at home, with colleagues and through media (e.g., radio, TV, movies) and the practice of Latin American traditions versus the dominant countries' traditions. An adapted version of Marin & Marin's Acculturation Scale (1987) was used. Marin and Marins' Acculturation scale has been tested for reliability and validity demonstrating a high level of reliability and moderately high levels of validity comparable to other notable scales of acculturation from the literature (e.g., Cuellar et al., Acculturation Scale) (Marin et al., 1987) hence making it a reliable tool to borrow from for the parent questionnaire. Scales addressing bilingualism, language preference for media (TV, radio, movies), preferred ethnicity of social networks and preferred ethnicity of daughter's friends, were used for the parent questionnaire to assess for acculturation level (*Assimilation, Biculturalism, Marginalization and Separation*) as previously described.

The scale addressing parent(s) future social, academic and professional aspirations for their daughter was intended to examine the parent's internalization of traditional Latin American patriarchal values which may conflict with contemporary American/British values towards females (e.g., more important for daughter to marry and have a family than complete her education). This scale concurrently addressed the stereotype that Latin American parents do not value education, hence why second and later generation Latinos have low educational achievement rates (Hill & Torres, 2010). The scales addressing perceived discrimination and parent-child relationship were identical to the youth scales previously listed.

Semi-structured Interviews

Attinasi and Nora (1992) contend that purely quantitative studies are unable to fully capture the complexities of multiple realities and interrelated issues for respondents of diverse backgrounds. Hence, to take a comprehensive approach and contextualize participants' beliefs and perceptions of being Latin American in the US/UK semi-structured interviews were employed. The interviews were conducted following the questionnaire, as was done with the youth sample; however some flexibility was given to this method with the parents as many mothers chose to elaborate on their answers during the questionnaire and provide more detailed answers. For instance, many of the mothers chose to elaborate on their answer regarding their preferences for the ethnicity of their daughter's friends. Questions that addressed the parent-child relationship also commonly resulted in more descriptive answers from the parent participants. In such instances these sections of the questionnaire were only re-addressed in the interview portion if I felt the parent had more to say but thought they were deviating from the questionnaire too much. Overall, parent interviews were conducted in the same manner as the youth interviews applying an interview guide based on the parent responses from the questionnaire.

Data Collection & Ethical Considerations

Interviews with youth and parents were conducted separately to ensure confidentiality and accurate responses from youth regarding risk behaviours and parent-child relationship questions. Youth and parents were provided with a research description sheet which detailed data confidentiality measures such as participant anonymity, data storage and reporting. Youth and parents were asked to sign a consent form that included consent for youth and parent. The youth were asked to sign a consent form as a means of giving them the opportunity to refuse participation in the study. The consent form notified the participants of their right to stop participation in the study at any point. The study description form and consent forms (see Appendix D) were approved by the University of Sheffield, School of Law research ethics committee.

Working with youth involved with the youth justice system required specific ethical considerations that needed to be taken into account. For instance, the youth were informed that any personal disclosure of risk to self or others would require me to inform the appropriate support agencies for the safety of the participant. Parents were also informed that personal disclosure of abuse would need to be reported to the appropriate authorities. In addition, for the court involved youth and parents who may have experienced trauma, abuse and other mental or psychological issues proper support measures were verified with probation staff to ensure that any triggers that may have risen during the interview process would be addressed promptly.

Interviewing youth can be challenging, particularly vulnerable youth involved with the youth justice system. My goal was to ensure youth and parents were at ease and able to talk comfortably during the interviews. As such, I made myself available to meet the participants

wherever they chose and youth and parents separately if they wished. Interviews with the participant group families took place throughout numerous locations ranging from probation and detention interview rooms at PCJCC, coffee shops, restaurants and family homes.

For the participant group families gaining access outside of court appointment days was challenging because many families were transient and did not provide the court accurate home addresses. Furthermore, all of the single-mothers worked hours outside the usual 9-5 pm schedule and had a limited amount of time between work and childrearing. As such the families themselves chose the days they had appointments scheduled at the court to participate in the study. When comparing the length of time between the participant and comparison group interviews I realised that the length of the parent interviews at the court were shorter than those of the comparison group and UK cohort parent interviews. The length of time for the youth interviews did not vary by location.

Data Analysis

The questionnaire was piloted with six youth and parent pairs from PCJCC in the summer of 2012. Items for each domain in the questionnaire were grouped into scales and tested for reliability using Cronbach's alpha testing. Cronbach's alpha is a measure of internal consistency measuring how closely related a set of items are as a group—a measure of scale reliability. A reliability of .70 or higher is considered acceptable for the social sciences (Field, 2005). The number of items in all scales ranged from three to four, except for the mental health, risk-behaviour and education scales which ranged from three to seven. Table 2 details the Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients for each of the 12 scales obtained.

Table 2 Questionnaire Reliability Test Results –Cronbach’s Alpha

Scale	Cronbach’s Alpha Reliability Coefficient	Number of Items (questions)
Spanish Language Acquisition	.876	3
English Language Acquisition	.695	3
Latino Cultural Acquisition	.735	4
American Cultural Acquisition	.635	4
Perceived Discrimination	.717	3
Latino Cultural Norms/Values	.333	3
Parent/Child Relationship	.507	7
Patriarchy	.709	3
Language Preference	.712	4
Risk Taking Behaviours	.431	7
Peers	.881	4
School Bonds	.753	4

Alpha values for all but the Latino cultural norms/values, parent/child relationship and risk taking behaviours scales were within the acceptable reliability coefficient guideline of .7-.8. One possible explanation for the small reliability coefficient is the small number of items in those scales. Cortina (1993) contends that the guidelines should be used with caution as the larger the number of items in a scale the higher the likelihood that a high reliability coefficient will be obtained, yet not necessarily reflect the reliability. While the risk taking behaviours scale had up to seven questions three questions identified the person the youth

was with the first time they had alcohol, age of first cannabis use and who they used cannabis with, in the past six months scored a negative reliability coefficient bringing the other scores down. However, as the small sample size for the US and UK cohorts were too small for statistical analysis the reliability coefficients were not relevant to the qualitative analysis and will not impact the reliability of the qualitative data.

Quantitative data obtained from the youth and parent questionnaires were combined from the US participant and comparison groups for comparative analysis. As previously mentioned due to sample sizes (n=6) statistical analysis of questionnaire data was not permissible, as results would run the risk of a type II error²⁵ (Krysiak & Finn, 2007), hence qualitative analysis was employed. The UK samples for youth (n=10) and parents (n=9) also prohibited conducting statistical analysis (see Table 2). The US and UK sample descriptive statistics were run for demographic variables. Quantitative descriptive data were analysed using SPSS for Windows.

Table 3 Number of interviews by Location

Groups	US Cohort		UK Cohort	
	Youth	Parent	Youth	Parent
Participant	21	21	9*	7
Comparison	6	6	–	–

* Three of the nine recorded youth interviews and one of the parent interviews were not accessible for transcription and analysis as a result of a recording device malfunction. The questionnaire data was recorded on paper during the interview and utilized in analysis.

Interviews were transcribed in full and coded using thematic analysis which reflected the domains in the questionnaire (see Measures above and Appendix E). Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns or themes within the data (Guest et

²⁵ A type II error occurs when the null hypothesis of a research question is accepted and it is concluded that there is no real relationship between the variables in the population when, in fact, there is a small sample size (Krysiak & Finn, 2007).

al., 2012). As I transcribed parent and youth interviews I made note of re-occurring themes on a separate excel spreadsheet. Each theme was coded and assigned to a questionnaire domain based on the relationship between the theme and the domain. For instance, many of the mothers in the UK discussed the importance of transnationalism for maintaining ties to their culture and providing their daughters with personal experiences of the culture. This theme relates to culture transfer and ethnic socialization; hence it was coded under the acculturation domain for the parent interviews.

Another theme that emerged from the US youth participant interviews was subtle acts of discrimination. Many of the girls in this group did not articulate blatant acts of discrimination against them they did however mention incidences where they witnessed other members of their ethnic group being treated unfairly. As a result these comments were coded under the perceived discrimination domain for the youth participants. Themes from the interviews that were not relevant to the research aims were coded as 'Other', such as, girls' romantic relationships and parents' views on healthcare and the economy.

Thematic analysis is a frequently used analytical method in qualitative research despite some considering it a poorly 'branded' method in the social sciences, suggesting that it is widely used but rarely acknowledged as the primary method of analysis (Meehan et al., 2000). Braun and Clarke (2006) contend that an attractive aspect of thematic analysis is that it can be used within different theoretical frameworks such as an essentialist or realist method to report experiences or as a constructionist method examining the manner in which experiences are a result of a range of discourses operating within society. It was the constructionist method of interpretation that I felt applied best to my data and the aims of the study, which is to examine the effects that interactions at the macro- and micro-level have on Latina girls' experiences, hence exploring the manner in which these experiences are affected by a range

of discourses from political, media and social spheres. Thematic analysis offered a more effective means of not only identifying the themes within the interviews but relating these themes back to social and political discourses taking place within the environments of the youth and parent participants. The analysis of youth and parent data yielded five over-arching themes illustrated in Table 4.

Table 4 Thematic coding Results*

Themes/Samples	US Cohort ² Participant Group		³ US Cohort ² Comparison Group		³ UK Cohort	
	¹ Youth	¹ Parent	Youth	Parent	Youth	Parent**
Cultural Adherence (e.g., <i>Familismo, Respeto, Language use</i>)	√	√	√	√	√	√
Transnationalism			√	√	√	√
Acculturation Level	√	√	√	√	√	√
Perceived Discrimination**	√	√	√	√		
Mother/Daughter Relationship	√	√	√	√	√	√

*A check in the table indicates evidence of this theme (either positive or negative) was found in the text analysis.

** Perceived discrimination was reported in the UK parent interviews but for incidences in Spain, not UK.

¹ First pairing for comparison between youth and parents groups

² Second pairing for comparison between US participant and comparison groups

³ Third pairing for comparison between all US and UK cohorts

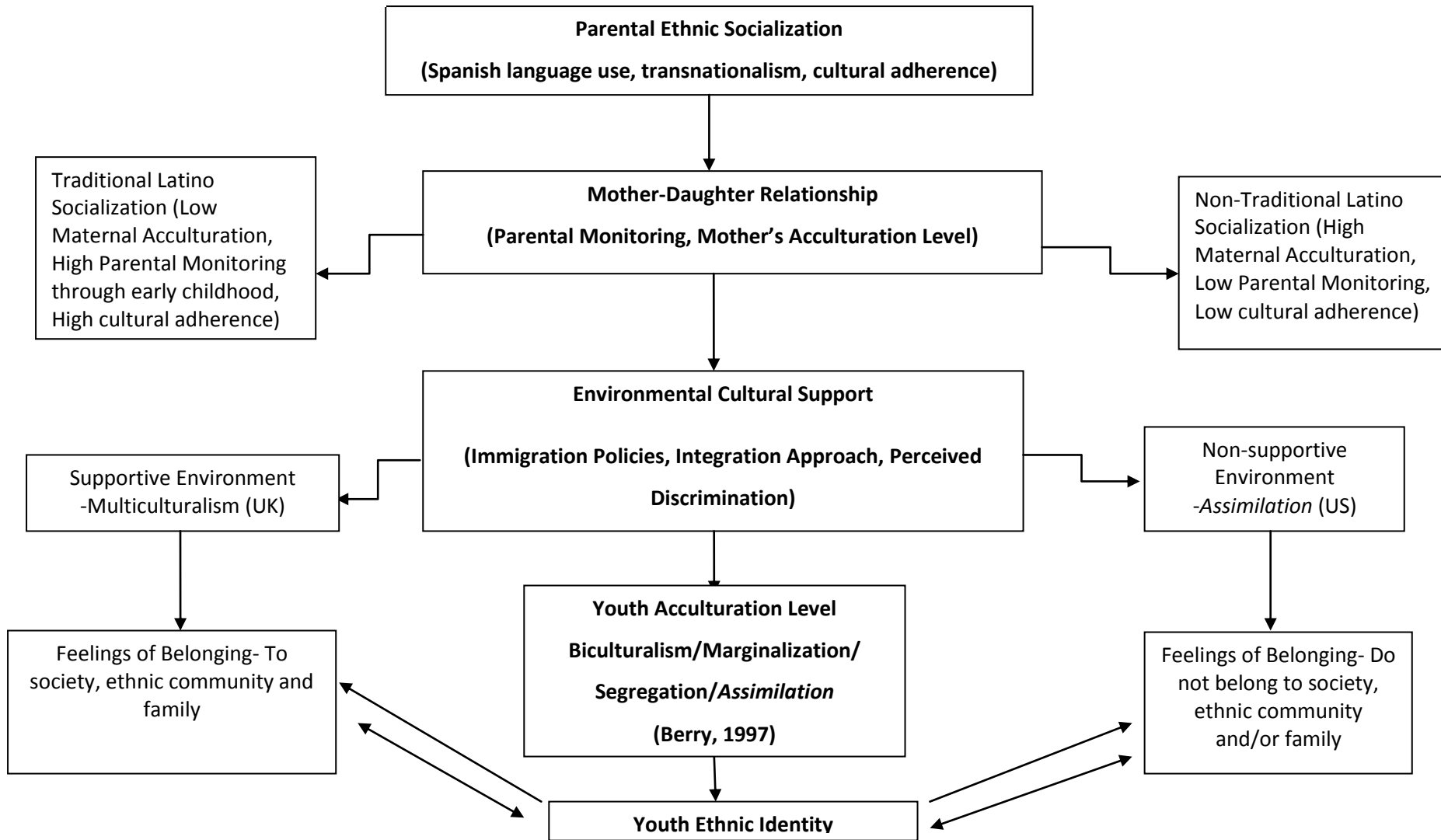
The themes extracted from the data were analysed first between participant and comparison groups in the US cohort, followed by the US and UK cohorts. Comparative text analysis required shifting between participant and comparison sample data, youth and parent samples and US and UK samples. The process required organizing thematic codes found in the

interviews by three different pairings for comparison: 1) youth and parent groups (e.g., parent-child relationship), 2) participant and comparison groups for differences explaining risk-taking behaviours and 3) US and UK cohorts detailing experiences of transnationalism, acculturation level, cultural adherence and perceived discrimination (see Table 4). Data extracted from the interviews during thematic coding were entered into the thematic coding Excel spreadsheet under their assigned domain. During comparative text analysis similarities between themes for the three pairings mentioned above were coded according to their relevance to the study aims. Those themes found to address the study aims were selected for inclusion in the thesis.

Conceptual Diagram

In order to frame the findings around my theoretical framework and to simplify the layers of the research I needed to decipher how the themes that emerged from the data fit within my research questions. A conceptual diagram was used to illustrate the themes that emerged from the interviews and how these themes fit within the aims of the study. As illustrated in Table 3, five overall themes emerged: cultural adherence, transnationalism, acculturation level, perceived discrimination and mother/daughter relationship. In an effort to better understand the relationship between these themes, the youth and parent and their environment a diagram was developed (see Figure 7). The diagram allows for a comparison of the relationship between themes and the youth/parent participants by US and UK cohort (Assimilation and Multiculturalism).

Figure 7 Conceptual Diagram



Discussion

This chapter described the methodological approach applied to conduct a comparative study of US and UK Latin American families. Cross-national studies can be useful at developing classifications of social phenomena, such as strain, discrimination and *Marginalization*, and establishing whether this phenomenon is shared and can be explained by similar causes. In my study, I aim to establish whether the strain and oppression experienced by many Latin Americans in the US is experienced by Latinos in the UK and if so, identify the causes for these shared experiences. When examining the particular issues or phenomena in two countries, with the specific intention of comparing their manifestations, the two socio-cultural settings must be examined. The countries social institutions, customs, traditions, value systems, lifestyles, languages and overall thought patterns must be included in the conceptual framework. In addition to accounting for the socio-cultural settings of the two countries being compared my research also required me to account for those institutions, customs, traditions and values of Latin Americans, hence not only comparing the US and UK socio-cultural settings but the organization and function of Latin American socio-cultural factors as well. As such, cross-national research is multi-faceted, accompanied by many well documented challenges and barriers (Hantrais, 2009).

I experienced many challenges, some expected and others quite unexpected, of these I explain some of the lessons learned from conducting my comparative study. Access to social institutions is one of the main challenges for most researchers, particularly if the study involves vulnerable populations, such as minor children/youth (Krysiak & Finn, 2007). As a result of my professional relationship to PCJCC access to participants from the court and court staff cooperation for the study was secured without issue. However, in order to gain access I submitted a research proposal which delineated my study's aims, identified the

participants for the study and any ethical considerations relevant to PCJCC staff. Upon approval the sampling process was on its way and within a month I was able to begin contacting potential participants as well as their probation officers to coordinate interview meeting dates. The cooperation from all staff beginning from administration down to support staff from community programs facilitated access, recruitment and data collection processes for the participant sample.

Despite the seamless process of sampling and recruitment there were expected challenges with regard to data collection. I was fully aware that interviewing families on PCJCC premises; having previously done this for court related studies was not the most conducive location to ensure parents' ease and comfort. However, as previously mentioned, as a result of the transient nature of this population, the variability in working hours of the mothers and care-taking duties from many of the single-mothers in this group, families preferred to meet me at the court on a day they were already scheduled to attend another meeting with probation staff.

While I made sure my role as a researcher and not as a court employee was clear, I found that the location and additional time request from the mothers prohibited them from feeling completely at ease and consequently sharing more about their experiences during the interview. This was a general observation; there were a few mothers and fathers that seemed to fall into a comfortable conversation once the questionnaire portion had ended and a lengthy discussion of their experiences in the US began; however, these were few compared to the overall group. In future studies with these populations a greater effort should be taken to schedule interviews at neutral locations to ensure that participants are at ease. Regarding the demands on participants' time alternate options are limited to breaking the interview into

two shorter sessions. However, this also is accompanied by issues of breaking the rapport once a conversation has started and demanding more time on the families at a later date.

Accessing participants for the comparison group presented unexpected challenges. As mentioned, recruitment for this group was intended to start with the youth at two school districts shared by the girls in the participant group. As a result of my work with PCJCC I had established a link with one of the school districts' superintendent and the other districts' school psychologist, both members of PCJCC's stakeholder group. However, gaining access from the school boards was delayed due to school holidays and examination periods. As a result, access was granted one month before the school term was to terminate. Being based in the UK I was not able to arrange travel at a reasonable cost for a last minute trip to begin the sampling and recruitment process and could not afford to wait until the autumn term as I had other teaching obligations that prohibited me from travelling during term time. As such, I had to forgo this sampling site and switch to community groups and religious organizations that served the target population. Hence, time and finances become valuable resources in cross-national research, of which I was very limited in since PhD studies are time restricted and I am a self-funded student.

The challenges experienced with access and recruitment in the US were minor in relation to the barriers faced attempting to gain access to Latin Americans in the UK. The limited studies conducted on Latinos in the UK indicated that Latin Americans are predominantly located in London (McIlwaine & Linneker, 2011). As a result I began contacting researchers and professors in Latin American studies at universities in the London area. This resulted in a link to three of the few researchers conducting studies of Latin Americans in London. They connected me to an organization that served Latin American women in the London area. While the networks seemed promising I soon found that being based outside of the research

study site, in this case London was counterproductive to gaining access to Latinos through established community organisations. Two issues arose that became barriers to working with some of the most prominent community organisations serving Latin Americans. The first was a concern for study fatigue by the Latina members of those organisations.

As a result of a rising interest in Latin Americans in the UK a few established academics had begun conducting studies around well-being and overall Latino representation in London. As such, the community organization I was attempting to gain access through was hesitant to provide me access if this would require their staff to assist me or if I was not available to provide in-kind support through community service. Despite offering to deliver workshops for youth and parents on the weekends, at the end of a six-month deliberation the director of the organization refused my access.

While I expected challenges to gaining access to an understudied population I did not expect barriers on the basis of reciprocity, particularly after offering in-kind support. However, I believe that not having an internal connection with the organization prior to requesting access to their clients and not being associated with funding that could compensate the organisations' staff were issues that other academics who gained access had prepared for in advance. Hence, connections to the social institutions and communities of both countries are essential for assuring equal access and recruitment to participants from both study locations. This represents another challenge that should be accounted for when conducting comparative research.

However, despite these initial barriers I was able to connect with Latina community leaders and after attending a series of meetings and community events I was able to gain access to a list of potential participants and increase the range of recruitment. Circumventing barriers to

access through organisations and social institutions can be expected in most studies; however, challenges with having a sufficient number of participants that meet the study eligibility criteria are equally relevant in comparative research (Hantrais, 2009). While I was aware that there were a limited number of Latin American families in the UK when compared to the US, I was surprised by the limited number of young Latinas within the age range of the study.

According to preliminary studies on the Latin American population in the UK, there are more male second generation Latinos in the UK than female (McIlwaine & Linneker, 2011). This further complicated the sampling process as the second generation of Latinos in the UK would be in the middle to late stages of adolescence based on the ages of Latino migrants who settled in the UK in the early nineties (McIlwaine et al, 2010). While I do not propose that my study covered the span of Latinas in the UK within the age category selected for the study, other challenges regarding access, combined with a limited number of participants available, magnifies the issues of recruitment and sampling.

Lastly, issues of accessing comparable data were encountered. Data collection is strongly influenced by national conventions (Hantrais, 2009). The source, purpose and criteria used vary by country to fit the needs of that nation. As a result, in some areas national records of ethnicity data for under-represented ethnic groups may not be collected, as was the case in the UK. Population data reported were estimates based on McIlwaine & Linnekers' (2011) recent work on compiling an approximate count of Latin Americans in the UK. Hence, national databases like the Census and Youth justice records did not include aggregate data by gender and ethnicity for Latin Americans. There was the possibility that paper case files would have this information recorded, however, based on previously mentioned time restrictions for this study, following this avenue was not feasible. In comparative studies, much time and effort is expended trying to reduce classifications to a common base (Hantrais, 2009). In the case of

my study, offending data was reduced to self-reporting categories of offending that were considered delinquent in the US and UK and exclude status offences (see Chapter 4) in order to reach a common base of offending behaviours in American and British legal contexts.

Comparative research demands a greater degree of compromises in methods than a single-country focus (Hantrais, 2009). The challenges and barriers uncovered during my research highlight the importance of comparative studies, even those with small samples, as few researchers take on cross-national research because of the challenges mentioned. Hantrais (2009) contends that while comparative research has many obstacles the benefits can lead to the identification of gaps in knowledge and point to possible directions for future research that may not have been initially considered by the researcher. Furthermore, in terms of my study, cross-national research provides a means for confronting findings in an attempt to identify any similarities and differences between nations in order to search for the possible explanations in terms of national likeness and unlikeness. Aside from barriers to access, recruitment and data collection there were unexpected challenges with the interpretation of data in the UK sample. The next section discusses some of these challenges and includes some reflections on the impact my gender, social class and previous experience as a researcher had on my data collection and analytic processes.

Reflexivity

As a second generation Latina, I not only speak Spanish fluently but am familiar with Latino customs, traditions, norms and values from my own experiences with family. However, as previously mentioned in Chapter 2, Latin Americans are not a homogenous ethnic group. There are shared values and norms and vast linguistic similarities, but each Latino sub-culture has their own unique traditions and linguistic nuances of which I was not familiar with prior to engaging in interview. For instance, a few of the mothers mentioned Colombian foods that

were representative of their culture and while I was not familiar with these foods I decided not to stop the interview to inquire for concern that this might break the rapport that had been established. It was my observation that as members of the Latino community we take for granted that we are not all from the same sub-culture and as I was not expecting to encounter words or customs that I was unfamiliar with, similarly the mothers assumed that I understood the meanings of their words and customs.

In some instances, where appropriate, I did probe for more detail of certain religious customs unique to specific sub-cultures. For example, the Peruvian mother from the UK cohort was describing a religious custom involving the nativity display during Christmas and how it is customary to cover and uncover the baby Jesus during the days before Christmas. I was not aware of this custom and she enjoyed educating me on the tradition which enhanced our rapport and motivated her to continuing talking about unique Peruvian customs. As such, specific cultural nuances should be accounted for when conducting comparative research not only regarding obvious differences such as social institutions, but also unique linguistic and cultural differences within sub-cultures.

Aside from taking account of sub-cultural nuances there is the role and identity of the researcher that must also be noted, particularly during data collection and analysis. As Burr (1999) suggests, we are all products of our culture and experiences and accept that we cannot remove our culture and personal experiences from the way we view the world. Entering my research I assumed that my role as a Spanish speaking Latina, who had studied in Mexico for three years during my youth, would put me at an advantage for developing and conducting my research. While my familiarity with the Latin American culture in the southwest region of the US did facilitate rapport with the families it was my other personal characteristics (e.g.

gender, social class, professional position, education and style of dress) that I did not account for until I was in the data collection process.

For instance, as a younger looking Latina I assumed that most of the young women would feel at ease with me during the interview process. While this was the case for the most part, there was the instance with one young woman in detention who had a difficult relationship with the women in her life and did not relate to me or feel at ease at all during the interview despite the many attempts I made to relate to her. I realised that the limitations to our rapport were in part my appearance and how the young woman viewed me that put her off. I deduced this after observing how at ease she was with her probation officer whose mannerisms were very similar to hers and represented a more 'street smart' identity.

This was a new experience for me as I had always been successful interviewing young women of diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. However, after closer examination of my phone interview with her grandmother and legal guardian it became clear to me that to both of them I represented the system, an educated, well dressed, professional woman that did not understand their positions in society, their struggles and experiences. As a Latina I had always circumvented this identity with the families and youth I interviewed because of my fluency in Spanish and my knowledge of the Tucson culture. I was able to switch between roles in the past, depending on the need of the situation, in order to enhance rapport with participants of diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. However, it became clear that as an educated and professional woman I lost some of my credibility as a member of a marginalized group and for the first time felt what I perceived white researchers experienced when interviewing ethnic minority youth.

Cognizant of the tension in the interview with both the granddaughter and grandmother I was aware that there may be nuances that occurred during the interview that I might miss during transcription. As such, I chose to voice record my observations and reflections of the interview in my car right after the interviews took place to ensure that the broader context was available to me as I analyzed the quantitative and qualitative data. Charmaz (2006) contends that reflexivity involves the researcher's scrutiny of her research experience, decisions and interpretations in a manner that includes the researcher in the process and allows her to assess how and to what degree the researcher's interest, position and assumptions influence her inquiry. I made sure to take account of how the young woman's perceptions of me might have limited her responses during the interview and therefore her answers may be more a reflection of her distrust in me than any guarded feelings about the topics we were discussing.

While in some instances my appearance created barriers in rapport with the study participants, in other instances my rapport with the participants created challenges to separating my personal views of them with my views as an academic conducting objective analysis. This occurred in a couple of instances with the families in the UK. As a mature student I was close in age to many of the mothers I was interviewing. These women were also educated Latinas who had moved to the UK to pursue their higher education and chose to remain there after their studies; residing quite a ways from their extended family. As the interviews went on I realized that I shared very similar life experiences and during our interviews had to remind myself to not interject with my own experiences but to allow the mothers to tell their stories. Both of these interviews lasted well over two hours and were the richest and most robust in terms of data quality and quantity.

Upon reflection, I deduced that the immediate rapport between these mothers and myself were what allowed the conversation to flow and the dialogue to expand into personal accounts and details that these mothers may not have otherwise shared had they not felt like they were talking to a friend. I compared those two instances with the interviews I conducted in the US; where as mentioned I applied snowball sampling where many of the mothers knew each other in some capacity. In these interviews the mothers were also ranging close to my age but were either, a) unaware of our proximity in age; b) could not relate to my educational background or life experiences living abroad; and c) had daily contact with many other Latinas. It occurred to me that this daily contact with other Latinas prevented an immediate bond to form, as occurred with the mothers in the UK where many of the mothers lacked Latina friends. The depth of the US mother interviews were shorter in comparison to the UK and while most were rich in data there was a sense of guardedness, as one would have with a stranger, that I did not notice at the time but was able to reflect on during the analysis phase.

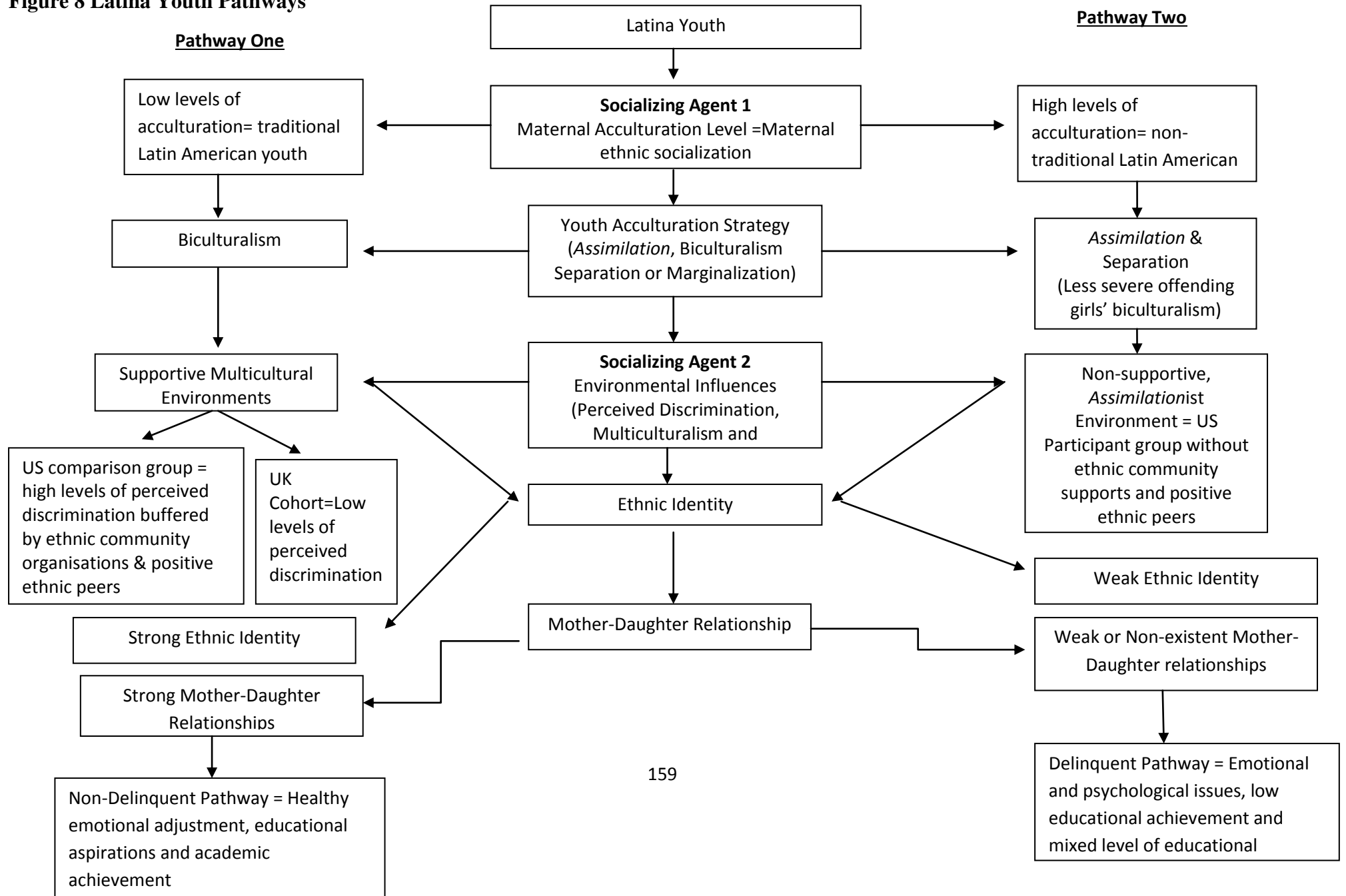
During the interview phase I was able to switch between my roles as the researcher that shared things in common with her study participants, to the objective observer facilitating the interview and finally, at times, pulled both identities together to better understand the actions and words of study participants with whom I shared nothing in common. While I assumed that my cultural and historical background would facilitate the development of my study, data collection tools and the implementation of data collection methods, I did not ponder on the effects they would have on my analysis. It was not until I began the analytical process that I realised how relevant it is to examine the role of the researcher and what the researcher brings to the data collection and analysis process.

I can say that overall I understood the families and the young women in my study better than perhaps a white-American or British woman. In addition, I am aware that my position as a

first generation Latina that has experienced a working-class upbringing but can now navigate between social classes afforded me a perspective that few researchers have, experiences that I could tap into and reference during analysis. As Steedman (1991) contends, 'knowledge cannot be separated from the knower' (p.184).

In the next three chapters (6, 7, & 8) I highlight the comparative findings, beginning with Figure 8 illustrating the life pathways of the young Latinas in my study. I begin Chapter six with a preface in which I discuss in detail how my theoretical framework from Chapter 5 fits into the life pathways of the young women in my study. The chapter follows with my findings in terms of the US cohort where I explore the differences and similarities between the participant and comparison groups. In Chapter 7, I review the findings of the UK cohort and lastly in Chapter 8 I compare the US and UK cohort findings.

Figure 8 Latina Youth Pathways



Chapter Six: Being Latino in America

Preface

The theoretical framework I selected for my study was intended to address the multiple issues influencing Latina youth life pathways. After extensive research of the literature I determined that one stand alone theory was not sufficient to effectively address the foundational elements of my study. As such, I chose to combine two established theories from sociology (Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Model and Berry's Acculturation Theory) and one from criminology (Agnew's General Strain Theory) to effectively analyse the influence of the environment on youth identity and consequently their ethnic identity. I delineate below how I pooled all three theories together and operationalized them in my analysis to develop the life pathways in figure 8.

As discussed in Chapter 3, as members of society we are constantly coming into contact with other people, social groups and organisations. These interactions, whether one or two sided, inevitably influence the individual. These processes are ubiquitous in everyone's daily life and help shape our identities. This is the premise behind Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (EST) which focuses on the interchange of ideas, beliefs and experiences between the individual and their environment. EST narrows the focus from a broad concept of the environment towards specific concentric layers which house different environmental influences or socializing agents. The strength of the influence from each layer is dependent on the proximity of the layer to the individual, who sits at the centre of the concentric circles (see figure 2, p.57). EST not only addresses environmental influences as separate and distinct experiences between the individual and their environment but it also takes into account the interactions between those separate entities within the concentric circles (e.g. family, school, government) and how these distal interactions can inevitably trickle down to the individual

functioning as socializing agents. Hence, the parent-child relationship has a significant effect on the developing child's behaviours not only in the home but in other social settings like school or neighbourhood; illustrating how influences in one system can affect the child's interactions with other systems.

EST appealed to my research focus because it allowed me to examine the impact that environmental stimuli, in the form of media messages and government policies at a distal level, and family relationships and mother-daughter bonds at the proximal level, had on Latina youth identity development. Specifically, it highlighted how prevalent ethnic stereotypes, manifested in the treatment of Latin Americans, influenced the ethnic identity of the mothers and daughters in my research. In addition, EST was well suited for the comparative element which allowed me to compare the societal and political perspectives, of the US and UK, on Latin Americans and how these views influenced the ethnic identities and life pathways of young Latinas growing up in these societies.

As an extension of EST, Berry's acculturation model narrows in on the process of cultural adaptation and negotiation. The manner in which an individual adapts to the cultural practices of their culture of origin and those of western culture are important because within this process lies the motivation for adaptation and influences the type of acculturation strategy an individual selects. The process of acculturation is neutral by definition; however, studies suggest that most of the adaptation takes place among members of the minority culture (Berry, 1997). As such, examining how Latin American young women negotiate between their Latino cultural practices and western cultural practices is important when analyzing the role of culture and ethnic identity on risk taking behaviours. In addition to examining the young women's acculturation process I found it necessary to also explore the acculturation strategies of the mother's in my study. As mentioned in Chapter 1 and 2, in Latino culture

women, primarily mothers, are the carriers of culture. As such, there is an inevitable link between the mother's acculturation process and their daughter's level of acculturation.

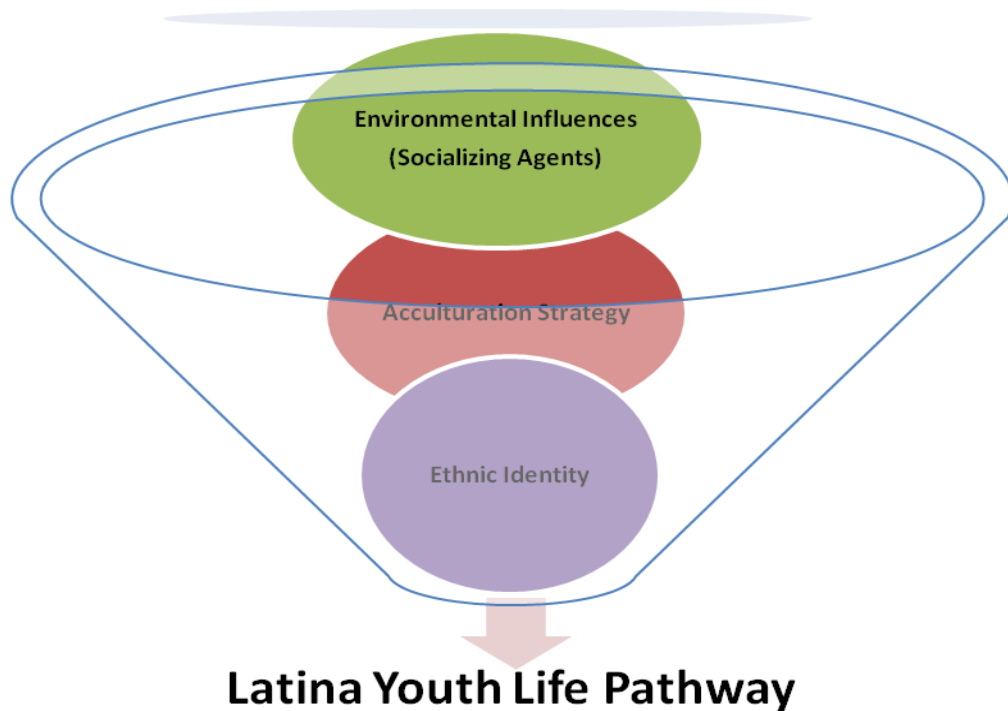
As mentioned in Chapter 3, Berry's acculturation model consists of four strategies: 1) *Assimilation*; 2) *Biculturalism*; 3) *Marginalization* and 4) *Separation*. Acculturation research has found biculturalism to be the most beneficial strategy for ethnic minority youth growing up in western cultures (Bacallo & Smokowski, 2005). The conflict for ethnic minority youth arises when the majority culture promotes a different acculturation strategy, such as the US with *Assimilation* (Berry, 1997). This conflict places Latino youth in a precarious position attempting to negotiate their ethnic identity between two worlds.

Acculturation studies have termed the conflict between cultural identities as Acculturation Stress (Saldaña, 1994), when levels of conflict between the individual's cultural identity and acceptance by the dominant society are experienced. Latin Americans in the US tend to experience high levels of acculturation stress which influences their process of adaptation, ethnic identity and consequently their successful integration into American society. Many factors related to acculturation stress are linked to racism, disparate treatment, discrimination and stereotypes that inhibit Latino youth from breaking free from social barriers towards education and upward social mobility. Furthermore, studies on ethnic identity suggest that for Latino youth in western cultures high levels of ethnic identity are predictive of better emotional and educational outcomes (Fuglini et al., 2005). Acculturation theory was highly relevant in my analyses of the mother's level of acculturation, which affected how they socialized their daughters (with Latino customs or not) and consequently influenced their daughter's acculturation strategies and ethnic identity.

In light of the strong influence that the process of acculturation has on Latino youth I determined that Agnew's General Strain Theory (GST) was an appropriate criminological theory for analyzing the effects of those factors associated with acculturation stress. GST maintains that stress may result not only from the failure to achieve positively valued goals, but also from the inability to legally escape from painful situations (Agnew, 1992), such as oppression, exclusion and marginalization. It identifies the impact the disjunction between dominant cultural norms and traditional norms have on the achievement outcomes of ethnic minority youth. Additionally, it identifies the types of strain stemming from their ecology and the range of emotions they experience that may negatively influence their ethnic identity and potentially influence their life pathways. General strain theory allowed me to link the three aspects of my research, 1) the effects of maternal acculturation level and daughter's acculturation strategy on the mother-daughter bond; 2) the impact of environmental influences, as a socializing agent, on Latino youth's ethnic identity; 3) how the convergence of aspects 1 and 2 result in the life pathways of the Latina girls in my study.

My research required a theoretical framework that would effectively address the three elements of my study in a continuous fashion. While there was not one single theory across sociology and criminology that could accomplish this I decided to create a three pronged theoretical framework. This framework combines three separate theories in a sequential manner where one funnels down to the other allowing me to analyze each theoretical layer separately and accumulating my findings as I moved down to the next theory in a funnel like fashion (see Figure 9).

Figure 9. Theoretical Framework Funnel



For instance, as I examined the interview and survey data collected from my US Latina youth participants I looked for information that detailed their experience of being Latina in a white-dominant western society. This illustrated how their distal and proximal layers of everyday interactions influenced their views of others and themselves. This allowed me to assess what strategy of acculturation they were in and to what extent acculturation stress was influencing their views of themselves and their environment. I then used these findings to apply GST in determining how their experiences and their views of themselves and their environment influenced their ethnic identity and eventually their life pathway. While the analytical process is sequential it allows for identifying the presence of those factors that positively influence the young women's decision making processes instead of merely focusing on the negative experiences. This was crucial to my focus of culture as a protective element to risk taking behaviours. In chapters 6 and 7 I discuss in detail how my theoretical framework fit into the

analyses of the young women in the US and UK cohorts. I begin with the US participant and comparison groups.

Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the overarching themes from my analysis of the US family interviews. In particular, I discuss the role acculturation, perceived discrimination and maternal support had on the ethnic identities and decision-making processes of the young Latinas interviewed in the US cohort. Within the discussion of the aforementioned factors I explore the differences and similarities between the participant and comparison group families and discuss the differences in relation to risk taking behaviours.

Latinas and Their Environment

As was previously discussed in chapters three and four, the environmental experiences of ethnic minority youth are highly influential on acculturation practices and ethnic identity development (Bronfenbrenner, 1972; Garcia Coll et al, 1996). Eamon and Mulder (2005) found that for Latinos in America poor quality neighbourhoods and low-performing schools coupled with high rates of reported discrimination were highly relevant to the understanding of their narratives and involvement or avoidance of risk-taking behaviours. As such, an examination of the social milieu of young Latinas, in the participant and comparison groups²⁶, was explored through interviews addressing issues of acculturation, perceived discrimination and parent-child relationship quality.

The social environments of all 27 youth and parent respondents (participant and comparison groups) were primarily composed of ethnic minorities (e.g., Latinos, blacks and Native-Americans). Census reports describe the areas the girls lived in as having low or inadequate

²⁶ Participant groups include the young Latinas with some juvenile justice involvement while the comparison group includes young Latinas with no reported juvenile justice involvement (see Chapter 5).

resources and medium to high levels of crime (U.S. Census, 2010). Of the 21 young women in the participant group, 13 (62%) lived in a single parent household. Of those, 10 lived in a female headed household either with their mother (n=8) or grandmother (n=2). Over eighty percent lived in impoverished, high crime areas. Incomes for the families in this group ranged from \$16,000 to \$50,000. The average annual income for the families in the participant group was approximately \$23,000 which falls slightly below the poverty line for a family of four in the 48 contiguous states and the District of Columbia.²⁷ This figure translates into approximately £12,000 in annual income in the UK, slightly above the poverty line threshold of approximately £9,900 (Gordon, 2006; Gordon et al., 2014).

The young Latinas in the comparison group also resided in poor, predominantly ethnic communities, however, the structure and incomes of the families varied from the participant group. All but one of the six youth interviewed lived in a two-parent household. The young woman who lived with her mother-only was part of an extended network of family members and spent an equal amount of time with her aunts and uncles in their homes when her mother was working. Studies suggest that among traditional Latin American families child-rearing support and assistance from nuclear and extended family members can protect the youth from the risks (e.g., lack of supervision, negative peer influences, risk taking behaviours) that are more common among single-parent households (Garcia Coll et al., 1996; Martinez, 1999); suggesting that extended family networks function as parental surrogates.

Average annual incomes for the families in the comparison group varied; however, the average income was \$4,500 higher than the participant group families and ranged from \$16,000 to \$70,000 in 2013. This may be attributed to the fact that the father was the primary

²⁷ The Poverty guidelines for the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, as of January 22, 2014.

income provider in the comparison group families, as only three of the six mothers were employed in part-time work at the time of interview, however as men benefit from the ‘gender pay gap’ that pays males 19% more per year than females (U.S. Department of Labor Force, 2011) a single, male-provider income is still higher than a single, female provider as evidenced by the reported salary ranges from the participant group families.

Despite the variance in incomes and family structures Latinas in the participant and comparison groups were exposed to similar types of environmental strain. The neighbourhoods of the families in the study were composed of primarily Latin American immigrants of different generations. The city’s Southside is viewed as a Mexican community where newer immigrants initially settle upon arrival but also where later generation Mexicans of low socio-economic means remain. Despite the politically progressive stance of the city where the interviews took place (see Chapter 5); it is still very much divided by race and ethnicity, where Latinos primarily reside in the more impoverished southern areas of the city. Studies on Latin Americans in the US indicate that progression from higher to lower poverty neighbourhoods is far weaker among Mexicans than any other immigrant group (Jarkowsky, 2009). In addition, given the low income of most Mexican migrants, they tend to settle in high-poverty neighbourhoods where they have access to low-cost housing. As one Mexican mother explained after I asked her whether she found her neighbourhood safe for her family and whether police presence impacted her perceptions of safety:

Inez²⁸: Well we live here and nothing has ever happened to us, but, I would have liked to live somewhere else. It is a neighbourhood with a bad reputation [for crime] but we have been ok, we haven’t had a bad experience. I suppose it is because there is a strong police presence, they practically are stationed here. At the local shop they are there all the time. I feel safer because if anything happens I know where they are there.

²⁸ All the names used in this thesis are pseudonyms to protect the anonymity of the research participants.

Despite the neighbourhood's bad reputation this mother reported feeling safe, mainly as a result of heavy police presence. However, it was evident to me that she was also keenly aware of the potential dangers lurking within her neighbourhood. For instance, when I arrived she asked me to park in her family's driveway so my car would be safer and as the sun began to set she pointed out that I should try to avoid driving away from the neighbourhood on my own at night. These comments signalled her ambivalence towards her neighbourhood's perceived degree of safety. Another one of the mothers I interviewed was less explicit about the conditions of her neighbourhood, however, gave the impression that there was little community investment among the residents.

Francis: I'll be honest I don't really know the people in my neighbourhood anymore; it is changing all the time. When I was growing up there it was the same families, we all knew each other. Now you have new families and they don't stay, they are always moving so we just don't know them. I don't really talk to my neighbours.

This mother was third generation Mexican-American and remembered a time where her neighbourhood was a predominantly Mexican community spanning many generations of Mexican families with investment in their community. However, her comment, 'you have new families and they don't stay' suggests that there is little community investment and little incentive for new residents to establish roots, perhaps as a result of poor neighbourhood conditions, as she added that there was constant police presence, 'two police' patrolling the neighbourhood 'all the time'.

The manner in which neighbourhood conditions specifically effect girls versus boys and whether girls are more susceptible is not well researched (Steffensmeier & Haynie, 2000; Jacob, 2006). Studies conducted have repeatedly found that contextual domains of family, household structure, parent-child relationships and peers have a moderating effect from poor neighbourhood conditions (Salinzinger et al., 2002; Elliot et al., 2006). As such,

neighbourhood perceptions were not specifically addressed in the interviews with the Latina youth but deferred to the contextual domains addressing school bonding, peer influences and family relationships. In the next section I discuss the effects of impoverished and under-resourced communities on school environments and the impact this has on the educational outcomes of the girls from my study.

Educational Achievement

Latinos in the US face a number of challenges regarding education (e.g., limited resource support in the home, poor performing schools, economic barriers, language proficiency and stereotypes) which puts them behind their Anglo-American counterparts in terms of academic achievement (Guyll et al., 2010). Within my US sample two main themes emerged as potential barriers to Latina youth educational achievement. The first pattern I observed from analysis suggests that many of the older Latinas in the study, regardless of juvenile court involvement, were enrolled in alternative school systems commonly referred to in the US as charter schools. These academic organisations are not federally funded, therefore not held to the same regulations as traditional schools (Chingos & West, 2014). Charter schools have also been found to appeal to students who have an interest in moving on to technical, apprenticeship type of training after their secondary studies (Hanushek et al., 2007). One of the young woman enrolled in an alternative school claimed to prefer the flexibility of class times, ‘they work around your schedule’, which allowed her to complete ‘credits faster’ than at a traditional school.

However, studies have found that charter schools are becoming more common among disadvantaged youth that are already performing poorly in traditional school settings (Bettinger, 2005). In addition, charter schools are becoming disproportionately minority. According to the Centre for Educational Reform (2000) charter schools across the nation

enrolled 11% fewer white students than traditional schools, 7% more blacks and 3% more Latinos, as compared to the overall student enrolment patterns in the states with charter schools. Studies on charter school quality in Arizona found that these alternate systems of education have not improved student tests scores compared to traditional schools, and may even be causing students to perform worse in math as a result of curricula focused on less traditional academic criteria (e.g., arts, trade, etc.) (Chingos & West, 2014).

In the 2013-2014 school year, state-wide high school statistics for Latinos in Arizona indicated an almost 50/50 split in charter school and traditional high school enrolment (49.3% vs. 50.5% respectively) (Arizona Department of Education, 2015). School enrolment for the Latina girls in the study was also split between charter schools and traditional schools. Hence, school type data distribution from the study was reflective of the distribution for the entire state in the previous academic year with an almost 50/50 split between traditional and alternative education enrolment.

One difference found between participant and comparison groups' educational enrolment data was in the under 14 age group. The comparison group respondents under 14 years of age were more likely to attend a traditional school than their older counterparts. Those students attending traditional junior high or high schools were enrolled in one of the two largest school districts in the city²⁹, both of which are comprised of predominantly ethnic minorities (82% and 77% respectively) leading to the second theme found in the data regarding educational attainment.

School quality among school districts is representative of the income distribution of the residents' of that district. It has been well documented that schools in more economically

²⁹ www.susd.org and <http://tusdstats.tusd1.org>

advantaged neighbourhoods provide higher quality education and resources (e.g., computers, facilities and staff) (Chingos & West, 2014). As a result, the two school districts where the youth participants attended or had attended classes served low-income families, consequently receiving less funding for facilities and staff professional development and resulting in lower school quality than more advantaged school districts (Peske & Haycock, 2006). In addition to under-resourced schools there is also the well documented prevalence of bias against ethnic minority youth (Hill & Torres, 2010). Studies have reported lower expectations from staff of black, Latino and Native American students compared to white and Asian students (Spencer et al., 1991; Kao & Thompson, 2003). This is especially true of stereotypes about young Latinas attending high minority traditional schools. Studies have found that young Latinas are subject to harmful self-fulfilling prophecies by school personnel involving low levels of ambition and teenage pregnancy (Neimann-Flores, 2001; Garcia-Reid, 2007).

Lowering expectations for ethnic minority youth because of existing stereotypes on their academic capacity has led to self-fulfilling prophecies regarding their educational achievement and goal setting (Guyl et al., 2010). For Annabell, from the participant group, school was both a place she enjoyed and that caused her strain. Annabell was in detention at the time of the interview and had been out of the school setting for nine months prior to her detention. She was attending a charter school before she dropped out and ran away. Annabell explained how much she missed the routine of preparing for school, but recognized in hindsight that she was not applying herself as she should have been, resulting in feelings of low self-worth.

Annabell: I like to get up, for nine months I was just staying at home and doing nothing and I just missed getting up and getting ready. I mean I like all my classes, except math, like everything but that. I don't know I just had fun, school is fun for me, but I just wouldn't apply myself to the work and I ditched a lot.

VC: Why do you think you ditched classes if you liked school?

Annabell: Sometimes I felt stupid being at school 'cause like in middle school I messed around and I didn't really pay attention and it was kinda' the stuff they were teaching me in high school but I didn't really get it so I just felt stupid most of the time and I didn't really bother anymore. I gave up I guess.

Annabell reported grades of 'mostly D's' and did not receive any assistance through alternative education programs or learning disability testing to determine learning difficulties throughout her years in traditional and charter schools. While she did not report any perceived discrimination from her teachers or peers her educational experience did suggest a pattern of disadvantage. Annabell was not performing well in school and was truant, these behaviours were indicative of other barriers preventing her from engaging in all her classes (Spencer et al., 1991). However, neither the school staff nor her mother intervened to find alternative programming to help her engage in all her classes. Instead, Annabell was referred to the juvenile court system for consistent truancy which later led to more severe delinquent behaviour eventually landing her in detention.

As such, the Latina girls in the study were disadvantaged by the structural conditions of their communities and schools and indirectly may also have been exposed to stereotype threat linked to their educational outcomes. Stereotype threat is related to an individual's fear that her behaviour may confirm or be understood in terms of a negative stereotype associated with her social or ethnic group (Steele, 1997). Stereotype threat is associated with anxiety that disrupts a student's ability to perform and has been most commonly examined as a means of understanding the achievement gap between ethnic minorities and Anglo-Americans in the US, as well as between genders in maths and science courses (Steele, 1997; Schmader et al., 2008). In fact, studies in higher education among ethnic minorities suggest a very small proportion of ethnic minorities move on to university after completing their high school requirements (Fry, 2003; Verdugo, 2006). Among Latin American youth in the Southwest

only 8% of students with a completed high school degree or equivalent enrolled in a university program in 2010 (Milem et al, 2013).

An analysis from the youth respondents in my study illustrated a clear difference in educational goals and juvenile justice involvement. All of the girls in the comparison group had either applied to a university program, were in the process of applying or were already attending an associate degree program while completing their high school credits. Of the 21 girls in the participant group only two mentioned in the interview any plans to attend university and pursue a career. The difference in educational goals may be attributed to the poor educational performance reported by most of the young women in the participant group, where the average grades were a mix of C's and D's.

In addition, of the 21 young women in the participant group only four reported any special education or learning assistance from school programs and staff. However, all of the comparison group girls were attending or had attended the same school districts and managed to overcome educational barriers reporting an average of A's and B's across all age groups. This observation led to me to analyze the potential effects of other contextual factors present in the girls' environments. The next section explores the impact of perceived discrimination on the girls' ethnic experiences and ethnic identity.

Perceived Messages of Inferiority

Messages of inferiority and culture shaming, as an external influence on self-identity, were explored through the perceived discrimination domain in the questionnaire. The domain was comprised of four questions inquiring about perceived, racially motivated, unfair treatment in school and in shopping malls or centres of entertainment. An additional question examined the respondent's degree of perceived discrimination against their ethnic group from the media

(see Appendix A). Perceived discrimination was rated on a Likert scale of three response options: *Completely agree, Neutral or Completely disagree*.

Half of the respondents in the participant group acknowledged some degree of perceived discrimination either by agreeing to being treated unfairly or by giving a range of times (e.g., *1-2 times, 3-4 times, 5 or more times*) they had heard or read something negative about their race and ethnicity in the media. Five of the 21 respondents in the participant group agreed to hearing or reading something negative about their race/ethnicity in the media at least once in the past year. Findings indicated that 14 (67%) girls from the participant group reported a low degree of perceived discrimination. This suggests that while they were cognizant that some unfair or disparate treatment against their ethnic group did exist they did not recall experiencing in their day-to-day interactions with others.

Responses from the comparison group girls indicated a slightly greater awareness of perceived discrimination. Four of the six girls agreed being discriminated against or witnessing their ethnic peers being discriminated either at school or at the mall and movies. Furthermore, four of the six agreed to have heard at least once in the media or read something negative about their race/ethnicity in the past year. The variance in agreement seemed best explained by analyzing responses by age categories. The older participants, ages 16-17 years were more likely to report some degree of perceived discrimination either at school, when out socializing or through media reports (see Table 3). While the younger participants aged 12-15 years were less likely to report perceived discrimination at school and while socializing. A few younger respondents reported perceived discrimination through media at least once in the past year.

One explanation for the variance between age groups is rooted in the developmental processes of children. The young girls who were unable to identify instances of perceived discrimination in their lives or to link messages in the media to their own ethnic group may not have developed a full understanding of racial and ethnic terms. Vera and Quintana (2004) suggest that the developmental sequencing of children’s understanding of racial and ethnic terms is based on ontological complexities. For instance, children are able to identify with racial characteristics, such as being white or black, but less so with ethnicity.

Following this logic, it would seem that the youths’ understanding of the political connotations underlying the ethnic labels used to describe their ethnic group would take place later in their development as understanding the political connotations is ontologically more complex (Vera & Quintana, 2004). Therefore their interpretation of others’ behaviours towards them may not be perceived as systemic discrimination but more as actions of a few rude individuals. However as they mature and increase their exposure to environments outside their ethnic enclave these perceptions may change.

Table 5 Youth Perceived Discrimination by Age

All US Youth Participants (n=27)*			
Age Category	Perceived Discrimination at School	Perceived Discrimination when Socializing	Perceived Discrimination in the Media
12-15 yrs. (n=13)	4	3	6
16-17 yrs. (n=14)	5	8	9

* Answers represent those that agreed with the question.

To ensure that the respondents from the 12-15 age group understood the meaning of discrimination a vignette was developed illustrating a Latin American mother and daughter's unfair treatment by a white, middle aged, store clerk (see Appendix B). After reading this vignette respondents were asked to describe what they thought had occurred in that story. All respondents were able to identify racially motivated, disparate treatment towards the mother and daughter, however only one respondent was able to link the vignette with a personal experience. Evelyn, from the participant group, is 14 years old and first generation Mexican. She migrated with her mother to the US at the age of six. After discussing the vignette Evelyn recalled an incident that occurred between her Mexican friends and a group of Anglo-American girls while shopping at the mall.

Me and my friend were in the mall and this girl, she was white, she was with her other little friends. And she turned around and told my friend, "Mojada", you know people that cross the border [illegally] you know. And my friend went at her and she's like, "tell me that to my face don't walk around with your friends saying that". We were going to get into a fight when they like walked away.

Evelyn was involved in a diversionary program at the juvenile court as a consequence of being referred by her school for bullying. Evelyn's experience with other youth who perpetuated messages of inferiority towards her friends and her ethnic group may have influenced her own coping strategies reacting 'cautiously, assertively or sometimes aggressively' to peers or anyone who attempts to shame her because of her ethnic background (Chavez & Guido-DiBrito, 1999, p. 45). Eitle and Turner (2003) argue that strains may exert effects over years after their initial occurrence.

During adolescence, ethnic minority youth engage in ethnic identity exploration, examining the significance of their ethnicity and the extent to which they put value on their ethnic group (Phinney, 2001). As a result, this process can heighten a youth's awareness of disparate treatment as they get older and enhance their ability to recognize discriminatory behaviours

against members of their ethnic group and ethnic practices. For instance, research on first generation, ethnic minority university freshman found that those youth who had primarily attended school districts and lived in communities composed of ethnic minorities were more likely to report feeling like an outsider on university campuses than those youth that attended multi-ethnic school districts and had increased interethnic interactions (Cervantes, 1988; Gloria & Rodriguez, 2000).

In addition to developmental factors the variance in age categories can also be explained by reviewing the ethnic composition of the participants' ecologies. Scholars contend that interethnic interactions increase as youth get older and gain more autonomy (Quintana & Scull, 2009). In terms of the younger participants in this cohort, their interactions were limited to primarily Latino environments such as neighbourhoods and schools. Hence their exposure to negative experiences was limited to instances when they were outside of their ethnic enclave.

With regard to the 16-17 year olds in the study the potential for negative experiences from the environment increase with the broadening of social spaces. Many of the older girls attended charter schools outside of their ethnic communities; however, as previously discussed charter schools in Arizona are comprised primarily of ethnic minorities, hence still maintaining more intra-ethnic interactions. Moreover, some of the older participant group respondents were quite heavily involved in the youth justice system and spent most of their time involved in programs and activities mandated by the court; these groups were primarily comprised of Latino, Native American and black youth and managed by a predominantly ethnic minority personnel, hence limiting their exposure to interactions with members of the majority ethnic group. However, some of the girls in the comparison and participant groups did expand their

social spaces to institutions that included members of the white-majority. It was in these instances where the girls reported higher levels of perceived discrimination.

Lisa, from the participant group, is 16 years old and a third generation self-identified Mexican. Lisa admitted not relating to Mexican culture explaining that she was not socialized by her mother and now grandmother who has custody of her, however, she was still aware of disparate treatment towards her and other ethnic minorities by whites.

Well like the looks you get you know what I mean? Like it takes them [salespeople] forever to do something but when someone else asks them from a different race they do it quickly. Like you ask them to do something and they think that you are going to steal something.

Lisa's experience was more subtle; however she deduced that the salespeople's disparate treatment towards her, compared to other non-Latinos, was a result of her ethnicity and the stereotypes of Latinos and other ethnic minority youth in the US by members of the majority culture. These racially linked microaggressions can lead to feelings of frustration as members of stigmatized groups are witness to disparity and injustice based on subjective assessments of their ethnic group by the majority culture (Spencer et al., 1991).

While Latinos tend to experience more subtle acts of discrimination than blacks there are instances where individuals that do not pose obvious physical characteristics reflective of their ethnic minority group experience overt racism, targeting members of their ethnic group as opposed to them directly. Jess, from the comparison group, discussed an incident where she encountered discrimination and racism towards members of her Mexican ethnic group when her local school closed down and she was required to attend a more affluent school composed of predominantly white students.

Well I had to move schools because our school closed down and our new school...well no offence but it is full of white kids. Well they wouldn't say it directly

at me but they would be talking about Mexican kids and be like, ‘oh a bunch of Mexican kids in this school because their school is so ghetto they had to close it down and they were poor and stuff’. Yeah, they would make fun of that. They would say, ‘it looks like they got sunburned or something’. That is messed up right there. So I get mad I don’t hang out with them.

For Jess, the discriminate behaviours of others towards her ethnic group were enough to create strain, despite the comments not being directed at her. She explained that many of her peers told her she ‘looked white’ and therefore was not typically the recipient of discrimination unless she volunteered her ethnicity.

Jess: Well they say that I look white so they don’t tell me [racist comments], but when they figure out that I am Mexican they tell me stuff like if I get something wrong, ‘oh it’s because you’re Mexican’.

VC: So how about at the movies or [shopping] mall? How have others treated you or your ethnic group?

Jess: Not me directly because they say I look white, which is pretty mean, but to other people if they are in front of me. To white people they are like, ‘oh hello’ [pleasant tone] and stuff like that and there was this one chick who wouldn’t accept the money of this lady because she was Mexican. She was like, ‘oh put it on the counter’ and she was like handing it to her and she wouldn’t get it. It was sad, I got mad.

Jess was highly aware of the stigmatization of her ethnic group, despite not being the direct recipient of discrimination and this awareness was reflected in how she perceived others’ treatment of her ethnic group. Scholars contend that indirect forms of discrimination can be just as cognitively and emotionally taxing for members of the stigmatized groups than blatant discrimination (Sue et al., 2007; Quintana et al, 2010). Researchers have also found that even slight but constant disparities in treatment can have cumulative effects for Latin American youth in terms of their emotional well-being (Finch et al, 2000), social adjustment (Greene et al, 2006) and educational and professional aspirations (Devos & Torres, 2007) in the long term.

Another of the comparison group youth participants shared on her experiences of subtle and blatant acts of discrimination. Greta is a 17 year old second generation, self-identified

Hispanic. She demonstrated a high degree of awareness of society and simultaneously empathy for others. However, it was evident from her narrative that the chronic exposure to more subtle acts of discrimination was just as frustrating as the blatant acts of discrimination from the majority culture.

Yeah like it happens at the movies or something, when I go up and get my tickets they are like...like you can tell that they are disrespectful versus an [white] American they are, 'oh yeah' all nice. Like you can tell the difference between the service. Some people treat me as if I was just some other person but other people treat me different because of my race. Like for example sometimes at school, 'cause I go to medical [assistant] school and there is this one particular person that just doesn't like to talk to us Hispanic people. Like she is the only [white] American there and the rest are Hispanic and she just stays away. And like when I am at the store...how people treat me differently.

Greta described instances where the disparities in treatment were subtle but consistent enough that she was able to discern a pattern in how whites treated her and how they treated other whites. Dovidio et al. (2010) found in their study of bias toward Latin Americans in the US sales people treated the Latino participants less positively than they treated the white participants. They argued that the nature of contemporary biases against Latinos in America are relatively subtle but just as frequent as those against blacks and consequently just as insidious as blatant discrimination. However, in addition to subtle incidences of disparity Latinos also face blatant acts of discrimination from whites. Greta elaborated on an incident where blatant discrimination against her ethnicity took place at school with one of her white peers.

Well recently at my med school there was this one young lady, we were doing a mock clinic and I was her patient, and the instructor said, 'you guys have to be hard on these MA's [medical assistants]. You have to give them things that would happen in a real office, like different languages...if you are bilingual go ahead speak the other language and see how they react. So she called me in and she said she was going to take my temperature. I was just doing what my instructor told me to do, and she was like, 'can you lift up your tongue?' I was like, 'what?', but in Spanish, and she just blew off on me. She was like, 'are you kidding me?' I was like I am just doing what I was told and she said, 'I am not treating you! I am sorry!' and walked away. My instructor told her, 'that is not how you would treat a patient. You have to be flexible'.

She said, 'well I don't like Spanish speakers' looked at me and said, 'I am sorry, I am not treating this patient'.

Greta's peer's reaction towards her Spanish was a blatant attack against Greta's ethnicity, claiming she didn't like Spanish speakers, therefore was not treating the patient. These types of negative reactions by white members of society send a clear message to Latina youth, that being Latin American or displaying Latin American characteristics is not accepted by the white majority and therefore must be bad. As Greta tried to explain to me, 'I wasn't doing anything bad'. She was trying to interpret her peer's outburst within a context that logically made sense to her, yet all she heard from her peer is that she didn't 'like Spanish speakers'.

Despite many of the young women in the comparison group describing more subtle experiences of disparate treatment another of the girls described a passive yet direct form of discrimination. Gale is a 17 year old, second-generation, self-identified Hispanic. While she speaks English eloquently and without a trace of any accent she does exhibit more ethnic physical characteristics that set her apart from the previous two participants. For instance, Jess is very light skinned and does not exhibit any Latin American characteristics, hence why she is mistaken for white and Greta is also relatively light skin complected. Latin Americans are a mix of indigenous and European peoples consequently their appearance varies between ethnic and Anglo-European physical characteristics. Vera & Quintana (2004) have found that those that are darker skinned and appear more indigenous, such as Gale and Lisa, are more likely to experience a different type of discrimination from those who are lighter skinned like Jess. Gale discussed how these experiences of discrimination can manifest themselves differently when you are darker skinned.

Gale: Sometimes, when at the mall, they will follow you around, trying to keep an eye out.

VC: So you think they are following you because you look Hispanic?

Gale: Yeah! If it's just me I will just rub it off and keep going. I don't really care. Sometimes if they are really rude I will just walk out. But my cousins, because they are a little more out there, they'll kind of say something.

Gale and Lisa's experiences with store clerks suggest a greater degree of discrimination as those of Jess. For Gale and Lisa their more indigenous characteristics not only prompted reactions of discrimination but additionally distrust, increasing their potential for criminality. Both girls recalled how store clerks will 'follow' them around 'as if they were 'going to steal something'. The previous examples of the girls' experiences with discrimination set a pattern where identifying with a stigmatized group is accompanied by negative reactions from some members of the majority culture. These experiences have implications on ethnic identity development and a youths' self-worth as Latinos and other minority group members learn from a young age that not only is their ethnic group among a set of others, but in fact is less privileged and considered inferior (Quintana & Scull, 2009).

Implications of Perceived Discrimination on Ethnic Identity

Growing up with a sense of not only being different but being substandard carries implications on ethnic identity and self-esteem. As previously discussed in chapter four, ethnic identity provides Latino youth with a link to their family's culture, values and norms. Through a strong ethnic identity Latinos are able to navigate between the stigmatization and marginalization of their ethnic group developing a strong sense of self as Latinos and as members of the majority culture, resulting in *Biculturalism*. However, environmental influences can have deleterious effects on a youth's identity development. Scholars have researched the effects of stereotypes (Neimann, 2001), stereotype threat (Steele, 1997), stigmatization (Brown & Pinel, 2003), labelling and self-fulfilling prophecies (Madon et al., 2006) highlighting the implications of negative messages on youth ethnic identity. While studies have found that the effects of negative messages are relative to the individual's degree

of acculturation (Guyll et al., 2010; Quintana et al., 2010) the promotion of assimilation in America paints Latino youth in a corner where they are encouraged to reject their parents' culture and language while simultaneously embracing a culture that perpetuates negative messages about their ethnicity.

The implications of these conflicting messages were clearly expressed by many of the respondents of the participant group and comparison groups. Charlotte, from the participant group, is 16 years old and a first generation self-identified Mexican. She was born in Mexico but migrated with her family to the US at age six. From her questionnaire responses, Charlotte demonstrated high levels of assimilation reporting and exhibiting fluency in English and limited fluency in Spanish. In addition she reported low levels of agreement towards traditional Latin American practices regarding gender roles and patriarchy. However despite a high degree of assimilation she also reported a high level of awareness of disparate treatment towards ethnic minorities in America.

I feel like at the movies or the mall; I feel like we are viewed differently and not just Hispanics but African Americans and Native Americans. I know that most of the population in the US is coloured people. I feel like maybe since Americans [white], I feel like they feel...that this is their land and like me being Mexican like people view us differently. I feel like we are categorized.

Despite acknowledging how her ethnicity is negatively 'categorized' Charlotte still identified as Mexican. As I probed further, discussing her bilingual abilities and knowledge of Mexican and American culture, it became clear that Charlotte knew enough Spanish to get by at home and understood the traditional Latin American norms like *familismo* and *respeto*, yet she did not internalize her parents' culture. This suggests that Charlotte's ethnic identification is more a reflection of her nationality, being born in Mexico, as opposed to a strong sense of belonging to the Mexican culture. Phinney (1990) contends that similar to Berry's (1997) model of acculturation, ethnic identity has more than one dimension. Hence, ethnic identity

and national identity are in fact two independent dimensions of the individual, meaning that each identity can be either strong or weak.

Charlotte: I was born in Durango Mexico, my grandparents still live there, but I don't remember it.

VC: Earlier you identified as Mexican but have lived here most of your life...

Charlotte: Yeah I have really adapted to things [American culture]. It's weird because I feel that people [outside the family] don't really view me like speaking Spanish. People are like you speak Spanish.

As ethnic identity conveys the individual's attachment to their ethnic group Charlotte's shifting between her Mexican national identity and her actual developing identity are reflective of the fluidity of the identity development process. Hence, ethnic identity changes not only with age and maturity but in response to social situations and interactions with the majority culture (Guyll et al., 2010; Bronfenbrenner, 1997). These interactions then determine how positive and relevant group membership will be to the individual (Phinney, 2001). Charlotte was aware of the perceived inferiority of her ethnic group and may have distanced herself from her parents' culture in response to those negative messages stemming from discriminate behaviour. Ethnic identity is part of an individual's self-concept, as such contributes to the individual's overall identity. Consequently, awareness of being a member of a stigmatized group can affect the individual's attachment to their ethnicity.

Charlotte's negotiation between two cultures is what Phinney (1990) refers to as the 'two basic conflict' resolution. The first requires members of the non-dominant group to resolve the stereotyping and prejudicial treatment of the dominant white population toward non-dominant group individuals resulting in a potential threat to the individual's self-concept. The second involves the resolution of the discord between value systems from non-dominant and dominant groups in such a way in which ethnic minority group members find a means to

negotiate a bicultural or combined value system (*Biculturalism*). The second stage tends to be where many Latino youth struggle when lacking parental support to guide them through this process of negotiation as it requires positive reinforcement that is readily available to ethnic minorities outside of their families and ethnic communities (Phinney, 2001).

Charlotte was still in the process of negotiating her ethnic identity as she described fitting into American culture and not being perceived as a native Spanish speaker by others outside of her family, yet simultaneously identified as 'Mexican' when discussing issues of perceived discrimination and othering. Lopez (2009) contends that perceptions of discrimination may become more salient as Latina youth adopt certain values and beliefs reflective of the majority culture. This highlights the notion of existing '*entre dos mundos*', between two worlds and not entirely fitting in with one or the other (Bacallo & Smokowski, 2005, p.506). Hence, leaving their identity in limbo and exposed to environmental stressors without strong roots to sustain their sense of self against adversity.

Lisa also exhibited similar conflicts to her identity despite identifying as Mexican. She was being raised by her grandmother, after her mother left her and her father was imprisoned, effectively cutting all ties with her and her younger brother. Lisa admitted not speaking any Spanish, was not aware of the meaning of *familismo* and *respeto* and reported knowing '*very little*' or '*not at all*' about Mexican history, cultural legends and traditions. Despite this she reported relating more to the Mexican culture.

VC: So strictly talking about culture. Which culture, Mexican or American, do you relate to the most?

Lisa: Mexican, more Mexican

VC: And in what environments do you feel that being Mexican is perceived as something positive?

Lisa: When at school, only at school

She went on to explain that at her high school, the second largest high school in the city and of a predominantly ethnic minority student body, she was taking an Ethnic Studies course that focused on ‘Mexican heritage’ which touched on issues of culture, colonization by Anglo-European settlers and the integration of Latin Americans into the American landscape. Lisa recalled really enjoying the course and for the first time discovering more about her cultural heritage in a positive light.

Lisa: Uh when I was going there [school] they were offering that class...what was it called? I think they got rid of it, the Mexican heritage [class]. I was in that. I liked it. I like it a lot, [discussed] about the Aztecs and Mexico.

VC: Do you talk to your grandmother about any of these things?

Lisa: Uh, no. I don’t know.

The course Lisa was referring to was cancelled midway through her studies. Conservative lawmakers campaigned to remove the course claiming it taught in a ‘biased, political, and emotionally charged manner’, which ‘promotes social or political activism against the white people, promotes racial resentment, and advocates ethnic solidarity instead of treating peoples as individuals’ (Arizona Governor’s Office, 2013). However, courses such as these are what scholars argue are needed to promote a strong ethnic identity among stigmatized and historically marginalized groups within American society. Phinney (1990:471) contends that central to a strong ethnic identity are ‘feelings of belonging, positive attitudes about one’s group; social and cultural involvement in the group; and a secure, confident sense of one’s ethnic group membership based on an understanding of the group’s history and culture’.

The absence ethnic studies courses in general and the removal of this popular course contextualizes the damaging effects that negative messages from the environment and discrimination has against the identity development of young Latinas. The message was clear,

that any teachings that promote self-worth and ethnic pride run against the white majorities' best interest and will not be tolerated. Much of the empirical work on developmental processes associated with Latino adolescents confirms that there is an acceleration of identity exploration during early adolescence that inexplicably decelerates during middle and late adolescence. Hence, this course was introduced at a crucial time for Lisa's identity development (Pahl & Way, 2006). However, instead of fostering ethnic pride as a member of a historically stigmatized ethnic group (see Chapter 2) the course was cancelled and she was left to develop her ethnic identity without the cultural support from her immediate family, socializing with other 'mostly Mexican' youth as a means of establishing a cultural connection with those that shared similar backgrounds.

Identity research puts forward that youth will align themselves with other groups that share their stigmatized label in the absence of positive in-group connections (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). In Lisa's case, those peers were also second and later generation and involved in risk taking behaviours such as drug use which was the cause of her court involvement, pulling her further away from the protective elements of her culture. The one positive cultural influence in her life, manifested through the ethnicity course, was soon removed leaving her to navigate between her Mexican roots, which were unclear, and the dominant culture that she feels rejected by because it deems her 'criminal' (Buriel et al., 1982:42) as illustrated by her reported experiences of perceived discrimination, where others treat her as if she is 'going to steal something' (see Perceived Messages of Inferiority in this chapter).

Despite a similar degree of exposure to perceived discrimination across participant and comparison groups the girls in the comparison group consistently exhibited a strong ethnic identity and self-pride. One observation between groups was that all the comparison group respondents shared a strong bond with family. In the parent-child relationship domain all of

the comparison group girls ranked from a moderate to strong relationship with their mothers (see Appendix A). I was able to deduce a pattern from the interview data of the comparison group girls suggesting that maternal support functioned as a buffer from discrimination and adversity. Greta recounted how past experiences with discrimination motivated her to dispel the set stereotypes of her ethnicity while highlighting the significance of family support in helping her through that process.

It is just certain people [that] really try to emphasize and make me realise that I am not like them, I am something else. I feel that sometimes they highlight that I am not as good. I feel like I want to show them that I can be just as good as they are, even though we are obviously different. I just want to show them, to know, that no matter what colour of skin you are, what kind of race you are, we're all the same and we can be just as good as each other. I have to push myself harder maybe to prove that the stereotypes are incorrect. I feel that for those youth that do not have family support it is harder to be proud 'cause I feel that you need that family support to tell you, 'you can do this. I believe in you'. I feel that is a huge impact on how well they do in life.

In addition to strong parental bonds research suggest that parents with a strong ethnic identity are more likely to engage in ethnic practices at home (e.g., speaking Spanish, observing Mexican celebrations and holidays, serving Mexican food, listening to Mexican music and watching TV and films in Spanish) and connect with members of their ethnic group outside the home (Quintana & Scull, 2009). Parents send implicit and explicit messages to their children through these practices, promoting self-pride and enhancing their abilities to overcome the stigmatization that comes with being Latino in America.

Narratives of participant and comparison group families were examined exploring socialization practices from the mothers. The analysis indicated strong ethnic socialization from 4 of the 21 mothers in the participant group and all of the mothers in the comparison group. Upon closer examination of the four participant group families' findings suggested a pattern between strong parental socialization and offending severity, where the girls who committed less severe offences and were given diversion or standard probation as a

consequence were more likely to have mothers reporting strong parental socialization practices in the home.

For instance, Evelyn and her mother Erin were involved in a parenting program ordered by the court after Evelyn was referred to the youth justice system for bullying at school. It was at one of the evening parenting sessions that the interview took place. Erin described her socialization practices with her children and her hopes that they will lead to a positive sense of self.

I try to explain the Mexican culture to my daughter. She tells me that it is a beautiful culture and she likes watching Spanish television with me and the food and the music. I understand that because we live here now she will adapt to American culture but I want her to stay connected to both sides so she can feel proud. I don't want her to feel discrimination like I have.

Evelyn's mother was actively engaged in socializing her daughter in all things Mexican to ensure that she retained her Mexican identity in the midst of a developing American identity. Erin consciously socialized Evelyn in order to prevent her daughter from feeling ashamed of her ethnicity and buffering against discrimination. Studies suggest, that Latin American mothers prepare their children for the discrimination and stigmatization they are anticipated to face by promoting academic achievement, ethnic identity and self-confidence to help them manage the effects (Hughes et al., 2008). Evelyn's narratives suggested that her mother's actions were effective at promoting a positive ethnic identity and buffering her from feelings of inferiority.

I like it [Mexican culture] 'cause it's more adventurous and talks more, more details. I feel good that I am Mexican because I speak Spanish and my nana [grandmother] also teaches me about the culture. I have never felt that because I am Latina I am not good enough. I am Mexican and no one is going to change me.

The narratives from the mothers in the comparison group indicated consistent socialization of Latin American culture in the home. From celebrating traditional holidays with Latin

American food and Spanish music to teachings of humility and honour, characteristics promoted in Latin American cultures (Olmeda, 2003). Parenting practices not only emphasize experiences of discrimination, there are practices that revolve around promoting egalitarian views toward all racial and ethnic groups (Hughes, 2003). Egalitarian parenting practices are reflective of Latino teachings of humility and respect towards others. Inez, Jess' mother, promoted such teachings in conjunction with ethnic socialization. She explained how the children were only allowed to speak Spanish in the home as a means of keeping them connected to their native tongue and culture.

We only speak Spanish in the house. If you conducted the interview with Jess in English it was because my husband was not home. If he is home she knows that she needs to speak Spanish. Also when watching television, if my husband is here, it is in Spanish.

Yet she also acknowledged the negative effects of Mexican stereotypes and that these stereotypes will follow her children but felt that a strong ethnic identity was important to maintain a positive sense of self in the face of adversity. However, as equally important, for Inez, was a sense of humility in being proud of who you are but not at the expense of others.

Well one of the things that is really important for me is that they are proud of who they are, that they are not ashamed, but also that they not put on airs. We are all the same, that is what we teach them. We don't want them to be those people that do not have an identity. I tell them, 'you have to have your identity but keep your feet on the ground...know that we are all at ground level'.

Inez's socialization of ethnic pride and humility were internalized by her daughter as Jess expressed her positive views of her ethnicity. She also explained that when selecting her friends it had nothing to do with race as much as their views on her ethnicity and other ethnic minorities.

Jess: When I get old I am living in Mexico for the rest of my life. I think Mexico is beautiful, I am mostly proud of Mexicans because they work hard.

VC: So do you tend to hang out more with Mexican kids then?

Jess: I mean I don't care what race they are, if they are cool, but if they are racists and stuff then no I don't really like you.

Along the notion of equality Inez and I discussed the race and ethnicity of her family's social networks, where she mentioned that while they were all Latin American they were from different Latino sub-cultures not necessarily all Mexican. I wanted to know whether the parents' preference of ethnicity in their social networks was promulgated onto their children's social networks.

Inez: Well to be honest it is not really something I would care if they [daughter's friends] were American [white] or Mexican. As long as they are not bad influences, that is what worries me. Regarding race that is not up to me that is her choice.

Inez's socialization of her children illustrated an egalitarian approach where she promoted the Mexican culture in the home but promoted acceptance of other cultures and races pointing out that as long as they were not bad influences that conflicted with her teachings in the home she was comfortable letting her daughter choose the race of her social networks.

Greta's mother Bethany also exhibited strong ethnic socialization practices in combination with egalitarian views in an attempt to balance the development of pride and self-worth with respect for others. Bethany described her socialization practices with regard to race and ethnicity and how others' unfair treatment of her and her daughters made her feel. However she emphasized the importance of leading by example and providing her daughters with a positive role model.

There are times it makes me very angry, impotent at times. There have been some ugly experiences, but I can't change everyone's beliefs. I can however influence the beliefs of my daughter, that those people are wrong. There is no need to treat people badly. I tell her that she needs to be an example that there should be equality because we are all equal. It doesn't matter what colour you are or language you speak. I cannot influence the entire world but I do have influence on my daughters so they are better people. That they treat everyone equally and not believe they are inferior to anyone because they are different.

Hence, a strong ethnic identity is subject to parental influences and socialization but is also influenced by external factors. While strong parental socialization has been found to have positive effects on Latino youths' ethnic identity these same youth do not live in isolation from the external environment. It is well documented that ethnic identity is subject to the dominant cultures' perceptions of that ethnic group and how those perceptions are manifested through daily interactions between groups (Berry, 1997; Phinney, 1990, 2001; Quintana & Scull, 2009). Hence, for first and second generation youth the process of immigration and settlement creates conditions that require the younger members of the family to take over additional responsibilities, such as language brokering. The effects of these new roles on ethnic identity have been debated. The literature is divided on whether this practice has a positive or negative effect on first generation youth. Weisskirch (2005) found that youth who engaged in language brokering for their parents tended to have a stronger ethnic identity; suggesting that bilingual skills were sources of ethnic pride.

Other studies contend that this practice shifts the balance of power and authority between the parent and child as the youth becomes the negotiator for the parent and the outside world (Phinney, 1990; Zhou & Bankston, 1996). Even further, some research suggests that language brokering increases youth's exposure to discriminate treatment and views from non-Spanish speakers as they have greater mastery of the language and cultural nuances, which may enable them to perceive these negative reactions towards them and their parents with greater ease (Kam, et al., 2010). However, language brokering is quite common among Asian and Latino immigrant families and is viewed by immigrant parents as an extension of their children's family obligation or *familismo* (Valdez, 2003; Parke & Buriel, 2006).

Findings from participant and comparison groups suggested that language brokering was not perceived negatively by the girls in the comparison group. However, this view differed for

some of the girls in the participant group. Charlotte, from the participant group, was aware of the negative reactions from the majority culture when she had to use Spanish to translate for her mother. She began by describing how uncomfortable she felt and how she perceived others judged her and her family because of her mother's inability to speak English.

Well for me it is embarrassing. I don't know why it's embarrassing. I am just not comfortable with it. I feel that she's been here quite some time. I feel that she slacks, like she could have gone to some types of classes to know a little bit, the basics. I feel that people views us as Mexicans you know like umm, the stereotype. I am not comfortable with it. I mean I try to help her with it, like we speak to her in English, I feel she understands it because that is what we [siblings] speak at home other than when we are speaking to her. I feel like she is really insecure...not comfortable with it, like she feels like a fool or like people don't understand her.

Quintana & Scull (2009) highlight how important social consequences can be associated with identifying or being identified as Latina, as Latinos are affected by the group's stigmatized status in the US. Charlotte expressed shame in translating for her mother not necessarily because she didn't want others to know she is Mexican but because her mother's inability to speak Spanish fit the 'stereotype' that Mexicans fail to make an effort to fit into American culture and/or are inferior because they can't speak English. Qualitative studies with college aged Latinos who served as language brokers during their youth revealed similar reactions to Charlotte's. These youth felt annoyed and sometimes burdened by their responsibility while younger children reported a mix of satisfaction or stress (DeMent et al., 2005; Love and Buriel, 2007). Villanueva and Buriel (2010) found that a youth's reaction to language brokering was directly related to the environment, where most participants reported the school setting as the most stressful, especially parent-teacher conferences. Since Charlotte had been involved with the youth justice system for a few years most of her language brokering involved translating for her mom in meetings with probation officers and judges, making the interactions increasingly stressful for her as she had to communicate to her mother all the negative comments regarding her behaviour.

Language brokering was not viewed in a negative light by all girls in the participant group. For some Latinas language brokering was just something they did as part of their role in the family. As Alice explained:

I usually have to translate for my parents, because my dad doesn't speak any English and my mom is ok with English but not as well as Spanish. I'm used to it really. I don't really feel anything about it; I am just use to it.

Scholars have found that Latino children are expected to accord adults' status and respect and be at their service when needed as part of their family obligation (Parke & Buriel, 2006). In addition, girls are expected to be emotionally and physically closer to their parents than boys, hence why girls tend to take on the language brokering duties in the family more often (Cauce & Domenech-Rodriguez, 2002). However, this gender role expectation also increases the girls' exposure to negative reactions from others when they are translating for parents. Language preference is a common measure of youth acculturation. Nevertheless, adopting Spanish and English is a choice for second and later generations. Studies on acculturation of Latino youth found that increased fluency in Spanish often resulted in lower levels of acculturation (Loukas, et al., 2007). Similarly, fluency in Spanish and English resulted in *Biculturalism* and a strong ethnic identity (Phinney, 2001). However, the youth's Spanish language acquisition is highly determined by the degree of maternal acculturation (Loukas et al, 2007). As such, the next section explores the impact of maternal acculturation on youth acculturation through language acquisition.

Acculturation and the Environment

Predictors of acculturation in adolescence often include place of birth, length of time in the host country and preference for speaking English or Spanish with family and friends (Samaniego & Gonzales, 1999). In Latino populations in the US, acculturation is often measured from indicators in English language acquisition which tends to increase with each

generation (Buriel et al., 1991; Marin & Marin, 1991). Regarding parental acculturation conflicting findings exist on the influence of maternal acculturation and youth risk taking behaviours. Some studies suggest that high levels of maternal acculturation result in more consistent parenting practices, while low levels of acculturation can lead to poor organisation and inconsistent parenting (Eamon & Mulder, 2005; Loukas et al, 2007).

However, other studies that have focused primarily on Latino youth suggest that less acculturated mothers are more likely to adhere to strong family focused values that have been found to protect youth from cumulative risk factors (Loukas et al., 2007). Hence, low levels of maternal acculturation may be more beneficial for Latina girls than high levels (Eamon & Mulder, 2005). In their study of maternal acculturation as a protective factor for Latino youth, Loukas et. al., (2007) found that cumulative risk factors were not as effective at predicting delinquency as maternal monitoring practices. The authors noted some variance by gender suggesting that high levels of maternal linguistic acculturation in combination with maternal monitoring did offer protective elements for Latino boys; however, maternal linguistic acculturation alone did not have the same positive effects on Latina girls.

Based on the narratives provided by mothers and daughters I postulate that language becomes an important tool for culture transfer from mothers to daughters. Language is not only a means of communication but a conduit for transmitting cultural meaning through storytelling. The greater significance attributed to maternal linguistic acculturation and gender is a by-product of Latin American practices of culture transfer. Traditional Latin American practices promote the transfer of culture to later generations through the female family line, where women are the carriers of culture (Phinney, 2001). Hence, mothers socialize their children according to Latin American practices including the role of their daughters' in promoting Latin American norms, values and traditions onto their children.

In addition to culture transfer language can also function as a link between generations of Latino families, functioning as a window for younger generations to experience the lives of the older generations. Norma, from the comparison group is a monolingual migrant from Mexico. She discussed the significance of teaching her children Spanish so that they were able to not only communicate with her extended family but also gain a greater appreciation of the culture and Mexico.

I have taught my daughter many Mexican customs and the culture, dances and foods, but admittedly they are different and seem strange to her sometimes. She does like to go to Mexico and see the culture. So I always tell her it is very important that you not brush aside your language [Spanish] because we [family] only speak Spanish, so they learn not only the language but through it our culture and can experience it better in Mexico because they understand what is happening around them.

Spanish language acquisition was also valued by many of the girls interviewed in the study. For some of the girls speaking Spanish was just one way of appreciating their cultural heritage, but it also provided them with an appreciation of their bilingual skills. For instance Greta, from the comparison group, described how she felt after a school peer reacted negatively to her for speaking Spanish.

Yeah, like it made me feel bad for her. The way she acted, her reaction, I did feel bad because she said she didn't speak Spanish and I didn't know that until after she bust. I did feel bad, 'wow that really sucks that you are only stuck with one language that you can't [not bilingual]'...does that make sense?

While Greta also acknowledged feeling angry at her classmates' reaction she was equally sympathetic to what she perceived was the classmate's disadvantage of English monolingualism. Studies have found a positive relationship between Spanish language acquisition and maintenance and a strong ethnic identity or ability to relate to one's ethnic culture (Bankston & Zhou, 1995; Weisskirch, 2005). This is attributed to a bilingual youth's ability to relate to the majority culture and their family's heritage through language, stories and cultural idioms. Acculturation scholars argue that while the assimilationist approach of

rejecting everything related to their country of origin may have benefitted prior European immigrants, it does not adequately portray the adaptations made by non-white immigrant groups (de Anda, 1984; Berry, 1990). Instead studies have found *Biculturalism* to be the most effective process of acculturation (Berry, 1990, Quintana & Scull, 2009). Through *Biculturalism* the youth integrates attitudes and behaviours from the culture of origin and the majority culture. Bilingualism facilitates the integration of multiple identities, allowing the individual to shift between identities to meet the demands of their environment.

Acculturation practices for the young women interviewed varied markedly depending on their involvement with the youth justice system. For instance, according to survey response data, of the 21 girls in the participant group, 17 (80%) demonstrated high levels of *Assimilation* and low levels of Spanish language and Latin American cultural acquisition. The acculturation domain in the questionnaire included questions addressing traditional Latin American values and norms ('Do you always refer to adults in your family and community by Usted?' and 'Do you think children should help their parents when they grow up?'). The first question addressed the traditional value of *respeto* signalling the importance of showing respect to ones' elders. The second question assessed for familism or *familismo*, the degree of family loyalty and bonding. Acculturation was also measured through Spanish language acquisition (e.g., reading, writing and speaking). Cultural acquisition was measured through questions addressing familiarity with Latin American artists (music and film), cultural legends and Latin American holidays (specific to their sub-culture) (see Appendix A).

While the questionnaire responses indicated a high level of *Assimilation* for the participant group girls, the narratives of some of the young Latinas in this cohort were also indicative of a mutual degree of *Separation* from the majority culture and Latin American culture.

Charlotte explained how her Spanish language proficiency was limited but enough to

translate for her monolingual mother when necessary. She described how uncomfortable she felt around her Mexican family members because she was not as fluent as they were and felt judged because of her limited fluency.

Charlotte: It's weird but at family gatherings there are things that I can't pronounce and things I don't understand.

VC: In Spanish?

Charlotte: In Spanish yeah. I feel that sometimes I am making a fool of myself and people view me like, 'oh look at her she thinks she is better than everyone else'. It's not really that, when I speak Spanish it's really only to my mother and when my grandmother comes around. So yeah I speak Spanish everyday but it is not really in depth.

Charlotte perceived her Mexican family as rejecting her because she was not a fluent Spanish speaker. Suggesting her ethnic identity was caught between two worlds, with her family, where she felt she wasn't Mexican enough and among the white majority, where she wasn't American enough (see Perceived Discrimination section in this chapter). Charlotte, along with most of the other girls in the participant group, preferred ethnic minority peers and self-identified as either Mexican or some label (Mexican, Hispanic, Latina and Mexican-American) that suggested ethnic minority affiliation. However, this acceptance of an ethnic label did not necessarily reflect the internalization of an ethnic identity.

All of the young women self-identified with one of the ethnic labels above, however, their acculturation ratings pointed towards greater understanding of the white-American culture compared to their own Latino culture. For instance, 10 of the 21 participant group girls reported knowing a lot about American artists and music. Thirteen out of 21 reported knowing a lot about American history and 13 reported knowing a lot or something about American cultural legends and were able to name additional legends aside from the ones provided in the questionnaire. In contrast, 5 out of 21 reported knowing a lot about Latin

American history, 9 reported knowing a lot about Latin American cultural legends and could not name any additional legends aside from the ones provided as examples in the questionnaire. The only cultural aspect that demonstrated some balance was knowledge of Latino and American artists and music, however the popularity of the artists mentioned in the questionnaire (e.g., Jennifer Lopez, Shakira and Pit-Bull) facilitated this cross-over between cultures as these performers are in effect cross-over artists well known in American and Latin American music media markets.

The narratives provided more contextual data from which to examine the girls' cultural bonds. Phinney et al (2001) suggest that ethnic and national identities and their role in adaptation is best understood in terms of the interactions between the attitudes and characteristics of ethnic minority group members and the members of the majority culture. In addition, they contend that these interactions are moderated by the distinct circumstances of ethnic minorities within the dominant society. As such, I examined how interactions between the young women in the participant group and the social institutions in the majority culture shaped their acculturation processes and narratives. There are some Latin American values and norms heavily influenced by patriarchy, male domination over females (Flores Neimann, 2004). In the youth questionnaire I asked the girls' about their views on getting married and pursuing a career, as traditional Latin American views tend to favour women getting married and having a family. Many of the young women viewed marriage as a choice and not a necessity.

Charlotte: I don't feel that a girl is supposed to be raised to get married. I don't want to depend on my husband. I want to be able to make enough money to care for myself. I want to attend school.

VC: Where do you think those ideas come from?

Charlotte: I feel that from seeing my family. I have aunts that depend on their [husbands] and I view them and I'm just like 'no I can't do that!' I feel like my aunts

depend on their husbands and I am like, ‘why can’t you just do that for yourself?’ I do have aunts where their husbands make all the decisions and she might be thinking otherwise but because he said that is final and I don’t agree with that.

Charlotte based her views on traditional gender roles from the marital relationships in her family. However, in our discussion she did not mention any influences from the majority culture that may have also shaped her views on marriage and male dominance in the home. The influence of white-American values such as female autonomy and independence are embedded in the American cultural fabric and disseminated through messages from the media and in schools promoting female equality in education and careers. Therefore, while Charlotte may not have identified her interactions with the majority culture as an influence in her views on marriage and patriarchy the influence of societal messages was inferred, as her interactions with family promoted a more traditional and patriarchal viewpoint while societal messages contradicted these views, potentially creating conflict.

My mom still goes by the old values and morals. She believes in the whole, you get a husband [and] he takes care of you. You stay at home and take care of the kids. I am completely against it. I am more of the [opinion] I don’t want kids until I am completely established, I don’t want to get married until I am completely established. I don’t want to depend on my husband.

The responses to the acculturation domain presented a different perspective from the comparison group girls. For instance, according to survey response data, of the six girls interviewed in the comparison group only one of the girls rated as high on the *Assimilation* scale. All of the girls demonstrated agreement with traditional Latin American values and norms towards *respeto*= ‘Do you always refer to adults in your family and community by Usted?’ and *familismo*=‘Do you think children should help their parents when they grow up?’ With regard to Spanish language acquisition all girls reported either an ‘excellent’ or ‘good’ level of reading, writing and speaking; regarding cultural acquisition five out of the six reported familiarity with Latin American artists, history and cultural legends. Compared to

American culture most girls reported familiarity with American musical artists and American history, while for cultural legends only three of the six reported familiarity. With respect to American history I put forward that as all the girls in this group reported high marks in school and American history is an academic requirement for students in US schools their knowledge of this subject is more to do with their engagement in their education than an affinity for American culture over Latin American culture.

The questionnaire responses for the comparison group suggest a greater degree of *Biculturalism* where there was familiarity and socialization of Latin American and American cultural influences. The narratives of the comparison group girls demonstrated a less polarized view of culture than the participant group girls. Gale, a 17 year old self-identified Hispanic, is second generation and the youngest of three daughters. Her eldest sister has a graduate degree in education, is married and starting a family. Gale explained that her eldest sister has been a role model for her.

Well I think that the woman really should be taking care of her husband and her kids but that shouldn't be all she has to do, she should have a choice to go and do whatever she wants. Like get a job, play sports; whatever she wants.

Gale expressed a balance between traditional Latin American values where the mother is the care taker and American values that provides women with more freedoms to explore their lives outside of the home. However, there were some traditional values that she quickly rejected. When asked about the notion that the father should be the one to make all the decisions in the home she replied.

No, I disagree with that. I just don't like it when my dad makes all the decisions. My mom should have a say in it too.

Here Gale resorted to her parents' more traditional relationship to answer the question, a relationship that represented male domination and one she rejected completely. Most of the

respondents in the participant and comparison groups disagreed with the notion that the father or male figure in the home should make all the decisions. Responses by age group indicated that the younger respondents (12-13 yrs.) were more likely to agree with this view of male dominance in the home than those 14 years or older. Leaper & Spears-Brown (2008) found age to be a strong determinant of gender bias awareness. They contend that exposure to feminist views, which tends to be introduced in later adolescence, may enhance young women's awareness of inequality among genders. In addition, socialization also plays a role in perceiving inequality among genders in the home. As gender roles can be constructed differently in certain cultural contexts, male dominance in the home may be viewed by the younger girls as normative behaviour since they have not been socialized differently (Kane, 2000).

Greta also demonstrated a degree of *Biculturalism* despite both of her parents promoting traditional Mexican values and Spanish speaking in the home she explained that her mother is less traditional than her other relatives and that has helped shape her views.

Greta: I disagree with men making all the decisions because I think women should have a say as well. It is not just what the male says. I feel like as women we have an opinion on whatever is going on in the family or in the household. I see it a lot with my grandma, she basically stays quiet and she just listens to my grandfather and I don't think that is right. I think they should both have a say.

VC: Have you or your mom ever talked about that and what she thinks?

Greta: She says they are not old but traditional and she doesn't agree either. I grew up with [both] my mom and my dad's side of the family and like my dad's side of the family, they both have a say in what we were doing. In my mom's side was the complete opposite. I feel it is unfair if women don't have a right to say something. I feel like I still want the same equality.

Hence, parental socialization was primarily facilitated through the mothers' in the home. These practices were highly dependent on the degree of maternal acculturation as well as generation level. Findings from participant and comparison groups indicated that the

generation level of the mother is highly indicative of greater acculturation, illustrating how greater distance from the ancestral country leads to a dilution of cultural practices. As such, the mothers of the young women in the participant group with more severe histories of offending were second generation or later. The girls with less severe histories or first-time offenders were first generation migrants. In contrast, all the mothers in the comparison group were first generation migrants, with only one reporting migrating at 16 years to the US. Acculturation practices followed the pattern by generation level where first generation mothers demonstrated lower levels of acculturation and second and later generation mothers' medium to high levels of acculturation. Martinez (2006) contends that the rate at which Latino mothers acculturate affects the quality of the family environment, where less acculturated mothers reflect the positive values of the Latino culture. As such I wanted to explore the significance of the mother-daughter relationship in relation to the young Latinas' acculturation.

Family Influence: Mother-Daughter Relationships

Familismo has a strong influence on Latin American families' socialization practices. Loyalty to family and strong family bonds go beyond the immediate family members but extend to relatives and even Latin American community members. The expression that blood is thicker than water resonates strongly with Latin American values. Traditionally women have been the main socializing agents of Latino children not only due to traditional gender roles but because women are viewed as the carriers of cultural practices, traditions and norms. Studies on gender have indicated females' affinity for relationship maintenance and development (Broidy & Agnew, 1997). As such, females' higher level of investment in relationships may explain why culture transfer typically occurs between generations of females. Marín and Marín (1991) have also suggested that family interactions might be particularly important to

Latinas since a common theme throughout the sub-cultural groups are strong values regarding the importance of family (*familismo*), cooperation and positive interactions. Therefore, family bonds and in particular the quality of the mother-daughter bond are explored in this section.

Studies suggest that despite the presence of cumulative risk factors in the lives of young Latinas a strong bond with the mother or maternal figure proves to be a protective factor against negative external influences and experiences (Corona et al., 2005). Lisa's case, from the comparison group, illustrates how the absence of this bond with a maternal figure can manifest in destructive behaviours through further marginalization. Lisa described a strained relationship lacking communication. For instance, her responses to the Parent-Child Relationship (see Appendix A) questions reported only enjoying 'some of the time' she spent with her grandmother. Demonstrating ambiguity when asked whether she knew her parents liked her and cared about her with 'neutral' and when probed replying, 'I don't know if they care or love me'. In addition, Lisa described an incident when she overheard her aunt and grandmother referring to the problems that she and her younger brother were causing her grandmother.

Yeah my brother got into a fight and my tia [aunt] said to my nanna [grandmother], "why did you adopt them for?" and my nanna said that she was going to give us back to CPS [Child Protective Services].

However Fern, Lisa's grandmother, had a very different perception of her relationship with her granddaughter. According to her responses on the Parent-Child Relationship domain, Fern reported enjoying 'all of the time' she spent with Lisa, telling her that she cared about her 'Most of the time' and spending time with her doing fun things 'like cooking'. Fern also reported supporting her granddaughter's higher education and planned to help her financially in any way she could if she chose to pursue a university degree.

As Lisa did not have a relationship with either of her biological parents, since her mother left her at age 6 and her father went to prison and asked her to sever all contact with him, Fern was the only maternal support she had. According to Lisa's probation officer, Fern took the 'tough love' approach which at times was counterproductive to Lisa's compliance with the court. For instance, Lisa's current detention was as a result of failing to appear in court resulting in a warrant for her arrest and eventual detention. Her probation officer explained that Lisa had shown up to her court date but her grandmother, who is her legal guardian, had not, resulting in a 'no show' on her record.³⁰ When interviewing Fern she voiced frustration at all the appointments she had to attend because of what she considered was Lisa's inability to behave.

I have had to miss so much work because I have to go to all of these appointments for Lisa. All the money I have to pay for her probation costs and now detention. I just don't know what to do anymore. I figure this time she was going to have to suffer the consequences so she will learn.

Fern was referring to letting Lisa go into detention for her last missed court date, despite the fact that at the last appointment it was Fern who had to miss because of work. Lisa and Fern's relationship was challenged by societal expectations that the mother or maternal figure is responsible for the successes and challenges of their offspring or kin (Condry, 2007). Fern attempted to provide both financially and emotionally for her granddaughter, yet struggled to meet her granddaughters emotional needs. Lisa on other hand struggled to find someone to communicate with; suggesting she felt isolated from her family.

Culture conflict in Latin American families is more common where communication between mother/daughter is weak. Conversely these mothers tend to exhibit weak ethnic bonds, do not speak Spanish with their children and display more assimilated characteristics. Research on

³⁰ According to Arizona law, a minor cannot appear before the judge without the presence of a legal guardian. In cases of detention the state sits in lieu of a legal guardian (Arizona Department of Juvenile Corrections).

parents suggests that those who are least acculturated to US culture tend to engage in more active ethnic socialization of their children (Romero, et al., 2000). Findings from the participant group indicate that the young women with only minimal involvement in the juvenile justice system demonstrated stronger parent-child bonds and a stronger ethnic identity than those more heavily involved. This supports the argument that a strong mother-daughter relationship in conjunction with strong parental socialization practices, which encourage traditional cultural values and norms, protect young Latinas from getting involved in high-risk behaviours.

Evelyn, also from the participant group, demonstrates the positive effects of the mother-daughter bond on youth behaviours. Evelyn had been referred to the juvenile justice system by her school for verbal bullying. She had no prior juvenile court involvement and was considered an average student therefore the judge placed her on a diversionary program that required her mother's participation in order to divert her away from the justice system. Evelyn demonstrated a strong ethnic identity, spoke Spanish well and was familiar with Mexican artists and history. She demonstrated a strong understanding of traditional Mexican values such as *familismo* and *respeto* yet rejected the conservative ideals on gender roles and patriarchy. Observations of mother-daughter interactions during the program session suggested strong communication, a natural bond and enjoyment of each other's company. However, Evelyn did acknowledge that as of the past three years she and her mom had grown apart as a result of her mother's remarriage to her step-dad. Evelyn described this as a turning point in their relationship.

My step-dad and my mom... 'cause like my step-dad started taking my mom [away]. When my mom met my step-dad she started paying more attention to him. 'Cause when she was with us she paid a lot of attention to us and my step-dad doesn't, it seems like he never wants me and my mom together. 'Cause like sometimes we see shows and he gets in the way or it's like I need to talk to my mom and when my dad

came out of jail for like a year. My step-dad would get jealous and start paying attention to us but when he went back he started treating us unfairly.

Studies suggest that Latina adolescents who feel supported by their mothers are less likely to experience internalizing problems, have a good quality parent-child relationship and experience high levels of parental monitoring and control (Klien & Forehand, 2000; Dishion & McMahon, 1998; Stattin & Kerr, 2000). From this perspective it can be surmised that adolescents with strong ties to their mothers are more likely to refrain from acting out to avoid jeopardizing the relationship. However, when the relationship is perceived to be fragmented the opposite may occur as the youth attempts to re-gain the lost attention by whatever means possible. Evelyn noticed the change in her relationship with her mother and as such her mother noticed a change in the types of friends her daughter was spending more time with at school.

Erin: Well her friends... she had never had any problems before. When she was in primary school she always got along well with the other girls. I say this because I saw the girl that she was hanging out with and she had another colouring to her. You know we can tell when they are different. I think she did that because of the friends, she must have thought if I don't go along with it they will begin to bully me.

VC: What did this other girl appear like to you?

Erin: Well I only met one of the girls she got in trouble with, but I think she was a *cholita* [gangster].

As a result of Evelyn's juvenile justice involvement her mother was much more involved in her life, not only attending the mandatory evening sessions but spending more time with her on the weekends. Erin mentioned reinforcing her values on Evelyn and reminding her that her actions at school [bullying] were not reflective of how she had been raised. Erin also confirmed that Evelyn was no longer allowed to associate with the friends she had gotten in trouble with, demonstrating more authoritative parenting practices such as strong parental monitoring combined with positive parental socialization (Cardona et al., 2000).

This combination proved to be effective at repairing the relationship between Erin and Evelyn. After my interview I stayed behind to observe the interactions between mother and daughter and consider direct observational measures. As mother and daughter interacted with the activities of the parenting class it was clear that they enjoyed each other's company and demonstrated a close bond as they laughed and supported each other through the different tasks assigned during the group session. As Cardona et al. (2000) contend, Latin American mothers' may apply disciplinary practices more frequently than Anglo-American mothers. However, they are also more likely to nurture their children and maintain reasonable expectations for their development. As such, Erin reacted to her daughter's misbehaviours at school by increasing the amount of time they spent together and partaking in positive activities, while simultaneously setting boundaries on her social networks to avoid further deviancy.

As with the participant group the bond between mother and daughter in the comparison group families was assessed through the parent-child relationship domain. As studies suggest, interpersonal relationship quality can be particularly relevant to the outcomes of female adolescents (Leadbeater et al., 1999) thus variables such as maternal support and family cohesion may be better indicators of adjustment (Loukas et al., 2007). The value of *familismo* promotes family cohesion, respect for adults and a strong mother-daughter relationship which in turn endorses strong ethnic practices and norms. Hence, a strong bond to family and a positive parent-child relationship can promote a strong ethnic identity and function as a protective strategy for coping with adversity. For many of the comparison group youth this relationship was clear and the benefits of their traditional norms and values were illustrated when they compared their outcomes to those of their non-traditional and non-Hispanic friends.

VC: So how do you feel it's been for you growing up where the rules are different at home then they are with your other friends who are not Latinas?

Gale: Well I think it is better because I feel that my parents preserve more of like, you have to respect your elders [and] you have to obey us. They are more based on that and then my friends are more like, 'I am going to do whatever I want. My parents aren't going to do anything.' I have seen the results you know, going out and doing stuff you shouldn't do. How they ended up and how they are doing right now. As opposed to my sister who's in school, who had a really good job, who's married and all that stuff.

VC: So do you feel that the culture, those rules that perhaps were different from your friends rules, have protected you from making bad choices?

Gale: Yeah I really do. I think that they did...my mom. I wouldn't want her to be disappointed in me.

The fear of disappointing their parents, mother especially, was a key motivator for the girls in the comparison group. Avoiding risky behaviours and practicing traditional norms and values was a means of fulfilling parental expectations and showing appreciation for the sacrifices their parents' have made for them (Fuglini et al., 2005; Levitt, 2009). Jess for instance, exhibited strong levels of agreement on traditional Mexican norms and values like *familismo* and *respeto* emphasizing that if she didn't exhibit them she would 'feel bad'; suggesting that for her it was more than just a sense of obligation but a norm that was strongly embedded in her value system and guided her actions.

It's important to obey adults because they have more years, they are wiser [and] they've done way more stuff than you...mostly because they are immigrants so they have had different experiences. Like my parents I would obey them right away.

Jess's respect for her parents also stemmed from her awareness of the struggles encountered as a result of their migratory experiences and their process of integration which in her view provided them with a unique set of wisdom. This was reflected in her appreciation for the sacrifices they went through in order to provide her with greater opportunities in America and her need to pay-it-forward when she was an adult (Levitt, 2009).

VC: Do you think that children should help their parents when they grow up?

Jess: I completely agree, yes. If I didn't I would be a mean person. I mean they take care of you for 18 years and if you can't even do that.

Jess exhibited a strong bond with both of her parents but communication was strongest with her mother while her father was the disciplinarian in the home. The constancy in this dynamic helped her decision making processes when confronted with adversity outside the home. In particular she described an incident that still caused her anxiety despite it not manifesting into negative outcomes.

Jess: So they [parents] moved me schools because I wasn't learning anything. Well when I was gone this new girl came to our [old] school and she started acting all bad. And 'cause I was taller than her they [peers] started saying, 'oh well she can beat you up and stuff'. Well I didn't know any of this and so when I returned one day during lunch she came and said that I could beat her up. I am like, 'I don't even know your name' and I stepped on her shoe accidentally and she punched me and we got into a fight. And I started freaking out and I was like oh they are going to catch us. She moved to Mexico a week later so I was good.

VC: So aside from that incident that still makes you anxious, you don't seem to get into trouble much. You mentioned you don't drink or do drugs; you don't skip classes, have never run away from home or been in trouble with the law. I was wondering what has kept you from getting involved in these behaviours that other kids around you, as you said, are doing like drugs, drinking and getting into fights.

Jess: I wouldn't do something bad because if my parents figured out...I don't want something bad to happen to me because I want to be a detective, a homicide detective and I don't want that to go to my record. And I don't want my parents to be disappointed in me and like oh well, 'my daughter did this' and my whole family would be like, 'what! I can't believe she did that!'

VC: So disappointing your parents or what your parents are going to have to face when they see your family is important to you?

Jess: Well I don't want them to be dodging questions because I am going to get like sad because I disappointed my parents. I let them down.

This case exemplifies the explicit influence of embedded moral values and norms on youth behaviours. Jess valued the trust her parents had invested in her and did not want to damage that relationship with her actions. However, at this stage of her development she was also

motivated by the consequences of her actions on her future goals. She recognized that a record of delinquent behaviour would be problematic for her career plans as a police detective and therefore weighed the consequences of getting into trouble, damaging her relationship with her parents and her career chances, with caving into peer pressure and experimentation.

Rational choice theory contends that an individual's choice can be controlled through the perception and understanding of the potential pain or punishment that will follow an act judged to be in violation of the social good, the social contract (Cornish & Clarke, 2014).

Jess understood the implications of her actions and chose to avoid risk taking behaviours to prevent the potential negative consequences that would follow. In this case however disappointing her parents was also considered a means of potential pain as she was invested in her relationship with her family and did not want to 'let them down'.

Parental socialization practices, primarily facilitated through mothers in the Latino culture, not only instil morals and values but they also facilitate decision-making skills that become more relevant as youth enter adolescence and are expected to plan for their futures. All of the older respondents (15-17 yrs.) had begun the process of planning for their education beyond high school. This visible goal, that was supported and endorsed by their parents, functioned as motivation to avoid behaviours that may put their future plans in jeopardy.

VC: Now earlier you said if you ever ran away you would get into a lot of trouble with your mom. So is that why you avoid risk behaviours?

Ashley: I know the consequences and I try not to go there. I'd be like if I do a little mistake it is going to ruin everything that is ahead. I always knew that I wanted to get an education; my mom would say like what is best for me, what paths because she wouldn't want to see me going through rough phases or getting crazy, not to suffer basically.

While parental influences within a strong mother-daughter relationship can have an explicit influence on youth behaviours older siblings can also pave the way for younger members of the family, setting an example on how to navigate through external spheres that perhaps immigrant parents have not experienced. This can prove to be effective for second generation youth who want to pursue a university education but cannot rely on their parents for assistance and guidance because they are unfamiliar with the demands of higher education in the host country. Older siblings or close relatives become an extension of the parental support and can encourage and guide their younger relatives through the higher education system but also broker between younger siblings and their parents when cultural expectations interfere with educational commitments (Gloria & Segura-Herrera, 2009).

Gale's mom, Loren, explained the impact her eldest daughter's life choices had on Gale and her future goals. For Loren it was especially poignant because her middle child had not followed in her older sister's footsteps, had a fragmented relationship with both of her parents and rejected Latin American values and norms, which in her view resulted in her involvement with drug users leading to her addiction.

Loren: I wish my middle child would have chosen the type of friends my eldest did then she wouldn't be in this mess. She [the middle child] tells me, 'why do I have to work? I didn't ask to be born.' I tell her, *mija* [my child] you speak both languages, you have a degree from a technical college; you can find work much easier than we could, but no. She is very different. The eldest however she did get a university degree, she's pursuing her masters now and the youngest will too.

VC: Does Gale relate to both sisters equally?

Loren: She is much closer to the eldest. She has influenced on her a lot and that is good because she favours education. I mean, she got a degree, she is married now, it's good. Gale tells me she loves them both equally but she says, 'Mom it's just we [the middle child] don't have much in common'.

Gale echoed these sentiments when discussing her motivation to pursue a university education. She credited her eldest sister's efforts for not only setting a good example but

introducing her to other peers that have the same career ambitions and act as positive role models. Conversely older female siblings can also act as role models for Latinas, reinforcing cultural values, while providing a bridge between their parents' culture and the majority culture which helps younger siblings with the cultural translation that immigrant parents' are often ill equipped to manage (Gloria & Segura-Herrera, 2004).

VC: Now your mom mentioned that you relate more to your older sister. Why do you think that is?

Gale: I think it is because she is getting an education, she had to work hard and learn it on her own. But now she has a really good job and is married and all that stuff. I have seen the good things.

VC: Do you think that has been a motivation for you that you too can achieve that if you want?

Gale: Yeah. If she hadn't gone to college I probably would not have been as eager to because my sister brought me to the church where I am going now and all of them are like that [university graduates]. So if she didn't go there then I probably wouldn't have that much people to look up to.

Family influences can be just as, if not more, significant to youth delinquency than peers. While none of the respondents in the study reported generative crime histories in their families some of the parents did mention either steering their daughters away from one side of the family, managing the relationships they have with that side of the family in order to keep their daughters away from potentially harmful or negative influences that may veer them onto the wrong path.

Loren: My second child uses drugs; she is very different from the other two. It has a lot to do with her social connections. She hangs out a lot with Sam's [Loren's husband] cousins and they are all drug addicts so she got involved. I would have preferred she avoid his family all together and spend time with my eldest daughter's friends because the majority of her friends are Mexican, but they go to church and they are different but she chose another route.

Despite some of the negative influences linked to the extended families of the comparison group respondents in their immediate family positive values were endorsed such as pursuing

a university education. All of the young women felt that a career and a university degree were within their reach if they chose to pursue one. However, despite the emotional support offered by the parents from both cohorts second generation youth must still negotiate between how to combine home and host country values and practices in order to meet competing expectations about gender, generation and community.

For instance, for many young women in the comparison group there was a desire but also a need to fulfil their parents' wish of obtaining a degree and a profession. This is seen as a way of paying their parents back for the sacrifices they have made by migrating and working low-wage, physically demanding jobs in order to allow their children to dedicate their time to their studies and further their education. Hence, giving their children a better life than they had is manifested through education and a profession.

These are the hopes of the parents consequently becoming a goal for the youth. However, the resulting compromise in values and norms may require a weakening of cultural ties for second and later generations. Levitt (2009:1234) contends that young first and second generation ethnic youth 'live between a rock and a hard place' as their parents display ambivalence about their children's assimilation into American culture yet want them to succeed in the American system. Greta discussed the strain that at times resulted from her efforts of living between two worlds.

Greta: I feel like it has been a little, it's hard. Because I want to stick to my roots but at the same time I have to incorporate this American culture 'cause this is where I am right now and this is basically what is going to help me with my education and jobs and stuff like that and I feel like it is a little stressful to have both of them balanced out.

VC: How have you managed that stress?

Greta: I don't even know I just kind of go with the flow sometimes because it is kind of hard to incorporate both. Like when I am here at my house I speak Spanish and sometimes my dad gets a little upset because I speak Spanish and then I switch to English

and then I switch back and he's like, 'why can't you just speak Spanish!' I am like, 'I am sorry it just gets hard' because I have been trying to memorize the whole American language and all of that and he just pushes me and says, 'I just hope you don't lose your Spanish and your Mexican side and don't become an American.'

Scholars have found that immigrant parents want their children to fit in but not too much; blurring the line between what is being 'too American' and not enough (Levitt, 2009:1234). As was illustrated in Greta's excerpt, children often feel that if they excel with respect to one standard they automatically fail with respect to another. Greta's experience of balancing expectations from both cultures adds to the challenges they face as the first generation paving the way for the next generation of Latinas/o in their family. As they leave to college or move away from home these same young adults have to decide who they are outside the context of their families. Coupled with the stereotypes and societal assumptions about who they are, they somehow feel that they are coming up short of who they ought to be in American and Latino contexts.

Therefore, the ability to manage several cultural repertoires at once and to access social networks in several contexts can strongly influence mobility trajectories. Membership in tightly-knit ethnic minority communities create opportunities, so even indirect, membership in the homeland community or practices can be a potential source of power, information and support to these youth. The comparison group families had strong ties to religious organizations that served primarily Spanish speaking Latinos. Their children attended service and social functions there with other youth of similar ethnic backgrounds and generation level.

These ties endorsed a strong connection to traditional practices and customs from the home country while allowing later generations to explore new norms and practices of the host country within the boundaries of their traditional value system. These practices promote

healthy child adjustment and what Berry (2001) terms ‘*Biculturalism*’. *Biculturalism* has been found to be the most beneficial form of acculturation for ethnic minority youth development; allowing the balance of both cultures. However, *Biculturalism* cannot take place without the support and endorsement of the family.

Being Latino in America: Socio-Cultural Barriers for Parents

The socio-economic contexts of the families from both cohorts varied considerably; inevitably implicating parental socialization practices. Studies highlight the importance of a strong mother-daughter relationship in relation to protective influences towards youth risk behaviours (Corona et al., 2005). In instances where this bond is fragmented or disjointed the responsibility is directed at the mother for failing to provide her children with the appropriate level of protection and socialization that will enable them to steer through adversity successfully (Samaniego & Gonzales, 1999; Condry, 2007).

While child development models focus on the importance of developing healthy coping strategies for youth ethnic identity and delinquency avoidance similar allowances for the mothers are necessary in order to better understand the barriers preventing them from effectively socialization their children. This is especially poignant for the socialization of young women who place more emphasis on relationship building and maintenance than males (Leadbeater et al., 1999).

The socio-environmental contexts of the mothers in the participant group families were riddled with economic, political and cultural barriers that are typically addressed in a blaming context in adolescent mental health research (Condry, 2007). Issues around poverty, limited resources, housing, crime ridden communities, weak familial and social bonds all contribute to the struggles that these primarily single-parent mother’s or female relatives must navigate

through daily to provide their children with the basic needs. While these practices reflect some of the traditional values of *familismo* they lack the protective elements of social monitoring and support that is accompanied by extended family ties which are at the centre of this value.

For instance, all but one of the mothers in the comparison group were married and relied on their husbands to enforce the values of respect. The divorced, single-mother relied on her extended family (e.g., mother, sisters and uncles) to facilitate family loyalty, monitoring practices and family bonds. In addition she had established a good mother-daughter relationship based on trust and communication joining together the Latino values endorsed in the family and providing a buffer from negative external influences (e.g., poverty, language barriers, stereotypes and racism and negative peer influences) through extended kinships.

Parental Socialization Practices and Youth Outcomes

There is a vast amount of literature exploring the relationship between risk factors and Latino delinquency involvement. Research has identified several contextual risk factors associated with increased adolescent maladjustment which were incorporated in the study (e.g., economic stress, poor quality neighbourhoods and parenting practices) (Eamon & Mulder, 2005). However, despite economic risk and poor quality neighbourhoods, disadvantaged youth do not automatically experience high levels of adjustment problems. The variability in outcomes has been attributed to the presence of protective factors such as maternal monitoring, parental socialization and mother-daughter relationship (Loukas et al., 2007).

Studies on Latina parent-child relationships suggest that parental monitoring can act as a buffer for internalizing problems, externalizing problems and substance use (Loukas et al., 2007). Similarly, a positive mother-daughter relationship has been found to protect young

Latinas from cumulative risk factors stemming from their external environments (Loukas & Prelow, 2004); suggesting that rearing practices are partially selected by the type of environment surrounding the families. For instance, strong authoritative parenting promotes the internalization of *respeto* restricting behaviours such as talking back, staying out after curfew and parents vetting the peer networks of their children. While such rearing practices may be frowned upon by educational psychologists in western cultures, they have been shown to effectively protect children from the perils of street life (Portes et al., 2009).

As such, parents from the comparison group endorsed socialization with their peers at their congregation and youth sports teams. While the parents in the participant group either were not members of a religious congregation or ethnic community groups and only a few enrolled their daughters in afterschool activities in order to engage their spare time in productive activities. Studies indicate that instances of success despite disadvantage are almost invariably undergirded by strong parental controls, leading to selective acculturation (Portes, et al., 2009). In conjunction with parental monitoring however is the positive relationship between mother and daughter that offers a sense of support and a means of processing the negative stimuli from their environment. As Agnew & Broidy (1997:282) explain, ‘Women tend to blame themselves when adversely treated by others; they worry that their anger might lead them to harm others or jeopardize valued relationships—relationships central to their self-concept.’

Hence, the value females place in relationships, specifically mother-daughter relationships, can function as a buffer for managing the effects of adversity. Conversely, when this buffer is absent feelings of anger may manifest in depression, anxiety, guilt, fear and shame (Campbell, 1993) leading to self-destructive behaviour as was evidence by many of the families in the participant group. In addition to the parenting approaches mentioned

researchers have also explained the increase in the number of circulating children and elderly people who move constantly between places of origin and of settlement as more than just a means of promoting acquisition of the mother tongue or culture but also to remove children from what is perceived as the negative and undisciplined social environment in the US (Menjívar, 2002; Parreñas, 2001).

For instance, some of the older immigrant parents and care-takers in the participant group echoed this notion claiming that Americanized Latina girls lacked the moral compass that proper Latinas have from their cultural upbringing and therefore behave inappropriately and get themselves into trouble with the law. Abigail from the participant group is in her 60's. She is the legal guardian and parental role model for Leah her 15 year old granddaughter. Abigail is monolingual and has deep rooted cultural ties with the Latino community. She also has a traditional view of raising children, in particular females. Abigail prefers her granddaughter have more native Mexican than Anglo friends because she believes that the liberal customs implemented in raising children in America distances children from their family support system and inhibits the protective elements of the Latin American culture which keeps them on track.

The girls in this country believe that they need to leave the home at 18 years regardless of whether they are ready and this puts them at risk for many risk behaviours. I know it is perhaps considered old fashioned but in my day females stayed home until they were married, and the men too, and we didn't see these types of problems with youth and crime.

Traditional Latino values have been described as primarily restrictive on females and encouraging exploration in males (Flores-Neimann, 2004). However, Abigail's views were gender neutral with respect to allowing Latino youth freedoms accorded by the white-American culture. Value conflicts seemed to plague many of the parents' in the participant

group whose daughters or female relatives chose to leave behind traditional Latin American norms in lieu of the values of their peer culture.

Gonzalo, also from the participant group, is a 55 year old Mexican immigrant monolingual father of 15 year old Cristina. Cristina has developed a long history with the juvenile justice system involving issues of drugs, alcohol and car theft. Her father, who also has a 21 year old daughter married to a white young man of the Mormon religion, attributed his younger daughter's involvement with crime as a result of the poor influences in her life. He claimed that although her friends were primarily Latinas they were second and later generation and lacked the traditional upbringing of first generation Latina girls.

I blame her Mexican-American friends for all her troubles. Look at her sister she is properly married with a young child and a responsible husband. She never got into trouble and went to university. Cristina started hanging out with these girls that were not brought up right and try to be independent and free and think that by doing drugs and stealing cars they are asserting their independence. I just wish I could send my daughter back to Mexico to get her away from these influences.

Studies have found that first generation youth demonstrate greater levels of educational achievement (Perriera et al., 2010), perceive fewer barriers to reaching their goals (Hill et al., 2003) and demonstrate lower levels of problem behaviours (Sampson, 2008) than second and later generations. One explanation for differences between generations is the protective pattern of being surrounded by culture within the immediate family and primarily immigrant Latino communities. Sampson (2008) contends that immigrants, particularly Mexicans, selectively migrate to the US with motivations for work and ambitions for a better life for themselves and their children. As such, when second and later generation youth become involved in deviant behaviours, parents often begin to look for options to retreat either to their home country or to another location with fewer established Mexican-American influences.

Gonzalo: After we are done with this situation with Cristina [probation] I am moving the family to Utah where my son in law is from. I just need to get her away from these Latina friends. Hopefully she'll start spending time with some of her sister's friends from their church and she will straighten up.

Ethnic affiliations can have positive effects on ethnic minority youth as it provides for an interchange of shared experiences, culture and language. Through these shared experiences stems a bond that for females creates an investment and an influence in their behaviours.

While positive ethnic affiliations such as those from Gale's eldest sister at church, can lead to positive influences and outcomes negative ethnic ties can be just as influential, ultimately limiting the opportunities of the young women invested in those negative relationships.

However, as evidenced by the narratives of participant and comparison group families, there are many significant influences on the girls' behaviours. Structural disadvantage, racism and discriminatory practices, weak mother-daughter relationships and the absence of positive female role models all seemed to exacerbate conditions ripe for delinquent activity for the participant group girls. In contrast, the comparison group girls also experienced strain from structural disadvantage and perceived discrimination but relied on the relationship with their mothers who transmitted a strong ethnic identity, ethnic pride and a positive sense of self creating a supportive environment and buffering the effects of adversity.

Conclusions

Findings from this study support the literature suggesting that less acculturated mothers are more strongly related to low-risk taking behaviours among Latina youth (Loukas et al., 2007). It is believed that the positive variables of Latino families (i.e., maternal monitoring and positive mother-daughter relationship) may be more strongly associated with a positive ethnic identity and constructive outcomes for youth. The findings from the participant and comparison groups support the argument that a positive mother-daughter relationship fosters

an interest and loyalty in their mother's heritage and respect for the values attached to the culture. This bond translates into the internalization of traditional values and norms which endorse education, family relationships and greater parental support and guidance.

Some researchers have proposed that high levels of maternal acculturation are more beneficial for Latino youth given that parenting behaviours and attitudes of acculturated mothers are more consistent with those of the majority culture (Dumka et al., 1997). Moreover, foreign born Latino parents may acculturate more slowly than their native born children increasing the possibility of child isolation and/or family child conflict (Falicov, 1996; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). However it can also be argued that these studies are limited by focusing the blame on the parent's non-native parenting practices and social circumstances which do not align with the guidelines and practices of the majority culture, without considering the protective elements of culture transfer on identity development and self-esteem.

Findings from participant and comparison groups suggest that the parent-child relationship was stronger when parent and daughter spoke Spanish. Language being the most common mechanism of culture transfer. Specifically, those young women that were minimally involved in the juvenile justice system and the youth in the comparison group involved bilingual Spanish speakers. Portes and Hao (2002) contend that it is fluent bilingualism rather than English monolingualism that is associated with the more desirable results in terms of family relations and psycho-social adjustment. As bilingualism facilitates knowledge and understanding of parental cultures and bimodal cultural repertoires; providing insight and meaning to the norms and values endorsed in the home. Language becomes more than just another means of verbal expression but a mechanism by which one generation relates to the one before through concepts such as *familismo* and *respeto*. These concepts are not just about

the literal translation but function as moral guides enforcing behaviours that are relevant and significant to the Latin American culture through strong family and ethnic bonds.

Studies on acculturation among Latin American youth in the US have researched the effects of acculturation phases on youth outcomes (see Phinney, 1991, 1993, 2001; Loukas et al., 2007; Quintana & Scull, 2009). Findings from these studies support the negative outcomes found in the participant group respondents with acute justice court involvement. Factors such as high maternal assimilation, weak culture transfer and language acquisition, poor family bonds and a negative mother-daughter relationship increase the likelihood of negative youth outcomes. While the influences of socio-ecological factors on ethnic identity were explored the main protective factors in the midst of negative stimuli from the environment were rooted in the home and family dynamics, particularly focusing on the buffering effects of less acculturated mothers. This is not to suggest that stereotypes and racist discourse does not influence self-esteem but more so that a strong family bond and mother-daughter relationship promotes a strong ethnic identity which buffers against negative influences in the extrinsic layers of the youth's environment (Phinney et al., 1993).

The next chapter will explore the experiences of Latin American families in the UK. Issues around language acquisition, culture transfer, perceived discrimination, mother-daughter relationships and transnational practices will be discussed in context to risk-taking behaviours. As mentioned in chapter five, the UK cohort does not consist of a participant and comparison group as youth justice data by race/ethnicity for Latin Americans was not available.

Chapter Seven: Being Invisible-Latin Americans in the UK

Introduction

In this chapter I explore the experiences of Latin American young women living in cities across the UK, highlighting their views on ethnic identity, perceived discrimination and acculturation. In addition to highlighting the girls' acculturation experiences I also discuss the origins of their cultural bonds and factors like transnationalism that facilitate a strong connection to the home country. For the Latin American young women and families in the UK, maintaining cultural practices was found to positively influence ethnic identity development. As such, explanations for these parental socialization practices are explored through the mothers' views on the significance of the mother-daughter relationship.

Unlike the participant and comparison group cohorts from the US this group is not separated by juvenile justice involvement as data by race/ethnicity and gender was not available for this ethnic group through youth justice sources. One option to circumvent this barrier, in theory, was to request access to youth justice files from the youth justice teams in the areas where Latin Americans reside, however, there were no assurances that this data was collected, recorded and available on file. In addition, due to the time and resource limitations of conducting comparative research (see Chapter 5) I decided not to separate the UK sample into participant and comparison groups and focus on recruiting as many families as possible regardless of youth justice histories. As such, delinquent behaviour was explored through the risk-taking behaviour domain from the questionnaire.

The Latin American community in the United Kingdom is proportionally small in relation to the United States. In America Latinos are spread across most of the 48 contiguous states, with greater concentrations on the east and west coasts. In the UK, Latin Americans have

primarily congregated in the boroughs of London with few families living in Northern England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland (McIlwaine & Linnekar, 2011). The ethnic origins of Latin Americans in the UK are just as diverse as those found across America. The main differences lie in that in the US different ethnic groups migrate to cities with a greater representation of their countrymen. For instance New York and Boston tend to host more Puerto Ricans and Cubans, whereas Los Angeles has a greater Mexican, Salvadorian, Guatemalan and Central American representation (Portes & DeWind, 2008).

In London, the strongest representations from Latin America come by immigrants from Colombia and Brazil, followed by Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru. Latino families are chiefly settled in the boroughs of Lambeth and Southwark (McIlwaine et al., 2010). The distribution of ethnic groups across the US provides migrants with more opportunities to access social resources upon migration. In the same vein, with greater representation across the country there is greater awareness of their growing numbers across America.

With the limited number of Latinos in the UK, in proportion to their numbers in America, members of this ethnic group live in a country where they are virtually invisible in the eyes of the government and most of the population outside of the boroughs of Lambeth and Southwark. This invisibility has its advantages and disadvantages. At present first generation families have enjoyed the freedom of establishing themselves in the UK with limited barriers related to their race and ethnicity. Most of the issues encountered are related to language barriers (McIlwaine & Linnekar, 2011). Moreover, many second generation Latinos are also bi-racial hence blending even further into the British cultural landscape.

The disadvantages experienced by first and second generation offspring have begun to emerge. A need for formal recognition (e.g., Census data sources) has surfaced for the

younger generations that do not identify solely as Latin American or British. Scholars contend, that rather than assimilating into a generic Western identity, ethnic minority youth of later generations seek to create identities that represent a combination of their ethnic origins and their status in their birth country (Waters, 1990). Currently the UK Census does not report data by race and ethnicity for Latin Americans. At present members of this ethnic group are pooled into the other category. The issues surrounding their invisibility in the UK have only recently become part of the discussion among Latino communities in London. While it will take more generations to reach a point of change and political recognition it is important to explore how the invisibility of this ethnic group has influenced the ethnic identity of Latin Americans living in the UK.

Moreover, as previously mentioned, the increased recognition of Latin Americans may conversely result in more negative discourse and disparaging reports of Latin Americans in the media and by politicians (see Chapter 2); as has occurred for blacks and some Asian minorities (e.g., Bangladeshi and Pakistani) in the UK (see Toor, 2009; Phillips & Webster, 2014; Parmer, 2014; Palmer, 2014). It is relevant for policy development to highlight what works in immigrant and ethnic minority groups' integration systems, discuss the implications of these systems and explore other methods for allowing cultural recognition without the societal backlash that has plagued Latin Americans throughout their migratory histories.

Latina Girls and the UK Environment

Latin Americans have typically been aggregated into one ethnic group based on their shared language and histories of Spanish colonization. By default, the literature, perhaps limited to government categorizations and statistical sources, depicts Latin Americans as monoracial and mono-cultural, sharing the same values, norms and traditions (Quintana & Scull, 2009). There are dangers involved in these conjectures, as they omit the inherent and explicit (e.g.,

accents, language) differences in each individual's experiences and perceptions of culture. As discussed in the previous chapter, skin colour can determine the degree and type (e.g., subtle or blatant) of discrimination that Latinos experience. As such, lighter skinned Latinos in the UK may have different perceptions of what it is to be Latino in the UK.

Furthermore, when applied to research with Latin Americans and the plurality of their ethnic backgrounds, making assumptions about all Latinos risks continually reproducing, rather than challenging, the existing racial norms applied universally by western societies to all members of this ethnic group. The origins and circumstances of Latinos cannot be assumed to be uniform and therefore their identities and those of their descendants will vary based on their individual life paths. Situational factors also contribute to minoritized groups' cultural accounts. My interview data from the US cohort suggests that public discourse, surrounding policy debates and migrant integration, ethnic discrimination, cultural adherence and racism become incorporated into their stories and identities (see Chapter 6). I explore this relationship with the families in the UK in this chapter.

Contemporary discourse on migrant integration and ethnicity in the UK involves members of Middle Eastern, Asian (e.g., Bangladeshi & Pakistani) and black³¹ descent (Phillips & Webster, 2014) resulting from histories of colonization and war conflict. Much of the current public and political dialogue revolves around national security, riots and welfare resource exhaustion (Phillips & Webster, 2014; Schuster, 2005; Bagguley & Hussain, 2008). However little is known about Latin Americans in the UK. As mentioned, their numbers are growing but they currently exist under the radar as far as Census data are concerned. Without access to official data statistics to accurately account for the Latin American representation their story

³¹ The term 'black' is used to refer to people of Sub-Saharan African ancestral origins and of black Caribbean descent (Palmer, 2014).

of integration and settlement can only be elicited from biographical narratives to record the life experiences of Latinos of various generation levels and their perceptions of being invisible in the UK (McIlwaine et al., 2010).

Understanding these perceptions is crucial during adolescence, as many youth, especially those from ethnic groups with lower status or power, become deeply involved in learning about their ethnicity. This process can lead to constructive actions aimed at affirming the value and legitimacy of their group. Hence, recognition from society and other ethnic groups can reinforce the legitimacy and value of their ethnic group and promote a positive ethnic identity. The outcome of ethnic identity development depends on socialization experiences in the family, the ethnic community and the larger setting (Phinney et al., 2001).

The environmental settings of most of the youth respondents in this group were comprised primarily of British-white, Asian and black ethnic group members. The few Latin American peers they had were either linked to the social networks of their mothers or originated from English classes at the local Latin American community centre (this was the case for three of the participants). While they all had access to Latin American communities they drifted in and out of these communities depending on the strength of their cultural bond. The educational settings for these young women varied considerably between them. The older participants were either still completing or had just completed their A-levels at the time of the interview. The schools these young women attended were predominantly white-British or a mix of black and Asian. None of the respondents acknowledged knowing of another Latin American girl in their school. It is important to note that at the time this research was conducted there were two private primary schools throughout London which served a predominantly Latin American community. These schools are primarily affiliated to religious faiths, such as the Catholic Church.

The girls' bond to their Latin American roots was highly dependent on their mothers' degree of acculturation. While parental socialization practices in the UK seemed to have the same degree of influence on Latina young women as in the US comparison group one marked difference was the slightly greater proportion of bi-racial young women in the UK cohort. Of these young women three out of nine participants were of white-British (father) and Latin American (mother) descent. For these young women ethnic identity development involved a combination of both cultural systems and navigation between the traditions from their mother and those of their paternal grandmother. The issues with culture transfer from mother to daughter and the effects of being bi-racial and having two culture systems are explored further in the next section.

Exploring Bi-racial Identities: British-Latinas

Of the three girls who identified as bi-racial, one was British-Colombian and the other two sisters were British Peruvian. Numerous studies have addressed the conflicts that bi-racial youth undergo as they attempt to solidify their ethnic identity. Issues of discrimination from both races, a sense of Othering from society if they share physical characteristics with a minoritized ethnic group and feelings of not belonging to one group or the other, have all been found to have negative effects on bi-racial youth (Chavez & Guido-DiBrito, 1999). While there was evidence of some of these issues in the narratives of the bi-racial young women in the study the main message that emerged was that being white-British and Latin American was akin to having the best of both worlds. Issues of rejection from either their white-British or Latin American peers were minimal and even in those instances where rejection did occur they were more subtle than explicit actions. The following case studies illustrate multiplicity and fluidity in the ethnic identities of the bi-racial young women in the UK cohort.

Sarah is a 16 year old British born, self-identified Latina. Her mother is of Colombian descent and her father is white-British. Both of her parents are professionally educated in Law. Her mother no longer works outside the home but is active in community groups, teaching folkloric dance classes and partaking in ethnic community group meetings. Sarah described her neighbourhood as predominantly white-British of higher than average economic standing.

She described her family as very centred on Colombian traditions, values and practices but highlighted the degree of choice her parents provided her in selecting how much of the culture she wanted to adopt. The discussion began with Spanish language acquisition. She described her experiences from when she was a child at an all English speaking primary school.

Sarah: I didn't speak English until I went to nursery. My parents always spoke Spanish to me so I'd never known English actually. So yeah obviously I had to learn English. However going to school, like a lot of other Latin American kids that I know, I went kinda' like I don't want to speak Spanish anymore and I kinda' rejected the whole culture of it.

VC: That is interesting that you said you met other Latin American friends that also rejected it. What do you mean by that?

Sarah: Well I have been talking to my mom about it and it seems that, you know we have Latin American friends outside of school and it seems that at one point they all sort of done that. They all came back from English school one day and went; 'I don't want to speak Spanish anymore'. And then didn't, then as they got older they have, they love it now and they love the culture. Well actually I have some friends who still don't, they understand everything in Spanish but kinda' pretend like they don't and never speak it. It's strange but...

VC: What do you think prompted that reaction in you?

Sarah: I think it is probably being different. I guess when you are so young and you are 5 years old and you think, 'oh I can...' and then you think 'maybe I shouldn't' because my friends don't speak it, [so] it is not ok.

Child development models suggest that in the early school years children are not as concerned with peer acceptance as in adolescence but are aware of being different or inferior (Erikson,1987). In addition, children who feel encouraged and supported by those around them develop a sense of competence, while those that do not a sense of failure.

Characteristics such as language can distinguish children from the rest of the group, effectively excluding them. Hence, children like Sarah, who are bilingual, will choose to speak the same language as everyone else in order to obtain encouragement from their peers and teachers. As Sarah entered adolescence, she was able to differentiate between what was normal childhood behaviour and actual rejection of her Colombian roots. However, arriving to that realization was not without conflict.

I didn't realize it at the time but when I relate it, it was kind of like I didn't know whether I wanted to be Columbian or whether I didn't. I wasn't sure who [between both parents] I could relate to. I remember my mom telling me I used to say I was Columbian and I was confused about having said that or not like, 'I don't remember wanting to be that'. I had such conflicting ideas when I was little, that is kinda' how I felt, it was kind of like, 'who am I?'

Identity development is crucial to a child's self-esteem. For youth associated with minoritized groups ethnic identity becomes a sub-set of their personality which is also developing in tandem with the individual's overall identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). While Sarah described the struggle between fitting in with her white-British peers and identifying with her mother's culture, her mother, Xochil, had a different, more positive recollection of her daughter's ethnic identity development suggesting that youth do not always process their conflicts with others but undergo this identity change on their own.

They [daughters] never say they are English, 'I am Colombian and English', despite being born in England and grown up in England. We had the opportunity to live in Dubai and there they would say they were Colombian. They would say, 'saying we are English is really boring, we like more to say we are Colombian'. So I would tell them, 'of course you can say you are Colombian', so they would say 'well we're Colombian but we have lived in England a bit', they preferred to say it that way.

Despite the contrast between Sarah's recollections and Xochil's perceptions of her daughter's strong ethnic bond in early childhood, Sarah would eventually come to endorse her Colombian roots. She attributed this development to her mother's constancy in practicing Colombian traditions and speaking Spanish in the home despite her own conviction of speaking only English as a child. Her mother also continued to take her to cultural gatherings and folkloric dance workshops. Sarah explained that prolonged exposure to Colombian cultural practices and the Spanish language did not allow a complete detachment from her Latin American heritage. Moreover, her family's continued endorsement of traditional practices encouraged her to re-integrate those cultural indicators that she once rejected in early childhood.

My mother still insisted on speaking Spanish with me so I never really forgot it. I always sort of loved it. So there was never a part of me that really hated it because I was always surrounded by it, so I couldn't ignore it completely and then it sort of starts to become cool and you actually really like it. So I have embraced that part of the culture...like family and food, again they are always there, you can't just ignore them completely. Being surrounded by them all the time you almost get used to it and then you start to see the positives.

Scholars on ethnic identity and acculturation studies discuss the significant influence that family practices have on ethnic identity formation (Portes & Hao, 2002). In the case of bi-racial youth having bilingual parents encourages the adoption and internalization of both languages so that youth do not feel they are isolating either parent. Furthermore, fluent bilingualism by parents and youth has positive effects on family solidarity and youth personal adjustment, reflecting cultural continuity and mutual understanding across generations (Portes & Hao, 2002). As Sarah explains:

'I think I try to more [to speak Spanish] with my dad than with my sister, but I think it is because he wants to practice. I think that if we ever went into a really deep, difficult conversation we would have to move to English though, so it is good that my mom and dad speak both.'

This process of mutual involvement from Sarah's parents to integrate both cultures in the home helped facilitate her bi-racial identity. She did not feel she had to choose between her Colombian roots and her British roots, which allowed her to explore both cultures equally.

I think being part of both cultures you are like different, the experiences, 'this is more fun'... 'oh I like dancing'. I don't think that they [white-British friends] see me as different, like you know; they don't see me as any different from them. But if they hear me speak Spanish they get very excited.

The positive reactions from her peers and her family's support encouraged Sarah to explore both of her cultures and solidified her ethnic identity. She did not feel shame or othering when she spoke Spanish with her peers. For most of the participants in this cohort language seemed to be the most common method of introducing culture to non-Latinos. Parents taught their daughters early on to speak Spanish in the home and their daughters introduced Spanish to their non-Latino peers. Hence, for ethnic group members indicators such as language are highly important to their identity.

I would like to pass the language, give a little bit of the culture anyway because I think it is important, because it is a part of me. It is part of your culture that you have to embrace. 'Cause now you are old enough to realise that what you did [rejecting the language] when you were little was stupid.

Bilingualism among bi-racial youth can have positive effects on their ethnic identity. In addition, as they reach early adulthood facilitate they become more aware of the benefits of speaking both languages as a means of relating to both cultures. The following family case study illustrates this finding. Melanie and Lucinda are two white-British and Peruvian, British born sisters. Lucinda is the middle child at 15 followed by Melanie at 11 years of age; they have an older brother Marcus who had recently left for university. Both young women identified as Latina and spoke Spanish fluently. Their peer influences were predominantly white-British growing up in a city in the North of England. Both parents were university educated and teachers in the Institute of Hispanic Studies at their local university. The family

lived in a comfortable home in a predominantly middle-class neighbourhood. Both young women are relatively good students, obtaining high marks in school and partaking in extra-curricular activities. While Lucinda reported some limited use of alcohol with friends she explained away this involvement as part of a phase and clarified that she no longer associated with those friends. Neither one of the sisters had ever been in any legal trouble or reported currently associating with any negative peer influences.

Their mother Natalie consistently promoted Latin American practices and values in the home. She enforced speaking Spanish, cooking Peruvian dishes and displaying Peruvian artwork around the house. Natalie also was part of a Latin American women's group and hosted gatherings for this group on occasion in her home. In spite of their mother's involvement in ethnic community groups both daughters did not interact with other Latina young women. They did however express pride in their ethnic heritage and being part of something that 'not a lot of people are'.

VC: So what is it like for you here in Britain when you tell people you are Latin American?

Melanie: They are just like 'cool'.

Lucinda: Yeah like 'cool'.

VC: And how do you feel when you tell others that you are Latina and British?

Lucinda: Normal cause it's what I am. I don't know it is just normal.

Melanie: Proud too because I am me and I am part Latina and not a lot of people are.

This sense of being different had a positive connotation attached to it. Unlike in the US where being different was commonly attached to feelings of shame or inferiority, the young Latinas in this cohort felt that their Latin American ties made them special or a novelty. These perceptions were in direct relation to Natalie's, their mother, efforts of endorsing the Spanish

language, culture and traditions and framing their experiences with the culture in a positive manner.

My children don't feel shame to say, 'my mom is from Peru'. On the contrary it helps them because at the school where they are going it is really diverse, all nationalities. So there have been times when the teacher asks, 'who knows how to speak Spanish?' and they answer. Then they are asked, 'how do you know how to speak Spanish?' 'Well because my mom is from Peru.' They see it as something positive. Lucinda use to compete in swimming and her team went to Spain to compete and she was the team's interpreter and I was like, 'wow!' So I am always trying to create positive experiences for them when it comes to speaking Spanish and Peru so they grow up with it being something positive not just different. Because you have to be very careful with youth because they don't want to be different at that age and I have always been conscience of that. So we have never deceived them or painted it with rose coloured glasses but we have told them, 'look these are the advantages that you have and they are lovely. Use them to help people, to be a better person, to appreciate your advantages. Now they see the utility of speaking Spanish.

Natalie's approach to creating positive experiences for her children around *Biculturalism*, bilingualism and being bi-racial promoted a healthy environment for her children to develop their identity alongside their ethnic identity as opposed to running against it. Highlighting the positives of both cultures facilitates acceptance and pride among adolescents where they can negotiate normative rules from both cultures while maintaining high self-esteem. This process is what Berry (2001) terms *Biculturalism*: the balance of two culturally divergent systems where the individual can successfully navigate between both cultures with minimal effort or strain on their identity.

However, the socio-political environment has considerable influence on the degree of ethnic alignment that second and later generation Latinos select. Duarte (2008) claims that second and later generation Latin Americans employ symbolic, situational and strategic ethnicity to negotiate daily interactions with other Latin Americans and whites, depending on the identity expectations of either group. Hence, they may take on a more assimilated identity with their white peers and a more ethnic identity with their less assimilated Latino peers. The

negotiation involves assessing the consequences of aligning themselves with a minoritized group and becoming othered by whites. Hence, Latin Americans' ethnic identity is shaped by contact with a spectrum of Latinos and Anglos who either offer positive or negative psychological outcomes.

Racial and ethnic socialization practices then become central to establishing a solid ethnic foundation. Language for Natalie, as well as for many Latin American families, is not only viewed as a means of communication but as a tool that facilitates the passing on of culture and enhances the mother-daughter relationship when communicating in the mother tongue (Portes & Hao, 2002).

I have been speaking to my children in Spanish since they were born. They understand it perfectly. I speak to them in Spanish all the time unless we have a guest then we speak in English. As soon as they leave we switch to Spanish because I don't feel right speaking to them in English, I feel strange. With them I feel that the relationship isn't normal. Now that they are grown they tell me, 'it sounds weird in English mom'. I do change, in English I am different [and] I change everything. Firstly, I don't use my hands as much. Secondly, like I am calmer, more refined. It isn't me really. With them I am more comfortable in Castilian.³²

I knew this woman who worked at the Institute of Hispanic Studies, she is Colombian and about 15 years older than me [and] she already had children at that point. I met her when she would only speak to her children in English with her Colombian accent. Now I was a teacher of early childhood and did my masters on bilingualism so I told her, 'Gene, why do you speak to your children in English?' She replied, 'because my husband's family, they are very posh, they say if I speak to them in Castilian they will not have a proper English accent.' I said, 'No, no, no!' I told her, 'You speak to them in Castilian that will not affect their accents.' I asked her, 'When they travel to Colombia how do they manage?' She replied, 'Well they find it quite difficult really because they can't speak it.' As a result her children didn't grow up with her family. I don't understand how they can understand their mother, her roots and her culture because language opens up everything; you understand the culture. Her children felt different, most definitely, and they can't express themselves in the same way. This is why I am so aware [of speaking Spanish] because now they understand why I do what I do. So there are little things that they now understand, nuances from the culture.

³²Castilian Spanish usually refers to the variety of European Spanish spoken in northern and central Spain or as the language standard for radio and TV speakers (Random House, 2006).

Studies on language acquisition suggest that ethnic minority youth who acquire their parent's mother tongue tend to have a stronger parent-child relationship and a greater bond to their home culture (Tseng & Fuglini, 2000). Youniss & Smollar (1985) contend that adolescence is a crucial time for renegotiating the parent-child relationship, therefore declines in cohesion resulting from normal adolescent development can be counterbalanced with increased reliance on communication, facilitated through the use of a common language.

For parents and adolescents who communicate in the same language there is an increase in comprehension and expression, such as Natalie's use of her hands and a more excitable means of expression in her native tongue. In addition, parents and youth who draw on the same language may have more frequent discussions regarding their children's concerns and experiences. As Sarah had mentioned when referring to her parents' bilingualism, if the need for a deeper conversation arose it was good that both her parents were bilingual and they could all switch to the same language.

Hence, language acquisition for bi-racial youth tends to have the same degrees of significance than for Latina youth of same race parents. A potential barrier for bi-racial Latinas arises however, if their non-native Spanish speaking parent opts not to learn Spanish. Evidence from this study and other research on bi-racial parenting among Latin American families suggests this to be highly uncommon, when the mother is first generation and a native Spanish speaker, regardless of whether she speaks English well or not (Mcloyd, et al., 2000). Phinney et al. (2001) contend that because culture transfer, including language acquisition, falls under the domain of the mother or maternal figure in the family, if the mother is a native Spanish speaker she will promote Spanish speaking in the home.

Findings from the current study suggest that language acquisition for Latinas born of bi-racial and two Latin American parents becomes a way of enhancing their relationship with their parents and their culture. All the respondents in this cohort spoke Spanish reporting competency in speaking, reading and writing as either *excellent*, *good* or *fair*. Over half of the respondents demonstrated a high to moderate degree of awareness of Latin American artists, history and music. Their proficiency in the Spanish language facilitated an increased awareness of media, arts and history of Latin America as they were able to understand not only the language but as Natalie explained the ‘nuances of the culture’. Aurora is one of the older youth respondents at age 17. She was born in Mexico and migrated with her mother to the UK when she was seven. Aurora illustrated the effect Spanish speaking has on understanding Latino culture as she replied to the question, *what language are the channels you prefer to watch television at home?* (see Appendix A)

Not so much prefer English, but that is what is available [in the UK]. I enjoy Spanish language films and programs. There are a few radio programs I have listened to, especially funny ones with Mexican humour you know. Yeah something my dad showed me online that I really enjoyed.

Access to Spanish media was reported as limited by all families in this cohort. Most of the mothers however found means of accessing videos, music and news media from their home country via the internet and on Latin American websites. They introduced these media to their children but acknowledged that while it was easier for them to maintain interest in some of these forms of media when they were younger, as their tastes and social influences change, videos in Spanish had lost their influence.

Natalie: When the children were younger we would watch videos in Spanish but now that they choose what to watch, well they want to watch them in English.

Some of the young women selected music and movies from more contemporary artists from either America or Britain.

Lucinda: I think it is because I relate more to American artists and musicians more. I don't know why.

Melanie: I guess it's because they [artists] are British, I think I know more about them.

While parents maintained themselves abreast of current affairs in their home countries, news media in general was not of particular interest to many of the young women. This may be more a result of adolescent development than ethnic preferences however. As one mother explained news reports can be quite pessimistic and fatalistic which is uninteresting to adolescents.

Xochil: They [daughters] aren't very good about the news in general. They are the type of people that think that they are always very negative. So they say, 'no, no, no I am always going to hear how they are killing.' I understand them because the news is always negative and the world is so bad. However, they do maintain some contact either through their folkloric dance or Colombian music.

Culture Transfer

As language acquisition for young Latinas becomes more than just a means of communication in the same vein Latin American mothers used language to assist them in transferring culture to their children. It provided a common point of origin where values, traditions and customs were built upon and where the mothers could illustrate who they were and give meaning to the choices and teachings they endorsed in the home. As Natalie explained:

'I brought traditions from my home, where I was born, that I want to do here because I miss them or because I want them [children] to know or for them to know me better. So they will know why I do what I do and not think me crazy! For instance I am Catholic, I don't practice but I do believe and I tell them my mom use to always tell me, 'dream with the little angels, you have angels that watch over you'. I grew up with that and I thought it was lovely so I tell them the same.

So you see I do a lot of things with that purpose, so they will know where I come from and why I do what I do. Also, for instance, to dress in vibrant colours is popular in Peru and I tell them because in my country it is like this and that is why. I don't impose on the girls but they see it so that way they can understand me. Or things in the home, for example, like in the traditions from my home we all sat together for meals; we had breakfast together and we talked. Now poor things they suffer; actually

they all suffer but I am also not a tyrant but that is why we do it. They say, 'in my friends' house they just come down, eat and go'. I tell them, 'Ok very good but in this house we do it this way and in your grandmother's house we did it.' So a lot of little things we have here and we do them. They don't complain because we have been doing it since they were little they've grown up with these things. Well now they do a little but because they are older and they go to other homes and they realise the difference. They don't refuse to do it but they ask why, so I tell them 'because of my traditions'.

As Natalie's narrative illustrates culture transfer is more than just the act of passing on a language it is about instilling specific traditions, customs and habits that guide behaviours and shape actions. For her daughters, who were experiencing other cultural influences from their peers, some of their family traditions might have seemed too traditional and restrictive, however they continued to follow them because Natalie explained the significance of these traditions and how they related to her upbringing, providing a link to her family back in Peru.

One thing for instance, the grandmother must be respected because she is your grandmother and they understand me without further explanation. They respect it and follow it. For instance when we go to Peru with their friends and cousins they hug and give kisses and for my children they are like 'ugh'. I am very affectionate but with other people they are not. But within two days they are perfect. Also the tradition of Christmas where we have the *panetone* and the nativity and the little baby Jesus, we cover him and uncover him. They do it for me.

The practice of culture transfer tends to fall on the maternal role in the family (Phinney et al., 2001). In all of the families in this cohort the mother took the role of cultural liaison brokering between her Latin American roots and traditions and the influences of the British culture. Unlike the families in the US, ethnic influences were limited to what the mothers could procure for their children through endorsement of cultural practices in the home, participation in ethnic community events and trips back to their home country. However, all of the young women in the UK cohort seemed to have a strong bond to their Latin American roots, despite their limited exposure to ethnic influences in their immediate external environments.

While Latin American influences were limited primarily to the home, the non-Latino social networks maintained by the families in the study seemed receptive to the family's exploration of language use, traditions and culture outside the home. As Lucinda and Melanie declared, being Latina is 'cool'. Natalie provided some context to her daughters' responses.

I have had a lot of luck with the English people I know because they always have something positive to say about Peru or the fact that we speak Spanish and that we are a bi-racial family. We are friends with a lovely group of English families who have children that are friends with our children so they never feel bad. Quite the contrary there are times when I send texts [to friends] and say, 'Hola!' Or for instance one of Lucinda's friends who is English, she is studying Spanish at college. I ask her, 'do you want me to talk to you in Spanish a bit?' She agrees so I begin to ask her simple things like, 'how old are you?' and little things like that so the children see people are receptive towards our culture.

All of the mothers in this cohort are members of community organisations or social groups that practice traditional Latin American customs (foods, dance, art, etc.). Xochil is heavily involved in folkloric dance and involved her daughters in it at a very young age. She has also helped organise Colombian arts exhibitions in museums across London. She explains her strong bond to the Latin American community in London as a means of not only maintaining a link to her roots for herself but as a means of facilitating the racial and ethnic socialization of her daughters.

We spend a lot of time in the social gatherings that we have, always surrounded by Colombians. I also lead a Colombian dance group. I have a really good relationship with the members there so I am always surrounded by Colombians or Latin Americans. This has also helped to maintain the culture. For instance they know how to dance salsa; they eat and know Colombian foods [and] they know it by name, scent and everything. So I think that has been the essential factor because without that familiar link it doesn't matter how hard you try to impose it on them it just won't stick. Culture is something that exists in a group, one person alone cannot create a cultural atmosphere.

This is why I think it is important that one, as a mother, always have something around that reinforces it, something special. Logically the food has something to do with it because it is connected to memories of times we have travelled to Colombia. It is what their grandmother makes but also what we eat when we go to parties like for Christmas. So I think that is what makes them more Latina. Well also because I am very Latina. I have never changed my ways; I have never changed my accent. I

maintain that connection to the culture by telling them, ‘this is what happened recently in Colombia’. We try to stay connected through music, putting on the radio through the internet when we are cooking. Both have danced with me and taken dance classes. They have both learned folkloric dance and have danced with our group. I think what they love the most is the music and being around people. Every time we are talking in Spanish among younger people there is always a lot of laughter and camaraderie, a lot of friendship. So I think that through all those means they have strengthened their connection to the Colombian community.

Natalie and Xochil’s accounts illustrate the positive effects of racial and ethnic socialization that value their ethnic culture and help youth develop a strong sense of self-esteem and healthy adjustment (Fuglini, 2007; Oyserman et al., 2007). They both credit the constancy in practicing traditional customs and values with their daughters’ positive ethnic identity. However, Natalie pointed out that it is not always easy maintaining that consistency, particularly when the children are very young and in order to socialize her children, according to Latin American customs, she had to distance herself from other mothers who did not share in her culture.

It hasn’t been easy. I remember a time in playgroup, I realised that I was distancing myself [from other mothers] perhaps because it was easier to speak to them in Spanish that way. It would have been so much easier to socialise myself if I didn’t. So I understand why some people throw in the towel because it isn’t easy. But now it is worth every minute, every second. I remember when my eldest Marco was little I would ask him in Spanish, ‘My love would you like some water?’ and his father would turn around and say it in English, ‘Would you like some water?’ Or I would read to them when they couldn’t read well yet and if the books were in English I would translate them into Spanish.

Hughes et al. (2006) contend that a child’s age, gender, neighbourhood, experiences of discrimination and parents’ socio-economic status and racial and ethnic identity affect their racial and ethnic socialization. They argue that parents with a higher socio-economic standing and level of education and families who live in integrated neighbourhoods tend to actively implement socialization practices. These characteristics were reflective of six out of the nine families in this cohort. All six families lived in culturally mixed neighbourhoods with a greater representation of whites, all were university educated either in the UK or back in their

home countries, and all six mothers had a strong ethnic identity which fuelled their efforts to pass on their culture to their children.

With regard to the other three families their recent migration to the UK (from Spain and Colombia), struggles with settling into British society and finding an economic footing took precedence over any other needs. However, it was clear from their daughters' stories that they felt proud of their ethnicity and for some of the girls the bond was so strong that they hoped to return to their home country after completing their studies.

Despite the generally positive experiences described in the UK family narratives there were instances of perceived discrimination or culture shaming. Unlike in the US narratives, however, some of the discourse revolved around class and British-ness as opposed to specifically race and ethnicity. The following section highlights my findings regarding perceived discrimination from the youth and parents in the UK cohort.

Perceived Discrimination

The main difference between the UK and US cohorts is the respondents' perception of social and political acceptance of their culture and ethnicity. The UK cohort differed markedly from the US respondents with regard to their agreement rating on perceived discrimination. Four out of the nine respondents agreed having heard something negative about their race or ethnicity in the media, compared to 9 out of 27 in the US cohort. Overwhelmingly, five out of the nine young women *completely disagreed* with the perceived discrimination domain questions when referring to their experiences in Britain. Two of the older participants, Aurora and Sarah, however did acknowledge either experiencing it personally or witnessing discrimination towards Latin Americans in the past. Of the four respondents, who agreed with perceived discrimination, three had spent less than a year in the UK since migrating

from Spain. The other respondent, Aurora, had migrated to the UK at age six but had recently experienced a unique situation with her citizenship status and university enrolment that ignited these feelings of discrimination, not only stemming from being Latin American but more notably for not being able to claim British citizenship or residency.

Aurora grew up in the UK and planned on remaining in the UK as a permanent resident. As a result of issues surrounding her mother's residency status she could not claim British citizenship, remaining a Mexican citizen. For Aurora, the issues of ethnic identity began to unfold after her application for residency was rejected by Immigration Services and she was forced to reject offers to several prestigious medical schools across the country, as international tuition fees were too high for her family to pay. This event unravelled a series of personal discoveries that tainted her experiences and interactions with non-Latino peers.

Aurora discussed one specific incident with a young man she had met at an academic event at Oxford University. She described how this incident made her aware of how others perceived some immigrant groups, not only as being different, but inferior.

I applied for citizenship here, because I couldn't go to university because of my fee status, and it was rejected. During the whole process I just felt like this horrible pressure on me because the process by which I applied was a sort of discretionary process. So you make your case and this person will look through your case file and decide whether or not they will award it to you. So I had to go around and ask all my friends and people I knew, my teachers, my choir conductor, to write letters of recommendation giving their view of why I deserved to be a British person. So, during that time I felt like there was this massive eye on me where I had to prove how British I was or how much of an asset I am to this country. Around the same time I was in contact with a boy I met in a public speaking competition. It was in Oxford and it was horrible because 90 percent of the people there were middle-class, white bastards and I met this boy. [And] I was drawn into this strong sort of relationship because he was interested in me and I was flattered and I was attracted to him. And we had this thing going for awhile and of course it wasn't until later that I realised I was really actually only being patronized. I think for him I was just this notch on his belt, labelled Latina or something to a certain extent that is how he made me feel after a while. He was high educated, fancy man and I am big on literature, poetry, culture, politics [and] history so we found that we could talk a lot. I assumed somewhere along the way that I was like him. Then we were talking one day about things like immigration and he said, 'well you consider yourself to be British don't you?' and I

said, 'well not really, I mean I guess I do because this is where my home is but I will always be Mexican because that is where I was born, that is where my roots are, that is who I am'. And his response was basically, 'well then to be honest I don't think you deserve any input into our political system because you would not be voting in our interest.' I was humiliated and I was angry. To be dismissed by some white guy like that. I mean this guy was the height of Britishness, he was white, male...cisgender, he's heterosexual, he's rich [and] he's upper class. He is the peak of privilege. And for him to tell me what my worth is what my value is as a member of any society because of my culture and my heritage that really got to me. But of course then I realised the people reviewing my application for citizenship are going to be people like him and so I immediately felt like if I want this I need to bow to this pressure. I need to let go of this [Mexican] part of me somehow.

Aurora's experience of inferiority and devaluation heightened her awareness of how others are perceived by some members of more privileged groups in the UK. The feelings of othering stemming from these series of events propelled her towards exploring her ethnic identity further and increased her awareness of more subtle discrimination towards Latinos in the UK. Tajfel's (1981) identity theory contends that when identifying with a stigmatized minority social group, individuals will adopt particular attitudes as ways of maintaining esteem in the face of stigmatization and othering. Research suggests there are varying processes by which Latinos respond to social stigmatization. Those who closely identify with their ethnicity appear to immerse themselves in their ethnic group and in Latino cultural activities, thereby increasing their social and psychological identification (Quintana & Scull, 2009; Ethier & Deaux, 1994) such as Aurora had done.

So this is what I did. I was prepared to reject that part of me, prepared to deny my identity for a piece of paper I never even got. And I think from that point onwards I became even more embroiled into my culture and identity as a Latina. And I got more into these blogs about politics.

I have received comments from people time and again, not with the intent to be racist or anything. When it comes down to it, I mean intent has nothing to do with another's comment being racist or offensive. I guess that is something that I have always struggled with...because people will say, 'Ahh well I didn't mean to be racist why are you getting offended? That wasn't my intent.' When in reality it is not about their intent it is about [the] socio-historical context of what they are saying that makes their statement offensive, but they don't always get that and I guess more than discrimination I would say it's that.

Like those Dorito adverts or people that wear sombreros to dress like Mexicans, it demonstrates how we are not seen as people but a costume or a holiday decoration.

VC: Do you feel that in the UK it's because they are completely unfamiliar with the culture, that it's more to do with ignorance?

Aurora: Yes, because we are so far removed from it, it's easier to minimize something and dehumanize it when you are so far removed from it. Because we don't have a lot of Mexicans here or not as big a population as perhaps Pakistani, Indians you know. It's easier to make fun than for people stepping up and saying that is not ok. One of the biggest examples was when the asshole from Top Gear made all those comments about Mexican food. They were discussing this one car that was a Mexican design and one guy starts with, 'why would you want to buy a Mexican car' and 'if their cars are anything like their food, refried sick with cheese on top' and people were laughing in the audience and nobody stepped up to say, 'hey you know that is not ok'. And then they started insulting the Mexican Ambassador and started saying, 'oh he probably won't even complain because he's too busy sleeping on a cactus or something'. And he [the Ambassador] did complain to the BBC [and] the man at the head of the agency, a black man, a man who belongs to a demographic who historically has faced a lot of shit from white people and he was saying, 'well yes perhaps what they said was offensive and inappropriate but it wasn't racist and there wasn't anything really wrong with it, it wasn't harmful.' And you just think, we are not playing oppression Olympics here, we're not saying that you know it's not fair saying this about black people or Pakistanis, but it is a fair point that if it had been a single comment about a different race there would have been a much, much bigger reaction but because it was about Mexicans and it was harmless little comments it wasn't really racist. But this is what happens, all these micro-aggressions push you and push you and really alienate you. And then they wonder why we don't want to integrate, well it's because of that because we have to put up with the white kids telling me, 'you like speedy Gonzales?' or 'Arriba! Arriba!' and then they ask why I am offended!

Aurora demonstrated a highly intellectual perspective to racism and discrimination in the UK. She discussed being heavily involved with blogging on websites related to Latina women and feminist views and admitted being highly influenced by discussions of racism and sexism in the US context. This exposure to racial discrimination and oppression of ethnic minorities in America appeared to have influenced how she internalized disparate treatment against ethnic minorities in the UK, where racism and discrimination receives less attention by the media than social class and is exhibited in more subtle ways.

Phinney et al. (2001) contend that immigration policy and perceptions of the host country, particularly the extent to which a country supports the process of integration through the respect of cultural diversity, is crucial to an individual's identity choices. As Aurora discussed, 'micro-aggressions' can be just as damaging to an individual's sense of self than blatant socio-political attacks on members of minoritized groups. As such, some youth may choose to submerge themselves in their ancestral culture and ethnic communities, hence rejecting the dominant culture, as Aurora has done. However, others may select to either reject their ancestral culture or become marginalised rejecting their ancestral and majority culture, as Charlotte from the US participant group (Berry, 2001).

Despite Aurora's recent negative experiences with discrimination and othering she held strong onto her ethnic identity displaying a greater awareness of the struggles that other minority ethnic groups such as Bangladeshis' and Pakistanis' have been exposed to for years in the UK. While her experiences were different to those of the other youth respondents from this cohort this is not to suggest that her experiences have not been shared by other, more phenotypic Latinas in the UK.

For instance, many of the mothers in the study experienced some form of discrimination since leaving their country of birth. For most the events transpired in Spain, where the numbers of Latin Americans have grown exponentially over the last decade. However, some of the narratives illustrated active racism against Latinos here in the UK by other Europeans from continental Europe.

Sarah: I mean I have never had anything happen in particular, but I think it's because people don't realise I am Latina at all. I know my mom has had problems with that but I haven't. I know that she has had basically people being racist against her. She looks Colombian, as opposed to the fact that I don't. I know that we had a [Eastern European] nanny who looked after me and she was incredibly racist. I was at a birthday party and I wanted more cake and I asked my mom, 'can I have more cake' and she [the nanny] said, 'you are lucky enough she doesn't have your skin colour.'

You don't want to make her fat as well.' She said a couple of things but there are definitely more type castings with her because of how she looks and people don't think she is from here, whereas...people don't think I am not.

These observations were echoed by Sarah's mother Xochil, but more in context with the time the family had spent in Spain in their summer home. Xochil described several incidences where her Colombian family was travelling with them and the entire family was treated poorly by the Spanish natives.

I have never lived in Spain but we have a house there. I don't have enough fingers to count the number of times I have been made to feel discriminated there. The Spanish are somewhat poorly educated in the sense that they don't know how to be social, to say 'good morning, can I help you?' They are more like, 'I want you to do this or do this!' For me that is irritating but I understand that is the culture. But there have been times where I am buying things and I feel the security officer walking behind me because they think I am going to steal something because I look Latina. And I feel it is me because I look Latina. Other times, I have entered a bar and the people have said, 'the gypsies have arrived or the Latinas' and not in a nice way.

Xochil's experience was echoed by another one of the parent respondents who is also Colombian. Sandy has lived in the UK for approximately five years but spent 11 years in Spain. Sandy and her husband are university educated but as a result of deskilling and decredentializing have had to take on service jobs in Spain and in the UK (Carlisle, 2006). Her daughter, Nicky, was born in Spain however had a strong bond to her parents' Colombian culture as a result of parental ethnic, including frequent trips back to Colombia. Having spent many years in Spain Sandy recalled instances where she felt discriminated against because of her ethnicity. However, she was quick to explain that perhaps some of the anti-Latino sentiment by the Spanish was partially attributed to the mass migration of Latin Americans during the past 10 years. She noted that while the UK also had mass migration from Asian countries, her experiences in the UK were much more positive, where individuals were given a chance regardless of their ethnicity.

I have perceived discrimination in Spain, but not here. I think it is because we [Latin Americans] invaded them there in such a rapid way, their culture is very closed off [and] I think it has been surprising compared to what they are accustomed, totally different. They are more racist, they can't admit that you are more than them or that you know more than them. In spite of everything that I have studied they continue with their pride. I suppose that is part of their culture we must try to understand, it's who they are. But they are racist because they see themselves above you. We can reach the same level as them...they are more racist whereas here they are much more open minded. As long as you treat others well they don't care, they accept you and accept that you may one day become as much or more than them and they see it as normal where in Spain no.

When it comes to work I soon realised that there weren't many possibilities, even in the grocery stores there weren't any. 'You came to clean houses, your thing is to clean [and] take care of children period' that is life for Latinos in Spain. I have been treated much better by the English than the Spanish.

Despite the narratives from this study suggesting a mostly accepting and multicultural UK society other studies have found that discrimination is also embedded in UK society suggesting that 'racism does often underpin discussions about the cultural and social impacts' of migrants with 'very little social sanction' (Lewis, 2005, 40) as in the account Aurora gave of the treatment of Mexicans on the television show Top Gear.

Moreover, in spite of Sandy's positive experiences regarding racism in the UK she was aware of the ramifications that being different can have on youth ethnic identity. During the interview Nicky, her daughter, was asked to explain what she told her peers when they would ask where her mother and father were from and her ambivalence towards answering the question suggested a struggle with being different despite her peers' general acceptance of diversity. Sandy, having studied child development, explained.

Children struggle, more so if they do not speak the language, because they get embarrassed saying their parents don't speak English or 'dad is a janitor'. Do you understand? Children feel ashamed as well, they may not admit it to us however.

Developmental processes of child and adolescent identity intertwine with ethnic identity development. Where ethnic minority children must not only come to terms with who they are

in relation to their peers, but manage the effects of knowing that they are different from their peers. As many of the mothers in the UK cohort noted, being different as a child carries the risk of being othered or cast aside and stigmatized. This risk is magnified when the child is a member of a minoritized ethnic group. However, despite this all the young women in the study displayed a strong ethnic bond and credited much of their ethnic pride to the socialization practices of their parents.

Implications of Culture Transfer on Ethnic Identity

Ultimately, for Latino parents, ethnic socialization helps them feel reassurance that aspects of their ethnicity will be passed down in a generative fashion (Quintana & Scull, 2009). During the interviews all the young women were asked if there was something about their culture that they would want to pass down to their children. The overwhelming response was language.

Sarah: I think if I married a Colombian it would be a lot easier, but even if I don't I would like to pass the language, give a little bit of the culture anyway because I think it is important because it is a part of me.

However, there was also mention of specific aspects of Latino socialization practices endorsing respect and familism. Claire, a 16 year old Latina from Chile, believed that her traditional upbringing was the best way to raise her own children. She explained that her parents' more conservative rules in the home protected her from unnecessary risks at an early age. Claire was unique from the other participants in that she had migrated to the UK with her parents a year prior to the interview while her father completed his doctoral studies. She still missed her home in Chile and did not feel a part of British society. When discussing her plans for the future and what she would want to pass down to her children she explained:

I want to finish college here and return to do university in my country. I want to live in my country. More than anything though I believe that the way I was raised is quite different than the way the English are raised. Here, generally speaking, youth are

raised too independent from their parents. At 16 years they are going out to parties in the evenings on their own and at 18 they leave the house to move in with their partners that is very strange in my country. Generally we are raised to be close to our parents and we don't leave the home until we are married. So it is quite different. I want that for my children.

Aurora on the other hand had a more pragmatic approach between what she wished she could pass down to her children and what would actually take place considering her career choices, who she marries and her children's temperament.

I want to [pass down the culture] but I have always been afraid that I would not be able. I think I know quite well that you can't always make your kid do what you want. I could try my hardest to involve my kids in these traditions and cultures and ideals but that doesn't mean that they will internalize them or take them on. Especially if I do become a doctor one day, it is a very high power job and I wouldn't always be able to devote my time to my kids as well as I should. So I wouldn't be able to check that they were taking on values. Especially if I marry a non-Mexican then they probably wouldn't be as concerned with it as I would. But I mean yeah, I would want to. I would want to raise my kids properly with the same values and morals. You know treat people with respect. Also to be proud of their heritage and to never feel the need to deny, you know their heritage.

When the young women were asked how they would socialize their children into the Latin American culture their answers revolved around maintaining a strong parental bond, flowing communication with their children and trust. The common denominator for the young women was a positive mother-daughter relationship.

Relevance of the Mother-Daughter Relationship

Cross-sectional studies have indicated that a good quality mother-daughter relationship has been shown to be a contemporaneous resource factor for Latina adolescents' internalizing and externalizing problems (Corona et al., 2005). Further studies suggest that a strong parental bond functions as a protective factor for well-being, offsetting ecological risk effects (Loukas & Prelow, 2004). Findings from US and UK cohorts support these conclusions. In the UK cohort all but one youth respondent reported a strong mother-daughter relationship. Moreover

it was the basis of the parent-child relationship that enhanced their ethnic pride and endorsement of ethnic practices.

Stattin & Kerr (2000) contend that the positive effects of maternal monitoring may be attributed to a good quality mother-daughter bond, which facilitates parent-adolescent communication. Many of the young women in the US comparison group and UK cohort reported refraining from acting out to avoid jeopardizing their relationship with their mothers. Moreover, studies have found that youth who have a strong mother-daughter bond may experience fewer internalizing problems because they feel supported by their mothers (Klein & Forehand, 2000). The relationship between the mother-daughter bond and youth outcomes has been researched considerably in the last 10 years. However, ethnic studies have found that the mother-daughter bond is highly relevant to Latina youth outcomes (Loukas et al, 2007; Klien & Forehand, 2000; Stattin & Kerr, 2000). All of the youth respondents in this cohort reported wanting to spend either *All of the time*, *Most of the time* or *Some of the time* with their parents. The older respondents between the ages of 16 to 17 years were most likely to respond *Most of the time*. Regarding the question, *Would you say that your parents like you and care about you?*, all but one respondent agreed with either a *Strongly agree* (4) or *Agree* (4). Seven out of the nine youth respondents believed their parents saw them as being good at things responding with *Strongly agree* or *Agree*.

Some of the explanations the young women provided regarding their relationship with their parents echoed findings from previous research regarding the importance of support such as, 'my mom always helps', 'my mom has taught me', 'my mom is supportive', and 'my mom was always there', and communication as the foundation of the mother-daughter relationship (Loukas & Prelow, 2004; Stattin & Kerr, 2000; Klien & Forehand, 2000). Sarah discussed

how her parents' faith in her abilities was at times unfounded, but she appreciated the vote of confidence.

I know there are things that I am not good at. They [parents] want you to be fantastic at everything, like my sister is good at music and they want me to be and I am not. So there is this over confidence that I am good at everything [laughter].

Sarah's mom echoed her daughter's sentiments regarding confidence and support for her children. However, Xochil explained that for her honesty was a big part of supporting your children. She did however highlight that she and her husband put education first which she thought at times caused them to spoil their daughters.

I like to spend most of the time with my daughters and I always tell them both how proud I am of them and how much I love them. I always try to encourage them but I am critical at times too. I won't give them accolades if they didn't earn them. I am capable of being honest with my daughters in the sense that I wouldn't tell them, 'you sing very beautiful' if they are screeching like a cat. I am not capable of deceiving them like that. I rely on honesty.

I do think I spoil them too much sometimes. We have always had the idea that education for us is very important. So if they get home from college in the afternoon and have to help me cook, well that doesn't give them time. No I prefer they go straight to their rooms and study. I make dinner. I do have them help me out on the weekends.

When they get older and have their own place I suspect the moment will come when they will have to start cooking and will call me, 'mommy how do I make lentils with rice like you?'; because that is what happens between mothers and daughters. You see I talk to my daughters a lot and I always tell them, in fact my husband says I I am too open with them. I am not embarrassed to talk about everything with my daughters. I use to smoke, when they arrived [were born] I stopped. I don't smoke anymore but until now neither of them has smoked. I know that this doesn't mean that they will start to go out with friends and start to smoke. I am not going to tell them not to. They need to make their own choices. The same with alcohol, 'always be careful'. It's not that I care if they get drunk but I also don't want them drinking every day or getting drunk at every party. I tell them many times if you want to get drunk do it here in your house I will pick you up and take you to bed [laughter]. But when you are out know how to behave; be strong'. So I don't know if it is because I have always given them the liberty to make their own choices. My philosophy is how do parents tell their children to respect themselves when they are not doing it? You can't ask your daughters to be princesses when you yourself do not behave that way or have shown them how to behave. So I give them a lot of freedom but I also know how to set limits and say, 'alright that is enough'. Like I have told Sarah who is off to university, 'love

this is where I stop, from here on in it is what you want, it is your decision, so be smart'.

Xochil's parenting style could be described as less traditional than many mothers still living in Latin America. However, all of the mothers with older daughters displayed a degree of acculturation in that sense. They held on to their values and norms but internalized some of the more liberal views of Western society where a degree of autonomy was endorsed. However greater degrees of freedom were only encouraged once their daughters had reached mid- to late adolescence, 16 years of age, which in Latin American cultures tends to be the age where young women begin to socialize outside of the home and are expected to begin romantic relationships. Xochil, like many of the other mothers in this cohort, expressed a sense of trust in her daughter's decision-making abilities which she attributed to her traditional parenting and socialization practices in early childhood, prompting support for greater autonomy while promoting the value of *familismo* and reliance on family for material and emotional support (Marin & Marin, 1991).

The relationship between parents and children, mothers and daughters, is incredibly important. To be conscious of what they want and not what one wants. I help them, I am there for them. I don't see that in other people. For instance I work with children and I have a little girl who is supremely difficult. With me she is better than with other people but I have noticed that her relationship with her mother is really bad. I think it is because she [the mother] is really negative towards her. With my daughters I tell them, 'you can do whatever you want in life. I don't care if you want to do nails, but be the best manicurist in the world. I want you to be unique. You don't have to be the prime minister to make me happy. You have to be happy with what you are doing.

As Xochil explained, her approach to parenting was much more liberal than that of her own mother. She acknowledged that while she endorsed most traditional Latin American values such as *familismo* and *respeto* she also wanted her daughter to experience life and through those experiences learn what is right and wrong.

My mom completely disagrees with the way I have raised them. In the sense that they don't help me in the kitchen, make their beds or clean around the house because that

is essential in our culture. My mom always tells me, 'you have them poorly educated, look at how spoiled they are. Why do they go out so much?' But these are different times and with my daughters I am trying to find a balance between our traditions and current norms.

I want them to have a good life. That said you have to learn in life. It has to be challenging for you. Do I want them to never have problems or have never experienced a broken heart or to never be rejected for a job, buy them a home or apartment so they never have to leave the house and work? No. In that sense no, I want them to have fewer problems [and] perhaps to have more learning opportunities and a career. In that sense, yes I want them to do better than I. Yet they have to have their own lives, their own challenges, their problems and obstacles in order to be their best, otherwise they will never learn.

Slater and colleagues (2001) contend that many of the difficulties second and later generation Latinas experience are related to gendered beliefs and expectations. They argue that ethnic socialization practices dramatically affect their self-image and self-esteem when gendered roles of femininity are devalued. However, the narratives of the young women and their mothers suggest that a positive mother-daughter relationship can facilitate negotiations between traditional gender roles and contemporary gendered expectations. This suggests that despite conflicting norms from the home and society on-going communication, respect and trust can override the divergence in values to find a common ground merging traditional values with new ones and bridging the gap between the expectations of both cultural worlds.

Transnationalism

Another means of bridging the cultural gap for second and later generations of Latin Americans is through transnational practices. Migration scholars have begun to recognise that many people maintain ties to their countries of origin at the same time as they are becoming integrated into the countries that receive them (Itzigsohn & Gioguli-Saucedo, 2005; Portes & DeWind, 2008; Levitt, 2009; McIlwaine & Linneker, 2011). While some speculate that transnational attachments will confine themselves to the first generation and that second generation youth will not engage in their ancestral customs and traditions with the same

intensity and frequency as their parents, nor be as influenced by homeland values and practices (Kasinitz et al., 2008), others argue that participation may change but that the strong potential effects of being raised in a transnational social field cannot be dismissed (Levitt, 2009).

Children who grow up in transnational households acquire social contacts and skills that are useful in both cultural settings. They master several cultural repertoires that they can selectively deploy in response to the opportunities and challenges they face. The mothers in this cohort seemed to understand the potential benefits of maintaining that connection to their home country and their family abroad. As Natalie explained:

I have done all this so that they could understand my family back home. I want them to know my identity as a Peruvian, where I come from and the culture. For instance when my eldest was 11 or 12 years old we went to the coast in Peru and he asked me, 'mommy those sheds, why are there so many sheds?' and I told him, 'my love those aren't sheds those are people's homes'. So when I tell them [children] stories of when I was little and I would milk the cows and I would go to *El Pueblo Nuevo*, now they know that *El Pueblo Nuevo* is where the poor people live. So I told him that time, 'Marco these people do not have a lot of money.' I know that they haven't seen people that poor before but now they know and can understand better. Also when we went to Cusco and the girls could see the locals from the region and how they dress. I like bright colours and now they understand why. See over here they can understand their father because they see it and when we go to Cornwall and visit Dan's [her husband] father he can show them where he went to school, where he was born and where he would run and all that, they can understand him better. But with me if I didn't show them all those things they wouldn't understand me as well nor would they understand their aunt or their grandmother and all those nuances that to me are very important.

Like Natalie, Xochil also viewed transnational practices as a means of facilitating cultural adherence in her daughters' lives and enhancing the link between families. While trips to visit family in Colombia and Miami, Florida were one means of maintaining that connection they also had frequent visits from her relatives from Latin America.

Well I think that one of the reasons the girls are so connected to the Colombian culture is because I maintain contact with my family, quite a bit, the contact between our families has always been very strong. We have always had visits from cousins,

aunts [and] my parents. We have had family members come stay with us to study for six months or some of my aunts would come over when the girls were little. Last year eight members of my family came to spend the Olympics here. So that makes them maintain contact with the family and I think that has been an essential part, for them to feel Latin American and proud to be Colombian.

Sandy also viewed transnational practices as means of maintaining a cultural connection between her daughter's ancestral heritage and their country of birth. Sandy explained that aside from speaking Spanish in the home, cooking traditional dishes and hosting social gatherings in her home with other Latin Americans the act of visiting the home country provided the balance between cultural worlds.

I want to maintain a balance. This is why I try as much as possible at home to host gatherings with Latinos, we go to Latino events. With regard to the food, she [Nicky] likes our foods. I know of other [Colombian] families whose children dislike our foods. She has always loved that and I motivate her by showing her to try everything. On vacations we go to Colombia as well. She also likes the country. And part of the balance is to also send her to our country, to meet her family [there], she speaks to them on the internet or on the phone and we maintain contact that way. It is a bit difficult because as they get older they start to dislike certain things but little by little I incentivise her so she doesn't lose her roots, so she never feels embarrassed because some children feel shame or embarrassment for speaking another language. But I have told her it is perfect because here people speak up to six languages and she loves French so I tell her I will teach you Spanish and then we can learn French.

It must be noted that while most of the families in this cohort travelled back to their country of origin once a year, there were two families that did not make annual trips either as a result of household finances or because they had lived in Spain for so long that they preferred to return there for holidays. Hence, class also structures the ideologies and experiences of immigrants and their children (Gardner & Grillo, 2002). For instance, studies have found that family class determines the access that immigrant families have to transnational social fields such that middle-class and professional migrants, like most of the families in this cohort, have sufficient social and cultural capital to selectively assimilate elements of where they come from and where they settle (Levitt, 2007; Pluss 2005, Raj, 2003) through transnational practices.

For the girls who were second transnationalism had a strong effect on their understanding and appreciation for their ancestral roots. They embraced the norms and social institutions from their parents' home country, striking a balance between traditional norms and British social norms. As Sarah recounted:

It was really important for me and my sister to actually go there because it did change the way we saw the whole culture of it. Because our whole family, our whole Columbian family doesn't live here, they are all in Miami or Columbia. I remember I knew my Colombian family fairly well but my uncles and cousins that live in Miami, I hadn't actually seen them since I was about two and so I was about seven [years old] until I actually met them again and I didn't know them, I had only heard of them. It is such a distant thing, just in your mind to even think about that part of the family. To actually see them and meet them and see where they are from and see that part of it. To go there and see that is another part of me as well, this is my family; this is my culture as well. So you do have to go there to meet the people and see the place and see how your parents grew up. So yeah it was definitely important.

Sarah's appreciation for her mother's culture through transnational practices illustrates the effects that these personal experiences with their ancestral country can have on ethnic identity. Her assessment of how distant the country and family seemed to her before she visited her family and the country compared to how she identified after her visits demonstrates how social ties become deeper and more ingrained by going 'there to meet the people and see the place'.

Transnational connections also allow second and later generations to relate to their ancestral country and extended family through positive experiences. Hence, when they are exposed to negative rhetoric about their parents' country of birth through the media or society they can override the discourse with their own personal experiences of the country and their culture, buffering the negative effects. Lucinda and Melanie illustrated this point when asked what came to mind when they thought of Latin America and Latin Americans.

Melanie: I think of beaches and like Hawaii. In Peru there are really nice beaches.

Lucinda: My family over there and the whole country of South America, like a picture on the map. When we are out there we eat seafood a lot.

Sandy's daughter Nicky also described her transnational experiences as positive and Sandy explained how important it is to provide her daughter with these connections while she is young.

Nicky: I like Colombia, I already told my friends about the beaches and all that from this last trip.

Sandy: She liked her family there [and] there was so much she hadn't seen before. The animals are totally different. I can't say at the moment that she rejects anything about the culture. Of course we also need to motivate them, you tell them, 'try this' you understand? We will start to lose ourselves if we don't try and it will be our own fault. We will lose our roots and our children won't want to know any of it. We need to try to incentivize them to keep them connected.

Sandy voiced the feelings of all the mothers in the UK cohort with regards to maintaining that transnational connection through ethnic socialization practices, transnational practices and culture transfer. They discussed how important it was to introduce aspects of the culture early on so that Latin American children will continue with the traditions, embrace their ancestral country and maintain their ethnic roots by passing on the culture to later generations.

Implications of Ethnic Identity on Risk-Taking Behaviours

As previously mentioned none of the young women in the UK cohort had a history of youth court involvement. Furthermore from the risk-taking behaviours domain it was evident that most of the young women were not involved in any risk taking behaviours. Only two of the respondents had either stolen something from a store when they were younger or had been involved in occasional underage drinking in the past year. While these findings are not representative of the entire Latina adolescent population in the UK the narratives do suggest that whereas cultural adherence and culture transfer can protect youth from risk taking behaviours equally relevant is a strong family bond or *familismo* which renders similar protective elements through respect or *respeto* and loyalty towards their parents.

Hence, the limited involvement in risk-taking behaviours of this sample may be explained through the following mechanisms. Firstly, *familismo* has been found to protect Latin American children from adversity by providing a buffering effect to socio-ecological stressors (e.g., stereotypes, racism, poverty, disparity, etc.) that aim to shame members of that ethnic group (Quintana & Scull, 2009). This value was found across all the families in this cohort, however, the bond to family was facilitated by a positive mother-daughter relationship. Loukas et al. (2007) found that maternal monitoring was the only unique predictor of girls' delinquent behaviours. Studies attribute this correlation to the significance girls' attach to interpersonal relationship quality (Leadbeater et al., 1999; Broidy & Agnew, 1997), suggesting that maternal support and family bonds are better indicators of adjustment among girls. Consequently *familismo* in Latin American families is more likely to exist if there is a healthy relationship between youth and parents.

In relation to a strong bond to family and a positive mother-daughter relationship is adherence to traditional cultural values and norms. Even for the bi-racial young women in the cohort Latin American values had a stronger influence on their day-to-day lives than the British values of their friends. This was illustrated through their responses to the acculturation domains in the questionnaire (see Appendix A- 'About Your Culture'). This is mainly a result of the mother being the one of Latin American descent: as many of the mothers explained and other literature supports, culture transfer occurs between mothers and daughters as child rearing practices are usually the domain of the mother (Phinney et al., 2001).

Studies on gender in the US have also found that the mother's assimilation to American culture has little effect on male outcomes but a negative effect on female outcomes (Loukas et al., 2007). Moreover, similar research suggests that family routines, such as consistent family meal times reported in Natalie's family or homework times as endorsed in Xochil's

family, buffer the contemporaneous association between risk and externalizing problems among Latina adolescents (Loukas & Prelow, 2004). Another preventative mechanism employed by the Latin American families was parental control. This study did not intentionally explore differences in parental control by gender; however, the narratives of the mothers interviewed in the UK appeared to suggest that parental monitoring was practiced equally on boys and girls. Even in bi-racial families the father followed the lead of the mother when it came to parenting practices despite British culture endorsing more independence and autonomy. UK mothers did allow for more autonomy and independence than traditional Latin American mothers tend to do, despite exhibiting strong parental monitoring.

The shift from greater parental control to more autonomy was dependent on the girls' stage of development. Strong parental control was more common throughout childhood and pre-adolescence, once their daughters reached mid- to late adolescence however greater autonomy was given, suggesting some maternal assimilation to British values promoting more youth autonomy. The combination of strong family ties, positive parental relationships and parental monitoring facilitated the internalization of Latin American values and promoted healthy adjustment among the young women in this cohort. Those values inherent in their culture and instilled since early childhood become a part of their moral compass influencing their decision making skills and guiding their actions.

Conclusion

The stories from the families in the UK cohort emphasized strong ethnic socialization practices through language, foods, transnationalism and the arts. The mothers in this cohort took a significant role in maintaining a cultural link to their home country and their own ethnic upbringing. All of the mothers stressed the importance of maintaining these transnational connections as a means of a) retaining their own ethnic identity, b)

communicating more effectively with their children and c) increasing their children's awareness of the significance of Latin American norms and values.

As many of the mothers explained, with greater awareness and knowledge of their parents' origins comes a greater appreciation and investment in their own ethnic roots. These families believed that a strong ethnic identity would result in a positive self-image and high levels of confidence. While the parents acknowledged that being different during adolescence was not optimal, if this difference was nurtured in a positive and constructive manner being different could be seen as an attribute and not a social hindrance for youth.

Most of the young women in the study embraced their mother's views and their parents' ethnic roots. While the path to ethnic identity development was not without challenges, reports from the older youth respondents attributed their abilities to rise above these struggles as a result of a strong mother-daughter bond. Hence, mother-daughter relationships arose as the most significant influence in the lives of the young women. Whether the mother-daughter bond is more influential than a strong ethnic identity is difficult to discern among Latin Americans since culture and ethnic identity is fostered by the mother. Hence, if a weak mother-daughter bond exists ethnic identity development will also be impacted, as demonstrated from the participant group families in the US cohort.

It was through the established flows of communication, trust and appreciation of the mother-daughter relationship that the young women became motivated to avoid partaking in risk-taking behaviours. The young women reported internalizing the traditional parenting practices implemented at home and utilizing them as a moral guide to their decision making practices outside the home. Studies on Latin American youth in America support the positive effects of a strong mother-daughter relationship and low-levels of maternal acculturation.

Many of the mothers in this cohort embraced some of the less traditionally Latin American and westernized values (e.g., independence and autonomy) however they were strategic in their implementation of these values. These liberties were endorsed only after the young women were older of age and the mothers felt they had effectively instilled traditional norms and values. Moreover, all of the mothers entrusted their daughters to select the race and ethnicity of their peer networks, suggesting perhaps that they were confident that some of their cultural roots would continue despite having peer influences from other races and ethnicities.

The next chapter discusses the observed differences and similarities between the families in the US and UK cohorts. In it I discuss the experiences of Latin American families in the study and their environments and the implications of these experiences on parenting practices, youth ethnic identity and self-esteem and risk-taking behaviours.

Chapter Eight: Comparative Analysis

'The thing that moves us to pride or shame is not the mere mechanical reflection of ourselves, but an imputed sentiment, the imagined effect of this reflection upon another's mind' (Cooley, 1902:152)

Introduction

This chapter focuses on comparing the experiences of the US and UK Latin American families interviewed for this study. I discuss how the socio-ecological factors (e.g., policy, media discourse and integration practices) of each country influenced the ethnic identities of the young Latina women. In particular, I focus on the effects of integration policies, from the US and UK, on Latino migrants identities and how these policies translate into the political endorsement of assimilation or multiculturalism. Furthermore, I consider the differences and similarities of the Latino families' ethnic socialization practices (e.g., transnationalism) and the effects of these practices, in conjunction with socio-ecological influences, on Latina youth ethnic identity.

As evidenced in Chapter 6, race and ethnicity have long been contentious topics in America. Political discourse and media representation of most ethnic minority groups have either depicted them as indolent, undeserving burdens on society or criminals that must be deported back to their country. Historically, America has established a love-hate relationship with ethnic minorities, including Latin Americans, who have migrated to the US either by invitation from the government, to exploit their labour (see Chapter 2) or through illegitimate means to escape poverty and civil conflict (e.g., drug-cartel violence).³³ The political climate is paramount in determining the tone that society takes towards ethnic minority groups in

³³ Since 2008 there has been an increase in drug-cartel violence in regions of Mexico, Central and South America. Local families are forced into drug smuggling and production or face death. Accounts from Latina women of these regions claim to be subjected to gang rape, resulting in pregnancy from these attacks (Moloney, 2014).

America and despite the occasional lip-service that politicians pay towards the vast contributions that immigrants have made in building the melting pot claiming, ‘America was built on the shoulders of immigrants’, US policy still portrays a love-hate relationship with ethnic migrants from Latin America (Salmon, 2010:84). Political rhetoric and media discourse have continued to either criminalize or ostracise not only Latin American migrants but later generations of Latinos. These hostile messages from the media and politicians play a critical role in the attitudes of white-Americans towards all Latinos, migrants or native-born (Dovidio et al., 2010).

As Chapter 6 showed, the participant narratives illustrate diverse experiences of being Latina in the US (e.g., discrimination, oppression and opportunity); equally unique however were the stories of the Latinas interviewed in the UK. Their experiences were coloured by their country of origin, education, socio-economic status, immigration trajectories and country of migration. The narratives of participants from both cohorts highlight the nuances of living in countries with contrasting approaches towards immigration (e.g., multiculturalism vs. assimilation) and views of foreigners (e.g., different vs. bad) and how these nuances have shaped their ethnic identities. This approach can also be useful on a comparative level as it sets both populations side by side where political, social and economic characteristics and differences can be critically analysed.

There is a fine line between acceptance and tolerance when it comes to ethnic and religious minority group members. This fine line has often been blurred for the sake of national security, economic stability and political gain with little to no consideration for the members of these minority groups, leaving them at the whim of whatever direction the current political wind is blowing (see Chapter 2). If ethnic minorities, including Latinos, are to become part of the American landscape, as members of that society as opposed to outcasts, their experiences

and stories are necessary to understand how the historical treatment of this ethnic group has influenced their acculturation processes and how acculturation may be related to Latina youth offending behaviour.

Salad Bowl v. Melting Pot: How Latin Americans Fit into the Mix

Political views across America are not homogenous by any means and while there are two main political parties that dominate elections, views from conservative to liberal range across the spectrum with the western and northeastern regions of the country reporting considerably more liberal views than the southern and central regions (Silverstein, 2010). The political leanings of each state are quite relevant when providing significance to Latinos' environments and examining the experiences that stem from their interactions within those environments. The geographic location where the US cohort was sampled from has been described as a conservative stronghold (Silverstein, 2010). While the state votes largely Republican there are regions that are less conservative than others. Tucson in Pima County, the site of the study, is considered the most progressive and liberal of the counties in Arizona (see Chapter 5). The southern part of the state, including Pima County, is in closest proximity to the Mexican border, approximately 71 miles away. The close proximity to Mexico has had political and social implications for state and federal policy (see Chapter 2).

Despite some of the legal controversies surrounding arms and drug smuggling from both sides of the border (see Mercille, 2011) the US has benefited largely from the commercial revolving door at the border, where American retail is as important to Mexican shoppers, who in 2001 spent approximately 2.3 billion in American retail, as it is to Americans (Cañas et al., 2005). These facts and figures, however, are rarely highlighted by the media and local politicians. The limelight seems to inevitably hone in on the negative ramifications of the commercial revolving door; the undocumented, seasonal, agricultural and domestic workers

who are blamed for stealing American jobs that pay less than minimum wage and go unregulated by the government's health and safety department (Milligan, 2011; farmworkerjustice.org). The relevance of these peripheral facts on Latino culture and Latina delinquency is intricate and requires an intersectional approach to disentangle the effects of gender, race, ethnicity, generation level and socio-economic status which inevitably shape the experiences of Latinos in America. The stories and narratives resulting from my interviews touch on these factors and explicate the relationship between societal perception and policy development affecting Latinos.

The current invisibility of Latinos in the UK may not suggest an urgency regarding an analysis on policy transfer between both countries. However, as Parmar (2014), Palmer (2014) and Toor (2009) have demonstrated in their research on blacks and Asians and crime in Britain, negative perceptions of ethnic minorities is equally as influential on policy development and practice in the UK as in the US. Moreover, the Latin American presence in the UK has been continuously growing and is estimated to continue this population trajectory in the years to come as more and more Latin Americans settle across the UK (McIlwaine et al., 2010).

For this reason, it is necessary to begin analyzing those factors that have created such a negative and pejorative characterization of Latin Americans in the US (see Chapter 2) and potentially avoid the replication of these characterizations of Latin Americans in the UK. In order to unravel the intricate web of political influences and Latina ethnic identity it is important to illustrate where the young women and their families originate from, their migration trajectories and how these experiences have shaped their level of integration into the American/British landscape. Moreover, how do ethnic identities vary with respect to the

factors mentioned above and do these changes lead to the participation or avoidance of risk-taking behaviours among young Latinas.

The Melting Pot & Salad Bowl: The Latino Contribution

The demographic characteristics of the US cohort were previously described in detail (see Chapters 5 & 6). However, in order to place the socio-environmental factors from US and UK cohorts side by side (see Table 6) it is necessary to provide a more holistic illustration of the conditions of the families' lives to examine their circumstances effectively. Of the 27 parents interviewed in the US cohort (participant and comparison groups), all but one reported being of Mexican descent, the remaining parent identified as Guatemalan; all were legal migrants. Eight of the parents interviewed were US born with 19 born in Mexico and one in Guatemala. Of the 27 youth interviewed two were of mixed race (e.g., Mexican/African American, Mexican/white), another was Central American and one reported being of Mexican and Central American backgrounds. The remaining 23 girls were of Mexican descent; all but five were US born citizens. The racial distribution of the sample reflects the strong Mexican presence in the city of Tucson at 216, 308 (42%) of the total population (U.S. Census, 2011).

Table 6 Participant Youth & Parent Demographic Data

Demographics/Cohort	US Cohort		UK cohort
Parent	Participant	Comparison	
Country of Origin:			
Mexican	21	5	1
Guatemalan	—	1	—
Colombian	—	—	4
Peruvian	—	—	1
Ecuadorian	—	—	2
Chilean	—	—	1

Place of Birth:			
USA/UK	8	0	0
México	14	5	1
Central American	—	1	0
South American	—	—	8
Generation level:			
Foreign born/1 st	5	6	9
Second generation	15	—	—
Third generation or later	1	—	—
Family Structure:			
Single-Female	10	1	0
Single-Male	4	—	0
Two-Parent	7	5	9
Income (avg)	\$17-23K	\$17-23K	£36-50K
Education Level:			
Elementary	15	5	3
High School	5	1	—
University credits	1	—	—
University degree	—	—	3
Post-graduate	—	—	3
Youth	Participant	Comparison	UK
Country of Origin:			
Mexican	19	5	1
Guatemalan	—	1	—
Colombian	—	—	2
Peruvian	—	—	—
Ecuadorian	—	—	2
Chilean	—	—	1
Mixed*:	2	—	3

Place of Birth:			
USA/UK			
México	16	6	4
Guatemala	5	—	1
Colombia	—	—	0
Perú	—	—	2
Ecuador	—	—	—
Chile	—	—	—
Generation level:			
Foreign born/1 st	5	—	3
Second generation	12	6	6
Third generation or later	4	—	—

*Mixed include Mexican/African-American, Mexican/Central American, British/Colombian and British Peruvian.

The income range reported most by the families in my interviews was \$17,000-\$23,000; where the highest income in that bracket (\$23,000) is still \$850 below the current US poverty line³⁴ (see Chapter 6). The income distribution of all the families ranged from \$16,000 to \$51,000 with the highest concentration of families reporting less than \$30,000 per year. The three families that reported annual incomes greater than \$35,000 were also two-parent households. The families in my study reported a 44% lower median income compared to the total population average income for two-parent households in Tucson in 2013.³⁵ In other words, most of the two parent-families interviewed were earning less than half the average income for two-parent households in Tucson.

³⁴ U.S Department of Health and Human Services. <http://aspe.hhs.gov/poverty/14poverty.cfm>

³⁵ U.S. Census data 2013 reported for two-parent households a mean annual income of \$73,634.

Family structure reflected a stark difference between the participant and comparison group families. Overall 12 of the 27 families interviewed consisted of two-parent households. The remaining 15 families were structured as follows: nine were single-female headed households; including grandmothers as heads of the family and four single-male headed households.³⁶ With regard to generation level five of the youth interviewed were first generation, 18 were second and four were third generation or later. Parent interview data collected indicated that most of the parents interviewed, 15 out of 27, had completed a primary school education.³⁷ Five parents reported high school completion and one parent/guardian reported some university credits. None of the parents interviewed in the US cohort reported completing a university degree.

The overall demographic profile of the US cohort depicts Mexican families with settled roots in the southwest of the US. Families were of primarily low socio-economic standing with limited resources and education. All, but one of the parents/guardians owned a family business, the remaining were working-class families. Family structure was closely linked to whether the young women were in the participant or comparison group. Fourteen out of 27 of the families in the participant group were single-parent households. Of these, ten were female headed households. Whereas, out of the six families interviewed in the comparison group only one was a single, female-headed household. Hence, the environments of the young women in the US cohort illustrate economic and resource deprivation where they are challenged by financial limitations, resource allocation regarding parental social capital (see chapter 2) and the implications of living in impoverished neighbourhoods (e.g., high crime, limited recreational opportunities and substandard educational institutions and delinquent peers).

³⁶ One of the participants refused to respond (n=26).

³⁷ Two parents reported one year of high school education but did not complete the four years to obtain a high school diploma or equivalent.

The environments and demographic characteristics of the UK cohort varied considerably from the US group. The ethnic origins of the families in the UK spanned from Mexico to as far south as Chile. Most of the families interviewed were either from Colombia or Ecuador (see Table 2). All of the parents interviewed in this cohort were mothers, three of whom were married to white-British citizens. Hence, three of the young women interviewed are bi-racial (Latina and white). All of the mothers had legal resident status and maintained their Latin American nationality. Notably, all but three of the parents interviewed mentioned plans of relocating to their country of origin in the future (e.g., retirement). Of the young women in the cohort all but three had either UK or EU citizenship (Spain). One of the young women from Chile was on her father's student visa and the other had a UK resident visa and a Mexican passport.

Latin Americans in the UK are a relatively small proportion of the population. As estimated by McIlwaine et al. (2010), in 2008 Latin Americans made up less than one percent of the UK population. These data are estimates as the UK census currently does not collect race/ethnicity data for Latin Americans, hence allocating them into the 'Other' category (UK Census, 2011). In London there is a small Latino community, in Elephant and Castle, which has been mobilizing at the grass roots level (see The Latin Elephant in Chapter 5) to gain official recognition by the city; this movement for recognition sets the tone for the invisibility of Latin Americans in the UK and highlights the benefits and disadvantages of being Latino in the UK. For instance, as an invisible ethnic group Latinos benefit from the absence of stereotypes, they have not been grouped into the immigration debate regarding threats to job security for British nationals. Moreover, Latinos in the UK are not perceived as possessing a propensity for criminal behaviour simply for being Latin American as other ethnic groups

have been labelled (e.g., black Caribbean, Asians) (Parmar, 2014). However, they also lack political representation and social recognition (McIlwaine et al., 2010).

With regard to income status the families in the UK cohort also varied considerably from the US group. Within the cohort there was income variability yet overall though this cohort reported higher incomes per annum than the US families.³⁸ The income range reported most by the mothers interviewed was £36000-£50000. In relation to the UK poverty guidelines none of the families lived below the poverty line. However, two of the families, one recently emigrated from Spain and the other headed by an international post graduate student, reported an income of only £4000 over the relative poverty rate in 2013 at £12000 (Office of National Statistics, 2014). This income difference between cohorts is reflective of the variability in educational achievement between cohorts. All but two of the mothers in the UK group had either some college credits or a Bachelor's degree and three of the mothers had post-graduate degrees. Despite the higher degree of educational attainment across this group three of the mothers were not able to benefit from the university education obtained in their home country as a result of deskilling and decredentializing of foreign educational degrees (see Chapter 2). Hence, these mothers reported employment in non-skilled positions while working towards paraprofessional titles. However, all of the families interviewed consisted of two-parent households. This alleviated the impact that deskilling and decredentializing had on the families' economic stability.

The overall profile of the UK cohort illustrates a diverse range of Latin American sub-cultures among the families. Most families were educated, either back in their country of origin or in the UK, and either held professional positions as academics at universities or

³⁸ Income comparison was conducted after salary ranges were converted into US dollars using the current currency conversion rate as per Bloomberg.com.

were working towards skill accreditation credentials in the UK. Only one of the mothers was a stay-at-home parent. All of the families consisted of two-parent households with four families living above the average annual income in England in 2013 (Office of National Statistics, 2014).

Comparative studies examine the similarities and differences between groups.

The demographic characteristics of the two cohorts suggest a few notable differences that were taken into account when assessing the impact of acculturation and ethnic identity among the young women interviewed. The educational attainment level across both cohorts helps explain their socio-economic histories. For instance, while all but two of the mothers in the UK cohort had pursued higher education only one of the parent/guardians in the US cohort had some degree of university education (college credits). Most of the parents interviewed in the US cohort recounted the financial struggles their own parents experienced which propelled them to drop out of school and pursue employment.

In contrast, most of the mothers in the UK cohort had come from either privileged backgrounds or families that were financially stable in their home countries. These differences suggest that the US cohort families were starting out at a greater disadvantage than the UK group resulting from low social and cultural capital upon arrival to the US. Settling in deprived and disadvantaged communities, depending on low waged and low skilled employment, subjected to abuse (e.g., wages, rights, benefits) at the hands of employers and limited resources to obtain assistance and/or representation (see Chapter 2). Social and cultural capital is significant in relation to acculturation strategies as the absence of these resources can inhibit the integration and settlement process of ethnic minority groups.

Capital was particularly relevant to the UK cohort when accounting for the advantage that the three mothers in this cohort had from their marriage to white-British citizens. These families were not only relatively economically advantaged due to their higher education and dual parental employment but they also spoke English and benefitted from a higher social capital built-in from their husbands' established social and familial networks in the UK. Social and human capital, manifested through educational and social resources, are crucial for successful integration in the host society (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Therefore, these mothers had the means and resources to become a part of British society through high skilled employment and established social and familial networks through their husband, all the while maintaining their ethnic identity without social pressure to assimilate to British culture.

The maintenance of ethnic identity for the UK cohort mothers and daughters was facilitated by numerous factors. For one, the mother's initial higher social status brought over from their family in their home country allowed them to enter a more privileged social class in the UK. Secondly these women were also educated professionals holding post graduate degrees that allowed them to enter the labour market at a higher income level and as respected professionals compared to those women without professional credentials. Thirdly, their husband's social capital provided a bridge into British society with established connections and lastly, but more notably, being Latin American in the UK was reported as being perceived as a novelty, arousing curiosity in others instead of distrust or disdain as has occurred in the US. A more detailed discussion of the differences and similarities between US and UK social environments for Latin Americans is discussed later in this chapter. In the next section I discuss the role of social class as a factor influencing the comparative results observed within US groups and between US and UK cohorts.

Social Class

Social class, is a socially constructed concept, yet highly significant in an individual's process of integration into a new society and/or culture. Social class is not synonymous with social capital. Social class is defined as a status hierarchy in which individuals and groups are classified on the basis of esteem and prestige acquired mainly through the accumulation of wealth (Oxforddictionaries.com). Three of the most common social categories of class are upper, middle and lower. Rumbaut (2005) found that social class was a factor in the integration of first generation youth into social institutions like education. He observed that immigrant parents of higher social class found means of navigating through social institutions in their host country in ways that benefitted their first generation children. For instance, when issues arose at school parents with a higher social class were able to network with other parents in order to address the issues with the school as part of a group. Conversely, working-class and poor immigrant parents were less effective at navigating the school system and attempted to address issues on their own; often times to the disadvantage of their children (Rumbaut, 2005).

My comparative findings between US and UK parents mirrored these effects of social class on not only the acculturation processes of the parents, but their daughters as well. As described in Chapter 6, the US parents were predominantly immigrant with one mother born in the US but raised in Mexico and a first generation grandmother born in the US. Despite both of these mothers being native born their social status was similar to foreign born mothers. Hence, their social class would fall under the working-class category. For all of these families the burden of navigating through social institutions fell on the shoulders of

their first generation children.³⁹ Any school issues required the child to be present in order to translate for the parent. This created barriers for foreign born parents in that they lacked a means of networking with other parents that may know how to navigate through the school system and as a result be better advocates for their children's needs.

In addition to facilitating the navigation of social institutions, social class also grants individuals with social privilege more successful means of integrating into society. Mothers from the US cohort not only lacked social class but also shared phenotypic characteristics that the dominant-white majority associated with stereotypes and consequently low privilege. For these mothers, lacking social class was another barrier towards successful integration into American society, along with language and culture. On the other hand, most of the mothers in the UK cohort shared a higher social class than their US cohort counterparts. This mainly attributed to their education level and for two of the mothers their marriage to white-British nationals of education and financial means.

This main difference between the two cohorts inevitably affects the outcomes of the youth participants and their acculturation processes. As mentioned in Chapters 6 and 7, most of the girls in the UK cohort demonstrated a greater degree of integration into British society and bi-cultural characteristics. In addition, these girls shared the privilege of belonging to a higher social class where their ethnicity functioned more as a novelty among the dominant-white majority. In contrast to the US cohort, the youth participants struggled with their integration into American society and with the negative perceptions of Latin Americans by many members of the dominant-white majority. This contrast between cohorts leads to question the

³⁹ Lisa from the US participant group is the exception as she is third generation and her grandmother and legal guardian was well versed in navigating through US social institutions or at the very least knew where to go to for information. This was primarily a result of being a fluent English speaker.

role or importance of social class as a factor influencing the integration processes and life pathways of the young women in my study (see Figure 8).

Data from my comparative analysis suggests that the role of class is significant in terms of facilitating the integration of the UK mothers into the dominant-white majority culture.

Social class in terms of this cohort was related to their education level and English language proficiency. Their status as academics and professionals linked them to an already established social network that further enhanced and facilitated their integration into society.

Furthermore, their socio-economic status also afforded them a certain identity as contributors to the British economy as opposed to welfare recipients which western nations have recently taken to associate with immigrants and foreigners (Massey, 2014).

In contrast, the US cohort did not benefit from a high social class. All but three of the families were working-class families; the remaining three fell into the middle class category. However, despite having middle class status all three of the mothers in this category described their struggles with integrating into American society and navigating through the social institutions. All three mothers were mono-lingual Spanish and relied on their children for assisting them with school issues. In addition, these mothers reported high levels of perceived discrimination and tended to associate with other Latin American families or relatives as opposed to attempting to establish social networks within the white-majority. Regarding their daughter's, the young women from these middle-class families generally identified with the Mexican culture more so than the American culture and two of the three reported high levels of perceived discrimination towards their ethnic group. One of the girls from the middle-class families was 11 years old and did not quite grasp the concept of perceived discrimination as strongly as her older counterparts.

In light of these differences I argue that the role of social class is more significant in the UK, where Latin Americans are not an established cultural group, than in the US. My comparative findings suggest that in the US established stereotypes and racist views take precedence over an individual's social class. However, it is important to note the limitations to my US sample and what those limitations mean to my analysis. While the stories of my US families do suggest that societal views of minority ethnic groups are more significant in the integration processes of immigrants than social class, I also must note that the three families that fell under the middle-class category were limited by their mono-lingual status. Not being able to speak English may have impacted any benefits that their middle-class status could have afforded them. In addition, two of the mothers worked in service jobs as day care assistants and one of the mothers did not work because of her US residency status. While the family income was high enough to qualify as middle-class, the other characteristics associated with high- to middle- class status were not present, such as English language proficiency and an advanced education or professional occupation.

Despite these limitations to the US sample my comparative findings do suggest a stronger relationship between social class and successful integration into the UK culture than the US. I argue that in the US social class can facilitate integration processes for ethnic groups that are not already stigmatized. However, for ethnic groups with a history of oppression and marginalization social class may alleviate the economic burdens and strain of attempting to navigate through the social welfare system, yet it does not remove the strain and barriers to integration resulting from social stigma and institutional racism. In the next section I discuss migration trajectories and transnationalism and how each relates to the social and human capital between US and UK cohorts.

Transnationalism and Migration Trajectories

Pearlmann (2005:8) argues that national origin provides a context towards understanding the ‘networks, niches, modes of incorporation, historical context, and the like’ that affect the integration process of different ethnic migrant groups. Most of the immigrant families in the US cohort reported living in America for at least 10 years with an average of 18 years overall. While transnationalism was a common practice for some of the families who still had relatives in nearby Mexican cities and towns, most of the families however did not report travelling back to Mexico regularly but instead reported hosting relatives in their home from across the border. Research shows that only a small fraction of Latin American immigrants is regularly involved in transnational practices (Itzigsohn & Giorguli-Saucedo, 2002). For those families that did return to Mexico their purpose involved a transnational moral economy providing financial and resource assistance to parents and siblings back in the home country (Schmalzbaur, 2004). As Elsa, one of the mothers from the participant group explained, most of the travel back to Mexico was to provide her mother with money and groceries.

I have always helped my mom a lot; even to this day I take her groceries when I visit. We [siblings] help her out financially still and my daughter sees that, it is what family does for each other.

For some of the women in the US cohort their disinterest in travelling back and forth to Mexico stemmed from a shift in their future goals once arriving in America. Research on transnational participation among immigrant populations suggests a growing emphasis on the gendered differences of migration perceptions and experiences (Hongdagneu-Sotelo, 1999). For instance, the women in the US cohort reported more opportunities for financial stability through employment opportunities and educational opportunities for their children in America than their home countries. As Erin stated when asked at interview about her daughter’s negotiation of Mexican and American cultures,

Well I think she is becoming more American...but I made the decision to come here [US]. If I wanted to raise her like in Mexico [limited opportunities] we would still be there but I do try to tell her about Mexican customs and all that.

Hence, some mothers preferred to use their financial resources to build a stronger future in the US. As Itzigsohn & Giorguli-Saucedo (2002) found, Latinas invest their resources in the subsistence of their households instead of using them to engage in transnational practices. As such, transnationalism becomes dependent on resource availability as well. This does not suggest that the mothers had a weak ethnic identity, as Erin mentioned despite their relocation to America she still passed on Mexican customs to her daughter. These mothers still practised ethnic socialization; including speaking Spanish as many were primarily monolingual, however for them America presented greater opportunities for the future of their families with improved women's status and access to resources through employment and institutional protections such as unemployment and retirement assistance.

As most families in the US cohort either practised limited transnationalism or none at all the positive effects of transnational practices on second and later generations were minimized (see Chapter 7). Most of the young women interviewed had travelled to Mexico or Latin America at least once in their life. Five of the six girls in the comparison group reported travelling frequently, but for many of the young women in the participant group these were distant memories. As such, their knowledge of Latin American culture was chiefly based on their mother's ethnic socialization of Latino norms, customs and traditions in the home. For those young women who had more recent experiences in their parents' home country there was a stronger bond to the culture and their extended family. As Jess, from the comparison group, mentioned:

'I think Mexico is beautiful...when I get old I am living in Mexico for the rest of my life. 'Cause I am...proud of Mexicans'.

When referring to her intentions of practicing culture transfer when she has own children she said:

‘Yes, they have to know Spanish...they are going to know their cousins in Mexico and they are going to go to Mexico’.

Hence, many children of immigrants ultimately embrace the norms of their parent’s home country; however for those children more deeply embedded in transnational social fields there is a balance between both countries and cultures that emerges. Creating positive images and experiences from their family’s country of origin can facilitate pride in their culture, even in the midst of discrimination and prejudice from the majority culture (Itzigsohn & Giorguli-Saucedo, 2005).

Transnational practices among the UK cohort varied considerably from the US group. In this cohort, all but one of the families made annual trips back to the mother’s home country. For these women visiting their home land carried different meanings as they had either migrated to Europe to further their post graduate education or in pursuit of professional opportunities and greater educational options for their children. However, none of the women had left their home country as a result of poverty, limited employment opportunities or civil conflicts as with the US migrant families. Hence, these women were in essence voluntary migrants in search of broadening their experiences through migration. As such transnational practices became a means of reconnecting with their culture, family and friends from their home country as opposed to providing financial or resource assistance.

All of the mothers in this cohort expressed a need to maintain a bond with their Latin American culture and felt that transnationalism helped illustrate the culture and stories to their children as well as helping them maintain a strong ethnic identity. This was the most notable difference between US and UK cohorts regarding transnationalism. The UK women

explained during interview that despite their efforts of creating opportunities to celebrate their culture in the UK they did not feel a strong Latino presence, at least not with regard to their own sub-culture. Therefore travelling back to their country of origin allowed them to reconnect with their Latina roots and strengthen their cultural bond.

This sentiment was echoed by all but one of the young women interviewed in this cohort. For most of the young women travelling back to their parents' country of origin enhanced their understanding of the culture, strengthening their bond with their extended family and allowing them the opportunity to create their own memories in their mother's home country. This seemed particularly significant for most of the young women in the UK group since the distance between countries was so great and the local representation of their Latin American sub-culture in the UK is quite small. As Sarah stated:

'It was really important for me and my sister to actually go there [Colombia] because it did change the way we saw the whole culture part of it. It is such a distant thing, just in your mind, to even think about that part of the family. To then actually see them and meet them and see where they are from and see that part of it. To go there and see that is another part of me as well, this is my family; this is my culture as well. So yeah it was definitely important. Where I live [in UK] if I see a whole lot of Columbians I would be like "what?" They are not usually here'.

Transnational practices between US and UK cohorts were dependent on two main factors. For the families in these two groups resource availability was a strong determinant for maintaining transnational links to their home countries. While the families in the US cohort were considerably closer to Mexico, hence facilitating transnational practices, the financial limitations that prompted their migration to the US prohibited regular and intense transnationalism for most of the families. However, for the UK cohort families transnational practices were integral to maintaining a cultural link to Latin America. Despite the vast distance between the UK and their home country all but one of the families visited their extended family in Latin America annually. This frequency of travel can also be attributed to

incomes and the availability of resources for travel. As previously mentioned, the women in the UK cohort were all educated and financially secure hence executing these annual trips was facilitated by their economic status but additionally by their desire to return to a country that they left behind in search of new experiences and not as a result of poverty or other negative life experiences. The motivation and financial means for maintaining transnational links was much greater for the women in the UK cohort.

Another observation from the interviews of both cohorts was the effect that sub-cultural representation had on the motivation to maintain transnational practices. The US women and young women perceived a strong Mexican representation in the US, especially in the south western region of the country. These women reported consistent interactions with other Latin Americans and Latino businesses, particularly Mexican, and were aware of community groups and organizations targeting Latin Americans. As Inez explained:

‘It is easier here in Tucson because we are surrounded, more in this neighbourhood. Here everyone speaks Spanish everywhere you go. Food City, the store, is Mexican. In other words there isn’t much of a difference [from Mexico]’.

The young women also reported attending schools with a predominantly Latin American student body and a larger quantity of Latina friends. Conversely, the women and their daughters in the UK did not recall a strong representation of their sub-culture and for some of the participants in Northern England little to none. The need to engage with other Latinas motivated these women to reconnect with their culture, through transnational practices as well as organizing arts and cultural groups, to fill the void left from the absence of sub-cultural representation in the UK. As Natalie explained,

‘I have resigned myself, I have gotten used to it [minimal Latina interaction], but I miss it. Of the friends that speak Spanish I have more Spanish than Latina friends. I am closest to my Spanish friends but they are different, we get on, but I miss the Peruvian culture that is different from Spanish culture. So when I go to Peru I love to

see my friends from university or when I speak with my sister and my cousins. We have something in common, I think that is what I long for; we know what we are referring to’.

Where most of the young women in the UK cohort did not report feeling under-represented

there were two young women that stated feeling misunderstood by their non- Latina peers.

Aurora and Claire reported feeling isolated when it came to issues about their culture because

they did not know of other Latinas their age. As Aurora, who immigrated with her mother at

age six to Edinburgh, while her mom completed her doctoral research, mentioned:

‘The whole concept of what it means to uproot yourself...I mean as a child these cultural differences [Mexican and Scottish] manifested as just me feeling separate from my classmates, feeling separate from the country, the setting [and] my environment...this culture shock has affected every aspect of my life’.

Claire age 16, migrated with her parents less than two years ago, and also reported feeling

isolated because she did not have other Chilean peers her age around and could not relate to

the priorities of the native-British young women her age.

‘I don’t feel like I fit in here, it’s another culture, they are very materialistic compared to in my country. In my country I was use to protesting social injustice and fixated more on reality; I like those things. Here I think that because my peers have had a comfortable life they only think about clothes and when they are going shopping’.

Hence, transnationalism was more prevalent among families in the UK cohort due to the

dearth of Latin American sub-cultural groups across the UK. Even among the Columbians in

London, who had a greater representation than other sub-cultures in the city, the need to

reconnect with their home country was strong and resource availability made these practices

possible for the women interviewed. The migration trajectories of the women also affected

transnational practices as these routes were directly linked to the availability or absence of

resources for travel back to the home country.

For others however, such as many of the women in the US cohort, there was greater relevance in investing what resources were available in their households in America in order to forge ahead instead of looking back to what was left behind. This decision was facilitated by their extended family's increased travel to the north from South America. Moreover, with such a strong Latin American and Mexican representation in the southwest the women interviewed claimed to feel less isolated and cut-off from their culture and traditions; as such these local ethnic enclaves functioned as a pseudo-transnational connection to their home country.

Culture Transfer: 'Porque somos las mamás que pasamos la cultura'

This local connection to Mexican culture also allowed the women in the US cohort to promote traditional Latin American values and norms around *familismo* and *respeto*. The mothers held on to those intrinsic Latin American values and facilitated their implementation through positive daily interactions with their daughters and rule setting. Findings from the US group suggest that stronger parental control for US adolescent Latinas is beneficial over less parental control and more autonomy because it includes consistent parental monitoring. The survey answers from the parents of the participant group suggested an inverse relationship between high levels of parental control and youth offence severity. The use of strong parental control on young women's delinquency prevention has been debated heavily among feminist criminologists arguing that these methods simply 'celebrate boyhood and silence girls' (Chesney-Lind & Irwin, 2008: 130). Moreover, feminist scholars point to America's history of attempting to control race and gender in ways that disadvantage females and ethnic minority youth (Chesney-Lind & Sheldon, 2004).

Despite the research that supports these arguments against the strong parental control of girls (Fend, 1999) one can also argue that when methods of parental control, manifested in

supportive parenting, are consistently applied in the home these practices can have protective elements for ethnic minority youth living in high-crime and socially and economically deprived areas. Research in America has found that consistent levels of parental control, through parental monitoring from mother and father reduce the risk of offending among black and Latina young women (Loukas et al., 2007).

The mothers in the UK cohort also relied on traditional values and norms promoting strong family bonds and respecting elders and those in authority. However, the mothers of the three eldest youth (15, 16, 17 yrs.) participants also expressed support for autonomy and independence and relied less on parental control with their daughters. For instance, Xochil explained that she was constantly encouraging her daughter to go out with her friends to parties and to socialize instead of keeping her locked up in the evenings as her own mother did with her.

In my time we couldn't go out. I would stay until 10 in the evening at a [neighbours] house and my mom was calling me or my dad was whistling me home. With my daughter I have to push her out the door for her to go out with her friends. She doesn't go to parties or clubs, she doesn't drink or smoke.

These mothers endorsed traditional values around the home and family but understood the differences in culture between Latin American and British parenting practices. However despite the endorsement of more freedom and autonomy these liberties were extended once the young women were older and had proved to be mature and skilled decision makers. As Xochil explained:

‘My daughter has proved to have good judgment until now. There are mothers that struggle with these issues but I am grateful that I have not had problems with her behaviours and actions.’

The degree of freedom afforded to the older youth participants was not only as a result of their good judgement, as Xochil mentioned, but also stemming from the a positive mother-

daughter bond based on trust. The mother-daughter relationship had relevance across US and UK cohorts. While in the UK group all but one of the mother-daughter pairs reported a good mother-daughter relationship the US group demonstrated clear differences by participant and comparison group. Of the 21 youth respondents in the participant group five reported not living with their mothers; three of those were voluntary decisions because the young women did not get along with their mothers. Of the remaining 16 who did live with their mothers or both parents 11 reported having a good relationship with their mothers. Of the comparison group respondents all youth lived with their mothers and reported strong mother-daughter relationships. Hence, while a strong mother-daughter relationship suggests greater freedoms and autonomy for the Latina girls interviewed in the UK. For the US group, the strength of the mother-daughter bond protected the girls from becoming involved in offending behaviours, suggesting that greater investment in the mother-daughter relationship is a strong motivator to avoid risk taking behaviours.

These findings are limited to the sample interviewed and do not suggest that all Latinas in the US with a weak mother-daughter bond are prone to offending. However, the point being made is that for the sample interviewed, who lived in high-crime and high-poverty communities, Latin American values such as *familismo* and *respeto* helped Latina mothers raise their daughters to make positive life choices. These norms and values were instilled from childhood and promoted through rule setting; however rule adherence was strongly dependent on the strength of the mother-daughter relationship. The weaker the bond between the parent and child the lower the investment that the young women demonstrated towards family rules as was delineated by the mothers in the participant and comparison groups who described their struggles and strategies for increasing communication with their daughters and enforcing house rules (see Chapter 6).

The girls from US and UK cohorts also viewed the mother-daughter bond differently. As mentioned previously, all but one of the young women in the UK cohort reported a good mother-daughter relationship. With regards to respect (*respeto*) all of the youth respondents reported respecting their mothers and adult figures of authority. Despite reporting a tumultuous relationship with her mother the young woman who did not report a strong mother-daughter bond still described a relationship based on respect and trust, if not fluid communication.

For the US youth respondent's answers to the parent-child relationship domain ranged from 'fighting all the time' to 'I tell her everything'. The young women in the comparison group all reported strong mother-daughter bonds based on trust and fluid communication.

Maintaining this bond carried greater significance to these young women than any fear for the consequences of offending behaviours. A re-occurring theme was a sense of debt to their mothers and fathers for all the struggles and sacrifices they endured to provide for them financially. Their gratitude was manifested in good behaviour and actions that were endorsed by their mothers and fathers. As Jess recounted:

'I wouldn't do something bad because if my parents figured out...I don't want my parents to be disappointed in me'.

This is an illustration of *respeto* that extends beyond being polite to your elders but acknowledging the sacrifices made by ones parents in order to provide the children with a better life (Levitt, 2009). This notion of respect was also observed in the UK cohort.

However, while the young women interviewed in this group all respected their mothers and fathers they did not express a need to follow rules in order to demonstrate their appreciation for their parents' struggles as much as rules were followed because of their greater understanding for their purpose. As Aurora explained:

‘I think children should obey adults but I think respect is earned...there is a difference between the general concept of respect and *respeto*, which is what [Latino] parents believe. *Respeto* is inherent, like I am the parent [and] I am the authority figure. Then there is general respect, something you see in a person that is displaying qualities that are admirable. So perhaps as I have gotten older I have lost the *respeto* for my mom but I have perhaps gained more respect for her; her being a person that is worthy of respect’.

This shift in respecting parents for who they are as a person and less because of their role of authority can be linked to Baumrind’s (1989) authoritative parenting style which promotes high control and consistent nurturing (see Baumrind (1989) in *Child Development Today and Tomorrow*). This parenting style allows a degree of autonomy while consistently enforcing set rules in order to allow the child to develop their own criterion of why rules are important yet supporting the child through attention and nurturing. As Sara stated:

‘I think there are times when you are a child, I mean I can disobey my parents and they are ok with me but your parents do know what is best for you or at least want what is best’.

Authoritative parenting is more likely to have a greater effect on girls than boys, as girls tend to invest more emotional energy in maintaining established relationships than boys (Broidy & Agnew, 1997). Hence, there is greater value in following rules set by parents when daughters’ perceive these rules as legitimate and based on a caring and supportive relationship. While this observation does not suggest that all Latina mothers in the UK practice these parenting styles nor does it argue that the young Latinas in the UK cohort did not subscribe to the notions of *respeto*. Instead this point illustrates how the mother-daughter relationship is based more on what Cardona and colleagues (2000) argue is a common parenting practice for Latin American mothers of higher socio-economic status: a rule bound relationship that is consistently reinforced but supported through attention and nurturing, allowing the child to obtain their own conclusions for why rules are set instead of accepting them blindly. This practice is facilitated for families with greater resources as the

neighbourhoods and environments their daughters grow up in are safer, with fewer negative peer influences and crime.

Hence, the UK daughters' understandings of rule-bound expectations were perhaps not attributed to feelings of indebtedness compared to the US girls. This again can be linked back to the social class and status and migration trajectories of the mothers in the US and UK cohorts. However, this observation does not suggest that the young women in the US cohort did not understand the purpose of rules, particularly in the case of young women in the comparison group, but more that they valued their parents' migration and settlement experiences more.

Culture transfer between Latina mothers and daughters is an integral part of Latino customs. Even contemporary families in Latin America still continue to promote generative teachings of traditions and practices between the female-line in a family—as women are the carriers of culture (Phinney et al, 2001). As Natalie pointed out when discussing her daughters' understanding of Latin American customs and practices:

‘I think they will pass some of the culture to their children because they have grown up with it, but also some of this culture [UK] because Dan [husband] passes on some of what he has lived and British traditions. But I think mine are stronger...because it is the mothers that pass on the culture’.

While Latin American cultural practices were endorsed by mothers in the US and UK cohorts all mothers seemed to have toned down on these teachings leaving room for degrees of interpretation of customs and norms between generations. As such promoting family bonds, respecting elders and parents, speaking Spanish and learning how to make traditional cuisine were all reported by the mothers from both cohorts. However, marriage, child-rearing, maintaining traditional gender roles in the home and career goals were left up to their

daughters to choose. As Eunice, from the UK cohort, explained when responding to a question on the importance of her daughter getting married and having a family,

‘I strongly disagree, it is her choice if that is what she wants to do but for me I don’t really have a preference. If she wants to marry she can marry, if she wants children she can have children [it is] her choice’.

Inez, Jess’ mother from the US cohort, also believed in giving her daughter more autonomy in what are considered traditional Latin American customs on marriage.

‘I think that is a personal decision. I mean if she decides she does not want to marry I am ok with that as well. I will not insist on her marrying. The family would probably talk, that is normal, but for me it is more important that they [her children] are happy. So if she decides on having a career over a family I would support her. Because it is [Latino] tradition to marry once you reach 20 years of age...that is how we were raised, “why is she going to school? She doesn’t need an education to wash dishes.” But I do not think that way’.

As many of the mothers from both cohorts explained they were raised with these traditional practices but had also experienced a different culture in the US and UK and therefore understood that endorsing more traditional ideals in a country with a different cultural approach to marriage, career and gender roles would be counterproductive to their daughter’s successful integration into society. As Xochil, Sara’s mother, explained,

‘What happens is, I started cooking in my house since I was 9 years old. That was an essential role for daughters and I was the only girl. The daughters help the mother. So in that sense I was taught more [cooking] than I have taught my daughters but it is generative. My mother completely disagrees with how I have raised them...they don’t help in the kitchen or make their bed or clean. That is completely essential in our culture. But times have changed...these are different generations. There are things that didn’t exist in my culture that do here [referring to sleep over parties in the UK]’.

Hence, all mothers in the UK group and the US comparison group hoped their daughters would pass on the language and some Latin American traditions but were flexible on the extent to which this culture transfer may take place. The US participant group demonstrated a mixed response that varied mainly by generation. First generation mothers were more aligned

with the US comparison group and UK cohort mothers. They promoted the same values and traditions and made language proficiency a priority. As Evelyn stated:

‘My daughter is growing here so it is normal that she seems more American at times. But I do make it a point to teach her Mexican customs and the language’.

However, for second and later generation mothers Latino culture was not endorsed to the same degree, if at all. One second generation grandmother for example explained that she had been raised by her father and brothers; therefore she was not familiar with Latin American customs and traditions and spoke Spanish only because her father spoke it at home. Hence, her grandchildren did not speak Spanish nor had they learned any Latin American customs. All the women in the UK and US comparison group cohorts were first generation Latinas therefore suggesting that cultural adherence and transfer is generational, the further the generation is from migrating to the host country the thinner the presence of cultural practices and norms in the family.

The relationship between culture transfer, cultural adherence and risk taking behaviours became clear when examining the degree of acculturation of the participant and comparison groups in the US cohort. Within the participant group those young women with more severe offending histories were also third or later generation Latinas and reported greater degrees of *Assimilation* in their survey answers. With respect to acculturation levels the later the generation the higher the level of acculturation suggesting that the more acculturated Latina youth in the US cohort were less likely to subscribe to traditional Latin American customs and also displayed more severe offending histories. Conversely, those young women in the participant group with minor offence histories or diversion as a court consequence were first generation and less acculturated; speaking Spanish and demonstrating a good understanding of concepts such as *familismo* and *respeto*. While these findings are mainly representative of

the young women interviewed they do suggest a need to further explore the benefits of cultural adherence and culture transfer among Latinos in the US as much of the earlier research on Latino acculturation takes a negative approach to maintaining traditional Latino values, norms and customs in relation to healthy child adjustment (Parke & Buriel, 1998; Villarruel, 1998).

Culture transfer has been linked to a strong ethnic identity (see Chapter 3). For the UK mothers and the US comparison group mothers speaking Spanish in the home was strongly endorsed. For all of the mothers in the UK cohort their daughter's ability to speak Spanish to their grandparents and relatives back in their home country was vital to effectively transferring culture. As Natali explained:

'I have told my children that I can die happy because they speak Spanish and they can communicate with the whole family; that was my ultimate goal as a mother'.

For the mothers in the US comparison group having bilingual children was seen as a professional advantage when pursuing a career as well as a means of staying connected to their culture through communication with their relatives in Mexico. As Inez explained,

'My children will grow with both sides [American and Mexican culture]. For instance my children have been in Spanish classes since they were little and we have always spoken to them in Spanish, but they also can read and write. I feel it is an advantage because they don't have to go out of their way to be bilingual'.

Natalie, from the UK cohort, echoed these sentiments:

'We have told our children, "Look these are the advantages you have, use them to help others, to take advantage of opportunities." Now they see the utility of [speaking] Spanish'.

In addition to promoting the Latin American culture and providing their daughters with a professional advantage when they entered the labour market UK and US comparison group mothers viewed culture transfer through language proficiency as a means of building their

daughters' ethnic identity. Studies in the US suggest that a strong ethnic identity for Latino/a youth is vital to developing positive self-esteem (Quintana & Scull, 2009); particularly in light of the 'unabashed anti-Latino rhetoric in public discourse' in the US (Guyl et. al., 2010: 114). Hence, speaking Spanish and becoming more familiar with Latin American customs and traditions was a tool that these mothers used to build a positive historical backdrop for their daughters. This was particularly significant for the US comparison group mothers as they expressed greater awareness and more experiences with discrimination in America than the UK cohort mothers. As Bethany, from the US comparison group, described her processing regarding perceived discrimination for being Latina in a country that paints all Latinos in a pejorative light.

'I get mad at times because we haven't done anything wrong and I think that they [media/society] treat us unjustly. They judge us perhaps for what others have done or think and they don't take into account that we are not all the same. Just because we are of a certain race...we are bad and it is not like that. I have had some ugly experiences...but I can't change the thoughts of others. I can however influence my daughter's way of thinking that those people [racist] are wrong. That we should never treat others poorly and that she needs to set the example that you do not treat others differently because we are all the same. It doesn't matter what colour you are or what language you speak. I cannot influence the whole world but I can influence my daughters to be better people. I want them to feel equal and that they do not think they are inferior to anyone because they are Latina'.

Inez, Jess' mother, also focused on promoting her daughter's self-esteem by reinforcing their ethnicity as a positive aspect of their identity.

'Jess suffered quite a bit when she moved schools. She would get very angry when she heard comments made about her more ethnic looking peers from her old school because it was in a *barrio*.⁴⁰ One of the things that is most important for me is that they [children] are proud of who they are. That they are not ashamed [of being Latino] but also not cocky; we are all the same that is what we have taught them. That they not grow up as one of those people without an identity. I say you have to have your identity and not lift your feet above the ground because we are all at ground level'.

⁴⁰ Barrio is a term commonly referred to neighbourhoods consisting of predominantly Latin Americans. In recent texts it has been equated to ghettos or economically deprived communities of Latinos (Jarkowsky, 2009).

Despite the perceived absence of discrimination in the UK among all but one of the UK mothers interviewed, the women also relied on culture transfer practices as a means of building a strong ethnic identity and positive self-esteem among their daughters. The mother that did report experiences of perceived discrimination in the UK described them as more nuanced than those detailed by the US cohort mothers. Eunice, Aurora's mother, described discriminatory practices aimed at all foreigners who spoke English with an accent as opposed to singling out Latinas. She viewed native Britons as downplaying the intellectual abilities of foreigners because of their accents.

'Yeah well for instance when they [British] hear you speak, I obviously have an accent. While I think I speak much better than I did when I arrived here to study 13 years ago I will never speak it without an accent because English was not my first language. When I first got here and I was living in Edinburgh...sometimes I needed to ask them to repeat things. Once they heard my accent they would not necessarily speak any slower or use different words but they would simply repeat the same thing but louder, almost shouting. I am not stupid or deaf I was just having trouble making out what they were saying because of how they spoke. So it is things like that when you notice that people treat you differently'.

Eunice described the incidents as more irritating than blatantly rude that 'got annoying after a while'. The main difference between the UK and US comparison group mother interviews however was that the UK mothers all reported promoting their culture and ethnic identity as a means of passing a part of who they are onto their daughters. Two of the mothers explained that culture transfer allowed their daughters to understand them as Latina women as well and not only as their mother. As Natalie explained:

'I bring traditions from where I was born because I want them to know me better and understand why I do what I do. In the house I have rugs and doilies from Peru to have something from Peru here and the foods as well. I have deep roots [in Peru] and I don't want that to be lost. I think it is a type of identity here when people ask me where I am from, "from Peru". My children have both our surnames because I don't want to lose my identity. I also don't want the children to feel shame to say my mother is from Peru. They see their Latino side as something positive. I have always looked to create positive experiences in relation to [speaking] Spanish or Peru so they grow up with positive [and] not different experiences.'

Xochil also viewed culture transfer as a means of passing on her history and that of her ancestors onto her daughters with hopes that they would continue this process with their children.

‘I try to keep contact with my family [in Colombia] quite a bit; the contact has always been very strong. I think that contact with the family has been essential, in part, to them feeling Latin American and being proud of being Colombian. They never say I am English, despite being born and raised here; they say “I am Colombian and English”. They also dance salsa and eat Colombian food; they know it by name, smell and all. That has been an essential factor because if there isn’t that family link it doesn’t matter how much you may try to impose it [culture] on them. Culture is something that is part of a group, culture isn’t born of one person; groups [and] family make culture. I am very Latina I have never changed my ways [in order] to keep them connected to Colombia and their family.’

During the interview I asked how Xochil planned to pass on the culture specifically, aside from introducing them to traditions and customs. Xochil stopped for a few seconds as if she had not thought about the answer to that question before and then replied:

‘How will I pass on the culture? Well I suppose the fact they enjoy Colombian foods may lead them to one day start cooking it themselves and perhaps then they will say, “Mami how do I make lentils with rice like you do?”, because that [culture transfer] is what happens between mothers and daughters’.

Hence, culture transfer is focused primarily between mother and daughter where discussions around foods, customs and traditions are specifically intended to be passed down from the female line, as females are the primary socializing agents of children in the home (Gonzales et al., 2006). Additionally, Umaña-Taylor & Fine (2004) contend that ethnic identity develops as a result of adolescents’ interactions with proximal and distal environmental factors, based on the ecological systems theory (EST), suggesting that a central component of adolescents’ ethnic identity formation is the influence of family and maternal ethnic socialization. As such, the socialization practices of the mothers in the UK and US comparison groups promoted a strong ethnic identity in their daughters in hopes that the girls would socialize their children in the same way when they had their own families.

Relationship between Environment, Perceived Discrimination and Crime

Perceived discrimination can influence the desire of a member of the non-dominant group to belong to the dominant group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Families in the US were less inclined to change and assimilate to American culture, as this change signified relinquishing their ethnic identity for a new one, a new identity that represented the values, norms and characteristics of the majority culture, a culture that sent a clear message that members of other non-white ethnic groups were not as good.

The young women in the US cohort displayed greater variability in their approaches to ethnic identity formation. The participant group respondents displayed weaker bonds to their culture than the comparison group. This may be partially attributed to the fact that all but five of the young women in the participant group were second or later generation hence the influence of culture was weaker. Due to the inability to collect delinquency court data for the UK youth cohort a comparative analysis on the relationship between ethnic identity and delinquency court involvement was not conducted. However, the study did compare self-reported risk taking behaviours among US and UK youth cohorts. Findings from the youth interviewed suggest that higher social class and stronger mother-daughter relationships were more influential towards risk behaviour prevention. Yet as mentioned the mother-daughter relationship was stronger for less acculturated Latina mothers who also prioritized Latin American values, customs and norms in the home.

There is increasing evidence of the detrimental effects of discrimination in school for Latino students (Ramirez, 2003; Hill & Torres, 2010). Schools whose policies reflect the valuing of ethnic diversity have more motivated and engaged students (Conchas, 2001; Freng, et al., 2006) whereas discrimination has been associated with lower academic motivation resulting

from a weak bond to the school environment whereby students feel amiss of respect and value for their race/ethnicity (Perreira et al., 2010). The ecological systems theory holds that stimuli from an individual's multiple layers of interaction affect their sense of self and how the role they play within society (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Interviews with some of the young women in the US cohort suggested greater investment in education when they felt that their culture was validated through the school curriculum and staff.

The case of Lisa, the bi-racial young woman who had been in and out of detention for well over two years, illustrates how school policies that embrace ethnic diversity can engage ethnic minority youth in their own education. When discussing her experiences of perceived discrimination Lisa claimed that the only place she felt being Mexican was perceived in a positive light was 'when at school, only at school'. Her school environment provided her a safe space where she could explore her culture and identity with other peers of varying ethnic backgrounds and learn about her heritage from a perspective other than the dominant white view; providing a neutral tone and potentially a more balanced historical account of ethnic minorities in America (see Chapter 6).

My interview with Jess, from the comparison group, also depicted a stronger bond and overall positive educational experience when the school promotes diversity not only through the student body but also through the diversity of the educational staff. She described how her previous school, prior to closing, consisted largely of Latin American students and staff and as she stated for her 'it was pretty cool'. The closing down of her previous school and transfer into a predominantly white and African-American school that in her view did not value ethnic diversity, particularly regarding Latin Americans, has impacted her bond to her school. She no longer enjoyed going to school claiming:

'Well if they [parents] say, "do you want to go to school?" I would say, 'no thank you'. It is weird because I don't want to be at home because there is nothing to do here but if I go to school there are a bunch of idiots there and I really don't like them...I really don't care if I go or not'.

While Jess' attendance and grades did not suffer as a result of this change in schools it did impact her bond to school. There were other protective elements present in her life, such as a strong mother-daughter bond, consistent disciplinary practices at home and strong communication with her family, which guided her choices. In the absence of these protective elements however, as was the case with Lisa who was adopted by her maternal grandmother after her drug-addicted mother left her and her brother and her father cut all ties with the family after his imprisonment, the positive influences in her life were consistently taken away or had been absent as a result of cyclical family dysfunction (see Chapter 6). Hence, a lack of positive influences and weak or broken bonds with family, school and ethnic communities could potentially have negative effects propelling youth towards risk behaviours such as truancy and associations with negative peer networks.

Endorsing ethnic diversity in schools was also relevant in the lives of the young women in the UK cohort. However, the impact on some of the Latina girls I interviewed in the UK was more circuitous giving them an opportunity to enhance their existing relationship with their ethnic culture, established at home, while sharing their cultural knowledge with their peers in a supportive atmosphere that embraced diversity. As Melanie and Lucinda claimed when I asked what their peers thought about them being Latinas, '*They are just like cool!*' Pointing out the novelty of their ethnic background in a country where Latin Americans are still few and largely unrecognized. Natalie, their mother, added:

'My children are not embarrassed to say my mom is from Peru. So when they ask, "does anyone know how to speak Spanish?" they reply "me!" They see it as something positive.'

In other words, their relationship with their school was not solely affected by whether the school promoted diversity or not. The fact that some of their schools did notably address multiculturalism was perceived as an added benefit. Hence, the school environments that the young Latina girls were exposed to in this study suggest that school policies and approaches towards ethnic diversity, in particular towards Latinos, can have positive and negative outcomes on youth school bonds. The staggering statistics highlighting the low educational achievements (e.g., high drop-out rates, poor grades, truancy) for Latin American youth in the US and many BME youth in the UK (Kao & Thompson, 2003; Webster, 2007) call attention to the manner in which schools address cultural diversity.

American schools in neighbourhoods with high poverty rates and a largely ethnic minority student body tend to perform poorly on national standardized testing assessments⁴¹ and report fewer graduates (Kao & Thompson, 2003). As discussed previously, the life outcomes for youth in America without a high school degree or equivalent are low (see Chapters 2 and 4). These youth face a lifetime of low-wages, unemployment and low-social and economic mobility. Hence, while US politicians have historically blamed individuals and ethnic minority groups for their poor economic and life outcomes in America the experiences from the young Latinas I interviewed in the US contribute to the argument that systemic discrimination, be it implicit through the exclusion of ethnic studies curriculum or explicit through the elimination or removal of ethnic studies programmes and ethnic diversity practices (see Chapter 6), can also contribute to poor educational outcomes through weak school bonds and potentially to poor life outcomes. As Dovidio et al. (2010:63) contend the nature of contemporary biases is relatively subtle; however subtle expressions can also ‘have

⁴¹ There is an on-going debate on the efficacy of national standardized testing in America particularly addressing the issues of equity and fairness with regards to the quality of education that ethnic-minorities receive in poor school districts and that of youth in affluent school districts where the student body is largely white and middle-class (Kao & Thompson, 2003).

negative consequences as insidious as blatant discrimination'. Moreover, micro-aggressions of this nature can have emotional and psychological implications for members of stigmatized groups. Therefore, even minor but constant disparate treatment can have a cumulative psychological effect on young Latinas manifested in physical and social well-being and future educational and professional aspirations (see Chapter 4).

Environments & Delinquency

Edwin Sutherland (1924) suggested, as scholars continue to do so today (see Berardi & Bucarius, 2014) that crime among immigrants in America was not due to an inherent flaw or weakness plaguing the immigrant population; rather, immigrant criminality could mainly be attributed to the increased acculturation of these groups into a generally more crime-prone American society. In short, the longer immigrants resided in the US, the more criminal they became. Of course, critics of this argument could point out that not all sons and daughters of immigrants resort to law breaking behavior. However, as has been discussed throughout the thesis, the cyclical pattern from which immigration, policy and crime rotate are mediated by political rhetoric and the media's effectiveness at creating moral-panics against select ethnic minority groups (see Chapter 2).

Hence, the increased involvement of second and later generation ethnic minorities in crime could be attributed to their increased acculturation to American society. Just as likely however is the argument that in conjunction with higher acculturation are societal and political views that target members of these ethnic groups through pejorative discourse towards their ethnicity, racist practices that limit their academic and social mobility and networking practices that pull these youth into the judicial system as a result of their parents' low economic and human capital. As Berardi & Bucarius (2014) argue these patterns result from different experiences of inclusion and exclusion in the host society, which different

racial and ethnic groups face, despite immigrating into the same country. This is attributed to the disparity in crime that is seen among different ethnic groups of immigrants of the same generation (e.g., burglary, car theft, drugs).

Similar patterns of inclusion and exclusion have been found among immigrant South Asian populations in the UK. Parmar (2014) and Toor (2009) discuss the migration trajectories of Punjabi and Pakistani immigrants, their conditions of settlement and the tainted and stereotypical view that British society has towards South Asians. Similar conditions of low economic and social capital place these families and their children on the margins of society with little hope for social and economic mobility eventually turning to crime in order to help lift their families from their disadvantaged position in society.

As US and UK cohort interviews and answers were analyzed the notion of inclusion and exclusion became more evident between groups. As discussed above, perceived discrimination responses varied markedly between UK and US cohorts. Where responses to the perceived discrimination domain were rated '*strongly agree*' across all of the parent/guardian interviews in the US cohort the UK mothers reported '*strongly disagree*' in the context of their UK experiences. However, for those mothers who had either initially migrated to Spain or frequently travelled to Spain their stories of perceived discrimination mirrored the accounts of the US parent/guardian cohort, suggesting that while UK society appears more accepting and restrained in terms of racial discourse of Latin Americans, Spanish society has been less welcoming.

As previously discussed, Spain, Italy and Portugal had experienced an increase in migration rates from Latin America beginning in the mid-20th century (see Chapter 2). Hence, the increased visibility of Latinos may inevitably result in the portrayal of the 'Latino threat' to

the native Spaniards' way of life (e.g., employment, housing, welfare benefits, customs, religion, social class) (Peixoto, 2012). There is ample research on the effects of Latin American migration to Spain which cannot effectively be covered in this work (see Peixoto (2012). However, suffice it to point out that the experiences of the three mothers who had spent time in Spain suggested an equally non-welcoming and highly pejorative and discriminate view of Latin Americans in Spain as in the US which may be partially attributed to their greater visibility resulting in a threat to their cultural system.

The effects of integration policy on US and UK environments also affected the experiences and stories of the Latina young women interviewed. The UK youth cohort reported feeling more at ease in exploring their Latin American culture. All but two of the nine young women interviewed reported feeling that their Latina ethnicity was viewed as either a novelty among non-Latinos or went unnoticed among their peers. For instance, when I asked Sara during interview how her peers in the UK viewed her Latina roots she replied, *'I don't think they see me as being different but if they hear me speak Spanish they get very excited'*. Melanie and her younger sister Lucinda echoed those sentiments also proclaiming that their peers reacted with interest when they mentioned their Peruvian roots, *'they are just like cool'*. Melanie added, *'because I am me and I am part Latina and not a lot of people [here] are'*.

The positive reactions from peers prompted the young women in the UK cohort to explore their culture in environments outside from their family, sharing their experiences and culture and feeling included, as part of a broader social group. As Nicky, a second generation Colombian explained, *'I don't really feel different or anything. I just feel normal'*. She went on to explain that she learned about her peers' culture in school and similarly they inquired about hers so everyone could contribute to the conversation.

In contrast, most of the US cohort youth respondents were very aware of the othering of their ethnic minority group and how society negatively perceived all Latinos regardless of country of origin, social class, education or citizenship. Out of the 27 youth interviewed 14 reported either feeling discriminated against for being Latina or agreeing that whites viewed Latinos negatively. As Charlotte, from the participant group, described:

‘I feel like we are viewed differently. And not just Hispanics but like African Americans and Native Americans...I feel like they [whites] feel...like this is their land. I feel like we are categorized’.

Lorena also believed that all Latinos were viewed negatively, like criminals.

‘Well like the looks you get you know what I mean? Like you ask them [sales associates] to do something and they think that you are going to steal something’.

Additionally even those young women who had not been involved with the justice system perceived injustices towards themselves or other Latin Americans. Greta described her experience at her medical school program where a white student reacted negatively to her use of Spanish during a mock clinic where she was encouraged to speak a language other than English to test her peers.

‘The instructor said you have to be hard on these medical assistants. If you are bilingual go ahead and speak the other language and see how they react. So it was like cool I get to use Spanish. I was just doing what my instructor told me to do...and she just blew off on me, she was like “are you kidding me! I am not treating you! I don’t like Spanish speakers!” I kind of felt bad for her but at the same time it kind of upset me. Since the year started she didn’t want to sit by anyone because we are just a bunch of Mexicans.’

The young women discussed at interview how this limited their exploration of their culture outside of ethnic enclaves and their family. They also discussed how this prompted them to develop social networks with other historically racialized youth who shared their experiences of discrimination and struggles. As Ashley explained:

‘I don’t know why but I always become really good friends with African Americans. Yeah I guess I feel I have more in common with them. They are curious about Spanish and ask “how do you say that?”

I probed a bit further to find out how her African American peers’ curiosity differed from some of her white peers and Ashley replied, ‘*Yeah I guess I feel more accepted because there is curiosity as opposed to rejection*’. In light of her response, I decided to inquire about her view of how her African American friends are treated by others and she replied,

‘Yeah the African Americans would be like, “oh I don’t think the white lady liked me or she was rude when she took my order” and stuff like that’.

The experiences of ethnic minorities from interactions with their environments can directly influence a youth’s perception of self and their ethnicity. The young women in the UK cohort either reported feeling accepted for being ‘different’ (i.e. Latina) or felt ‘normal’. In their stories multicultural practices seemed to effectively promote integration while allowing them to maintain their cultural roots and to feel a part of both cultures. In contrast, more than half of the young women in the US cohort expressed perceived discrimination and rejection from some members of the majority culture. For some of the older interviewees their awareness extended beyond discrimination for Latinas but for all ethnic minority groups.

Inevitably the feeling of rejection leads to exclusion from the mainstream society and their values. While the young women in the comparison group continued to pursue their goals, for their family’s sake, and try to persevere despite the barriers presented through discrimination and prejudice, the participant group girls’ appeared to lack the motivation to keep trying at school and staying out of trouble (e.g., weak family bonds, negative peer influences), spiraling further into the youth justice system. The accounts of the girls who were considered at low risk for re-offending or on diversion and those of their mothers suggested a realization for the need to strengthen the family bond, particularly as Erin described how attending the

court mandated family strengthening program helped her and her daughter reconnect and hoped it would help get her daughter back on track. Providing this support at the family level seemed to help buffer the negative effects of discrimination and prejudice.

Multiculturalism v. Assimilation

The multiculturalism approach to ethnic minority groups has recently been criticized by UK politicians claiming that British nationalism is at stake and suggesting that an assimilationist approach, as in America, would best suit the nation (BNP, 2015). However, as Rumbaut (2008) points out, assimilation practices neglect to account for the cultural, social and economic differences of ethnic minority youth and their families. The narratives of the US youth and parents highlight the implications of attempting to force feed the majority culture onto Latin Americans, creating conflict between the dominant ethnic group and Latinos. This conflict inevitably has led to the derision of anything Latino, degrading the self-worth and identity of Latino youth, resulting for many in a lack of cultural identity as in Charlotte's (US participant group) case. Charlotte reported not fitting in with the majority white culture but also felt rejected by her Latino culture, in particular her extended family (see Chapter 6).

For others the result has been the rejection of their ancestral culture into full assimilation as in Arianna's case (US participant group), embracing a dominant white culture that has historically oppressed Latinos not because of their faulty cultural norms and values but because of phenotypic differences (see Chapter 2). The literature on Latino ethnic identity and delinquency is clear that assimilation of both parents and youth tends to lead to identity conflict among Latino youth as they struggle to fit into a society that a) lacks historical ties to their culture, b) denigrates their race and ethnicity and c) promotes success through social and economic means that are consistently withheld from them (Enchautegui, 2014; Loukas et al., 2007; Buriel et al., 1982). Hence, ethnic minority youth that assimilate to white US norms

tend to struggle with the barriers and discrimination they face from the majority culture since they lack the self-esteem stemming from a strong ethnic identity and are simultaneously perceived as outsiders to the white-majority.

Contemporary research on Latin Americans in the UK is limited to explaining the integration experiences of adult Latino migrants in cosmopolitan cities like London and Manchester (McIlwaine & Linneker, 2011; Mas Giralt, 2011). This research is crucial to expanding on the Latino experience in the UK. However, the experiences of second generation Latinos and their integration into British society also need to be explored. This study begins to fill that gap in the literature.

Admittedly, there are many stories that remain to be documented and many more social and political (e.g., social class and immigration policies) factors that remain to be explored in depth to obtain a more holistic view of the Latino experience in the UK. However, my study makes a contribution to the current literature by exploring the gendered experiences of first and second generation Latinas in the UK, as population estimates suggest that there are more male second generation Latinos than females (McIlwaine et al, 2010). The implications of these social, political and gendered differences among the Latino population in the UK have been explored in this study. Findings point to the need for more culturally appropriate policies that take into account the social position Latin American migrants have historically been placed in and how these positions of disadvantage carry over burdening later generations and impeding their social and economic mobility.

Conclusion

Assimilated and multicultural societies entail different levels of change for minority versus majority group members. These two concepts have different meanings to different groups, hence the push or resistance to change one's cultural beliefs may account for the differences

in the experiences of Latinas in the US and UK. Assimilation approaches to reducing intergroup conflict present a quandary for Latinos in America as proponents of assimilation promote a universal American identity. The problem for ethnic minorities is that American identity is often confounded with a white American identity (Devos, 2006; Dovidio et al, 2010). Consequently for Latinos, whose ethnic and social identities are intertwined, assimilation ideologies force them to choose between an identity that is imposed on them and one influenced by their family's values, norms and traditions.

Multicultural approaches to immigration and ethnic minorities suggest retaining cultural subgroup identities within a greater national framework as the most effective way to manage cultural differences (e.g., different but equal) and intergroup bias (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). Under this model distinct strengths of different groups are recognized and valued, improving attitudes towards foreigners and established ethnic minority group members. Research on group identity suggests that for ethnic minorities multiculturalism is preferable for integration and settlement compared to assimilation which promotes the views of the majority group and may result in prejudicial behaviours toward other groups such as Latin Americans (Crisp et al., 2006).

Some highly relevant lessons taken from contemporary research on Latinos in the US indicate that ethnic identities are quite significant to Latin Americans (Zarate & Shaw, 2010). In effect any efforts to minimize their significance to Latino cultural identities may result in greater social conflict between Latinos and conservative-white America as Latinos are forced to be someone they are not. Hence, assimilation practices and policies that require Latinos in the US to relinquish their ethnic identity will be met with disfavor and hostility if the pressure becomes insurmountable. In the same vein, multicultural practices are resisted by white-Americans who are threatened by the need to change in order to accommodate new incoming

cultures as is evidenced by the heightened racial discourse of media and politicians (see Chapters 2 & 6).

The current political landscape in the UK is suggestive of a growing intolerance for foreigners and immigrants than has historically been the case. While current immigration discourse is pointing towards foreigners from the global south as well as some Eastern and Southern Europeans, Latin Americans have escaped the net of discrimination and stereotypes. However, as more Latin Americans continue to migrate to continental Europe and the UK, it can be surmised that the potential for a similar backlash as that of Spain and the US may occur in the UK. Currently the Latino population in the UK is small in proportion to Asian and black populations. This invisibility has benefitted second generation youth in their journey towards identity development. The issue in question, however, is how long this invisibility will last and whether second and later generations will continue to be satisfied with their lack of recognition and political representation. Furthermore, Latin Americans have historically been abused and oppressed when their visibility increases hence it is crucial to avoid the pitfalls of the assimilationist approach to immigrant integration in order to prevent ethnic minority youth from experiencing the same conflicts in identity as Latino youth in the US and quell their involvement in risk-taking behaviours.

Chapter Nine: Final Thoughts

Introduction

The ‘Latino Paradox’ suggests that Latinos in the US do better on a wide range of social indicators despite what would be predicted from their level of socio-economic disadvantage (Sampson, 2008). Sampson’s version of the Latino Paradox underestimates the pressures on Latinos from prevailing social attitudes involving racism, stereotypes and discrimination, but is suggestive that the Latino population and the complexity of their participation in American society are worthy of study which affirms the importance of the research I carried out.

While a considerable amount of research has been completed on different Latin American sub-groups in the US there are few studies dedicated to the Latin American experience in other Western nations. The UK has a burgeoning Latino population that is expected to continue to grow as the second generation matures and begins their own families. This demographic shift will bring increased visibility and affect how Britons perceive Latinos. As such, it was important to consider the effects of the environment on Latina youths’ ethnic identity and behaviours in the US and then compare the environmental effects on Latinas in the UK to determine the impact that the environment has on Latina ethnic identity and problem behaviours.

In this final chapter, I link the main study findings to my theoretical framework. I bring together all the elements of the study to illustrate the pathways available to young Latinas. As previously mentioned these pathways are not clear-cut and there are many factors, such as acculturation, ethnic identity and family that weave in-and-out of the girls’ lives. As such, I highlight the relevance of these factors in order to tease out the protective elements that

influenced the girls' pathways. I also refer to my methodology and implications for further research.

Theoretical Framework

There are, as previously mentioned, numerous factors with which Latina youth must interact with on a daily basis and inevitably these factors influence their acculturation strategy and ethnic identity. The synergy between culture and human behaviour derives from Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (EST) which defines complex "layers" of environment, each having an effect on an individual's development (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). He argued that the interconnections between internal and external factors or 'nested structures' can be significant for youth development as the youth interacts with each environmental layer, regularly absorbing the messages from each one and assigning significance to those interactions (see Chapter 3). Consequently, changes or conflict in any one layer will ripple throughout others impacting every aspect of a person's environment.

Varying social influences help shape how an individual sees herself and how she thinks others view her. The process of 'fitting in' is highly significant during adolescence when a youth is developing her identity as she tends to place considerable value on the opinions of others (Phinney, 1993). EST is fundamental to understanding the effects of stigmatizing discourse on identity development. Previous studies addressing problem behaviours among ethnic minority youth have interpreted their ethnic and cultural differences as an indication of socialization and cultural deficits within their families (Buriel et al., 1982; Bronfenbrenner, 1986; Gyll, 2010). These studies have focused on three general approaches: (1) outcome-oriented approach which ignores the mechanisms and mediating processes, such as culture conflicts, discrimination and racism, experienced by ethnic minority youth; (2)

developmental processes without incorporating socio-environmental factors and (3) reporting phenomena without explaining the underlying mechanisms that have direct implications to prevention and intervention programs (Spencer et al., 1991).

In order to avoid these shortcomings in my study and to provide a more holistic understanding of the effects of stigma on Latina youth identity I combined ecological systems theory and general strain theory (GST) to address two of the three general approaches mentioned. EST attends to socio-environmental factors while GST addresses the mechanisms and mediating processes (e.g., stigma, discrimination, disadvantage) stemming from these factors, together these two theories move away from individualizing problem behaviours among ethnic minorities and focus on how societies contribute to the negative outcomes found among Latino/a youth. Hence, while EST has been used extensively in social work research and GST in criminology studies as standalone theories neither one address the effects of negative environmental interactions on delinquency.

Ethnic studies research in the US has used EST to bring attention to the effects of environmental contexts on the lives of ethnic minority children (Quintana & Scull, 2009; Spencer et al, 1991). Based on my experience conducting research of ethnic minority youth in the youth justice system I found that using EST in criminology research overcomes some of the deficits of studies that focus on problematizing the individual youth while ignoring the mechanisms and process embedded within social structures which perpetuate marginalization and culture conflict. This approach is particularly beneficial in the development of risk behaviour prevention and intervention programs which often times fail to recognize systemic barriers blocking the pathways of ethnic minorities, in particular impoverished minority youth.

I found EST to be most beneficial when examining school bonds and experiences of perceived discrimination from the Latina girls in my study. The influence of external interactions with school systems highlighted how positive, supportive environments fostered a positive ethnic identity among the Latina girls in the UK. In contrast, negative stimuli from school systems in the US girls' cohort repressed ethnic identity development and fostered a sense of othering and difference between Latina girls and their white peers. Similarly, experiences of perceived discrimination from interactions with the white majority also suppressed ethnic identity development and created identity conflict prompting some girls to choose between their family's culture and the majority culture. Highlighting the effects of external contexts in the lives of Latin American youth provide alternate explanations for the downward assimilation thesis which describes the pattern of deteriorating social and economic status of second and later generations where rather than succeeding on socioeconomic, health and crime related indicators they tend to deteriorate (Portes et al., 1993, 2006) (see Chapter 2).

As mentioned in Chapter 5, comparative research can add context to sociological studies and provide a contrasting view of societal behaviours towards the same groups of people. As rewarding as comparative studies can be they are also riddled with challenges that range from financial and staff resources and participant access to data analysis and interpretation issues. However, the comparative nature of my study makes it unique in the sense that no one has yet to address the issues surrounding Latin Americans in the US and how those compare to Latinos in the UK. Recent studies on Latin Americans in the UK have only begun to explore the experiences of adult Latinos integration practices, while another study is currently tracking well-being indicators for young Latinas and their mothers. My research, while also introductory adds a new perspective to American literature which has to date only examined

the Latino experience in an American context and contributes to a growing body of literature in the UK.

Latina Pathways through Acculturation

One of the theoretical approaches applied to the study was the acculturation model (see chapter 3). Acculturation refers to the adaptational changes that result from intergroup contact, mainly between immigrants and host nations (Berry, 2001). The two acculturation strategies characterized by positive engagement with the host culture are *Assimilation* and *Biculturalism*. The former promotes the rejection of the ancestral culture and full adoption of the host or majority culture and *Biculturalism* promotes the balance of internalizing the majority culture and ancestral culture, shifting between cultures with ease. *Assimilation* has been found to have negative effects on Latino youth ethnic identity and behavioural outcomes while *Biculturalism* is the most beneficial of acculturation strategies for Latino/a youth (Loukas et al., 2007). *Marginalization* and *Separation* are characterized by the rejection of the majority culture and ancestral culture or the rejection of the majority culture and complete immersion into the ancestral culture. The stages of acculturation are not chronological, in other words individuals may shift between stages throughout their identity development. In my study all four stages of acculturation were exhibited by the youth and parent participants in US and UK cohorts.

As previously mentioned in Chapter 3, sociological studies have supported an empirical link between acculturation status and delinquency among Latino adolescents (Loukas & Prelow, 2004; Portes & Rumbaut, 2005). The process of acculturation has been found to contribute significantly to ethnic identity formation (Buriel et al., 1982; Phinney et al., 2001; Guyll et al., 2010), suggesting that individuals act in ways that correspond to cultural influences and

expectations stemming from their interactions with their environment. As such, generation status and language use function as markers for differences in acculturation resulting in later generations' diminished mastery of native tongue and high acculturation (Buriel et al., 1982; Chavez & Guido-DeBrito, 1999). These observations support findings from criminology studies which pose that less-acculturated, first-generation Latinos are less violent than second and later generations (Sampson, 2008).

In my study, I found that young women in the US cohort exemplified the relevance of generation level on the selection of acculturation strategies. All but five of the 21 girls in the participant group were second or later generation. These 16 girls exhibited high levels of acculturation with low to no Spanish language acquisition and low levels of Latin American cultural acquisition. Despite their removal from Latin American culture all of the 16 girls self-identified by an ethnic label, such as Hispanic, Latina, Mexican or Mexican-American. Hence, the ethnic labels used were more as a representation of their ancestry and not verification of their ethnic loyalty. The mothers and fathers of these 16 girls were either second or later generation and tended to exhibit high levels of acculturation with limited Spanish language and cultural acquisition.

The common denominator between youth and parents from the participant group is that both generations preferred to socialize with other Latinos. Some of the reasons cited were a greater level of understanding and shared experiences and life circumstances (e.g., single-parent households, poverty, discrimination and marginalization). Brown et al. (2008) contend that Latino/as respond to discrimination by associating with other ethnic minorities. In addition, generations of Latin Americans in the US have displayed lower levels of social, economic and professional mobility than any other minority ethnic group in America (Rumbaut, 2008). This came across in my study: limited financial, educational and community resources paint

Latinos in a corner that for many of the mothers made it difficult offer a different environment for their daughters. Hence, the pathway for the girls in the participant group begins with high levels of acculturation where Latin American culture is farther removed from their socialization, leaving them to be socialized under the mothers' interpretation of American culture. While findings on Mexican and white-American maternal parenting practices suggest a degree of shared parenting practices, such as parental monitoring and support, these positive parenting practices were observed among less acculturated Latina mothers and white-mothers, not among high acculturated Latina mothers (Gonzales et al., 2006). As evidence from my study the protective elements of ethnic socialization, such as familism and respect, were lost among those youth with high acculturated mothers.

Similarly, the girls in my comparison group were all second generation and exhibited *Biculturalism* as their acculturation strategy. Furthermore, the mothers in this group were all first generation and exhibited low levels of acculturation with some adaptation towards American culture on more traditional Latino values such as patriarchy and gender roles. The girls in this group demonstrated moderate to high levels of Spanish language and cultural acquisition and overall pride in their identities as Latinas and native born Americans. While there were accounts of perceived discrimination, which will be discussed later, their internalization of Latino cultural values and norms were indicative of strong maternal ethnic socialization practices. The pathways for the girls in this group began with moderate levels of acculturation, where a balance between Latin American and white-American culture is in constant negotiation. As such, the protective elements of ethnic socialization are present in the girls' lives.

Conversely, the families in the UK cohort exhibited a range of *Biculturalism* and *Separation* from the girls and *Biculturalism* from the mothers. For instance, all of the mothers in the

cohort were first generation; however, all but two of the mothers were bilingual. The mothers in this cohort exhibited low to moderate levels of acculturation despite their ability to speak English, and for some mothers' facilitation into British society was aided by marriage to a British national. Despite these factors that moderated their integration into the host culture mothers in this group demonstrated a determination to hold on to their Latino culture, exhibited through Latina women's social clubs and dance groups in the host country and transnational practices linking them back to the home country. Five of the nine girls in this cohort exhibited *Biculturalism* despite the variance in generation level. For instance two out of the five were first generation, one born in Mexico but raised in the UK and the other born in Ecuador and raised in Spain. Despite being first generation these young women held on to their ancestral and host culture equally, negotiating a balance between the demands of being Latina and British. The other four girls in the cohort exhibited low levels of acculturation and some degree of *Separation* although all three had resided in the UK for less than 12 months. A preference for the home culture was not unusual since these girls were still learning British culture; hence there were still many unknowns. Preference for their home culture was normal during this stage of their integration. Despite the variance in generation level and acculturation strategies all young women exhibited an attachment to their Latino roots. All girls in this cohort exhibited high levels of Spanish language and cultural acquisition. Hence, the pathways were similar to the girls in the US comparison group with strong maternal ethnic socialization and either a balanced bicultural identity or a strong Latina identity.

Ethnic Identity

Bernal et al. (1990) discovered a relationship between parents' level of acculturation and their children's ethnic identification facilitated through parental teachings. They found that those

parents who taught their children more about their ethnic background enhanced their children's ethnic identity. Research on parents suggests that those who are less acculturated to US or western culture tend to engage in more active ethnic socialization of their children (Romero et al., 2000). As evidenced in Chapters 6 and 7, the acculturation levels of the parents in US and UK cohorts influenced the acculturation levels of their daughters. In this section I discuss how acculturation levels affect ethnic identity and the implications a strong or weak ethnic identity had on the pathways of the girls in US and UK cohorts.

At the centre of ethnic identity development is the process of sifting through the negative messages from the external environment and honing in on those traditional norms, values and practices that promote self-esteem and pride in one's ethnic group. The significance of developing a positive ethnic identity is highly relevant to ethnic minority youth's development as their heightened exposure to environmental risks (e.g., poverty, high crime neighbourhoods, negative peer influences) are greater than their white counter-parts (see Chapter 2). Ethnic minority youth must develop the skills required to navigate through systemic barriers (e.g., discrimination, racism, and marginalization) often with little assistance from their parents, in order to achieve the western standard of success. As children come into increased contact with the larger social world during adolescence they increasingly face the need to determine how they fit into the existing array of social groups and categories.

The patterns observed across US participant and comparison groups and the US and UK cohorts indicate a relationship between youth acculturation strategies and strength of ethnic identity. For instance, in the US participant group, the girls exhibiting lower levels of acculturation or *Biculturalism* tended to be first or second generation with less severe offending histories. These girls reported strong maternal ethnic socialization and a stronger ethnic identity than their peers with more severe offending histories. However, in contrast to

the comparison group, the girls in this group reported strong maternal ethnic socialization, *Biculturalism* and strong ethnic identities. Similarly, all the girls in the UK cohort also reported strong maternal ethnic socialization and ethnic identities with six of them exhibiting *Biculturalism*.

Despite some of the research highlighting the negative effects on self-esteem stemming from identifying with a stigmatized ethnic group, studies of Latino youth in America have found a positive correlation between ethnic identity and a positive self-concept (Atlshul et al., 2006; Bracey et al., 2004). Findings suggest that a strong regard for the individual's ethnic group functioned as a buffer against strain, neutralizing the psychological distress in the context of Latinos' strong ethnic identifications. For the girls in my comparison group a strong ethnic identity explained, at least in part, their avoidance of risk taking behaviours. Notwithstanding their accounts of perceived discrimination these girls retained their cultural roots. Some of the girls regarded stereotypes against Latinos as a challenge that needed to be disproved.

Consequently, the pathways for the girls in the comparison group were characterised by low acculturated mothers, strong maternal ethnic socialization, *Biculturalism* and a strong ethnic identity that functioned as a buffer against adversity. Conversely, the pathways for the participant group girls with severe offending histories exhibited high maternal acculturation, an absence of maternal ethnic socialization, high youth acculturation (*Assimilation*) or *Marginalization* with a weak ethnic identity. The UK girls' shared similar characteristics to the US comparison group; although their pathways also exhibited higher levels of economic stability and few experiences of perceived discrimination, hence a more privileged background.

Family

Family dynamics are central to the cohesion and success of the family unit (Ceballo, 2004). In Latin American families, *familismo* centres on the family bond and loyalty to parents, relatives and even extended kin (Niemann, 2004). As such, family processes are highly relevant to Latino youths' success in western cultures. Studies argue show support for *familismo* claiming improved parental monitoring and social control for youth of both genders, combined with greater respect (*respeto*) for traditional norms and values, functioning as a buffer for adversity and negative peer influences (Pahl & Way, 2006; Kiang et al., 2006). In my study findings from US comparison and UK cohorts exhibited evidence of *familismo* and *respeto*, however, the US comparison group reported adhering to these cultural values as a means of paying back a debt to their parents for the struggles and sacrifices they have gone through to supply for their family. The UK girls also believed in family loyalty however regarding respect or *respeto* some of the older girls reported gaining respect for their parents as they matured and losing the sense of *respeto* that is expected from traditional parents. They did not see this as weakening the bond with their parents, quite the contrary; it provided them with a stronger motivation to adhere to parental advice because they had grown to appreciate their parents as people rather than acknowledge their role as an authority figure.

As previously discussed parents also play a significant role in helping their children prepare for the social consequences of identifying with an ethnic minority group via positive racial and ethnic socialization (Chapter 4). Positive racial and ethnic socialization places ethnic culture of origin in high esteem, leading to a strong sense of self (Fuligni, 2007; Oyserman et al., 2007). As evidence in the narratives of parents from US and UK cohorts, immigrant parents tend to socialize their children in Latino culture more than parents of later generations

whose links with their culture are further removed (Chavez-Reyes, 2010). For the immigrant parents in the US comparison group and UK groups, culture was a central point of reference for the diffusion of values, customs and norms.

Although the research base on girls is not nearly as extensive as that focused on boys, the general notion that dysfunction within the family figures into girls' delinquency has been supported for years (Thomas, 1923; Wattenberg & Saunders, 1954). Studies generally support the role of family processes, but establishing causal order has proven difficult in relation to areas of family functioning. For instance, studies frequently demonstrate a link between family conflict and delinquency where family is 'often represented as the guardian of morality and responsible for its members' failings' (Condry, 2007:69). However, it is not always clear whether conflict leads to delinquency or whether the delinquent youths generate more conflict and discord within the home (Kruttschnitt & Giordano, 2009).

Findings from my study suggest that conflicts in the home, particularly in the mother-daughter relationship, function as an indicator of girls' problem behaviours. For instance, all of the girls with severe offending histories from the US participant group reported conflict with their mothers or maternal figures ranging from weak communication to running away from home. Conversely, the girls with minor offences (e.g., truancy and bullying) reported strong mother-daughter bonds with only recent conflicts that had weakened communication and decreased time spent together engaged in positive activities (e.g., movies, shopping, social events). Therefore, strong mother-daughter bonds can thwart or minimize problem behaviours among Latina girls. These findings do not necessarily place blame on the mothers or daughters but highlight the relevance of a strong mother-daughter bond in Latina girls' lives.

Considering females' greater investment in relationships and social networks (see Chapter 4) a strong bond with their families ancestral culture enhances family relationships and promotes a strong ethnic identity. Scholars contend that ethnic identity for Latin American girls is supported by the transfer of cultural practices from mother to daughter as women are the carriers of culture (Phinney, 1990; Cervantes & Sweatt, 2004). Studies also emphasize the significance of the mother-daughter relationship in Latin American families characterizing it as a stabilising feature in the family (Dumka et al., 1997; Gonzales et al., 2006). Females, perhaps more markedly than males, put relationships in a central position (Cernkovich & Giordano, 1979; Broidy & Agnew, 1997). This increases their vulnerability to the acculturation and integration practices of their parents, as they are more likely to assess the quality of the parent-child bond on the day-to-day interactions with their parents.

As a result of female's emphasis on relationships, the mother-daughter bond becomes a crucial factor in a young Latinas' healthy emotional adjustment. Studies have found that despite economic and cultural adversity, Latinas tend to overcome strain more effectively when a strong mother-daughter bond exists (Dumka et al., 1997; Gonzales et al., 2006). Moreover, study findings suggest that when familial social support is maintained, Latina youths' susceptibility to negative influences outside the family decrease (Vega et al., 1993). As such, a youth Latina's investment in maintaining positive relationships with family and friends can have positive influences on her behaviours, protecting her against negative influences via supportive networks.

In my research I found that the mother-daughter bond was central to the 'family story' of the girls and mothers from US and UK cohorts. Whether the bonds were strong or weak the significance of the mother-daughter relationship resonated throughout the 'family story'. The US participant and comparison groups were characterised by numerous shared internal and

external factors (e.g., SES, impoverished neighbourhoods, poor education systems, perceived discrimination) however the one distinguishing factor between the two groups was the mother-daughter bond. This element stood out clearly as a protective element for those girls on the non-delinquent pathway.

In traditional Latin American families' cultural acquisition is tightly embedded in the mother-daughter relationship, because women are the carriers of culture (Phinney, 1990). Consistent with this, a pattern in the families in my study indicated a relationship between acculturation and the mother-daughter relationship. For instance, high acculturated youth with low levels of cultural acquisition and ethnic identity also reported weak mother-daughter bonds. However, the relationship between the mother-daughter relationship and degree of ethnic identity was not as obvious since second and later generation mothers may not adhere to traditional Latin American values yet still have a strong relationship with their daughters. Therefore, the mother-daughter bond is highly relevant in determining which pathway the girls will choose regardless of the mother's acculturation level.

That said, as ethnic minority youth acculturate their ethnic identity and ethnic behaviours (customs and traditions) are shaped by the acculturation experiences of their family (e.g., immigration trajectories, parental ethnic identity and language acquisition) and their social ecology influencing their socialization. As such, a youth's identity is shaped by parental and ecological socialization practices. Parental socialization involves teaching ethnic content and meanings, while ecological agents (e.g., teachers, neighbours and media) communicate views about ethnicity and ethnic group membership. Hence, together both socializing agents not only influence the ethnic identity of the individual but their motivation to avoid risk taking behaviours.

In light of this I concluded that a strong mother-daughter bond is highly influential in the determination of pathways towards or away from delinquency, however when combined with a strong ethnic identity the protective aspects of both of these elements are enhanced steering Latina girls away from risk-taking behaviours as a result of their investment in the mother-daughter relationship which is based on *familismo* and *respeto*. Figure 8 illustrates the interactions I found between acculturation, ethnic identity, parental socialization and the mother-daughter relationship forming two separate pathways towards or away from delinquency.

Figure 8 highlights the significance of two major socializing agents: maternal socialization and environmental influences on Latina youth pathways. Maternal ethnic socialization practices like *respeto* and *familismo* enforce positive decision-making based on internalized notions of family loyalty and respect for parents and their values. Conversely, the absence of these values, in the midst of stressful conditions from the environment, leaves girls unsupported and without a sense of obligation towards their parents. This dual system of reinforcement between parental monitoring and nurturing seemed to be the most effective combination for the girls in the US comparison group. In contrast, the girls in the participant group either lacked parental monitoring or nurturing, leaving them to navigate through strain without the protective elements of maternal socialization and onto the second pathway towards delinquency.

Despite the more privileged conditions of the girls in the UK cohort, they also experienced a more subtle type of strain while attempting to find their ethnic identity. Some of the older participants reported struggling to find a balance between their ancestral culture and British culture. However, in this cohort parental monitoring and nurturing were consistent, providing them with the protective elements of strong maternal socialization practices. Hence, the US

comparison group and UK cohort girls took the first pathway towards a trajectory with positive outcomes.

Most Latin American sub-cultures are tied into the ‘damaging culture’ theory where often the more ‘Mexican’ the person looks the greater their risk of offending (Buriel et al., 1982). These misguided perceptions by the majority culture manifest into acts of discrimination, self-fulfilling prophecies and ethnic threat. The girls in the US cohort were the most at risk for internalizing negative messages towards their ethnicity due to America’s historical treatment of this ethnic group (see Chapter 2). However, the girls in the comparison group did not become involved in risk-taking behaviours yet experienced similar strain as their counterparts in the participant group. Agnew’s (1997) general strain theory (GST) can be used to explain the effect of the interactions the girls in the US cohort had with their environments. In short, those girls that experienced maternal socialization and felt accepted by those in their environment developed feelings of belonging. Figure 8 illustrates how the presence of *Biculturalism* and support through ethnic communities, either at a national level through multiculturalism or local level through community and religious organisations, results in positive outcomes. *Biculturalism* allowed these girls to explore their ethnic identity while incorporating elements from the majority culture; this identity negotiation was endorsed by the mothers in this group providing the girls an opportunity to strengthen their identity in a supportive environment.

However, the girls in the participant group also experienced similar strain but did not have the support and sense of belonging that their counterparts in the comparison group benefitted from through family and environmental supports. The acculturation strategies of *Assimilation* or *Separation* isolated the girls in the participant group from either their ancestral culture (*Assimilation*) or the majority culture (*Separation*). Hence, in the absence of positive

environmental stimuli from their environments and a weak ethnic identity and mother-daughter relationship these girls were lacking the support needed to overcome the frustration from environmental strain leading them towards the delinquency pathway.

Reflections on Comparative Research

As discussed in Chapter 5, cross-national studies can be useful at developing classifications of social phenomena, such as strain, discrimination and marginalization, and establishing whether this phenomenon is shared and can be explained by similar causes. The countries social institutions, customs, traditions, value systems, lifestyles, languages and overall thought patterns must were taken into account. In addition, my research also required me to account for those institutions, customs, traditions and values of Latin Americans, hence not only comparing the US and UK socio-cultural settings but the organization and function of Latin American socio-cultural factors as well making this a multi-faceted study. Cross national research is accompanied by many documented challenges and barriers around access to participants and secondary data, language barriers in data collection and analysis and resource and time constraints (Hantrais, 2009). Despite the numerous barriers in conducting comparative studies, cross-national research can offer a unique perspective to an established body of literature, such as generational youth outcomes among Latin Americans in the US. Exploring a similar population within different social contexts provides an alternate perception of Latino/a youth outcomes and of Latin Americans in general.

In my study I faced numerous obstacles to gaining access to participants and secondary data, financial resources and time limitations. In exchange for the struggles and difficulties I obtained ‘family stories’ that shed light on the differences within Latino sub-cultures: their motivations for migration, cultural adherence practices, maternal socialization and perceived discrimination. My findings point to the importance of avoiding the homogenization of Latin

Americans and instead exploring the experiences of each individual family and sub-culture. The differences within Latino sub-cultures also highlighted the similarities in Latin American values such as *familismo* and *respeto* which transcend nationalities and are embedded in traditional Latino socialization. My cross-Atlantic journey signalled out the demands in time and resources required for conducting comparative research. Yet while these impacted my data collection process, in my opinion, they also increase the value of my findings.

Future research

The recruitment method implemented in this cohort did not allow for a more diverse sample including families with a diverse range of socio-economic situations, migration trajectories and education. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that the experiences of those less educated and economically marginalized Latin Americans in the UK may very likely differ from the ones described in this chapter (McIlwaine et al., 2010). In addition, social class is just as relevant to identity as stigmatization and may introduce other barriers to ethnic identity that were not explored in the narratives of the UK families in this study. Hence, future research on Latin Americans in the UK must include a more socio-economically diverse sample to explore the stories of those families and the experiences of the youth as they attempt to integrate and develop their ethnic identity amidst barriers in the economic and labour market sectors.

Conclusion

Sampson's (1998) 'Latino Paradox' has provided an alternate perspective to the anecdotal claims linking immigrants and crime. However, Latino/a youth of first and second generations not only encounter different barriers, but interpret these barriers differently based on their own experiences with the majority culture. Pressures on Latinos from prevailing social attitudes influence Latino/a youth's experiences and life choices. For Latina girls in the

US life pathways are heavily influenced by societal pressures and support systems (see Figure 8). Family and a strong ethnic community were also relevant for the girls in the UK, despite limited racially motivated societal pressures, such as racism and discrimination.

For the Latina girls in my study family, specifically the mother-daughter bond appears to impact their choices and life pathways. Mothers transfer cultural practices, for less acculturated mothers these practices reflect traditional Latino values. However, culture transfer is another means of establishing a bond with their daughters, a bond that the girls in my study maintained through respect and family loyalty or *familismo*. As such, for the girls in my study culture, through the mother-daughter bond, functioned as a protective factor against risk taking behaviours and a pathway to delinquency.

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Appendix A

*Multidimensional Measure of Cultural Identity Scales for Latinas (US)*⁴²

Date:

ID#:

About You

I would like to start by asking you a few questions about yourself.

1. What is your date of birth? _____
2. What country were you born in? _____
3. Please tell me how you identify:

Latina Hispanic Mexican Chicana Mexican/American

Other (please describe): _____

4. Who do you live with?

Both parents Only-Mom Only-Dad Mom & Step-father Dad & Step-mother

Grandparents Other relative: _____

5. What zip code do you live in? _____

Or main cross streets:

About Your Culture

Below are questions asking you about your bi-lingual skills, familiarity with the Latino and American culture and your cultural identity. Please answer each question using one of the responses provided. If you have any questions about the wording or need clarification please feel free to ask me.

We will start the interview by asking you a few questions about your bi-lingual skills. The following questions are about your ability to speak Spanish.

⁴² The US and UK versions of the youth questionnaire were identical with the exception of the Latina Culture, American Culture and Female Role Model domains which were adjusted to reflect the Latin American sub-culture of the participants and the British culture.

Spanish Language

1. How well would you say you speak Spanish?

Excellent *Good* *Fair* *Not at all*

2. How well would you say you read Spanish?

Excellent *Good* *Fair* *Not at all*

3. How well would you say you write Spanish?

Excellent *Good* *Fair* *Not at all*

English Language

1. How well would you say you speak English?

Excellent *Good* *Fair* *Not at all*

2. How well would you say you read English?

Excellent *Good* *Fair* *Not at all*

3. How well would you say you write English?

Excellent *Good* *Fair* *Not at all*

The next questions will be asking you about your familiarity with different people and customs that represent the Latino and American culture. Please tell me how well you think you know each by using the answer scale provided.

Latino Culture

1. How well do you know the names and works of Latino musicians (Pitbull, Jennifer Lopez, Bruno Mars)?

I know a lot about these *I know something about these* *I know very little about these* *I don't know anything about these*

2. How well do you know Latino history and politics (meaning of 5 de Mayo, 13 de Septiembre, Dia de Benito Juarez, etc)?

I know a lot about these *I know something about these* *I know very little about these* *I don't know anything about these*

3. How well do you know Latino cultural legends (e.g., Pancho Villa) and symbols (e.g., Aztec warrior paintings, Dia de los Santos)?

I know a lot about these *I know something about these* *I know very little about these* *I don't know anything about these*

4. How well do you know popular Latin American actors (e.g., Selena, Demi Lovato, Jessica Alba, etc.)?

I know a lot about these *I know something about these* *I know very little about these* *I don't know anything about these*

American Culture

1. How well do you know the names and works of American musicians (Kelly Clarkson, Kesha, Ne-Yo, etc.)?

I know a lot about these *I know something about these* *I know very little about these* *I don't know anything about these*

2. How well do you know American history and politics (meaning of 4th of July, Boston Tea Party, Thanksgiving, etc.)?

I know a lot about these *I know something about these* *I know very little about these* *I don't know anything about these*

3. How familiar are you with American cultural legends (e.g., Abraham Lincoln) and symbols (e.g., Cherry Pie, Chevy pick-up, etc.)?

I know a lot about these *I know something about these* *I know very little about these* *I don't know anything about these*

4. How well do you know popular American actors from the US (e.g., Kristin Stewart, Zack Efron, Jared Lautner)?

I know a lot about these *I know something about these* *I know very little about these* *I don't know anything about these*

Next, I would like to ask you a few questions about Latin American and American female role models.

Female Role Models

1. How well do you relate to Latin American actresses like Naya Rivera, Selena Gomez, and Jessica Alba?

A lot Some A little Not at all

2. How well do you relate to American actresses like Kristen Stewart, Lily Collins, and Jennifer Lawrence?

A lot Some A little Not at all

3. Do you find that there are enough Latin American female role models for young Latinas your age?

A lot A Few Some A little None at all

Perceived Discrimination

I would now like to know how fairly you feel you are treated. Please remember that all your answers are confidential.

1. When at school have you ever felt that you were treated unfairly by your teachers and/or peers because of your race/ethnicity?

Completely Agree Neutral Completely Disagree

2. When out at the movies or mall have you ever felt that you were treated unfairly by the staff or other patrons because of your race/ethnicity?

Completely Agree Neutral Completely Disagree

3. How many times in the past year has anyone said or written something bad about your race/ethnicity or culture?

Never 1-2 times 3-4 times 5 or more times

4. In general, do you feel that others treat you unfairly because of your race/ethnicity?

Completely Agree Neutral Completely Disagree

Now I would like to know what your thoughts are on the concepts of *Respeto*. For the purpose of this survey *Respeto* means to obey the elders in your family from parents to aunts and uncles. It also extends to other adults in your community, school, etc.

Respeto

1. Do you always refer to adults in your family and community by “Usted”?

Completely Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Completely Disagree

2. Do think it is important for children to obey adults?

Completely Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Completely Disagree

3. Do you think that children should help their parents when they grow up?

Completely Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Completely Disagree

The next section will ask you questions about your relationship with your parents. Please remember that everything you tell me here is confidential and will not be shared with anyone else.

About Your Parents

1. Would you say that you like to spend time with your parents?

All of the time Most of the time Some of the time None of the time

2. Would you say that your parents like you and care about you.

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

3. Do you feel that your parents think that you are good at things?

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

4. During the past 12 months, have you done any of the following things with your parent (s)? Please answer *Yes* or *No*.

- Spent 30 minutes or more playing or doing something fun with them
- Gone with them to an organized event (movies, sports event, etc.)
- Read and/or discussed a book or magazine article with them
- Got into an argument with them every week

Next I would like to talk about your thoughts on Feminism in the Latino culture. For the purpose of this survey Feminism is defined as believing that women are equal to men in education, employment, and the family.

Feminism

1. Do you think that the role of the women in the family is to stay home and take care of her husband and children?

Completely Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Completely Disagree

2. Do you think that the father in the home should make all the decisions about his family?

Completely Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Completely Disagree

3. Do you think that marriage is the primary goal for a female?

Completely Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Completely Disagree

This next section is about what language you prefer to watch TV and listen to radio when with family and friends.

Language Preference

1. In what language are the channels you prefer to watch TV?

Only Spanish Some Spanish Both Equally Some English Only English

2. In what language are the radio stations you listen to at home or in the car?

Only Spanish Some Spanish Both Equally Some English Only English

3. In what language do you watch TV with your friends?

Only Spanish Some Spanish Both Equally Some English Only English

4. In what language are the radio stations you listen to with your friends?

Only Spanish Some Spanish Both Equally Some English Only English

The next set of questions is about any upsetting memories or feelings that have bothered you. These could be feelings from times you or someone close to you was in danger of being hurt, was actually hurt, or died. This includes memories related to emotional, physical or sexual abuse; serious illness, accidents or disasters; violence in your community; or other traumatic events.

About Your Past

Please answer the following questions with *Yes* or *No*. **During the past 12 months**, have the following situations happened to you?

1. When something reminded you of the past, you became very distressed and upset? *Yes* *No*
2. You used alcohol or other drugs to help yourself sleep or forget about things that happened in the past? *Yes* *No*
3. You felt guilty about things that happened because you felt like you should have done something to prevent them? *Yes* *No*
4. You lose your temper and explode over minor everyday things? *Yes* *No*
5. You have felt very trapped, lonely, sad, blue, depressed, or hopeless about the future?
6. You have had problems remembering, concentrating, making decisions, or having your mind go blank?
7. You had thoughts that other people did not understand you or appreciate your situation?

During the past 12 months, have you....

1. Thought about hurting someone else?
2. Thought about hurting yourself or ending your life?

During the past 12 months, have you had problems with....

1. Feeling very anxious, nervous, tense, scared, panicked or like something bad was going to happen?
2. Trembling, having your heart race, or feeling so restless that you could not sit still?

3. How old were you the first time you started having these kinds of problems or feelings? _____

The following questions are about any behaviors that may be considered at risk or may get you in trouble if you got caught (e.g., smoking, drinking, skipping school, etc.). I would like to remind you that your answers to these questions will not be disclosed to your parents and/or probation officer.

Risky Behaviors

1. How old were you the first time you had alcohol?

Under the age of 5 6-9 yrs. 10-13 yrs. 14-16 yrs. 17 yrs. or older Never

2. Who were you with the first time you had alcohol?

Mom Dad Sibling Youth Relative Adult Relative Friend

3. In the past 6-months how many times have you had alcohol? [If none, skip to #5]

1-2 times 3-5 times 6-10 times 11-15 times 16 times or more None

4. In the past 6-months who did you drink alcohol with?

Friends Relatives Parents
Other: _____

5. How old were you the first time you tried marijuana?

9-11yrs. 12-15yrs. 16-17 yrs. 18 yrs. or older Never

6. Who were you with the first time you tried marijuana? [If answered "never", to question #5 skip to #8]

Mom Dad Sibling Youth Relative Adult Relative Friend

7. In the past 6-months how many times have you used marijuana?

1-2 times 3-5 times 6-10 times 11-15 times 16 times or more None

8. In the past 6-months who did you use marijuana with?

Friends Relatives Parents
Other: _____

9. Have you ever run away from home or from where you were living? Y N

If so, why? _____

10. In the past 6-months how many times have you run away from home?
1-2 times 3-4 times 5-6 times 7 times or more
11. In the past 6-months how many times have you stolen something from a store, friend or parent's house, or from someone's bag?
1-2 times 3-4 times 5 times or more I have never stolen
12. In the past 6-months how many times have you skipped classes?
1-3 times 4-6 times 7-10 times 11-15 times 16 times or more Never
13. In the past 6-months how many times have you gotten into a fight with someone in your family where the police was called?
1-2 times 3-4 times 5 times or more Police has never been called

The next set of questions are about school.

About School

1. What was the last grade or year that you completed in school? _____
2. Have you ever received any special education classes or services or gone to any alternative school program? If so, please describe _____
3. During your last year in school, what was your average grade?
A's B's C's D's F's Mixed/Other
4. You enjoy going to school?
Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree
5. You enjoy going to your classes?
Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree
6. You feel safe in your school and classes?
Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

7. You feel comfortable asking for help or questions at school?

Strongly Agree

Agree Neutral

Disagree

Strongly Disagree

The following questions are about your friends and the people you spend most of your time with.

About Your Friends

1. Of the people you regularly spend most of your time with, how many would you say were involved in illegal activity?

None A Few Some Most All

2. Of the people you regularly spend most of your time with, how many weekly get drunk or have 5 or more drinks in a day?

None A Few Some Most All

3. Of the people you regularly spend most of your time with, how many use any drugs weekly?

None A Few Some Most All

4. Of the people you regularly spend most of your time with, how many have ever been in drug or alcohol treatment?

None A Few Some Most All

Appendix B

*Marín & Marín Acculturation Scale*⁴³

Date: _____

ID#: _____

Background

The following set of questions will be asking you some questions about you, where you were born, age, etc. Please remember that everything you tell me here is confidential and will not be shared with anyone.

1. What is your date of birth? _____
2. What country were you born in? _____
3. How long have you lived in the US? _____
4. Please tell me how you identify:
Latina Hispanic Mexican Chicana Mexican/American
5. Marital Status: *Single Married Divorced Separated Widowed*
6. What was the last grade you completed in school?
Grade school High School Some College College Degree
Some Post-graduate College coursework Post-graduate Degree
7. What is your annual household income range?
\$16,000 or less \$17,000-\$23,000 \$24,000-\$28,000 \$29,000-\$35,000
\$36,000-\$50,000 \$51,000-\$75,000 \$76,000 or above

Environment

1. The neighborhood you live in is safe for you and your family?
Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree
2. If you wanted to enroll your daughter in after school activities, you would know where to go in your community?
Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree
3. There is enough police presence in my neighborhood to make me and my family feel safe?
Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree
4. Most people in my neighborhood are of Hispanic/Mexican descent? *Y N*

⁴³ The US and UK parent questionnaires were identical except for the income domain. An English and Spanish version were created to suit the parents' preferred language.

Language Use

Below are some questions asking you about your bi-lingual skills, your cultural preferences and your perception of what it is like to be a Latino in the U.S. Please answer each question using one of the responses provided. If you have any questions about the wording or need clarification please feel free to ask me.

I'd like to start the interview by asking you a few questions about your bi-lingual skills.

1. In general, what language(s) do you read and speak?
 1. **Only Spanish**
 2. **More Spanish than English**
 3. **Both equally**
 4. **More English than Spanish**
 5. **Only English**

2. What was the language(s) you used as a child?
 1. **Only Spanish**
 2. **More Spanish than English**
 3. **Both equally**
 4. **More English than Spanish**
 5. **Only English**

3. What language(s) do you usually speak at home?
 1. **Only Spanish**
 2. **More Spanish than English**
 3. **Both equally**
 4. **More English than Spanish**
 5. **Only English**

4. In which language(s) do you usually think?
 1. **Only Spanish**
 2. **More Spanish than English**
 3. **Both equally**
 4. **More English than Spanish**
 5. **Only English**

5. What language(s) do you usually speak with your friends?
 1. **Only Spanish**
 2. **More Spanish than English**
 3. **Both equally**
 4. **More English than Spanish**
 5. **Only English**

The next questions are about what language you prefer your media entertainment to be in (e.g., radio, television, movies, etc.).

1. In what language(s) are the T.V. programs you usually watch?
 1. **Only Spanish**
 2. **More Spanish than English**
 3. **Both equally**
 4. **More English than Spanish**
 5. **Only English**

2. In what language(s) are the radio programs you usually listen to?
 1. **Only Spanish**
 2. **More Spanish than English**
 3. **Both equally**
 4. **More English than Spanish**
 5. **Only English**

3. In general, what language(s) are the movies, T.V. and radio programs you prefer to watch and listen to?
 1. **Only Spanish**
 2. **More Spanish than English**
 3. **Both equally**
 4. **More English than Spanish**
 5. **Only English**

Now I would like to know more about the race/ethnicity of you and your family's friends here in the U.S (UK). If most of your friends visit from another country please mention this as well.

1. Your close friends are:
 1. **All Latinos/Hispanics**
 2. **More Latinos than Anglos**
 3. **About half and half**
 4. **More Anglos than Latinos**
 5. **All Anglos**

2. You prefer going to social gatherings/parties at which people are:
 1. **All Latinos/Hispanics**
 2. **More Latinos than Anglos**
 3. **About half and half**
 4. **More Anglos than Latinos**
 5. **All Anglos**

3. The persons you visit or who visit you are:
 1. **All Latinos/Hispanics**
 2. **More Latinos than Anglos**
 3. **About half and half**
 4. **More Anglos than Latinos**
 5. **All Anglos**

4. If you could choose your children's friends you would want them to be
 1. **All Latinos/Hispanics**
 2. **More Latinos than Anglos**
 3. **About half and half**
 4. **More Anglos than Latinos**
 5. **All Anglos**

Next I would like to ask you a few questions regarding how fairly you feel the you are treated by society. Please remember that all your answers are confidential and will not have a bearing on your daughters case in anyway.

Perceived Discrimination

1. When at work have you ever felt that you were treated unfairly by your supervisor and/or co-workers?

Completely Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Completely Disagree

2. When out shopping at the mall or at a store have you ever felt that you were treated unfairly by the staff or other patrons because of your race/ethnicity?

Completely Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Completely Disagree

3. How many times in the past year has anyone said or written something bad about your race/ethnicity or culture?

Never 1-2 times 3-4 times 5 or more times

4. When you watch or hear the news do you feel that Latino's are perceived fairly and accurately in the media?

Completely Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Completely Disagree

Parent-Child Relationship

This next section will ask you questions about your relationship with your child. Please remember that everything you tell me here is confidential and will not be shared with anyone else.

1. Would you say that you enjoy spending time with your child?

All of the time Most of the time Some of the time None of the time

2. Would you say that you tell your child you like her and care about her?

All of the time Most of the time Some of the time None of the time

3. Do you tell your child that you think she is good at things?

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

4. During the past 12 months, have you done any of the following things with your child? Please answer *Yes* or *No*.

- Spent 30 minutes or more playing or doing something fun with her
- Gone with her to an organized event (e.g., movies, sports events, etc.)
- Read and/or discussed a book or magazine article with her
- Got into an argument with her every week

Your Daughter's Future

The following section of questions will ask you about your thoughts on your child's education, work, and relationships.

1. It is important for my daughter to go to college.

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree Disagree

2. If my daughter chooses to continue her studies after a college degree I would:

- *Support her decision and provide whatever financial help I can*
- *Support her decision, but not help her financially*
- *Do not have an opinion either way*
- *Not support her decision if she can't pay for her studies on her own*
- *Not support her decision; she does not need more than a Bachelor's degree*

3. It is important to me and my family that my daughter marry and have a family?
Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree
4. In my family, it is more important to have a husband and a family than a career?
Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree
5. I encourage my daughter to do well in school.
Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree
6. I feel competent to help my daughter with her school work when she needs it.
Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree
7. I want my daughter to perform well in school, enjoy her classes and get good grades.
Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree
8. I want my daughter to have an easier life than I have had.
Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

Appendix C

Vignette

Maria and her mom Elena go to Dillard's to buy Maria and new pair of shoes. Maria asks a sales associate, a white woman in her 50's, for a fairly expensive pair of Guess shoes. The sales associate returns with a smaller size and tries to tell Elena that they are the only pair of shoes they have left. Elena doesn't speak English so she takes the shoes, when Maria tries to put them on and they don't fit she tries to get the sales associates' attention but the sales associate takes a long time and continues to help other white customers. Eventually Maria and Elena get tired of waiting and leave without buying the shoes.

What do you think happened to Maria and Elena in this story?

Appendix D

Parent Project Information and Consent Form

Study Title: Is culture a risk or protective factor for delinquency among Latina adolescents? A bi-continental analysis involving females from both the UK and US

Researcher: Veronica Cano: School of Law, University of Sheffield

I am a research student at the University of Sheffield studying culture and youth offending behaviour among Latina teens. I am inviting Latina youth, like your daughter, and their parents to help me with my research.

Participation for your daughter means I will be asking her questions on her thoughts of the Latino culture and the American/British culture. I will also ask her questions about her friends, community, favourite foods, music, movies, TV shows and people she looks up to. In addition there will be a short section on risk taking behaviours (e.g., smoking, drinking, skipping school, etc.) and illegal activity from the past six months. The interview will take about 1 hour. Everything your daughter tells me during the interview is private.

I would also like to interview you as a parent to get your thoughts on being a Latina (o) in the US/UK. I would like to know how your personal experiences living in the US/UK have affected your view of your Latino roots. The interview with you and your daughter will be scheduled separately.

Confidentiality

The information you share with me will be private. I may ask to use an audio recorder during our interview to help me with my notes. All audio recordings will be saved onto my personal computer and erased from the recorder to keep your privacy. Also, the recordings on my computer will be saved under a code only known to me.

By signing below you agree to respect your daughter's privacy with the answers she shares with me during our interview. The only time I may have to share your answers is if they include any information that may seem life-threatening to you or someone else, including your daughter as she is considered a minor under the law.

All the answers I collect from the interviews and focus groups will be reported anonymously, meaning I will not use your name or your daughter's name when reporting my results. The information obtained will be kept secure where only I will have access.

Participation to both interviews and focus groups is voluntary. Participation from both of you though is necessary to qualify for the study. This means that if either you or your daughter chooses to not participate then neither one can be interviewed. You both can stop the interview and participation in my study at any point if you choose.

If you and your daughter would like to participate please sign below. Your daughter will also be asked to sign a similar form in order to participate. If you have any questions regarding my study, please feel free to contact me at sop11vec@sheffield.ac.uk or by phone at 07825478050.

Thank you.

I give my permission to let my daughter, _____, participate in the study described above. I have read the description of the study and understand what my daughter's and my participation will require. I understand that my daughter and I can stop participating and any point during the interview. I have been informed that my privacy will be respected.

Youth's name (Print)

Date

Parent name (Print)

Parent Signature

Youth Consent Form

STUDY TITLE: Is culture a risk or protective factor for delinquency among Latina adolescents?
A bi-continental analysis involving females from both the UK and US

Researcher: Veronica Cano: Department of Sociological Sciences, University of Sheffield

I am a Post Graduate Research student looking at the role that culture plays on Latina youth's risk taking behaviours. I am inviting Latina youth, like you, who have either had contact with the juvenile justice system or attend a community institution (e.g. school or activity centres) in the selected geographic area of my research.

Your participation will involve completing an interview conducted by me. The interview will take anywhere between 1-2 hours. I will be asking you questions on your opinions of the Latino culture and the American/British culture. I will also ask general questions about your friends, community, favourite foods, music, movies, TV shows and role models. In addition there will be a short section on risk taking behaviours (e.g., smoking, drinking, skipping school, etc.) and illegal activity from the past six months. Nothing you say about criminal activity will be disclosed to the authorities.

I would also like to interview your mom or dad, to obtain their thoughts and experiences on being a Latina (o) in the US/UK. The interview with you and one of your parents will be scheduled separately.

The information you share with me will be kept confidential and will not be shared with anyone including your parents. The only exceptions to confidentiality include life-threatening emergencies, a court subpoena of records, or instances involving the universities ethical and legal duty to report abuse of children.

By agreeing to participate in this interview you will be asked, at the end, if you would be interested in being part of a focus group, or group discussion, with other Latina youth. One of your parents will also be asked to participate in a separate parent group. The group discussions can last up to 60 minutes. In these discussions I will be asking the group questions about your experiences (e.g., work, family, community, school, etc.) as Latinos in the US/UK.

All information gathered from the interviews and focus groups will be reported anonymously, meaning I will not use your name when reporting my results. If you have any questions about my study you can email me at sop11vec@sheffield.ac.uk.

I, _____, agree to participate in the above research. I have read the Participant Information Sheet, which is attached to this form. I understand what my role will be in this research, and all my questions, if any, have been answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that I am free to withdraw from the research at any time, for any reason and without prejudice. I have been informed that the confidentiality of my information will be protected and my name will not be used when reporting the results of the study.

Youth Participant name	(printed)	Date
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Youth Signature

Appendix E

Questionnaire Domains List

1. Spanish Language Acquisition Scale:

- How well would you say you speak Spanish? (**Response Options:** Excellent, Good, Fair, Not at all)
- How well would you say you read Spanish? (**Response Options:** Excellent, Good, Fair, Not at all)
- How well would you say you write Spanish? (**Response Options:** Excellent, Good, Fair, Not at all)

2. English Language Acquisition Scale:

- How well would you say you speak English? (**Response Options:** Excellent, Good, Fair, Not at all)
- How well would you say you ready English? (**Response Options:** Excellent, Good, Fair, Not at all)
- How well would you say you write English? (**Response Options:** Excellent, Good, Fair, Not at all)

3. Latino Culture Acquisition Scale (US cohort)⁴⁴:

- How well do you know the names and works of Latino musicians like Pitbull, Jennifer Lopez and Bruno Mars?

(**Response Options:** I know a lot about these, I know something about these, I know very little about these, I don't know anything about these)
- How well do you know Latino history and politics like the meaning of Cinco de Mayo, 13 de Septiembre and Dia de Benito Juarez?

(**Response Options:** I know a lot about these, I know something about these, I know very little about these, I don't know anything about these)
- How well do you know Latino cultural legends like Pancho Villa and symbols like Aztec warrior paintings and Dia de los Santos?

⁴⁴ The US and UK youth domains were identical with the exception of the cultural acquisition questions where the names of Latino, American and British artists were changed to better reflect the culture of the US, UK and Latino nation.

(Response Options: I know a lot about these, I know something about these, I know very little about these, I don't know anything about these)

- How well do you know popular Latin American actors like Selena, Demi Lovato and Jessica Alba?

(Response Options: I know a lot about these, I know something about these, I know very little about these, I don't know anything about these)

4. American Culture Acquisition Scale (US cohort):

- How well do you know the names and works of American musicians like Kelly Clarkson, Kesha and Ne-Yo?

(Response Options: I know a lot about these, I know something about these, I know very little about these, I don't know anything about these)

- How well do you know American history and politics like the 4th of July, Boston Tea Party and Thanksgiving?

(Response Options: I know a lot about these, I know something about these, I know very little about these, I don't know anything about these)

- How familiar are you with American cultural legends like Abraham Lincoln and symbols like the Cherry Pie and Chevy Pick-up?

(Response Options: I know a lot about these, I know something about these, I know very little about these, I don't know anything about these)

- How well do you know popular American actors from the US like Kristin Stewart, Zach Efron and Jared Lautner?

(Response Options: I know a lot about these, I know something about these, I know very little about these, I don't know anything about these)

5. Perceived Discrimination Scale:

- When at school have you ever felt that you were treated unfairly by your teachers and/or peers because of your race/ethnicity? **(Response Options:** Completely Agree, Neutral, Disagree)

- When out at the movies or mall have you ever felt that you were treated unfairly by the staff or other patrons because of your race/ethnicity? **(Response Options:** Completely Agree, Neutral, Disagree)

- How many times, in the past year, has anyone said or written something bad about your race/ethnicity or culture? **(Response Options:** Never, 1-2 times, 3-4 times and 5 or more times)

- In general, do you feel that others treat you unfairly because of your race or ethnicity? (**Response Options:** Completely Agree, Neutral, Disagree)

6. Latino Cultural Norms/Values Scale:

- *Respeto* -
 - Do you always refer to adults in your family by ‘Usted’ (translates into Mam or Sir)? (**Response Options:** Completely Agree, Neutral, Disagree)
 - Do you think it is important for children to obey adults? (**Response Options:** Completely Agree, Neutral, Disagree)
 - Do you think that children should help their parents when they grow up? (**Response Options:** Completely Agree, Neutral, Disagree)
- Language Preference –
 - In what language are the channels you prefer to watch TV? (**Response Options:** Only Spanish, Some Spanish, Both Equally, Some English, Only English)
 - In what language are the radio stations you listen to at home or in the car? (**Response Options:** Only Spanish, Some Spanish, Both Equally, Some English, Only English)
 - In what language do you watch TV with your friends? (**Response Options:** Only Spanish, Some Spanish, Both Equally, Some English, Only English)
 - In what language are the radio stations you listen to with your friends? (**Response Options:** Only Spanish, Some Spanish, Both Equally, Some English, Only English)

7. Parent/Child Relationship Scale:

- Would you say that you like to spend time with your parents? (**Response Options:** All of the time, Most of the time, Some of the time, None of the time)
- Would you say that your parents like you and care about you? (**Response Options:** Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly Disagree)
- Do you feel that your parents think that you are good at things? (**Response Options:** Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly Disagree)
- During the past 12 months, have you done any of the following things with your parent (s)? (**Response Options:** Yes, No)

- Spent 30 minutes or more playing or doing something fun with them
- Gone with them to an organized event (movies, sports event, party, etc.)
- Read and/or discussed a book or magazine article with them
- Got into an argument with them every week

8. Patriarchy Scale:

- Do you think that the role of women in the family is to stay home and take care of her husband and children? (**Response Options:** Completely Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Completely Disagree)
- Do you think that the father in the home should make all the decisions about his family? (**Response Options:** Completely Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Completely Disagree)
- Do you think that marriage is the primary goal for a female? (**Response Options:** Completely Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Completely Disagree)

9. Risk Taking Behaviours Scale (includes peers and school bond):

- How old were you the first time you had alcohol?
- Who were you with the first time you had alcohol?
- In the past 6-months, how many times have you had alcohol?
- In the past 6-months, who did you drink alcohol with?
- How old were you the first time you tried marijuana?
- Who were you with the first time you tried marijuana?
- In the past 6-months, how many times have you used marijuana?
- In the past 6-months, who did you use marijuana with?
- Have you ever run away from home or from where you were living?
- In the past 6-months, how many times have you run away from home?
- In the past 6-months, how many times have you stolen something from a store, friend or parent's house, or from someone's bag?
- In the past 6-months, how many times have you skipped classes?

- In the past 6-months, how many times have you gotten into a fight with someone in your family where the police was called?
- Of the people you regularly spend most of your time with, how many would you say were involved in illegal activity? (**Response Options:** None, A few, Some, Most, All)
- Of the people you regularly spend most of your time with, how many weekly get drunk or have 5 or more drinks in a day? (**Response Options:** None, A few, Some, Most, All)
- Of the people you regularly spend most of your time with, how many have ever been in drug or alcohol treatment? (**Response Options:** None, A few, Some, Most, All)
- You enjoy going to school? (**Response Options:** Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly Disagree)
- You enjoy going to your classes? (**Response Options:** Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly Disagree)
- You feel safe in your school and classes? (**Response Options:** Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly Disagree)
- You feel comfortable asking for help or questions at school? (**Response Options:** Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly Disagree)